AN EDITION OF OXFORD, TRINITY COLLEGE, MS 29

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Trinity College, Oxford



Thesis approved for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English
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Abstract

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Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29 is a late 15th-century manuscript which contains a large number of excerpts from diverse religious and secular medieval texts like the Vulgate, Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon*, de Worde's print *Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, a Holy Cross legend, Jacques Legrand's *Book of Good Manners,* and *Mandeville's Travels*. These texts are compiled in an idiosyncratic manner, forming a seamless prose history of the world, which starts with the creation of the world and ends incompletely with a description of Hannibal's exploits. Written by a single compiler-scribe, the manuscript offers fascinating insights into methods of compilation employed by medieval historiographers at the close of the Middle Ages. Two other manuscripts in the same hand are extant – San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 144 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84 – which show similarities in design and compilatory technique.

To date, MS 29 has received only little critical attention. This thesis presents for the first time a full edition and comprehensive study of the text. The thesis consists of two volumes, the first of which contains an analysis of the edited text, including a complete description, investigation of sources, linguistic analysis, discussion of genre, context, and audience, as well as a commentary. The second volume contains the edited text as an appendix (excluded from the word count, according to the regulations for DPhil theses).

The way in which the compiler of MS 29 interacts with and selects from his source texts provides a better understanding of medieval habits of reading and writing and of the cultural climate predominant at the time of the manuscript's production. This extensive analysis thus serves as a detailed case study, which is relevant to a wide range of late medieval texts.

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EDITION 1

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This thesis is dedicated to my dear parents, who instilled in me the love for old books and learning, and who have been a fount of wisdom, encouragement, common sense (and wit) throughout the doctorate. Words cannot express my love and gratitude.

Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea; quem timebo?

Abbreviations, Sigla, and Conventions

Short forms (primary and secondary sources)

BGM	*Book of Good Manners*. All folio numbers in the commentary refer to London, British Library, MS Harley 149
CA	*Confessio Amantis*. All references in the commentary are to the edition by Russell Peck (ed. 2000–2004)
DMCL	*Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Robinson 1988)
DMLL	*Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888–1600 in London Libraries* (Robinson 2003)
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
EETS	Early English Text Society
eLALME	Electronic version of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*
Foster	Short form used in the commentary to refer to the edition of the *Northern Passion* by Foster (ed. 1913–1916)
Genealogia	*Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers. All references in the commentary are to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow MS 53 (*Ba*)
IMEV	*The Index of Middle English Verse* (Brown et al. 1943)
IPHL	*Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*STC* 14081). All references in the commentary are to Duff's facsimile edition (ed. 1893)
LALME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh et al. 1986)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MTDV	The Defective Version of *Mandeville's Travels*. All references in the commentary (chapter, page number, line number) are to Seymour's edition (ed. 2002)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OS	Original Series
Parson's Tale	All references to *The Canterbury Tales* in the Commentary are based on *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson (ed. 1987))
PL	*Patrologia Latina* (Migne (ed. 1844–1865))
Poly	Caxton's print of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* (*STC* 13438). All references in the commentary are to chapter and page numbers of the copy of the 1482 printed edition in the British Library. References follow the following format: *Poly* + book

	(Roman numerals) + chapter (Arabic numerals) + page(s) of the print (in brackets), e.g. *Poly* II, 3 (lxxv^{r}–lxxvj^{r})
PPA	*Post peccatum Adae.* All quotations from the Latin *PPA* in the commentary refer to Horstmann (1887: 465–469)
STC	*Short-Title Catalogue* (Pollard and Redgrave 1976–91)
Tale of Melibee	All references to *The Canterbury Tales* in the Commentary are based on *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson (ed. 1987))
SS	Special Series

Manuscripts

Ad	London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (Thornton manuscript of the Northern Passion). My transcription of passages from this manuscript follows the edition by Foster (ed. 1913–1916), who marks expanded abbreviations with italics.
Ba	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow MS 53
H	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 144
L	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84
T	Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29

Conventions

Manuscript titles are given by place, library and shelfmark, but subsequent references use the shelfmark alone, unless this identification is unclear.

My editorial policy for *T* is set out in detail in Chapter VII, and largely follows the editorial policy favoured by the EETS. Unless otherwise stated, quotations from other manuscripts and prints retain the graphs **v** and **u** as they appear in the text, but punctuation, capitalisation, and word division are modernised, and abbreviations are silently expanded. This is to facilitate comparison with the text of *T*, as my edition of *T* follows similar principles. In a few cases, a diplomatic edition is necessary to illustrate finer points of scribal practice and correction. Where this is the case, I state this policy explicitly in a footnote. In diplomatic editions, I italicise expanded abbreviations.

Graphemes are usually referred to in bold type, but for the sake of clarity, they are marked by angle brackets in Chapter VI to distinguish them from phonemes, which are marked in the customary way by slashes.

I use the author-date system of referencing in accordance with the EETS's preference for keeping footnotes as economical as possible. Editions are cited by the names of their editors, firstly to achieve a greater consistency in citation between anonymous medieval texts and those attributed to an author, and secondly because I often refer to editorial practices by individual editors. When I refer to books published in the United States, I give locations without states, except where they would otherwise be ambiguous (e.g. 'Cambridge, Mass.').

Page ranges and line references to my edition of *T* are given in their full form (e.g. 610–611 rather than 610–11) for greater ease of reading in view of the many long line numbers.

Unless otherwise indicated, references to the Bible are based on the edition of the Vulgate by Weber and Gryson (eds. 2007). References to biblical books use the conventional abbreviations.

Unattributed translations are my own.

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All images of *T* were taken by me, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of the President and Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford.

All images of *L* were taken by me, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of Lambeth Palace Library.

All images of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Rolls 12, were taken by me, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Image of British Library, Add MS 30509, f. 2: © British Library Board.

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Introducing Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29 (*T*)[1] contains a unique Old Testament history which has so far only been known to a very small number of experts. *T* is an unusual and eccentric text; it is a compilation of reworked extracts from a wide range of sources, forming a history of the world beginning with the creation of man and breaking off incompletely at the time of Hannibal. It is almost certainly a unique copy, written by a single compiler-scribe near the end of the fifteenth century.[2] Having been labelled as a so-called 'bad text'[3] by early scholarship, it was not until the 1980s that the manuscript attracted any closer attention. Kate Harris devoted several articles as well as some pages of her doctoral thesis to a discussion of this text.[4] However, her work remained focussed on very specific aspects of *T*, and up to this point, there has never been a complete description or a comprehensive analysis of this text – a lack which the present thesis and edition seek to remedy.

A text such as *T*, which shows signs of extensive reworking of earlier source texts, can shed light on the cultural climate of the later Middle Ages from various different angles. *T* provides evidence of the contemporary reception of medieval texts,

[1] In this thesis, the siglum *T* is used to refer to this manuscript. For a full list of sigla and abbreviations, see above, p. vii.

[2] Throughout this study, it will be assumed that compiler and scribe are one and the same person. The evidence pointing overwhelmingly towards this conclusion is reviewed in detail at the beginning of Chapter V below. I refer to the compiler-scribe's gender as male throughout, but this assumption is, of course, based on likelihood in view of the historical situation rather than certainty: there is 'no certain evidence […] of [book] production by women religious in England' in the fifteenth century (Doyle (1990: 15)).

[3] This term has historically been used to refer to 'any text showing the scars of transmission or of late production' (Harris (1983: 27)). However, the pejorative adjective 'bad' is imprecise and misleading. A text cannot be intrinsically 'bad'; it can only be more or less useful with regard to a specific criterion set by an editor. The term itself harkens back to the strict methods of recension and stemmatics in the tradition of Karl Lachmann, which are not applicable to all kinds of manuscript tradition. The term is therefore unsuitable to describe any kind of medieval manuscript, particularly *T*. Where the term is unavoidable because of references to the critical history of the manuscript, it is cited in inverted commas.

[4] Harris (1983, 1993, 1998).

with the compiler functioning as a pre-modern literary critic who is simultaneously both writer and reader. As close analysis reveals, the text is shaped by a compiler of precise and exacting intellectual standards, who creates a complex network of excerpts from different sources. The way in which the compiler interacts with and selects from his source texts reveals a mindset which is marked by inclusive and encyclopaedic ways of thinking. What is particularly remarkable about this text is the way in which it uses sources from diverse and disparate contexts and backgrounds with a unifying vision, incorporating these sources into a narrative which is sometimes strikingly dissimilar in its emphasis from that of the original texts. The compiler is trying to create an interpretation of the original texts in the light of a universal perspective through resourceful and wide-ranging rewriting of his sources, thus adapting them to a different discourse.

What might appear, at first glance, to be a text of seeming unoriginality and derivativeness, then, can actually provide fascinating insights into a single compiler's strategies of compilation, as well as the specific processes of textual adaptation and transformation which result in a unified new text. A compiler like that of *T* not only 'engages[s] with an ongoing literary tradition but, through sustained application of this talent, […] participate[s] in this tradition, perpetuating or changing it'.[5] The variant readings of the compilation, the selection of source texts, and adaptation and reordering of excerpts, reflect a conscious and motivated choice by the compiler,[6] who integrates them into a new textual framework. *T* was evidently carefully thought-out and systematically executed by a discerning and widely read individual, and the compiler's process of selection and revision creates a new text which is more than merely a sum of the extracts that constitute its parts. It is undoubtedly a process which 'shifts the

[5] Moffat and McCarren (1998: 50).

[6] For more general theoretical thoughts, see Jacobs (1998: 4). See also the recent work on historical compilations and chronicles in Fisher (2012) and Rajsic et al. (eds. 2016).

conception and thereby produces a different work'[7] – a work which deserves to be studied in its own right. The present analysis of *T* thus serves as a detailed case study of medieval habits of reading and writing, and of the cultural climate predominant at the time of the manuscript's production, and may help to enhance our knowledge of late medieval habits of compilation and reading in more general terms.

The present study begins with a detailed description of the manuscript (Chapter I), with a special focus on the palaeographical and codicological evidence. The first chapter is limited to the kind of information which would commonly be found in a catalogue description, and interpretations of the evidence and conclusions to be drawn from it are reserved for the following chapters. Chapters II–IV are devoted to an analysis of the sources used in *T*. Caxton's *Polychronicon*, which serves a key function in *T*, is discussed separately in Chapter II. This chapter also contains a detailed look at the compiler's methods of compilation and adaptation of source texts. Chapter III discusses the compiler's use of biblical and para-biblical sources, whilst Chapter IV is concerned with minor non-biblical sources. Each source text and its tradition is first considered separately, and is followed at the end of Chapter IV by a discussion of the sources' relation to each other and their significance within *T* as a whole. Chapter V looks at broader contextual questions such as authorship and authority, intended audience and use, as well as the evidence for a compiler-scribe. This chapter also situates *T* in the context of related medieval genres, such as universal histories, encyclopedias, and florilegia. Chapter VI investigates the linguistic evidence, and traces the manuscript's origin based on a dialectal analysis. Throughout Chapters I–VI, reference will be made and comparisons drawn to the two other extant manuscripts in the same hand, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84 (*L*), and San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 144 (*H*), which show similarities to *T* in their design,

[7] Moffat and McCarren (1998: 41).

sources, and compilatory technique. Chapter VII considers relevant theoretical editorial questions before detailing my editorial method. The concluding chapter (VIII) contains a commentary which identifies the sources used by the compiler, and notes features of the text which are of particular interest. The edition itself is contained in an appendix, bound in a separate volume.

Chapter I Description of the Manuscript

The manuscript's shelfmark is Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29 [d-size]. It is currently held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It contains a composite history of the world, including multiple sources, which is largely written in prose but also includes some verse excerpts. The language is mostly Middle English, with a few phrases in Latin included in the main text. It can be dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century on palaeographical and textual grounds.

There are two other manuscripts in the same scribe's hand.[8] The first is London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84 (*L*), a late fifteenth-century prose historical compilation, titled 'Brut Chronicle' by later cataloguers. Much like *T*, it is mostly in Middle English, with occasional Latin phrases. The second, San Marino, HEHL MS HM 144 (*H*), is dated like *T* to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century,[9] and contains a miscellany of poetry and prose in Middle English, with some Latin.

1 Contents

There is no complete and correct description of the contents of *T* to date.[10] Earlier commentators often identify the sources incorrectly or do not mention them at all. For instance, an early description by Coxe gives the contents as: 'The history of the Old Testament, from Adam to Ptolemy Philopator, collected from Peter Comestor, Methodius, Josephus, Isidore, and other writers sacred and profane',[11] an erroneous

[8] As pointed out by Dutschke (1989: I, 202) and Mooney et al., *Late Medieval English Scribes* [last accessed 5 July 2019].
[9] Hanna (1984: 17).
[10] For partial descriptions and references to the manuscript, see Coxe (1852: II (iv), 12–13); Severs et al. (1989: 2662); Harris (1983); Harris (1993); Harris (1998); Ogilvie-Thomson (1991: 95–96); Pearsall (2004: 77); Mosser (2010); Wakelin (2014: 175–178); Gameson (2018: 219–222).
[11] Coxe (1852: II (iv), 12–13).

description which subsequently misled other critics.[12] A.S.G. Edwards was the first to notice excerpts from Caxton's printed version of Trevisa's translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* in *T*,[13] and later descriptions have included this piece of information, occasionally also noting the occurrence of passages from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. However, almost all descriptions fail to list other sources contained in the manuscript, while the *Late Medieval English Scribes* catalogue erroneously lists Hoccleve's *Lerne To Die* and the *Regiment of Princes* amongst the excerpted works.[14] Kate Harris is the only scholar to provide an accurate list of all the works which are extracted, but she does not give a detailed description of the contents. Apart from the *Polychronicon* and the *Confessio Amantis*, the sources include the Vulgate, Wynkyn de Worde's print *Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe*, *Mandeville's Travels*, Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi, The Tale of Melibee* and *The Parson's Tale* from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* a Holy Cross legend, and a translation of Jacques Legrand's *Book of Good Manners*.[15] The narrative broadly follows crucial events in the Old Testament, but includes numerous digressions and insertions from other sources. The compiler does not clearly distinguish excerpts from his sources which follow one after another, but rather he creates a complicated network of references to different sources and incorporates them into a continuous narrative. This can sometimes mean that he copies longer passages, but more often than not it means he takes single sentences, phrases, or even individual words from the sources, sometimes simultaneously rewriting or expanding them, so that some source texts

[12] See, for instance, Deanesly (1920: 332), who erroneously names Henry Hawkins, one of the sixteenth-century annotators of the manuscript, as its author.
[13] Edwards (1980: 117). On the relationship between Caxton's print and *T*, see Chapter II.1 below.
[14] Mooney et al., *Late Medieval English Scribes* [last accessed 5 July 2019]. Since part of Hoccleve's *Lerne to dye* is actually contained in San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 144 (*H*), some of this misinformation seems to stem from Kate Harris's (1998) occasionally confusing comparison of *T* and *H*.
[15] Harris (1983: 32).

merely seem to linger as a faint echo, as it were, in the connotative space behind the words on the page.

The following table briefly sums up the main themes of the text, following the structure established by the running titles at the top of each manuscript page. Given the nature of the manuscript, such a list must necessarily be reductive. For a more detailed description of the source texts, see Chapters II–IV below, as well as the edition and commentary.

foliation	**running title**	**contents**
ff. 1^{r}– 9^{v}	Adam.	Incipit: 'Almyghty god of his diuine power' ▪ creation of world, Adam and Eve in paradise, original sin, expulsion from paradise ▪ description of valley of Hebron ▪ Cain and Abel ▪ generation of Cain ▪ description of Holy Land ▪ Holy Cross legend
ff. 10$^{r–v}$	Paradise.	description of earthly paradise
ff. 11$^{r–v}$	Seth.	generations from Adam to Noah
ff. 12^{r}– 14^{v}	Noe.	▪ building of the Ark and Noah's Flood ▪ Noah curses son
f. 15^{r} – 16^{r}	Sem.	▪ renewal of world after Flood ▪ generations after Sem
ff. 16^{v} – 19^{r}	Phaleth.	▪ tower of Babel ▪ Babylonia ▪ division of world in three parts
ff. 19^{v} – 32^{v}	Rehu. Asya.	description of countries of Asia
ff. 32^{v} – 37^{r}	Rehu. Affrica.	description of countries of Africa

ff. 37^{v} – 64^{r}	Rehu. Europa.	description of countries of Europe
f. 64^{v}	Saruch. Regum.	Scythia
ff. 65^{r} – 73^{r}	Nachor. Regum.	kingdoms of the world
ff. 73^{v} – 81^{r}	Thare	▪ idol worship in different parts of the world ▪ sins of rulers of the world ▪ Jonah in Nineveh
ff. 81^{v} – 88^{r}	Abraham	▪ generation of Abraham ▪ life of Abraham ▪ destruction of Sodom
ff. 88^{v} – 91^{v}	Isaac	life of Isaac
ff. 92^{r} – 94^{r}	Jacob	life of Jacob
f. 94^{v}	Judas	life of Judas
ff. 95^{v} – 118^{r}	Phares. Moyses.	▪ Israelites in Egypt ▪ life of Moses, with exempla on envy, covetousness, pride, humility, patience, and lechery
ff. 118^{v} – 122^{r}	Esrom. Josue.	life of Joshua
f. 122^{v}	Esrom. Othonyel.	judges of Israel
f. 123^{r}	Aram. And Aminadab.	judges of Israel
ff. 123^{v} – 133^{r}	Naason.	judges of Israel, with exempla on murder, pity, wrath
ff. 133^{v} – 140^{r}	Salmon.	▪ judges of Israel ▪ battle of Troy
ff. 140^{v} – 143^{v}	Booz.	judges of Israel with exempla on avarice, lechery, and unkindness
ff. 144^{r} – 151^{r}	Obeth.	▪ Samuel ▪ Saul, first king of Israel, with exempla on obedience and covetousness
ff. 151^{v} – 157^{v}	Ysaye and Iesse.	David and Saul, with exempla on negligence
ff. 158^{r} – 159^{r}	Petygru.	lineage of Christ
ff. 159^{v} – 169^{r}	Dauid.	King David, with exempla

		on deadly sin, pride, and humility
ff. 169^{v} – 172^{v}	Salomon.	Solomon, with Holy Cross legend
ff. 173^{r} – 175^{r}	Roboam.	later kings of Israel, with Holy Cross legend
f. 175^{v}	Abya.	later kings of Israel
ff. 176$^{r–v}$	Iosaphath.	later kings of Israel
f. 177^{r}	Ioram.	later kings of Israel
ff. 177^{v} – 178^{r}	Athalia.	later kings of Israel
f. 178^{v}	Amasyas.	later kings of Israel
ff. 179$^{r–v}$	Ozias.	later kings of Israel
ff. 180$^{r–v}$	Ioathan.	later kings of Israel
f. 181^{r}	Achas.	later kings of Israel
f. 181^{v}	Ezechias.	later kings of Israel
f. 182^{r}	Manasses.	later kings of Israel
f. 182^{v}	Amon.	later kings of Israel
f. 183^{r}	Iosias.	later kings of Israel
f. 183^{v}	Ioathas. Caldeis.	Babylonian captivity
ff. 184$^{r–v}$	Iechonias. Caldeis.	Babylonian captivity
ff. 185^{r} – 186^{v}	Sedechias. Caldeis.	Babylonian captivity, with exempla on how men should honour the Church
ff. 187^{r} – 199^{r}	Salatiel. Caldeis.	▪ lineage of Christ ▪ Nebuchadnezzar ▪ Nebuchadnezzar's dream ▪ Daniel ▪ heirs of Nebuchadnezzar
ff. 199^{v} – 200^{r}	Salatiel. Medes.	Median kings
ff. 200^{v} – 201^{r}	Salatiel. Perses.	Persian kings
ff. 201^{v} – 208^{r}	Zorobabel. Perses.	Persian kings
ff. 208^{v} – 211^{v}	Elyud. Perses.	Persian kings
ff. 212^{r} – 216^{r}	Elyachym. Perses.	▪ Persian kings ▪ Alexander
ff. 216^{v} – 220^{r}	Asor. Perses.	Alexander
ff. 221^{v} – 222^{v}	Asor. Mascedons.	Alexander
ff. 223^{r} – 225^{r}	Sadoch.	Alexander's successors

f. 225^{v}	Achym.	Hannibal. Text breaks off mid-sentence: '[…] for þat skynne was vj score fote longe ¶ Than þe Carta-'.

Similarly to *T*, the focus of Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84 is largely historical. This manuscript contains an elaborate and expanded version of the prose *Brut*, which includes material from Higden's *Polychronicon* and William of Malmesbury's *Historia Regum Anglorum*, as well as other historical and legendary material, such as a version of the Havelok story, an account of the birth of Merlin, legends of St Thomas Becket and St Dunstan, and a prose version of John Lydgate's verse *Legend of St Austin at Compton*.[16] Lister Matheson found that some of the Arthurian material is unique to this manuscript, marked by 'omissions, additions, and modifications to the basic story',[17] and is thus distinct from other versions like the verse *Arthur and Merlin*, the Prose *Merlin*, Henry Lovelich's verse *Merlin*, and the *Brut* itself. In his analysis, Matheson also concluded that the Lambeth manuscript must have been written in two different stages. It seems the compiler at first translated from the Latin text of the *Polychronicon* himself and then, at a later stage, revised his compilation in the light of Caxton's edition (*STC* 13438): 'He interpolated material in the margins or on interleaved slips of vellum […] On occasion he even washed out his original text in order to substitute corresponding but usually fuller material from Caxton's edition'.[18] This evidence is significant in terms of dating, as will be explained in greater detail below.

San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 144[19] contains both prose and verse, its main focus being the life of Christ. The contents are, in order, William Lichfield's

[16] For a full account of the contents of *L* and further descriptions, see James (1932: 139–142); Matheson (1985b); Matheson (1998: 309–310); Pickering et al. (1999: 13). Brie (1906–1908: 585–588; 598–604) edits select parts of the text.
[17] Matheson (1985b: 79).
[18] Matheson (1985b: 71).
[19] Notable descriptions and discussions of *H* appear in Manly and Rickert (1940: I, 289–294); Marx (1983: 77–80); Hanna (1984: 17–18); Dutschke (1989: I, 197–203), and Wakelin (2014).

Complaint between God and Man;[20] an excerpt from Book II of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*;[21] the prose *Complaint of Our Lady* (a revised version of the text which is also found in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498 and Leeds, University Library, MS Brotherton 501);[22] *The Gospel of Nicodemus*; excerpts from Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon*, which are concerned with Pilate, the Virgin Mary, Judas Iscarioth, and the events in Jerusalem after the Resurrection; a version of a poem describing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem often called the 'Stations of Jerusalem';[23] Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*[24] and *The Monk's Tale*; Benet Burgh's translation of *Parvus Cato, Magnus Cato*,[25] copied from Caxton's print (*STC* 4850), and some of Lydgate's minor poems – the *Tale of the Churl and the Bird*,[26] and *Horse, Sheep and Goose*,[27] which are followed by some fragments from *A Pageant of Knowledge*, *Tyed with a Lyne,* and the *Court of Sapience*.[28] This is followed by a text on the times of sunrise and sunset in different months of the year, and a short excerpt from the second book of the *Polychronicon*. Interestingly, the same short passage also appears in *T* (see ll. 2727–2742 of my

[20] *IMEV* 2714. Cf. the edition by Borgström (ed. 1911).
[21] *IMEV* 2574. Cf., for instance, the edition by Lauritis (ed. 1961).
[22] The version in *H* is edited in Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987). The version in *H* contains insertions of material from the *Lamentation of Our Lady*. A version of this text surviving in Oxford, MS Bodley 596, is edited by Horstmann (1887: 454–470), but the exemplar of *H* does not survive (Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 211–212)).
[23] *IMEV* 986. Horstmann (1881: 355–366) edits a version of this text from MS Ashmole 61, which shows significant differences to the version in *H*. In *H*, some material from Book II of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* is inserted into the main narrative (Dutschke (1989: I, 199)).
[24] Kate Harris notes that a stanza from Hoccleve's *Lerne to dye* is inserted into the *Tale of Melibee* (1998: 199).
[25] *IMEV* 3955 and 854. Both *H* and Caxton's print of this text derive from a common source. See the edition by Kuriyagawa (ed. 1974) for further information and a list of variants.
[26] *IMEV* 2784.
[27] *IMEV* 658. For a more thorough analysis of this poem, see Bühler (1940), who argues that the scribe used Caxton's first edition (*STC* 17019) as his exemplar.
[28] *IMEV* 3504, 3437, 4215. Dutschke, probably following Bühler (1940), thinks the excerpt from Lydgate's *Court of Sapience* is added by a 'different hand' (1989: I, 201). However, all the characteristics of this hand point to the main scribe, although it looks like this passage was written in a different stint than the preceding text.

edition). *H* also contains a medical recipe at the very end, added by a sixteenth-century hand.[29]

It is important to note that the way in which these sources are used in *H* is strikingly different from *T* and *L.* While in *T* and *L* the compiler joins the sources together in an attempt to create a seamless prose narrative, *H* is less integrative, containing merely a sequence of distinctive texts which together form an account of the Passion of Christ and the events thereafter until the destruction of Jerusalem. The beginning and ending of each individual text are clearly distinguishable. Many of the separate texts start at the beginning of a new quire, and there are often several blank leaves left at the end of a quire after the end of a specific text.[30]

In the two other manuscripts, by contrast, individual texts are usually not visually separated from each other. Therefore, the manner in which different excerpts are presented in *H* is, in a sense, the exact opposite to the presentation in *T* and *L*. As William Marx has suggested, the compiler's aim in *H* might have been to produce

> a 'loose narrative sequence' in which the integrity of the two texts would be preserved but through which would be presented an extended narrative of the passion and resurrection.[31]

What is also striking is that all three manuscripts make use of Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon*, even though their focus is on different sections from this source, with only little overlap. The evidence of *L* shows that the compiler had a long-standing interest in this source, even in its original Latin form, before he had access to the print. It is also worth noting that even though both *T* and *H* make use of Chaucer's prose tales, they do not share exclusively the same exemplars. Whilst the same exemplar is likely to be behind the versions of the *Tale of Melibee* found in *H* and *T* – a text which,

[29] For further details on the contents, see Dutschke (1989: I, 201).
[30] Blank leaves at the ends of quires are sometimes cut away. Manly and Rickert saw this as evidence that the manuscript is composed of several smaller books (1940: I, 291), but this claim is contentious as it is not clear whether the leaves where cut out by the scribe, or at a later point.
[31] Marx (1983: 73).

according to Kate Harris, was closely related to London, British Library, MS Harley 7334 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 600, the extracts from *The Parson's Tale* in *H* and *T* must have come from two different copy texts.[32]

It may be cautiously inferred that *T* and *H* were not written contemporaneously, a point which is reinforced by the codicological evidence presented below. It is also clear from all three manuscripts that the compiler had access to a wide range of texts, including at least two versions of *The Canterbury Tales*, or excerpts from it.

2 Material and watermarks

T is on paper and is in overall good condition, although the outer edges are torn and worn, especially in the first quire, rendering the marginal notes on some leaves partly illegible (f. 2^{r}).[33] There are some small worm-holes (f. 203) and patches from earlier repairs which sometimes predate the writing, as can be seen clearly on f. 8^{v}, where the writing is disposed around the repaired part. Occasional traces of ascenders of what must have been leaf signatures (f. 44^{r}) indicate that the book-block was once larger and has been trimmed to its current size of 278–80 mm. x 190–200 mm.

Some leaves contain traces of tabs, navigational markers which were glued to the leaves. Two survive in their original place (f. 195, f. 173), while glue stains (f. 88) and holes (f. 152) in the margin of other leaves indicates that many more must have existed.[34] Some leaves, especially in quarto XVII, were reinforced with paper slips in the gutter to protect them during the process of sewing. A similar method of binding is

[32] Harris (1998: 180–181). This is not unusual, as there is evidence that the prose tales also circulated separately from the other tales (Seymour (1997: 2)).
[33] The folios given in brackets are sample references.
[34] On tabs in medieval manuscripts, see Sawyer (2016b).

evident in *H*, which likewise contains parchment reinforcing slips, some of which include some writing (see below, p. 59).[35]

About half of the leaves contain watermarks. Several different motifs can be identified, the order of which varies and appears to be random. The placement of these watermarks on the pages, together with the chain lines, indicates that for the greatest part of the manuscript, the quarto format was used, while the folio format occurs in the first quire and on ff. 189–194, and only in conjunction with specific watermarks, as noted below.[36] Leaves which use the folio format are nonetheless cut to the same size as the quarto leaves. By far the most frequent motif is a coat of arms containing three fleurs-de-lys, placed two and one, with a decorative floral pattern on the upper end and a cross-shaped form at the bottom (ff. 31+34). It is almost identical with motif No. 1741 in Briquet's catalogue,[37] according to which it is to be dated to 1470 and appears in various similar forms, sometimes incorporating the initials of the stationer (cf. Fig. 1). Since this watermark is found frequently and in many places throughout France as well as in Germany and the Netherlands,[38] locating it more precisely is impossible – Briquet comments on it as having 'become banal' ('devenue banale').[39] It is, however, striking that most of the variations identified by Briquet are dated to the 1470s or 1480s.[40]

[35] Dutschke (1989: I, 202).
[36] For more details on the use of quarto and folio formats in the construction of manuscripts, see Sirat (1988: 32).
[37] Briquet (1907: II, 3).
[38] Briquet (1907: I, 130).
[39] Briquet (1907: I, 127).
[40] A dating to the 1480s would fit with the dating of Caxton's print. See below, p. 66.



Figure 1: Briquet No. 1741

This fits well with the dating of the second most frequent watermark, a Gothic **Y** with a floral element added to its tail (ff. 19+22). Its form in the manuscript is rather similar to Briquet No. 9183 (cf. Fig. 2), dated to 1472 and found in Brittany, Avallon and Utrecht.[41] Even though the motif itself is likely to have originated in north-western France, like the first watermark it subsequently spread so widely that it is impossible to deduce any detailed information as to its provenance.[42]

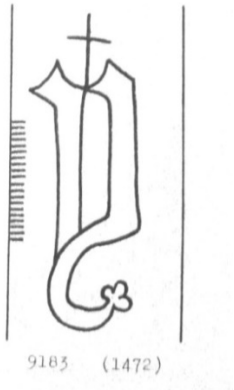


Figure 2: Briquet No. 9183

This dating ties in neatly with that of the first watermark as well as that of a third motif, a large **P** topped by quatrefoil, with a line through its descender (f. 189), which only occurs on very few folios. It is closely reminiscent of No. 8660 in Briquet (cf. Fig. 3),

[41] Briquet (1907: II, 487).
[42] Briquet (1907: II, 486).

which is dated to 1474–5. Like the first two watermarks this motif is ‘extremely frequent and varied’ (‘extrêmement nombreuse et variée’),[43] to such an extent that Briquet remarks that it has become ‘impossible to give a useful selection of this type of watermark’ (‘impossible de faire un triage utile dans ce faisceau de marques’) and that he has contented himself with reproducing ‘the most frequent specimens’ (‘les spécimens les plus fréquents’).[44] In the manuscript, the P-shaped watermark is used far less frequently than the first two; it is also unusual in that it only occurs in conjunction with the folio format used for ff. 189–194. The very same leaf, f. 189, is exactly the place where the continuous prose account is interrupted by a verse extract from the *Confessio Amantis*, ‘Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream’, accompanied by palaeographical changes (see below, pp. 43–49).

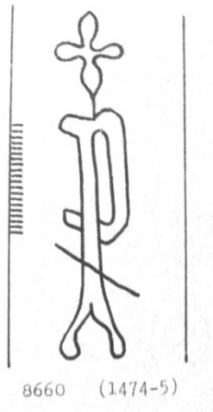


Figure 3: Briquet No. 8660

Another motif which appears infrequently is a circle round an image of three hills, above which is a cross (f. 7). Briquet lists a large number of virtually identical motifs from the end of the fourteenth century up to 1470 (No. 11888; cf. Fig. 4), all of which were very widespread.[45] This watermark occurs only a few times, and always together with the folio format.

[43] Briquet (1907: II, 462).
[44] Briquet (1907: II, 462).
[45] Briquet (1907), nos. 11851–11897.

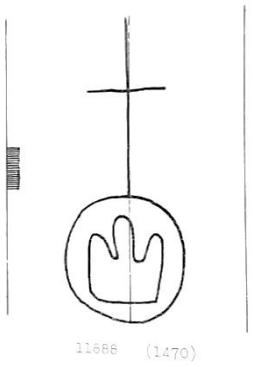


Figure 4: Briquet No. 11888

Only one instance of a fifth watermark, a pair of scissors, could be discovered (ff. 143+158). It looks very much like Briquet No. 3663 (cf. Fig. 5), which is dated to 1445, but as with the previously discussed watermark, there is a wide range of similar motifs used throughout the fifteenth century.[46]

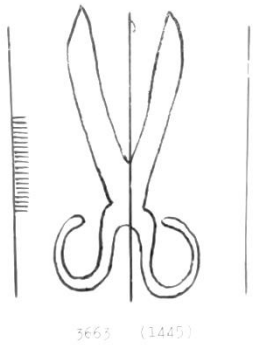


Figure 5: Briquet No. 3663

Another watermark which was found only once in the manuscript is an ornate crosier to which a horn is attached, which looks like Briquet No. 5803 (cf. Fig. 6). This motif is used in conjunction with the folio format on f. 1 and is obscured by the writing to such a degree that it is very difficult to discern with the bare eye. Briquet only has one version of this exact motif, which he dates to 1475, but also lists a number of similar ones from France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany, all dated between 1475 and 1484, while pointing out that this motif had a relatively short life of about a dozen years (‘Sa

[46] Briquet (1907), nos. 3652–3688.

durée paraît avoir été fort courte, une douzaine d'années seulement').[47] It thus allows us to narrow down the dating of the paper to around 1475–1484.

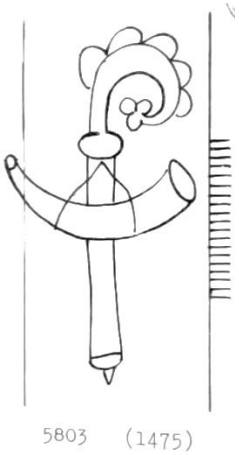


Figure 6: Briquet No. 5803

To sum up, the text is written on leaves from different paper-stocks containing six different watermarks, distributed irregularly, perhaps indicating that the manuscript was not written in one swift campaign with specially reserved materials, but across a longer period of time. The paper forming the main book-block can be roughly dated to the 1470s or 1480s, which fits well with the textual evidence of sources used (see below, Chapters II–IV). This, of course, can only provide *a terminus post quem* for the dating of the manuscript itself, since there is no evidence as to how soon after its production the paper was actually written on and bound.[48]

By contrast, *L* is written on parchment. It contains a number of interleaved slips in the main scribe's hand which are also on parchment, as well as four replacement paper leaves (ff. 4+5, f. 109 and 109b (unnumbered)) which contain what is likely to be a transcription, or perhaps a summary, of lost leaves by a sixteenth-century hand (in both cases two sixteenth-century paper leaves replace one folium of *L*, as the sixteenth-

[47] Briquet (1907: I, 339).
[48] On evaluating paper as textual evidence in more general terms, see Lyall (1989) and Da Rold (2007).

century transcriber's handwriting is slightly more expansive than the compiler's).[49] The manuscript is slightly larger than *T*, with dimensions of 300–25 mm. x 200–225 mm.

H, like *T*, is written on paper, with a book block of 290–294 mm. x 194–200 mm. Dutschke has identified nine distinct watermarks, which cover the period between 1481 and 1500.[50] As *T* and *H* do not share any watermarks, the two manuscripts were probably not produced around the same time. The distribution of the watermarks within the quires of *H* led Dutschke to hypothesize that the manuscript may have been produced in three separate parts, which were than at a later stage bound together. The first part would have comprised the Lichfield text in the first quire (ff. 1–10), the second part would be composed of the material on the Passion and subsequent events in quires 2–7 (ff. 11–80: Lydgate, Passion narrative, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, *Polychronicon*, Stations of Jerusalem), whilst the third part would have contained the remainder of the texts (ff. 81–152: Chaucer, *Parvus Cato, Magnus Cato,* minor poems by Lydgate, times of sunrise and sunset, short excerpt from the *Polychronicon*).[51] It is tempting to label the second part as containing 'religious' material and the third one as 'secular', as Dutschke does,[52] although of course such dichotomies are to be regarded with circumspection. It may, however, be useful to keep this distinction in mind for the more detailed discussion in Chapter V. Dutschke also discusses an alternative division of the manuscript into eight fascicles,[53] but taking into consideration the evidence of watermarks and leaf signatures, the three-part division seems altogether more likely. This, again, sets *H* somewhat apart from *T* and *L* in the manner of its production, as the

[49] There are two watermarks on these replacement leaves, which are very difficult to make out, but one of the two appears similar to Briquet no. 12522 (dated to 1595).
[50] Dutschke (1989: I, 201).
[51] Dutschke also briefly seems to consider a bipartite division (1989: I, 202), but does not go into greater detail regarding this possibility. Given the material evidence, I believe that a tripartite structure is most likely.
[52] Dutschke (1989: I, 202).
[53] Manly and Rickert, along similar lines, concluded that the 'MS consists of half a dozen smaller books' (1940: I, 291)).

latter two manuscripts were envisaged as single coherent texts from the outset, while the arrangement of material in *H* seems to have been, if not completely incidental, more of an afterthought.

3 Foliation

The manuscript consists of two flyleaves,[54] 225 leaves, and three blank endleaves. The first endleaf, f. 226, is bound in crosswise, therefore falling short of the upper and lower edges of the book-block, and has been cut at the outer edge to conform to the size of the manuscript. The leaves are now foliated i–ii, and then 1–228, including the endleaves, by a modern hand in pencil, while an earlier pencil foliation only notes occasional leaves, mislabelling some of them. These wrong numbers have not been crossed out, resulting in a confusing foliation which, for instance, labels f. 173 as both 173 and 174.

As the watermarks suggest, both flyleaves and endleaves consist of early modern paper. The watermark on the second flyleaf at the front of the manuscript as well as on ff. 226 and 228 shows a bunch of grapes, whose stem is surmounted by the letters 'MP' and a crown with a fleur-de-lis. The motif is similar to No. 13205 in Briquet (cf. Fig. 7), dated to 1599, but the version in *T* has a different crown. According to Briquet, the use of initials to indicate the name of the stationer was a current practice, with the result that the provenance of these motifs is just as uncertain as that of the ones in the main book-block: 'Their provenance is varied, even though they all originate from France. Nonetheless, most of them belong to central and south-eastern France' ('[L]eur provenance bien que française, est très diverse. Le plus grand nombre cependant, appartient à la région du centre et du sud-est').[55]

[54] The *Late Medieval English Scribes* catalogue erroneously counts only one flyleaf (Mooney et al. [last accessed 5 July 2019]).
[55] Briquet (1907: II, 646).

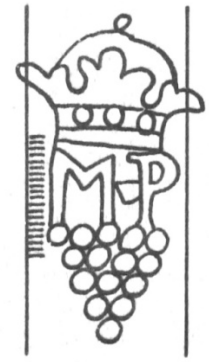


Figure 7: Briquet No. 13205

This motif and all variations thereof found in Briquet are dated to the second half or the end of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the paper quality of the flyleaves of the manuscript is markedly different from that of the other folios: the leaves are thinner and more translucent, while all of the other folios seem to be roughly of the same, noticeably thicker quality. The flyleaves are visibly in a much better condition than the rest of the leaves, especially when compared to the damaged leaves of the first gathering. The evidence suggests that the flyleaves were not originally part of the manuscript but were added during a later rebinding – probably when it was given to Trinity College in 1629 (see below, p. 61).

L has i + 203 + i leaves, the flyleaf and endleaf being in modern paper. The leaves are now foliated 1–204 by a modern hand in pencil. The modern foliation contains some errors, miscounting the number of leaves, and does not include the numerous interleaved parchment slips. The last folio of the original quires was culled from another manuscript and contains a Latin liturgical text.

H has iv + 152 leaves, now foliated 1–152 in pencil. The flyleaves contain a watermark dated to around 1494. Unlike *T*, the flyleaves of this manuscript must therefore have been bound in at the same time as the rest of the leaves.

4 Collation

The volume contains seventeen quires, which are arranged as follows: I^{14}, II–III^{12}, IV^{16}, V–VI^{12}, VII^{16}, VIII–XI^{12}, XII^{16}, $XIII^{12}$, XIV^{16}, XV^{10}, XVI^{16}, $XVII^{16}$ (wants 14–16).

Parts of quires XVI and XVII have paper stubs between various leaves. These were probably inserted to reinforce the paper while sewing (although they do not occur exclusively around the innermost and outermost leaves). Some of these stubs show traces of writing in the same hand, layout, and style as the main text. For instance, between fols. 219/210 and 221/222, a part of a marginal note is visible on the stub: 'An Erthequa[….] þ*a*t threw dou*n* cyte[…] and clo[…]e hillis.'[56] The original function of these leaves is unclear; it is possible that they were folia on which the scribe wrote but which he then rejected,[57] or that they originally formed leaves 14–16 of Quire XVII, but were damaged and subsequently used to reinforce the rest of the quire during a later rebinding.

In a similar way, the quiring of *L* is irregular, and varies between 8 and 12 leaves per quire, whilst *H* has between 6 and 16 leaves per quire. *H* contains similar paper guards between leaves, which provide important evidence concerning the origin of the manuscript (see below, p. 59).

5 Catchwords, quire numbers, leaf signatures

There are catchwords in the scribe's hand at the bottom of the final page of each gathering. Quire numbers in Arabic numerals appear throughout the manuscript. Leaf signatures are still visible on some leaves, as on ff. 16^{r} and 17^{r}: 'b i', 'b ij'. On other

[56] My transcription here is diplomatic, with expanded abbreviations italicised.
[57] A practice which was not uncommon with late medieval scribes. See, for instance, the use of rejected leaves of Capgrave's *Solace of Pilgrimes* as endleaves in other manuscripts produced in the author's scriptorium (Lucas 1997: 90–114).

leaves the remaining traces of ascenders indicate that the pages have been trimmed and were once numbered consistently *a–r* on quires I–XVII.

In *L*, the manner of noting down catchwords, leaf signatures, and quire numbers is virtually identical to *T*. In *H*, on the other hand, it is more varied. Catchwords only occur occasionally. The leaves on Dutschke's part one of the manuscript (quire 1; see above, p. 19) are unnumbered and contain no catchwords, while part two is irregularly numbered, either only in Roman numerals or in combination with the letters 'a' and 'b' (in quires 4–5). In contrast to parts one and two, the edges of part three (quires 8–13) have been trimmed. The remainder of leaf signatures in Roman numerals are occasionally visible in part three; interestingly, where the numerals are also combined with letters, it is clear that these leaves must have been numbered [a]–d. This reinforces the hypothesis that the parts of this manuscript were not originally envisaged to form part of a single manuscript – Dutschke's part three (the 'secular' material) in particular seems to have been conceived of as a separate item at first, as the leaf signatures indicate.

6 Pricking and ruling

The individual lines of writing in *T* are unruled; however, there is a frame of bounding lines crossing each other, which create a rectangle as writing space (cf. Fig. 8). These lines are usually done by lead pencil, but occasionally also in brown ink (f. 199^{r}). There are three vertical lines on each page: a single vertical line near the gutter and a double vertical line near the fore-edge, forming a symmetical pattern across each opening. On some leaves, though by no means all, a fourth vertical near the fore-edge can be discerned (e.g. f. 159^{r}). These lines are intersected by two horizontals, one marking the first and another marking the last line of writing on the page. All lines also cross the

margins. Pricking is visible on the four main bounding lines indicating the frame of the writing area. The paper was pricked twice for each line. Within this frame ruling there is a single text column whose line endings frequently go beyond the double-vertical on the right. The writing space is 194–195 mm. x 120–121 mm., while the actual written space has the varying dimensions of 194–200 mm. x 120–130 mm., with the writing starting above the top line. The lines of writing vary between 34 (f. 166^{r}) and 39 (f. 188^{v}) per page.

The only significant change to this pattern occurs on the pages containing verse (ff. 189^{r} – 192^{v}). Here, the vertical line to the left of the text is in drypoint; the written space is merely 165–200 mm. x 75–90 mm. in accordance with the length of the individual verses. The smaller size of the writing here creates space for a greater number of lines of writing, between 34 (f. 189^{r}) and 41 lines (f. 192^{v}).

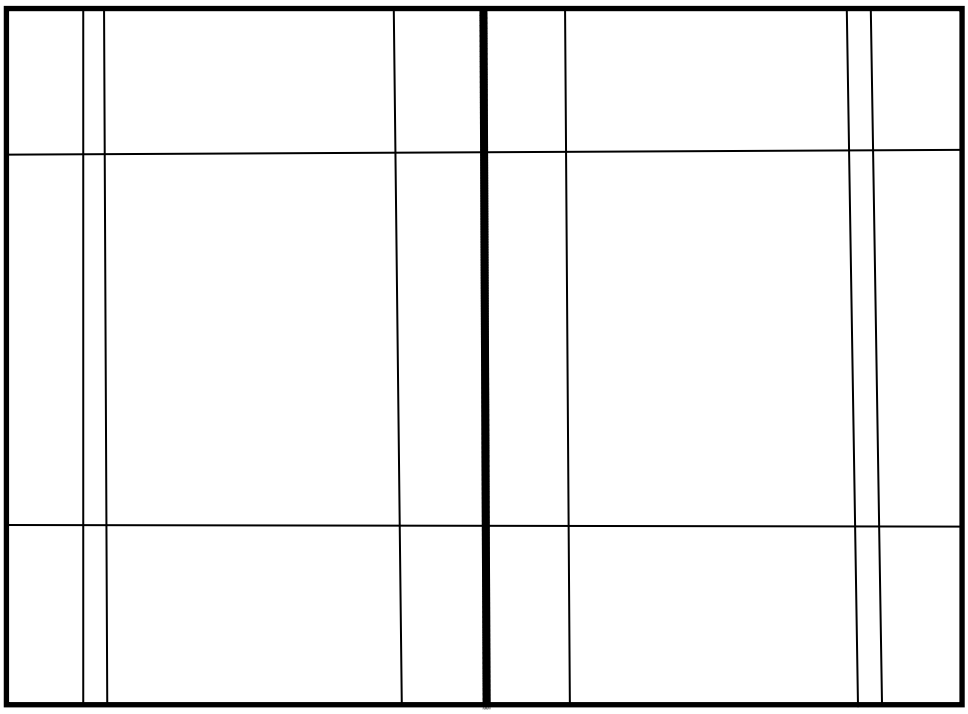


Figure 8: Schematic drawing of the typical pattern of ruling on a bifolium in T

The ruling in *L* is fairly similar to *T*; the only differences are that there are three rather than two horizontal lines, with two lines marking the top line, and that there are two further verticals in the outer margins. Most of the pages in *L* are ruled in pencil, with pricking visible in the outer margin of some leaves. The size of the text-block is slightly larger than in *T*, with 200–225 mm. x 125–150 mm. As in *T*, the number of lines per page varies – a typical average would be 39–44 lines per page, but on pages where text from Caxton's edition has been added in the second stage of composition, we can find up to 49 lines.

H is frame ruled in drypoint. The exact ruling pattern varies, but it is often similar to the one found in *T*. Pricking is usually visible on the inner and outer edges, although not on the other edges of quires 8–13 (Dutschke's part three), which have been trimmed. The size of the text-block is 185–200 mm. x 126–149 mm., and is thus roughly the same as in *T*. Depending on whether a leaf contains verse or prose, the number of lines can vary between 28 and 37. The pages containing prose are frequently very similar to *T* in terms of ruling and number of lines.

7 Page layout

In the greater part of *T*, the text is largely presented as continuous prose, without any indications to mark the transition from one source text to another. Sometimes, however, different sections are indicated in the text by a new line, by large initials, or by titles in a decorative display script. These titles usually refer to names of important historical and biblical characters or to biblical books ('Jayr', f. 133^{v}; 'Genesis', f. 84^{v}). Occasionally, space has been left for initials at the beginning of a new text section. These spaces are typically two lines deep, except at the very beginning of the first folio, where the initial takes up four lines. The use of guide letters indicates that that the scribe did plan ahead

for initials to be added, but only in very few cases were these spaces actually filled with rubricated initials (cf. Fig. 9), suggesting that the manuscript was never completely finished – evidence which is strengthened by the fact that the text breaks off incomplete at the end. Red paraphs are used throughout the text (see below, p. 28), but the addition of lombardic initials seems to have been planned for a later stage in the production of the manuscript, possibly (but not necessarily) by a different person, but usually not then carried out.

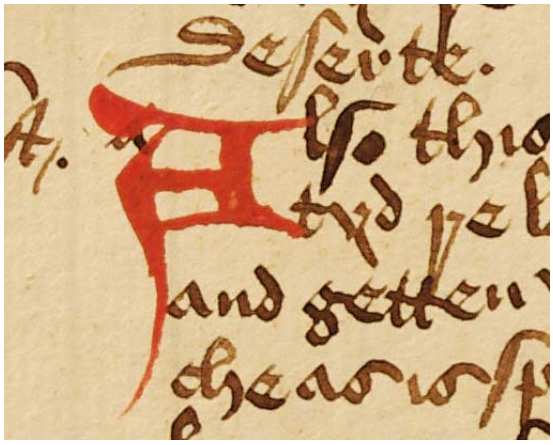
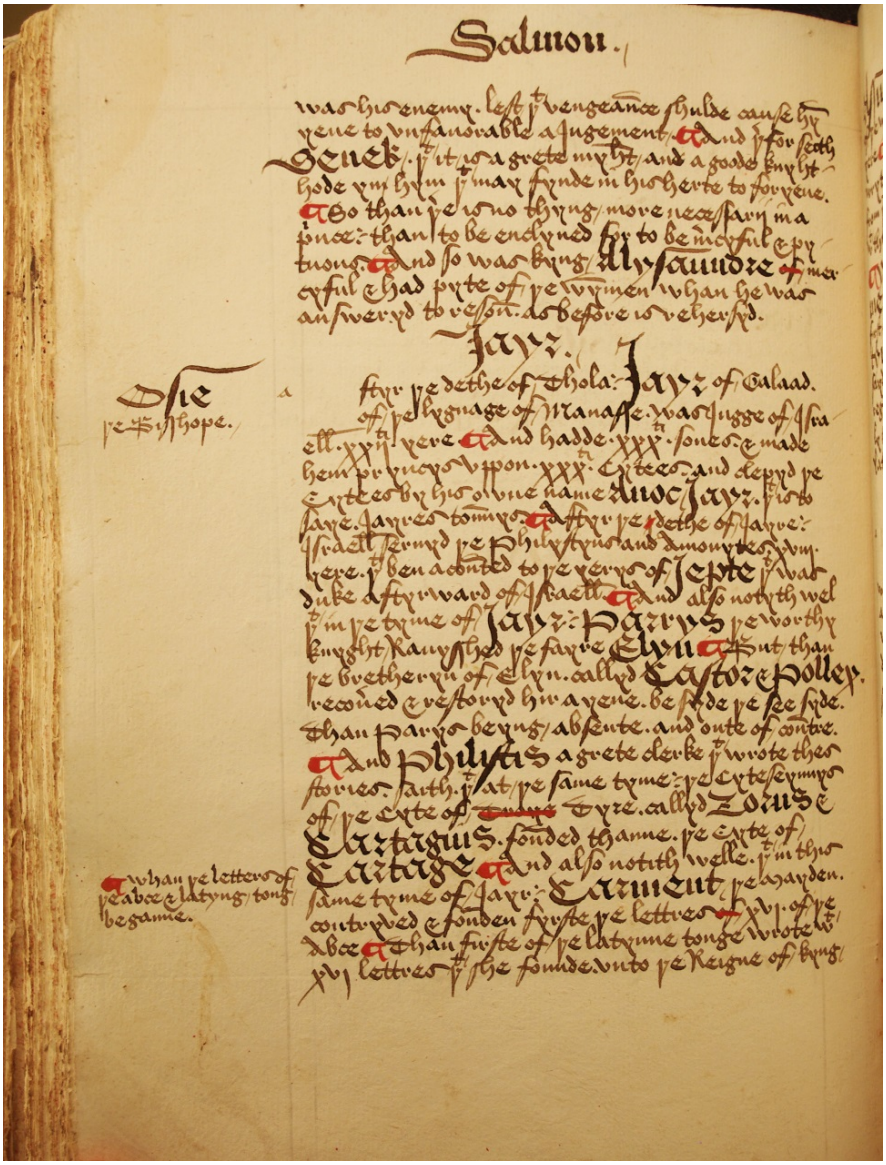


Figure 9: Initial on f. 120^{v}, l. 18

In the middle of the upper margin each page displays a name as a running title in the same decorative display script that is used for headings of individual sections (cf. Fig. 10), presented in black ink with flourished majuscules, emphasising the generation after Adam that is currently being discussed in the text (e.g. f. 201^{v}: 'Zorobabel.'). There are 'forty-eight running titles, giving (with two exceptions) the names of the ancestors of Christ',[58] the exceptions being 'Paradise' (ff. 10^{r}–10^{v}) and 'The Petygru' (ff. 158^{r}–159^{r}). The names of the ancestors of Christ are based on the genealogical structure of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (see below, pp. 132–144). Some pages contain additional running titles near the upper end of the fore-edge which indicate the peoples mentioned in the main text (e.g. 'Caldeis.', f. 184^{r}). The same

[58] Harris (1993: 70).

display script used for running titles is employed within the prose text to emphasise key names, both when referring to historical characters in the text and when mentioning a source text or an author. This pattern serves to structure the text visually and guide the reader's eye towards the names of key characters. The text thus highlights authorities, possibly as a sign of respect, but also for pragmatic reasons as the highling of crucial names can also serve as a finding aid for the reader.


Salmon.
Jayr.
Jayr
Jayr
Jayr

Where these are longer than one word, they are almost always preceded by a rubricated paraph. In the main text, individual sentences are often divided by similar rubricated paraphs. Occasional instances as on f. 5^{r}, l. 28 (cf. Fig. 11), where the red ink used for the paraph is mingled with the black ink used for the main text, indicate that the paraphs were added while the ink was still wet, and therefore must have been inserted by the scribe himself very shortly after writing the main text in black.



Figure 11: Black ink mingled with rubric

Striking exceptions to the layout pattern described above are ff. 189^{r}–192^{v}, which contain a verse extract from the *Confessio Amantis* (cf. Fig. 12). Although the running titles continue throughout the verse text in the same manner and style as on previous leaves, these pages do not contain any rubrication or paraphs, but are disposed in stanzas in a noticeably smaller handwriting than the rest of the text. Moreover, the majuscules at the beginning of each line are executed with more pronounced flourishes than the capitals occurring in the prose – likely an echo of the practice found in fifteenth-century manuscripts containing verse in higher-grade scripts.[59]

[59] See, for instance, in *Confessio Amantis* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 31.

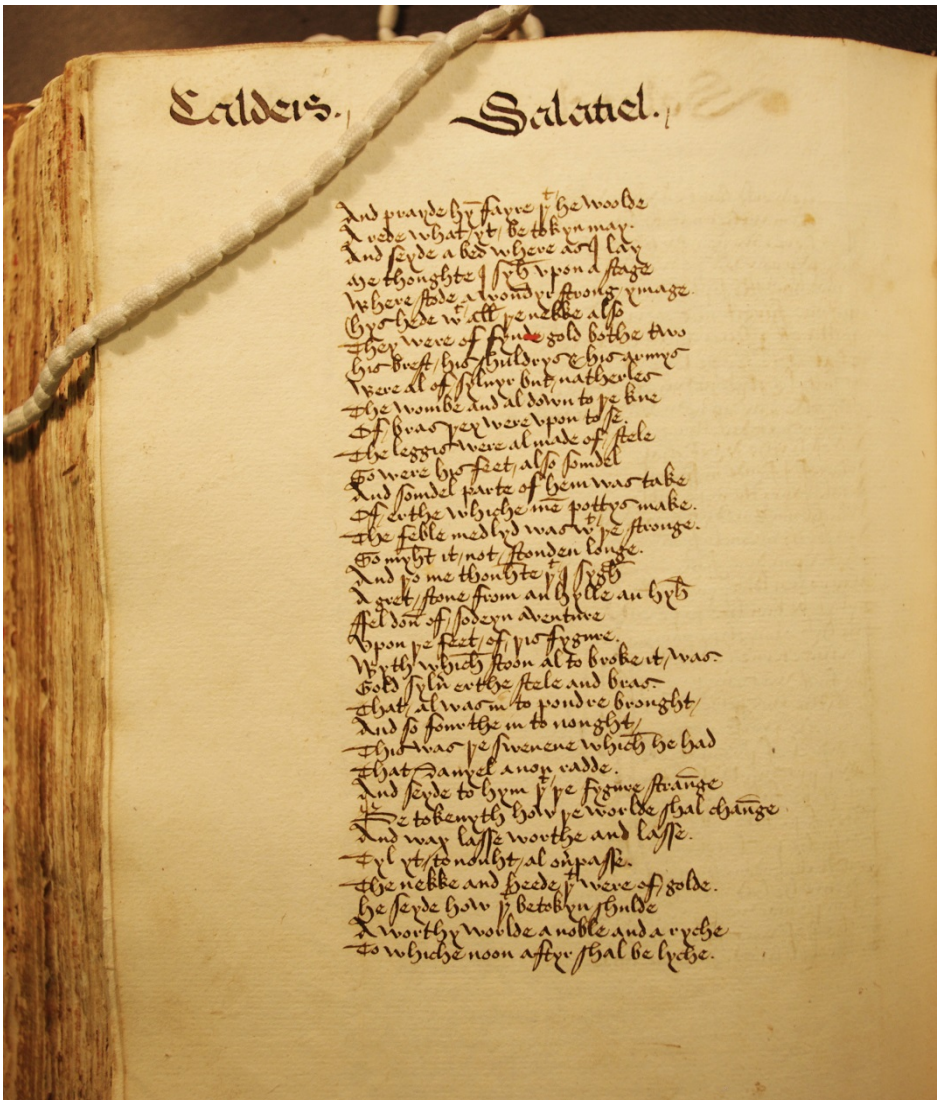


Figure 12: Layout of a page containing verse (f. 189^{v})

The page layout in *L* is extremely similar to that of the prose text in *T*. Each page has a running title in a display script at the top. Running titles refer to important historical characters discussed in the main text, most typically kings ('Edwardi Secoundi', ff. 132^{v}–133^{r}). The main text is largely continuous prose, with initials in blue marking different sections in the text. Occasionally, initials have not been executed (f. 111^{r}). Similarly to *T*, the names of important figures in the main text are sometimes emphasised by a display script or underlined in red (cf. f. 89^{r}), and sections or individual sentences are divided by paraphs in blue or red. There are copious marginal notes, summaries, and additions, which are especially frequent on ff. 66^{v}–110^{v} (cf. Fig.

13). From all of this it is clear that the layout of the text on the page is very similar in both manuscripts, with *L* being a little smarter than *T* and including a greater number of illustrations. By extension, it might be inferred that the conception and intent behind both texts were quite similar.

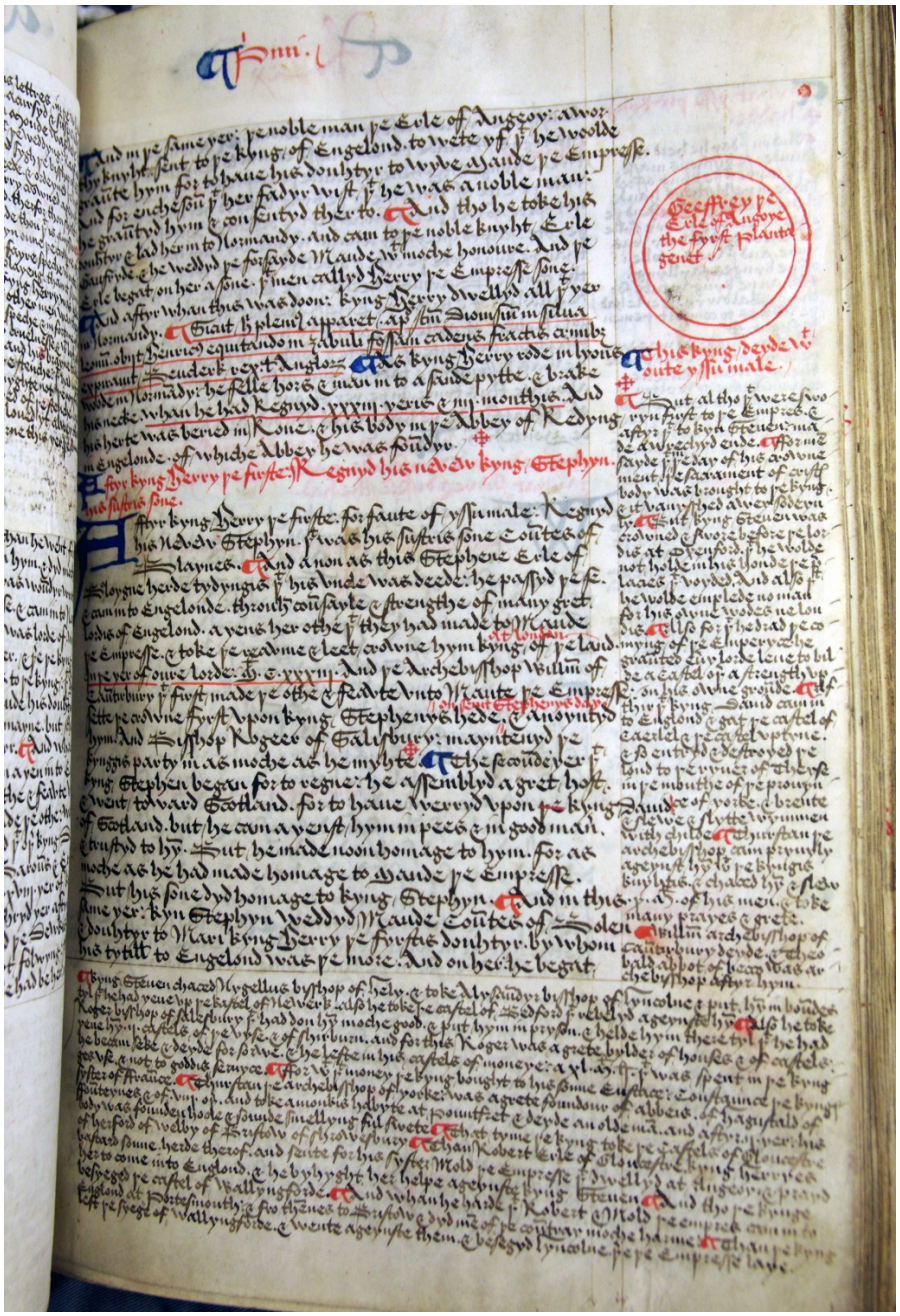


Figure 13: Marginal additions in L *(f. 89^{r})*

The same is true, albeit to a lesser extent, for *H* (cf. Fig. 14). Almost all pages have running titles in a similar display script at the top, which give the title of the text in

question (‘Passione Cristi’, f. 21^{v}–43^{r}). Initials are between two and three lines deep and have been executed in red. The same red ink is used for paraphs in the prose sections. Throughout the manuscript, titles of individual texts as well as important names and Latin phrases within a text are emphasised with a display script, much in the same way as in the other two manuscripts. Marginal titles providing additional information or section headings occur occasionally, but are less frequent than in *T* or *L*.

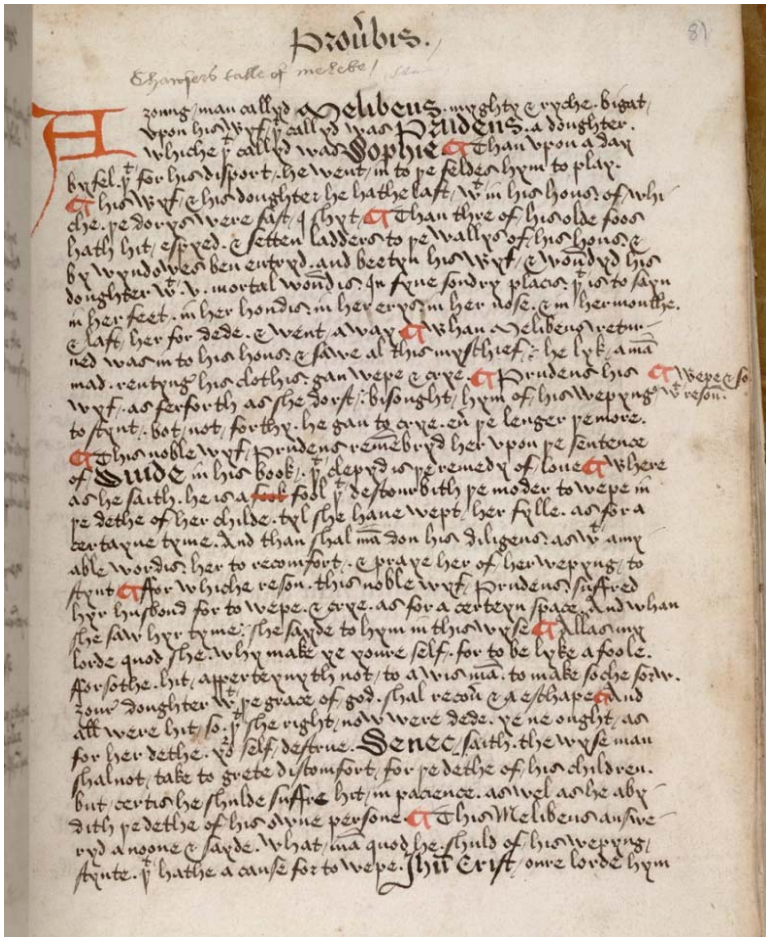


Figure 14: Beginning of the Tale of Melibee in H *(f. 81^{r})*[60]

Overall, the evidence shows that although there are subtle differences between the three manuscripts and the concepts behind them, especially in the case of *H*, it is clear that the

[60] Image source: *Digital Scriptorium Huntington Catalog Database* <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=HM+144> [last accessed 6 July 2019].

scribe had a preferred way of going about his task, which included a preferred layout to which he had recourse in at least three distinct manuscripts.

8 Illustration

F. 211^{r} contains the only illustration in the manuscript (cf. Fig. 15). It displays a plan of Jerusalem, indicating the habitations of different classes of its residents, and is copied from the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers or Petrus Pictaviensis.[61] Drawn on parchment, it is pasted into the main text in a space which would otherwise be equivalent to roughly 21 lines of text. As Richard Gameson points out, it is possible that this schema was culled from an earlier book;[62] its script is different from the scribe's – a very smart bastard anglicana, entirely like textualis in aspect if not in letter-forms. The illustration makes use of red ink for the Latin text indicating the different parts of the city:

1. *habitacio regis et sacerdotus* [sic – an error for *sacerdotum*] (the living quarters of the king and the priests)
2. *habitacio nobilium ciuium prophetarum* (the living quarters of the nobles of the city and the prophets)
3. *habitacio pauperum* (the living quarters of the common people)

The illustration also inscribes the names of the six gates of Jerusalem:

1. *porta sterquilinii* (Dung Gate)
2. *porta uetus uel iudiciaria* (Old Gate or Judgement Gate)
3. *porta piscium uel dauid* (Fish Gate or David's Gate)
4. *porta fontis Syloe uel aquarum* (Gate of the Spring of Siloam or Water Gate)
5. *porta gregis uel probatice piscine uel ofel uel negociatorum* (Sheep Gate or Gate close to the *probatica piscina* or Gate of Ophel or Merchants' Gate)
6. *porta uallis Iosaphat uel Geon* (Gate to the Valley of Josaphat or Geon)

[61] Vollmer (ed. 1931: plate 7). See the discussion of this source text below, pp. 132–144.
[62] Gameson (2018: 222).

The colours green and yellow are used to colour the schematic boundaries between different areas of the city. The text preceding this illustration contains a corresponding description of Jerusalem and refers to the drawing:

> [Neemias] beganne to restore and make þe wallys and yatys of Ierusalem ayen aftyr þe forme þat Kyng Salomon made it, with iij wallys and iij wardys and vj yates. The ynner warde was þe **kyngis** and þe **preestis** habitacioun. The secounde warde was þe **prophetis** and þe **worthy mennys** habitacyoun. The iij[de] [f. 211[r]] warde was þe habitacioun for þe comente, as it is notyd or drawn here folwyng. (ll. 10270–10275)[63]



Figure 15: Illustration: plan of Jerusalem (f. 211[r])

In terms of illustrative design, *L* is noticeably different from both *T* and *H*. Unlike either of the other two manuscripts, *L* incorporates several drawings in colour, its frontispiece being a drawing of an enthroned Diocletian with his daughters and their husbands (cf.

[63] The doublet 'notyd or drawn' perhaps here refers to the fact that the illustration contains both drawing and writing, and might indicate the compiler's effort to describe accurately what follows in the manuscript.

Fig. 16).[64] The main text is also accompanied by several smaller, rougher drawings in the margins, some of which are unfinished (f. 7[r]). Even though critics have been quick to point out the poor quality of some of these illustrations,[65] these features nonetheless bear witness to considerable efforts and costs involved in the production of this manuscript, which presumably exceeded those of *T*, and certainly those of *H*, which does not contain any illustrations.



Figure 16: Illustration in L *(f. 1[r])*

[64] James (1932: 139).
[65] Cf. James (1932: 139).

9 Handwriting

Earlier descriptions of *T* have given very little attention to the palaeographical evidence. Kate Harris's observations regarding the handwriting do not go beyond stating that it is a 'very distinctive, late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hybrida'.[66] Apart from this, Harris has also repeatedly expressed her certainty about the scribe being the same person as the compiler because of the 'substantive marginal additions and the presence of deletions and interlineations, all testifying to moments of indecision in the process of composition'.[67]

Indeed, there are many signs of reworking and correction in the same hand as the main text (cf. Fig. 17), which – along with other evidence discussed in Chapter V below – suggest that the scribe is the same person as the compiler. However, there is often a tendency to stress the extraordinary more than the ordinary when describing manuscripts, and in order to avoid this bias, it is equally important to point out that even though the manuscript contains various marginal additions and interlineations, it is also very neat and tidy for long stretches of the text. For instance, ff. 23^{r}–90^{r} do not contain any interlinear or marginal additions which suggest revision of the text; rather, any deletions and corrections are due to eye-skip or orthographical mistakes and do not provide any evidence of an ongoing process of compilation. This might mean that the compiler-scribe had a surprisingly neat and ordered way of compiling which required only infrequent marginal addition or interlineation. In view of the neatness of most pages, however, it is more likely that the manuscript is a fair copy of an earlier working copy.[68]

[66] Harris (1993: 67).
[67] Harris (1998: 179).
[68] Cf. Richard Beadle's hypothetical spectrum of autographs (1994: 260–268). See also Chapter V below.

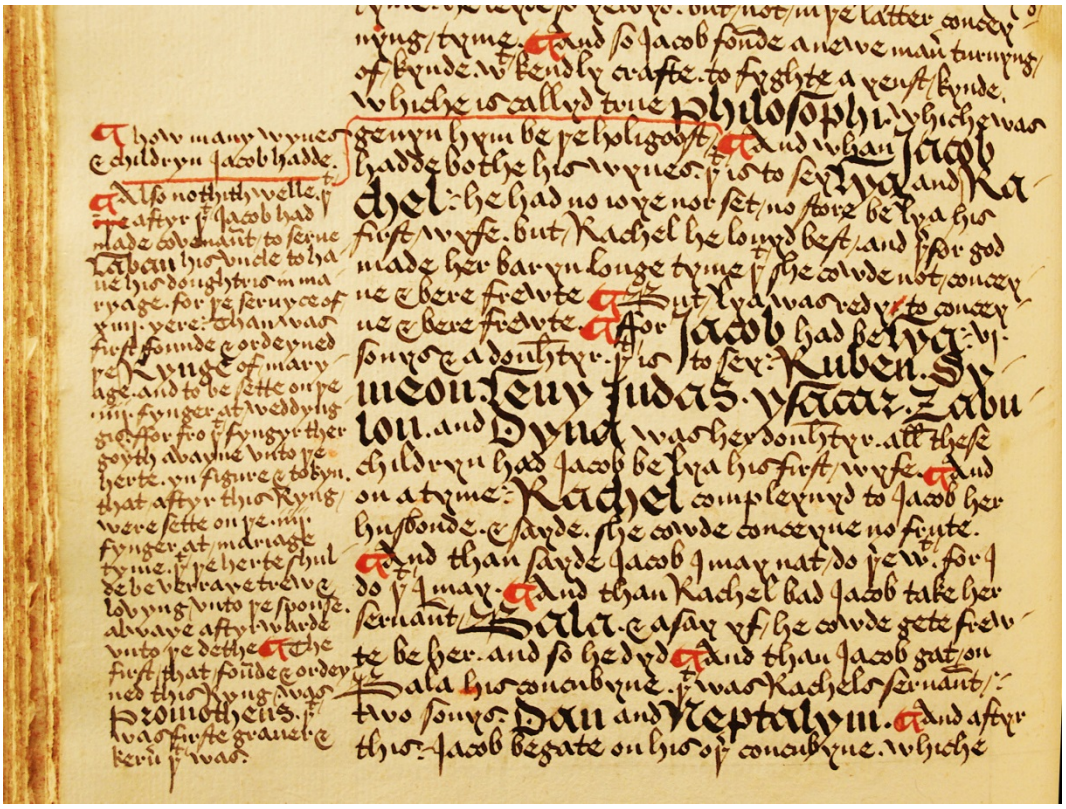


Figure 17: Marginal additions and corrections (f. 91^{v})

From a closer look at the handwriting it becomes clear that the prose text on ff. 1^{r}–188^{v} and ff. 195^{r}–225^{v} was written by a single scribe, apart from a few marginalia in different hands, which will be discussed below (cf. pp. 53–56). The hand of the verse text[69] from ff. 189^{r}–194^{v} is a more complex matter and will therefore be analysed in a separate paragraph (cf. pp. 43–46). According to Parkes's terminology,[70] the hand of the main prose text can be classed as a mixture between Secretary and Anglicana. The hand shows many characteristics of the Secretary script (cf. Fig. 18), such as the single-compartment form of the letter **a**, the loopless **d** and the simplified **w**. The short form for **r** which does not extend below the minims and more often than not shows signs of breaking is likewise a feature of Secretary. Moreover, **f** and long **s** have characteristically long and tapering descenders which are often split, while the tail of **y**

[69] Since the text which looks visually like prose sometimes incorporates excerpts from poetry as well, the term 'verse' is here used only to refer to the visual appearance of the text, which is arranged with line breaks.

[70] Parkes (1969: 19).

is rather long and tends to curve slightly to the right. The graph for **e** is also striking, since it displays small but clearly discernible horns at the top; this is again a distinctive Secretary form. There are several features which are typical of the late fifteenth century, such as the loopless **d**,[71] as well as the gap which frequently appears between the ascender and limb of **h.** The hand in general has a slightly splayed appearance. However, it is difficult to arrive at a more precise dating of these Secretary features than the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[72]

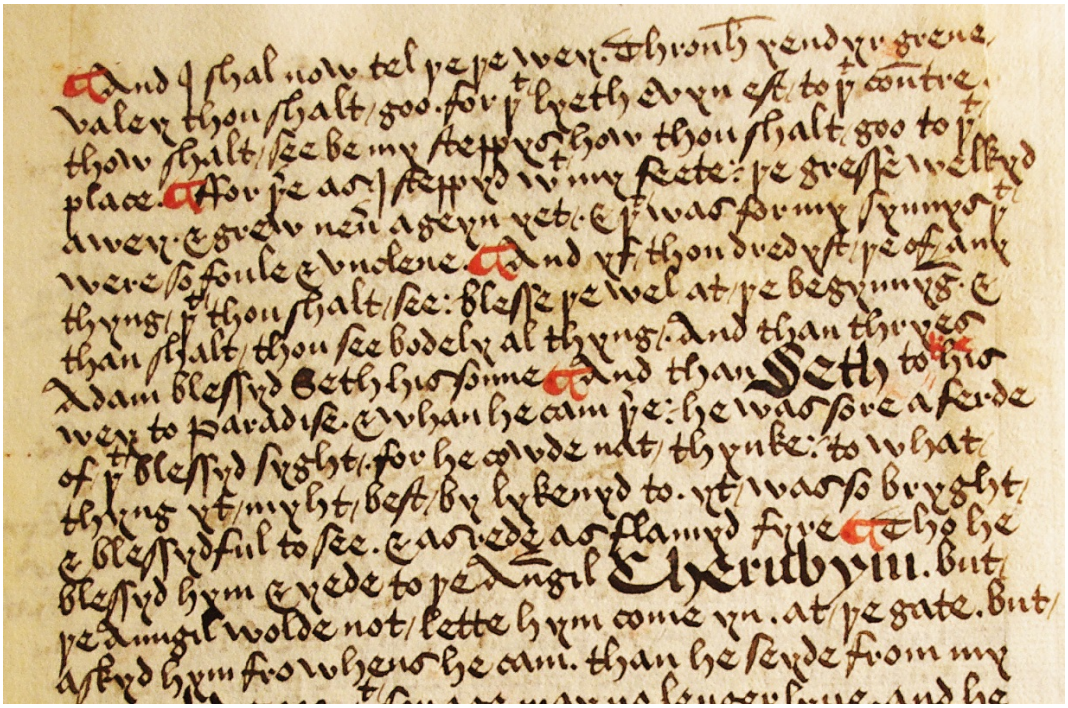


Figure 18: Hand of the prose text (f. 8r)

In spite of the predominance of Secretary forms, the hand also incorporates some Anglicana features, like the older 8-shaped form of **g**[73] and the sigma-shaped short **s**.[74] What is more, the loops on letters like **h**, **l** and **b** are often rather large, with an angular broken shape uncharacteristic of Secretary, betraying the influence of Anglicana

[71] Derolez (2003: 145), cf. especially letter form no. 20.
[72] Compare, for instance, *DMCL* no. 287, and *DMLL* no. 90, for similarly splayed, late fifteenth-century hands.
[73] Cf. Derolez (2003: 134), letter form no. 4.
[74] Cf. Derolez (2003: 139), letter form no. 28.

formata. Hands incorporating features of more than a single script became increasingly common in the fifteenth century,[75] and Anglicana and its descendants continued in use into the early sixteenth century, but the particular mixture of features of both scripts in *T* seems rather idiosyncratic, especially in the case of the older graph for **g**, since the more current and simplified Secretary form was adopted quite frequently even in hands modelled on Anglicana.[76] The same idiosyncratic mixture of letter forms can be found in *H* and *L*. The handwriting in all three manuscripts looks essentially the same, apart from a very small number of forms like the round **r**, which occurs in *H* and *L*, but not in *T*.

The choice of script for a particular manuscript can reveal important information as to the circumstances of its production. This particular cursive script would have allowed for a relatively fast writing speed (compared to a textualis book hand), which may indicate that *T* was produced in a way which reduced the costs and time required. Nonetheless, speed does not appear to have been the scribe's primary objective. This is suggested not only by instances of self-correction by the scribe, but also through the use of hooked ascenders, and the frequent appearance of otiose strokes, which seem to be part of a well thought-out orthographic system (discussed in detail below, pp. 256–267). The addition of hairlines after a number of words is consistent throughout the manuscript, especially after the function word *of*, but also very frequently at the end of lexical words ending in <g>, <f>, or <t>. These strokes would presumably have slowed the writing process a little over the large extent of this whole manuscript. Thus, even though the script used in the manuscript is current, the grade of that script is relatively high – individual letters are executed with care and attention to detail.

[75] Parkes (1969: xxv).
[76] Parkes (1969: xxiii). Compare, however, *DMCL* no. 261, which has a similar mixture of Anglicana **g** and Secretary forms.

A different script is used for titles and names in the prose text (cf. Fig. 19). These names are distinguished from the rest of the text by a large, bold script. It can be classified as a 'Bastard Secretary' according to Parkes[77] – a hybrid uniting features of Secretary and Textura, used for display purposes and in more formal contexts, which retains a higher position in the hierarchy of scripts because of its association with Textura. To be more precise, it combines 'cursive forms and features […] derived from Secretary […] with the proportions and stylistic features of Textura'.[78] This is particularly evident in the treatment of the minim strokes in **m**, **n** and **u**, which are (unlike in the main text) separately executed and reminiscent of Textura rotunda. The same is true for the letter **l**, and occasionally, **d** and **o**. The graph for **r** occasionally also appears in a z-shaped form which derives from Textura. At the same time, graphs similar to those in the main prose text occur: for instance, the same forms of **e**, **t** and **v** as well as the characteristic 8-shaped, Anglicana form of **g** are used.[79] However, the display script also incorporates letter forms which do not appear in the main text. These include forms of the single-compartment **a** with a characteristically broken bowl with occasionally exaggerated horns on top (a typical feature of Secretary), and a cursive version of the 8-shaped Textualis **s**.[80] These separated strokes would, again, have slowed down the speed of writing considerably.[81] All majuscules as well as the ascenders of long **s**, **f** and word-final short **s** are calligraphically executed.

[77] In Brown's terminology, this script would be classified as a *cursiva* 'secretary' *formata* or even *formata hybrida* (Roberts (2005: 211)).
[78] Parkes (1969: xxi).
[79] Cf. *DMLL* no. 27 for a comparable grade of script, even though this sample has different letter forms for **a** and **g**.
[80] Cf. Derolez (2003: 139), letter form no. 29.
[81] On the retarding effect of calligraphic strokes, see Wakelin (2011b).

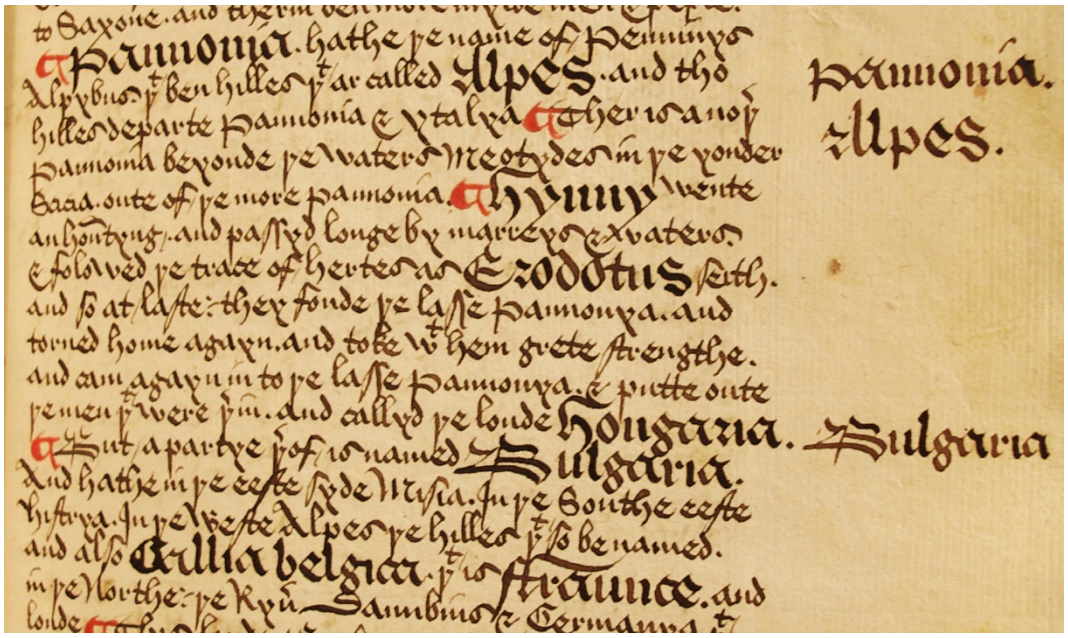


Figure 19: Prose text with display script (f. 39r)

It is noteworthy that the same Bastard Secretary is used for sentences and phrases in Latin (cf. Fig. 20). By not using Textura for the Latin, the scribe places the highlighted titles and names visually on the same hierarchical level as the Latin phrases. This is a practice strikingly different from the textbook examples in Parkes and elsewhere, which point out the typical hierarchy of scripts throughout the Middle Ages in which the highest level is reserved for Latin, usually in Textura, and diverse 'bastard' and cursive scripts are used for lower levels of the hierarchy, at the bottom of which is the vernacular.[82] In *T*, this juxtaposition of Latin and the vernacular is perhaps not surprising in cases where the names are biblical and hence imbued with authority. However, Bastard Secretary is also used for whole phrases in the vernacular, for example in titles (cf. Fig. 21): 'Here is now to speke of the generacioun of Crist descending from Abraham, as this booke of generacioun wittenessith' (ll. 8978–8980).

[82] Parkes (1969), *passim*.

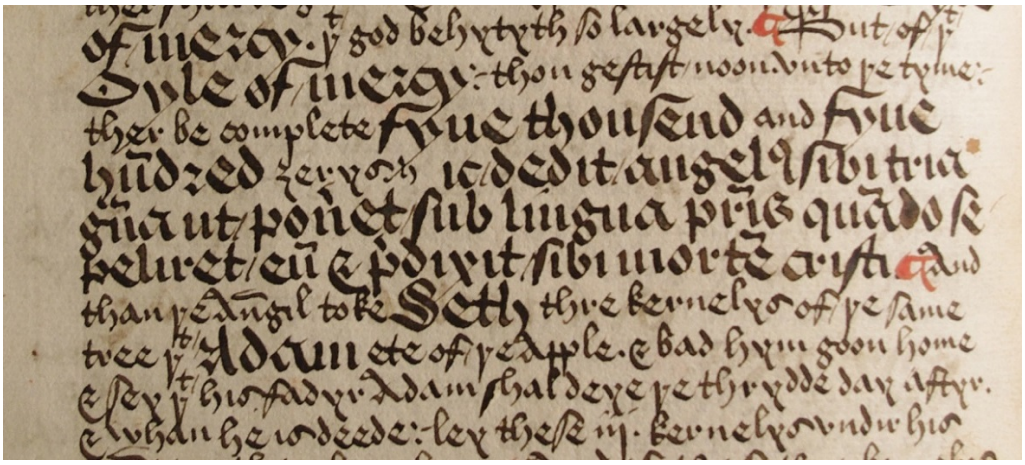


Figure 20: Display script used for Latin (f. 8^{v})

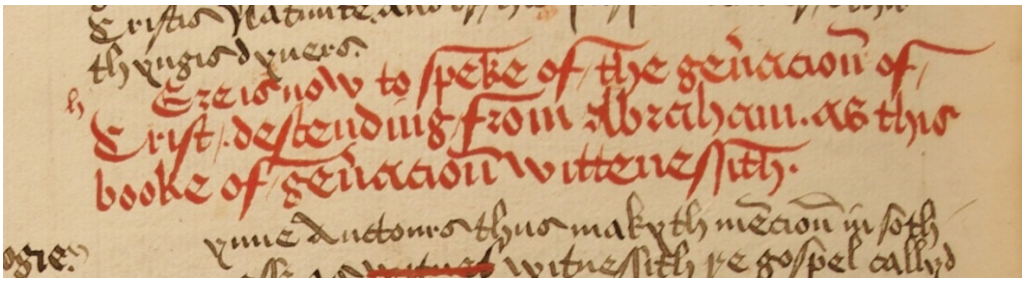


Figure 21: Display script used for the vernacular (f. 187^{v})

It seems as if the lofty subject matter has instilled the vernacular with an authority that allows for Latin and English to appear side by side without a hierarchical difference on the visual level. Such observations may lead to tentative deductions as to the perception of the vernacular by the compiler. This is particularly interesting if the manuscript was created, as has been suggested by Harris,[83] in a monastic context (further discussed below, pp. 209–214), where one would expect Latin to be perceived as having an especially high status as opposed to the vernacular. A comparison to the earlier manuscript *L* shows that here, the usual hierarchical level is maintained, with Textura used for Latin passages (cf. Fig. 22). The Textura in this section is rather accomplished – the small hairline bifurcations on the top of ascenders, and the break in the stem of the round **r** would require considerable skill. The comparatively heavy hairlines suggest,

[83] Harris (1998: 167).

perhaps, that the scribe is trying a little too hard to write a script to which he is not accustomed, but the overall impression is that of a scribe who had at least some professional training, even if he was not regularly copying high-grade texts.

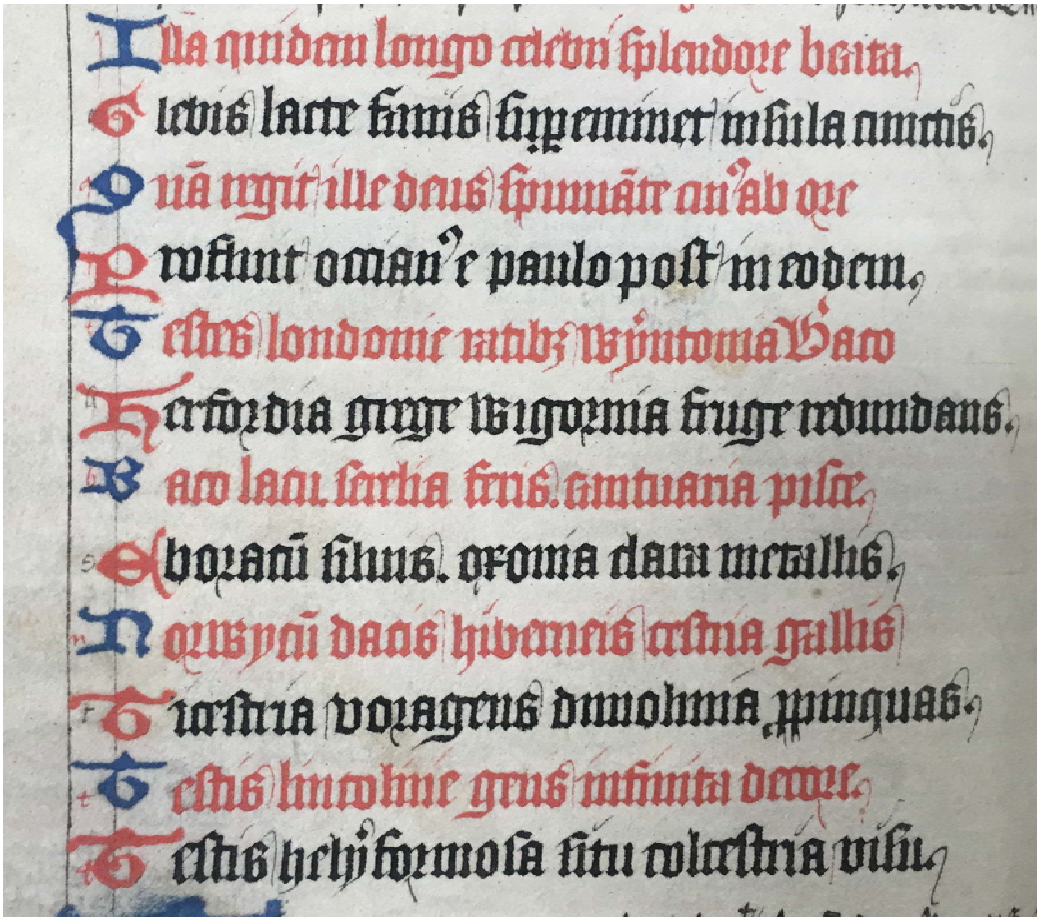


Figure 22: Latin passage in L *(f. 51^{v})*

H, on the other hand, uses a Bastard Secretary for Latin quotations of biblical passages, much in the same way as *T*. The two later manuscripts *T* and *H* thus exhibit a different practice than the early manuscript *L*. Did the scribe change his habit deliberately, to make a point about the status of the vernacular in Scriptural texts? It would perhaps be too great a supposition to draw more general conclusions, but this certainly opens thought-provoking perspectives on how the subject matter of a text might elevate its

language to the same level as Latin or, to put it in more general terms, on how the vernacular was perceived by the end of the fifteenth century.

The scribal pattern described so far only changes once, with the verse extract from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which appears on ff. 189^{r}–194^{v}. The hand is here noticeably smaller and the overall impression is so different from the rest of the manuscript that the *Late Medieval English Scribes* catalogue interprets this hand as that of a second scribe.[84] A closer look at the individual letter forms, however, reveals that most of the graphs are quite similar to those in the prose text. Differences in aspect may be explained by the use of a different, evidently much thinner pen. Moreover, the paper is here laid in a different direction, since unlike the rest of the manuscript, the verse passage uses the folio format. This means that the surface texture and fibre direction are different to the paper used for the prose text, which might also account for slight differences in handwriting. Overall, almost all letters are merely smaller versions of the ones appearing on the previous pages, with the same characteristic features (cf. Fig. 23; for comparison see Fig. 25). To give only a few examples, **e** has the same horned top, and the graphs for **l**, **v, w,** and short **s** are identical or extremely similar to those in the prose text. Moreover, long **s** has the same long, tapering descender which is almost always split in two. There is a display script used for phrases in Latin which, even though much smaller than previously, is a very similar Bastard Secretary with typical features like the horned **a** and Anglicana **g** (cf. Fig. 24).

[84] Mooney et al., *Late Medieval English Scribes* [last accessed 5 July 2019].

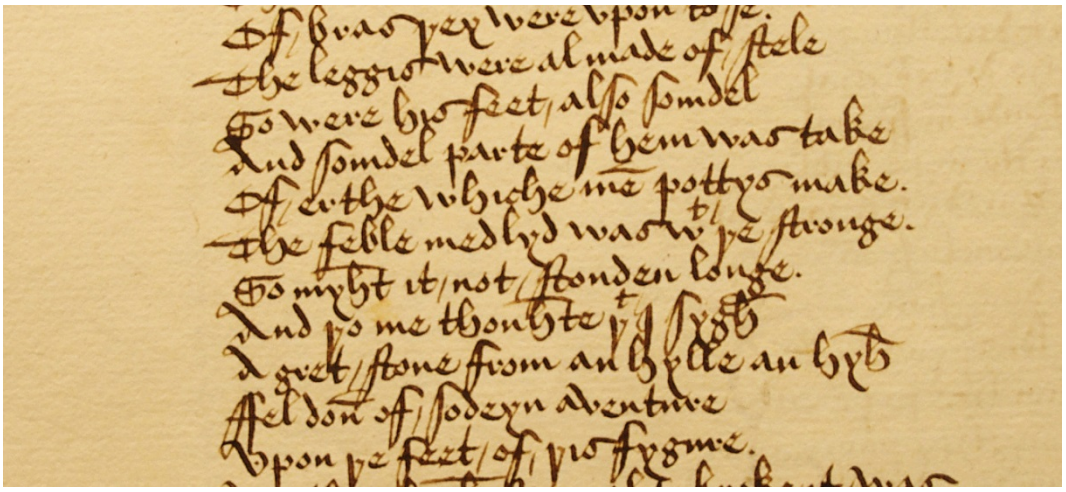


Figure 23: Hand on f. 189^{v}

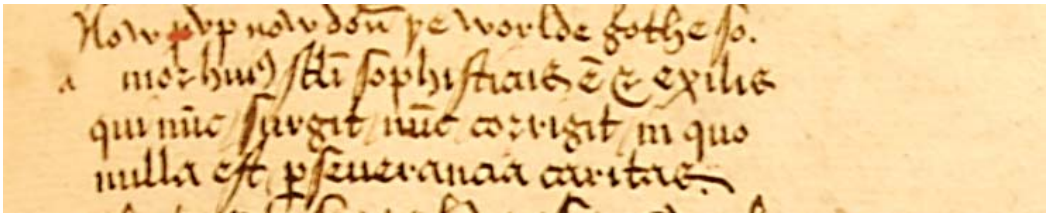


Figure 24: Hand on f. 189^{r}

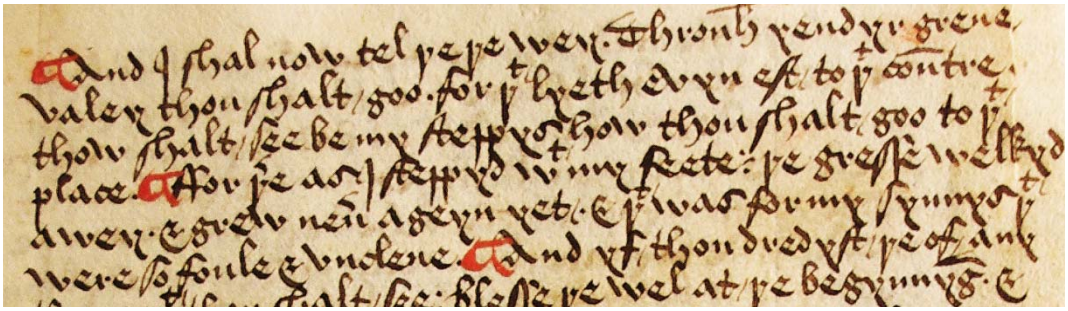


Figure 25: Hand on f. 8^{r}

A point which is also noted by *Late Medieval English Scribes* is that the running titles at the top of the page in the verse section are very clearly in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript (cf. Fig. 12; for comparison see Fig. 10).[85] The same applies to the marginal notes on ff. 190^{v} and 191^{r}. Even though no display script is used to mark individual names occurring in the verse, names are frequently underlined in red instead.

[85] Mooney et al., *Late Medieval English Scribes* [last accessed 5 July 2019].

The same pattern appears occasionally in the prose text where the scribe seems to have forgotten to use the display script at first and then, realising his error, provided the desired emphasis by means of underlining (f. 58^{v}, f. 59^{v}).[86] In other places, the scribe corrected himself by deleting a word in his more current script, and copying it a second time, this time in a display script (e.g. 'Myllesius', l. 3047).

The only letter forms in the verse which are noticeably different from the prose are **h,** and, to a certain extent, **y**. The latter frequently exhibits a much longer tail which is strikingly round and curved to the right. Even though **h** has the same large angular loop as its counterpart in the prose, its limb is strikingly round, sometimes curving so far to the left that it crosses the descender. Similar allographs of **h** do appear occasionally in the prose text as well (f. 173^{r}, l. 31; f. 177^{r}, l. 7), but they are much less frequent and usually have a less strongly curved descender. This suggests that this form of **h** was a part of the scribe's repertoire which he used on several occasions in the prose text, but it does not explain its predominance in the verse. The evidence may be somewhat puzzling, but to postulate a second scribe merely because of a few variant letters seems rather far-fetched. It is true that all of the similarities could be explained by uniform training in a scriptorium, but it is unlikely that such training could produce virtually identical letter forms to the degree that is visible in this manuscript. Assuming that it did would make it even more difficult to explain the forms of **h** and **y**, since it is even less probable that a climate which produced such a degree of uniformity would allow for such a noticeable quirk or sign of individuality.[87] The same line of argument holds true if we assume that the verse was written by a scribe meticulously imitating the main scribe's hand. It is unlikely that such an exact imitator would miss the rather obvious fact that his graphs for **y** and **h** – which are two relatively frequent letters – did

[86] On the scribe's treatment of the display script, see also Wakelin (2014: 178).
[87] For further detail on matched scribal hands (albeit in an earlier period), see Conner (2013).

not match up to the original. The most probable explanation is that the main scribe chose a different pen and a different form for **h** and **y** when writing the verse. The reason might have been a conscious artistic choice, the influence of the manuscript he was copying from, or the discontinuous process of copying verse, which involved stopping for a line break every few words and may have altered the execution of some letter-forms. At any rate, it reveals a certain distinction between the way the scribe perceived the verse as compared to the prose text.

The evidence to be gained from *L* further reinforces this hypothesis. The script used in this manuscript is generally very similar to that of the prose text of *T*, except for a few letter forms like the z-shaped **r** and the kidney-shaped **s** (the latter occurs very frequently at the end of words in *L*, but is virtually non-existent in *T*). However, what is striking about *L* is that we can find a number of allographs of **h** which exhibit the same features as the instances of **h** in the verse text in *T*, with the same characteristically round, curved tail (cf. Fig. 26, for comparison see Fig. 23 above). This again suggests that such variants of **h** were part of the scribe's repertoire, and leads to the conclusion that the verse text in *T* was written by the same scribe as the prose.

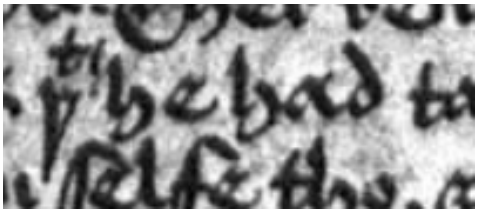


Figure 26: f. 192^{r}, l. 8

However, the matter turns out to be even more complex when we take into consideration the codicological evidence to be gained from *T*. The first leaf of the verse, f. 189^{r}, is at the same time the first occurrence of the folio format used in the construction of the manuscript. The central watermark is different from that found in the rest of the manuscript, and it only occurs in conjunction with the folio format and the

verse text, indicating that a different paper-stock was used here. This seems too meaningful a change not to be deliberate, especially since it is also accompanied by a change from pencil ruling to partial drypoint ruling. These changes are difficult to interpret. There are several different scenarios which might explain them. One possible explanation is that the leaves containing verse were added at a later stage to the manuscript when it was rebound. This, however, is unlikely, since f. 189^{r} is not the beginning of a new gathering. Moreover, the text immediately preceding the verse contains an unequivocal reference which makes it clear that the excerpt from 'Nebuchadnezzar's Dream' from the *Confessio Amantis* was meant to follow:

> Nabugodonosor, þe secounde yere of his kyngdom had a sweuen, and thouht þat he syh an ymage of iiij maner thyngis made, and was ful soore afeerde, whiche dreme is expounnyd here folwynge. (ll. 9038–9040)

It is unlikely that the co-occurrence of the verse with the change in paper format was part of an elaborate plan devised at the beginning of the writing process, since the manuscript's design does not seem rigid enough to make this possible. Not only do the line numbers vary from page to page, but interlineations, deletions and additions also suggest that the shape of the text was in a state of flux. A deliberate change in paper format and textual mode at this stage would have required a much more regular layout to guarantee that the excerpt from Gower would start precisely on f. 189^{r}.

However, even if the change is unlikely to have been part of the manuscript's design right from the beginning, it could have been a decision by the scribe during the process of copying. In that case, the folio format would have been chosen deliberately once the text had reached the intended point of transition from prose to verse. It is rather striking that the leaf immediately preceding the verse, f. 188^{v}, is the one containing the largest number of lines in the whole manuscript.[88] Consequently, the bottom margin is much smaller here than on other leaves. Moreover, in the last paragraph on the page the

[88] 39 lines; the average number of lines in the prose text is 35.

letters are more narrowly spaced than previously, leaving the impression that the scribe was anxious to fit a particular portion of the text onto this page. This would make perfect sense if the scribe knew that the verse would be following on the next leaf. In that case, he obviously would have tried to fit all of the preceding text, including the cataphoric reference mentioned above, onto this page.

All things considered, the most probable explanation is the last one. In this case, the leaves containing the excerpt from Gower were added to the quire deliberately at a point where they fitted into the main narrative. There is an additional argument supporting this theory: the arrangement of these leaves in the quire is symmetrical. That is to say, they are exactly three bifolia fitted into the middle of the quire. The following leaf, f. 195, continues the poem for 44 more lines, but the handwriting has gone back to its familiar 'prose' style, with bigger and thicker letters as well as letter forms for **h** with an only moderately curved descender (cf. Fig. 27). The 'prose' hand is used for 44 lines of verse before the text is actually continued as prose.

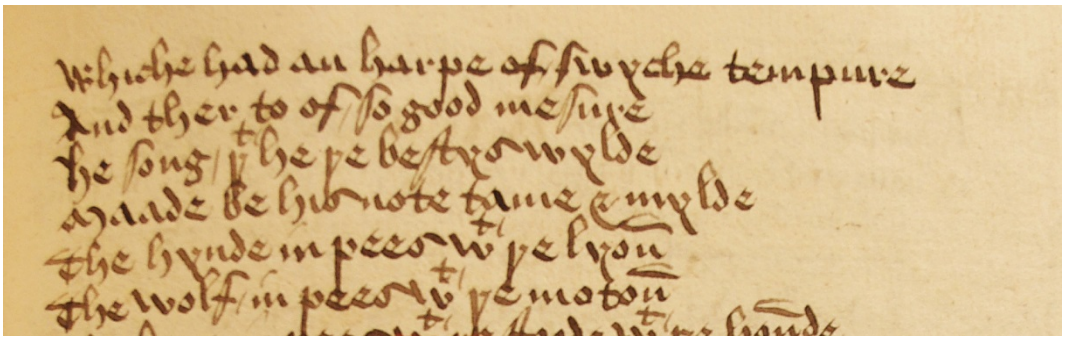


Figure 27: Hand in verse on f. 195^{r}

If these three bifolia were added at a convenient and logical point to the quire, then it is tempting to speculate whether the text on them was written at a different point in time, possibly even much earlier than the rest of *T*, though obviously not earlier than 1474–5, the *terminus post quem* suggested by the watermark. In that case, in the creation of the manuscript the scribe would have re-used material that had been written earlier. He

would subsequently have added certain lines of the poem (which were not contained in the earlier leaves) in the 'prose' hand which he used throughout the new manuscript. This would certainly help to explain the palaeographical differences in handwriting between ff. 194 and 195, as well as the differences in paper format, watermarks and ruling.

The question of how leaves 189^{r}–194^{v} came to be part of the manuscript is one of considerable significance, as it is relevant whether the scribe chose to recycle a poem copied earlier and under different circumstances, or whether he copied the manuscript pages in chronological order, deliberately changing the size and style of his handwriting. The latter could imply that either the compiler saw verse in general as a form vitally different from prose and underlined this distinction by visual means, or that it was Gower's poetry in particular which was to be emphasised in that way. However, as this analysis has demonstrated, the more probable case is that the poem was originally copied in a different context or for a different purpose and that the scribe subsequently added those leaves to *T* because he felt them to be significant for the narrative. The avoidance of waste may have been the reason why the leaves were re-used in this way. This means in turn that the visual emphasis on the verse by stanzas and wide margins is likely to have been a mere by-product of a pragmatic decision. The recycling of older material in the course of the production of the manuscript further supports the hypothesis that the scribe was the same person as the compiler, or that at least the scribe was expanding the compilation as he was copying it and was thus instrumental in creating the shape of the text we have today (discussed in detail below, Chapter V).

10 Abbreviations

The text uses a range of conventional abbreviations for the English text which will be discussed in due detail below (pp. 256–267). The abbreviations used in the verse are exactly the same as in the prose text, which further strengthens the argument that both parts were copied by the same scribe. The occasional Latin phrases contain only a few conventional abbreviations, for instance in <pon*er*et> (f. 8^{v}, l. 25), <p*re*dixit> (f. 8^{v}, l. 25), <mu*n*di> (f. 5, l. 25) and <morte*m*> (f. 8^{v}, l. 25).

The range of abbreviations in *L* and *H* is very similar to *T*, with some subtle differences (to be discussed below, pp. 266–268).

11 Punctuation[89]

As Kate Harris notes, punctuation in *T* is 'largely confined to the use of punctus, lemniscus, and paraph'.[90] The paraphs[91] generally seem to indicate a new thought or a new stage in the development of the narrative,[92] while punctūs appear at the end of sentences, but also frequently at the end of clauses and at the end of smaller units fulfilling discrete syntactical functions within the text (e.g. f. 9^{r}, l. 33: 'And also in this vale of Ebron. is a feelde. where men drawe oute of þe erthe. a thyng þat men calle **Cambille**'). They are often used to convey relevant syntactical information: for instance, defining and non-definining relative clauses tend to be distinguished by the presence or absence of the punctus: 'Than sawe he also a gresly syhte. an addyr raumpand. that was lothly to see. yede abouht þat fayre tre.' (f. 8^{r}, l. 35) vs. 'And than

[89] Transcriptions in this and the following two sections are diplomatic.
[90] Harris (1998: 169 n.6).
[91] I am following the terminology by Parkes (1992) and Petti (1977).
[92] This is a typical pattern of use for the paraph; see Parkes (1992: 44).

þe Au*n*gil toke **Seth** thre kernelys of þe same tree þat **Adam** ete of þe Apple' (f. 8^{v}, l. 26). The height of the punctus in relation to the line tends to be uniform on all leaves.

Harris's mention of lemniscus refers to the occurrence of the *punctus elevatus* or colon in the text, with the *punctus* and *virgula* separated by a semi-horizontal hairline (cf. Fig. 28). The colon often tends to indicate a temporal or causal succession of events in the text (e.g. f. 9^{r}, l. 3: 'And wha*n* **Seth** cam ageyn: he tolde his fadyr **Ada*m*** where he had been') or a clarification (f. 11^{v}, l. 33: 'That is to saye: Sethes sonnes. toke Caymes doughters. *and* begate **Geaun*n*tes**'), though this tendency is not true for all occurrences of the colon.



Figure 28: Colon (f. 8^{r}, l. 10)

It should be added that throughout the prose text, hyphens[93] are used to link syllables of words which are broken at the end of a line and continued in the next. This pattern is common in manuscripts since the late tenth century.[94]

The pattern according to which paraphs, colons and punctūs are employed in *L* and *H* is very similar to *T*. It can be observed that in general, punctuation is used more sparingly in the verse sections in *H* than in the prose.

12 Corrections

Minor corrections by the main scribe are frequent and occur throughout the manuscript.[95] All of the corrections appear to be self-corrections; there is no sign of

[93] Seymour (1997: 66) calls these signs *traits d'union*, and notes that medieval grammatical treatises use the term *semipunctus* or *virgula*.
[94] Ker (1957: xxxv).

supervision. Deletions are indicated by a strike through in red ink and include single letters and words (f. 1^{v}, l. 4), and occasionally even entire sentences (f. 209^{r}, ll. 1–2). Mostly, these deletions are due to misspellings or eye-skip during the process of copying. Corrections are usually inserted either on the main line or as interlineations.

Such minor corrections are to be distinguished from what might be actual revisions of the text. Occasionally, the scribe seems to have changed his mind about how to continue the text (cf. Fig. 29). This is further crucial evidence to suggest that the scribe and the compiler are one and the same person (see the discussion below, Chapter V).

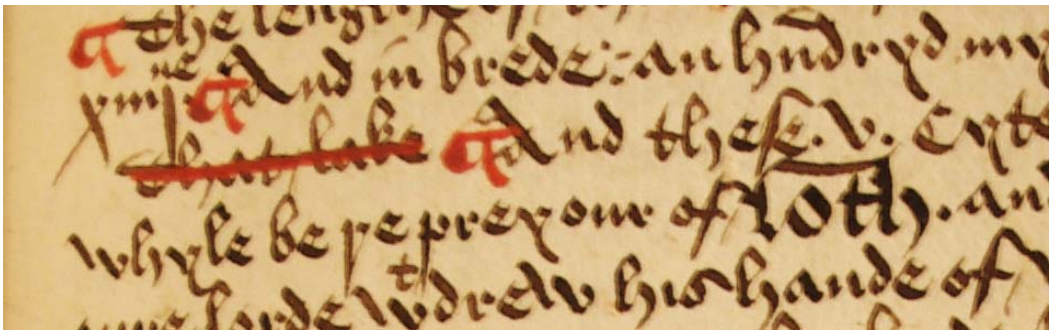


Figure 29: Correction on f. 85^{r}, l. 3

Revisions of the text often entail additions, which occur in several different ways. Where only single words are added, they are inserted as interlineations (f. 1^{v}, l. 4). Where a whole passage is added to the main text, it is written in the margins (f. 2^{r}). Sometimes, the point where a passage is to be inserted in the main text is indicated either by a red line (f. 19^{v}) (cf. Fig. 17 above) or by a *signe de renvoi* (f. 91^{v}). There are a few instances where *signes de renvoi* were added in the text and in the margins, but were not completed with the addition which they were presumably intended to indicate (f. 153^{r}).

[95] See the discussion of corrections in *T*, with comparison to similar behaviour by fifteenth-century scribes, in Wakelin (2014: 246–274).

Many of the correction and revision techniques employed in *L* and *H* are similar. We find numerous interlineations and marginal additions, sometimes marked by *signes de renvoi* or manicules. Since *L* is written on vellum rather than paper, techniques like scraping off or washing off text were also available, and the scribe made ample use of them, especially in the sections where earlier translations from the Latin *Polychronicon* were revised in the light of Caxton's text. The scribe was eager to fit in large chunks of the latter text, adding a great number of lines on pages where the previous text had been washed out, and adding separate slips where the text did not fit onto the main page. This practice points towards a scribe who is striving towards completeness in his text, possibly at the expense of neatness of page layout and design (see below, Chapter V).

13 Marginalia by later readers

In *T*, there is also evidence of corrections by later readers. On f. 14^{v}, a rather lengthy passage has been corrected by a hand which is subtly different from the scribe's, but is very good at imitating it (cf. Fig. 30).[96] It is a section which recounts how Noah curses his son Ham. The later corrector apparently noticed the contradiction to the account in Genesis 9:25–27, in which Noah is said to have cursed Ham's son Canaan, and deleted this passage, rewriting it with correct names in the margins.[97]

[96] The majority of letter-forms in this section are very similar to those of the main scribe's hand, with the exception of the Tironian *and,* and the ascenders of **l** and **h**. The letter-form for **a** looks like that used in the display script, rather than that of the more current script. Nonetheless, this is an astonishingly close imitation, and it is not impossible that this is a later correction by the compiler himself.
[97] Harris (1998: 175).

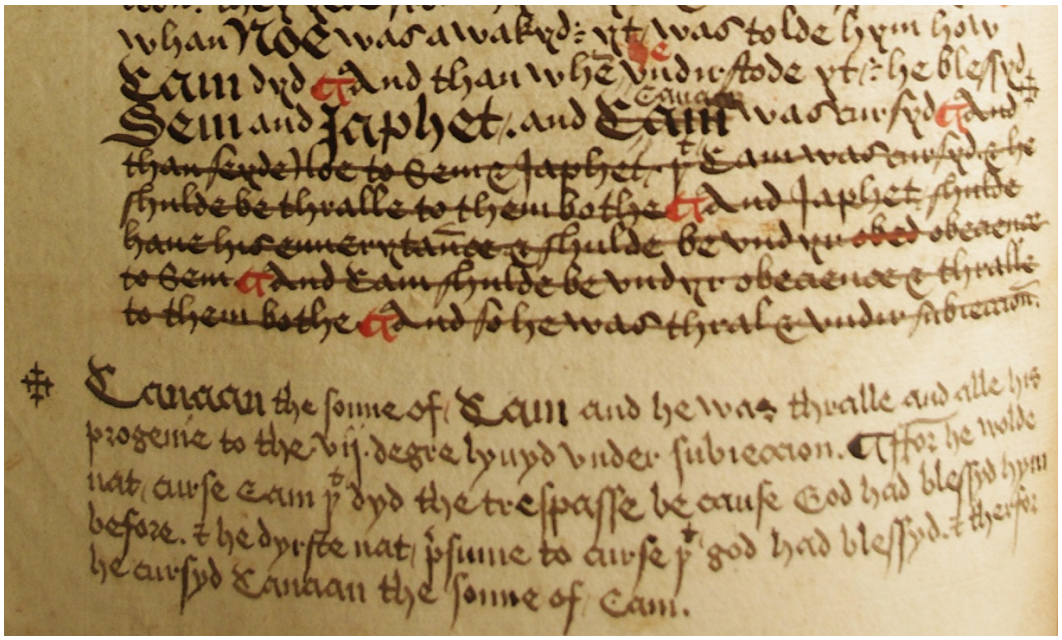


Figure 30: Correction in a different hand (f. 14^{v})

Shorter annotations occur on a number of leaves near the end of the manuscript, where a reader (possibly the same person as on f. 14^{v}), imitating the main scribe's hand, mentions a number of sins which are described in the main text (f. 175^{v}: 'manslawhter').

There are other marginalia in different hands as well. Most frequently, they contain only single letters, names or short phrases copied from the text, in a hand that is clearly trying to imitate the main scribe's style, as if to practise (cf. Fig. 22). These occur throughout the manuscript and are likely to have been written by the same hand, most likely in the sixteenth century.

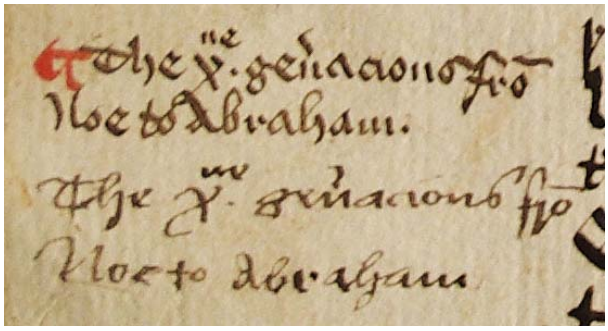


Figure 31: Marginalia on f. 15^{v}

Other jottings in the margins give some indications as to the early ownership of the manuscript. All of them seem to be by sixteenth-century readers. One of them mentions a Harry Hawkin of Great Dunmow, Essex[98] (f. 223^{v}: 'Be me hary havkyn dwellyng in Myche / Dvnmow in the Covnte of Essyx / dey dvnmove magna henricvs hawkyn'). Two other marginalia refer to one George Browne (f. 224^{v}: 'iste lyber G^{e}orge brovn'). Kate Harris records him as a priest of Little Dunmow,[99] on account of the marginal note on ff. 173^{r}, but this is very faded and extremely difficult to decipher. I read 'By me george […] owne of / lyttell […] e preste', and Mosser, who looked at the note under UV light, was no more successful.[100] Harris's identification of 'George Browne of Little Dunmow' is, however, a good suggestion which would fit well with the history of the manuscript. Another jotting on f. 130^{r} notes details about a debt which 'thomas cokkell of tyllyngeam / dothe owe vnto wyllyam hale of mawldon [?] in the counte of essex', with both place-names strengthening the evidence for an Essex provenance. There are two further marginal notes, in different hands which are virtually illegible (ff. 111^{r} and 145^{r}), and some doodles on ff. 112^{r}, 220^{v}, and 221^{r}.

Some evidence on f. 73^{r} offers insights into the manuscript's post-Reformation history, since references to the Pope have been meticulously scratched out (cf. Fig. 32). It is interesting that this has been done in a very discerning manner: only the word 'pope' itself seems to have been found objectionable, and a reference to him being the successor of Saint Peter, while neither the actual name of the pope nor the name of Saint Peter is scratched out, so that the context remains clearly intelligible: 'Then þe younger Philip herde þerof: and fledde and toke his faders tresour to Sixtus <…>' (ll. 6–8). Similarly, another sentence reads: 'Than þe grete **Constantine** made Constantynople.

[98] Coxe (1852: II (iv), 12–13) and Deanesly (1920: 332) erroneously claim that Harry Hawkin was the compiler of the entire history. Harris has 'Henry Hawkins', for reasons which are not clear.
[99] Harris (1993: 68).
[100] Mosser (2010) [last accessed 6 July 2019].

þe chyef Cyte of þe Empyre. *and* left Rome for to be chyef See of <…> seint Petres <…>‘ (ll. 14–17).

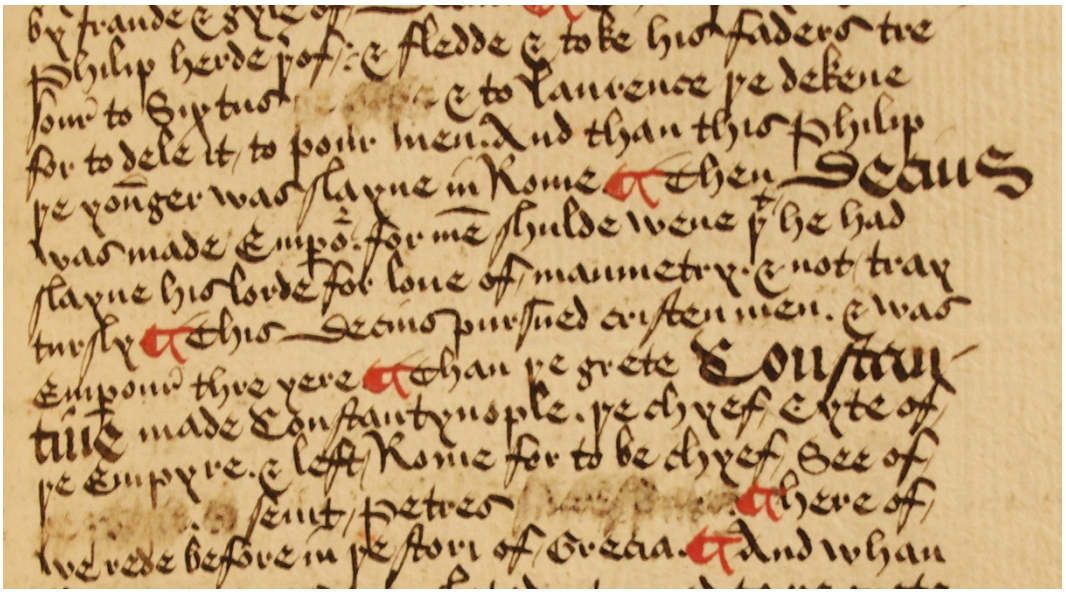


Figure 32: Deleted references to the pope (f. 73^{r})

14 Orthography

The occasional Latin sentences show typical features of medieval Latin, like the spelling <e> instead of <æ> in <celi> (f. 14^{r}, l. 15). The spelling of the vernacular is discussed in detail in Chapter VI. To give a brief overview, *thorn* appears throughout in abbreviated forms of <þ*er*e> (f. 48^{r}, l. 3), <þ*at*> (f. 48^{r}, l. 3), <oþ*er*> (f. 48^{r}, l. 23), and <neyþ*er*> (f. 4^{v}, l. 3), as well as in <þe> (f. 48^{r}, l. 1), while *yogh* occurs only occasionally, in different positions. In the majority of cases, <ȝ> indicates the sound [j], as in <ȝarde> (f. 164^{v}, l. 1). It also occurs in positions where the former palatal fricative has been lost, merely denoting a long vowel by the end of the fifteenth century,[101] as in <syȝ> (f. 8^{r}, l. 27). Other words which have lost a palatal fricative appear with the spelling <h> or <gh>, as in <knyht> (f. 125^{r}, l. 26) or <lyght> (f. 125^{r}, l. 16). *Yogh* also

[101] Brunner (1984: 388).

occurs very infrequently representing the sound [z], as in <Eleaȝar> (f. 106^{r}, l. 17), a practice introduced into England by Norman scribes.

Since in the second half of the fifteenth century <ȝ> was widely replaced by <gh>,[102] his use of this graph may show the scribe's conservatism. However, the infrequency of these spellings rather seems to indicate that the use of *yogh* in *T* is connected to its use in different exemplars. *Yogh* only very rarely occurs in sections copied from the *Polychronicon* (e.g. l. 1746), as Caxton does not use it, but it is more frequent in sections copied from some other source texts, specifically the *Confessio Amantis* (cf. ll. 7938–7969), the Holy Cross legend (ll. 7890–7893), and the sections based on the Vulgate, and possibly translated by the compiler himself (see below, pp. 99–115). This trend suggests that the use of *yogh* is connected to 'constrained selection' (see below, Chapter VI).[103]

15 Origin and provenance

Earlier descriptions have dated *T* to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century,[104] usually without mentioning any evidence to substantiate their claim. Since the text draws on Caxton's edition of John Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* (*STC* 13438), which was printed between the 2nd of July and the 8th of October 1482, it must have been copied after that date.[105] The use of parts of the text from de Worde's *Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe*, printed in 1500, seems to suggest a further *terminus post quem*, but for reasons which will be discussed below (pp. 152–154), it is likely that the exemplar was not the actual print but a version of the Latin text which might have circulated earlier.

[102] Stenroos (2007: 22).
[103] I am using the terminology of *LALME*, I, 19.
[104] Coxe (1852), Ogilvie-Thomson (1991), Pearsall (2004), Severs et al. (1989: VIII, 2662).
[105] Harris (1998: 168).

The use of the *Polychronicon* in *T* also makes it clear that *L* must be the earlier of the two manuscripts. While the scribe must have started the first phase of working on *L* before he had access to Caxton's translation, the second phase of the creation of *L* must have been begun after the publication of Caxton's edition of Trevisa in 1482, which gives us a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the manuscript. Matheson's analysis deduces from specific historical references in the original continuation to the *Brut* that the first stage is likely to have been finished in 1479.[106] Then, in or after 1482, the compiler revised his own translation in light of the printed work. It is thus certain that *L* was written, or at least started, earlier than *T*, since the compiler must have had access to a copy of Caxton's print by the time he started working on *T*. Fitting *H* into this chronology is more difficult. It is clear that *H* must be later than *L*, since this manuscript also makes use of Caxton's print. Whether *H* is earlier or later than *T*, however, is uncertain, especially in light of the fact that *H* may originally not have been intended as a single manuscript, but may be composed of three distinct parts (see above, p. 19). As discussed above, the watermarks as well as palaeographical criteria support a dating of *T* as well as *H* to the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century but they do not provide satisfactory evidence for more precise dating.

As to the place of the manuscript's production, Kate Harris has conjectured an origin in an Augustinian house in the South East.[107] The argument for this localisation derives primarily from the evidence of *H*. Manly and Rickert in their early description assumed a 'possible origin' of *H* in the priory of the Augustinian canons at Tandridge in Surrey, based on inscriptions by one 'John Skynner of farnham' on the inside of the

[106] Matheson dates the first stage of *L* to 1479, and the second stage to 1482 or thereafter. *L* contains a unique continuation of the Liber ultimus of the *Polychronicon*. Matheson's interpretation of the complex evidence of this continuation is that 'a list of Edward IV's children […] [on the last folio] suggests that the date of writing of that section of the text was 1478–79', and that 'that the concluding entries, rather vague in content, were added when the compiler revised the volume in or soon after 1482' (1998: 309).
[107] Harris (1993: 68–69).

front and back covers of that manuscript. They associated this John Skinner with a wealthy family called Skinner which appears in the records of Surrey from the time of Henry VI, and which is known to have had a tenement in Farnham. One John Skinner of this family is recorded as having been seneschal of the court of the Austin Canons of Tandridge.[108] This hypothesis was later strengthened when a parchment sewing strip inserted into the manuscript revealed a record of the names of several clerics who professed at the Augustinian priory of Bisham Montague in Berkshire, also referred to as Bustlesham:[109] 'monasterii sancte trinitatis de Bustlesham Montagu ordinis sancti Sar. diocesis' (strip between ff. 63–64).[110] Another strip contains part of an account entry: 'Item caro de busth. vi d.' (strip between ff. 118–119). At first glance, the strip between ff. 16–17 containing a *memoria* for a priest saying mass seems to contradict this localisation, since it mentions one 'frater Iohannes monachus sacerdos et professus monasterii sancti Cuthberti ordinis sancti benedicti'. However, the fact that the full form is used to refer to Brother John's monastery has been interpreted as suggesting that he must have been of a different religious house than that where the note was written,[111] and thus, that *H* (and *T*) did *not* originate from that Benedictine monastery of St Cuthbert (possibly Durham).[112] This theory has proved so attractive that other scholars have taken a 'late provenance [from] the Augustinian priory of Bisham Montague' for granted.[113] Bisham Montague is quite close to Tandridge, which provides a possible link to John Skinner and makes it plausible that *T* might also originate from the same area. It is important to note, however, that *H* is the only manuscript containing such evidence, and that this theory, albeit plausible, is not without flaws (as it is not unlikely that there

[108] Manly and Rickert (1940: I, 293–294).
[109] Brayley et al. (1841: 186).
[110] Dutschke (1989: I, 202).
[111] Dutschke (1989: I, 202).
[112] Kate Harris here misinterprets the evidence and confuses two inscriptions with each other– 'Bisham Montague […] is given its full title' (1993: 69).
[113] Pouzet (2010: 17).

would be more than one person named John Skinner in Farnham, and although Bustlesham and Tandridge may have been in the same area, they were not one and the same priory). In any case, the Augustinian connection is noteworthy, and will recur in the discussion in Chapter V below.

The evidence to be gained from *T* itself is rather slim. There is an unusual insertion into a passage from the *Polychronicon* (f. 53^{v}, l. 28), which adds a reference to Saint Albans and Dunstable which is not in the original source – and it was not unusual for monastic writers to add references of this type to their books. While the text refers explicitly to Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, the evidence from *H* would point to Berkshire or Surrey. The places are not, of course, very far apart, and an Augustinian canon living in Berkshire might well have been familiar with the geographical features of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. It is also worth noting that there was a large Augustinian priory in Dunstable, and several Augustinian houses in Hertfordshire close to Saint Albans (such as Wormley Priory).[114]

Overall, the evidence is not conclusive, but it seems to point to an origin in the general area of the South East of England. The linguistic evidence strengthens this hypothesis, as will be shown in a separate chapter below. At any rate, a connection with an Augustinian house as suggested by *H* opens interesting perspectives on the entire compilation (to be discussed further in Chapter V), although a comparison of the contents of the libraries of Augustinian houses known to us with the source texts contained in *T* did not yield any striking similarities.[115]

Of the later ownership of *T*, nothing is known except the names of those sixteenth-century owners who chose to note their own names down in the margins. As

[114] *British History Online* (1904), <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/beds/vol1/pp371-377> [last accessed 14 August 2019], and *British History Online* (1912), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/herts/vol3/pp487-490> [last accessed 14 August 2019].
[115] Webber and Watson (1998).

pointed out above (pp. 53–55), these marginalia refer to Great Dunmow, Tillingham, and Maldon, and we can say with some certainty that the manuscript was circulated in the Essex area in the sixteenth century, before it was acquired by John Gibbon of Bethersden, Kent, who, according to a note on the first flyleaf, gave the manuscript to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1629 ('Liber Coll. Scae. et indiuiduae Trinitatis Oxon. Ex dono Johannis Gibbon Generosi et convictoris in hoc ipso collegio Anno 1629°'). The records of Trinity College, Oxford, indicate that John Gibbon was a gentleman's son who came up in 1628 and left the college in 1631.[116] According to the Library Benefactors' Book, he gave four volumes in total to Trinity – apart from *T* (which is recorded in the Benefactors' Book as 'Vitas Patriarcharum MS'), these were a version of the *Brut* (now known as Oxford, Trinity College, MS 5),[117] a volume of Latin lives of Sts Paul, Anthony, Abraham, and Francis (Oxford, Trinity College, MS 48), and a printed version of the collected works of Thomas More.[118] None of these other manuscripts show an obvious textual connection with *T*, but the inclusion of another vernacular history may reveal a distinct interest in history writing by this collector.

16 Binding

The volume is sewn on five thongs and has a brown calf leather binding, decorated with fleurons and a gilt book-stamp of the crest of Trinity College on the front and back covers. Therefore, the manuscript must have been rebound at some point after 1629 when it was given to Trinity College. It is likely that the flyleaves as well as the

[116] This is indicated by the payments of caution money (a deposit against damages) which Gibbon made to the college, as recorded in Trinity College, Accounts III/C/1 ff 261r and 301d.
[117] There seems to be no connection between this copy of the *Brut* and *L*. Matheson categorises the two texts as two different versions belonging to separate textual groups (1998: 191–192; 309–311).
[118] I am grateful to the Clare Hopkins, Trinity College archivist, and Sharon Cure, Trinity College librarian, for their help in locating and accessing these records.

endleaves in Early Modern paper were added during this rebinding. According to Richard Gameson, the binding is in 's. xviii panelled style, probably by Sedgley'.[119]

17 Secundo folio

'þe woman in lyknesse'

[119] Gameson (2018: 219).

Chapter II Method of compilation (with special reference to *Polychronicon*)

The following three chapters discuss in detail the sources used by the compiler, and the function they serve within the compilation. Source texts which are not widely known are accompanied by a brief overview of their key features and textual tradition. Each source text is analysed in a separate section, whilst the concluding thoughts at the end of Chapter IV examine the texts in relation to each other and offer an interpretation of their significance within the compilation as a whole. The present chapter analyses in detail the most sizeably excerpted source text, Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon*, and the compiler's method in copying from this source, whilst the following two chapters cover other sources which the compiler weaves into the material from the *Polychronicon*: biblical sources (Chapter III) and other minor sources (Chapter IV).

The description in Chapter I has highlighted the wide variety of sources to which the compiler-scribe had recourse. The current chapter takes a closer look at methods of compilation and copying which can be observed in *T*, based on a collation of the source texts with the version contained in *T*. For obvious reasons, the exact shape of the source text can most easily be identified where the source is a printed text; therefore the excerpts from the *Polychronicon* – which constitute the largest part of the text in *T* – form the basis of the following analysis. The working assumption so far has been that Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon* was the exemplar used by the compiler. This chapter first outlines the reasons for this claim at greater length, before focussing on details of compilatory method.

1 *Polychronicon*: Textual history and function in *T*

The *Polychronicon* is the most frequently and sizeably excerpted source of *T*, functioning as a 'framework'[120] for the history of the world. There are more than 250 excerpts in *T*, ranging from a few words to long sections spanning several pages, with the compiler copying large parts of Books I, II, and III. A great portion of the first part of *T* is taken up with a description of the world copied almost exclusively from the *Polychronicon*, and large sections of historical material relating to a wide range of events, places, and people, also have the *Polychronicon* as their source. In many cases, Higden's history provides a framework into which smaller passages from other sources are inserted to provide additional information and detail. Both *T* and the *Polychronicon* follow the same chronology based on the six ages of the world, and both texts share a wide-ranging interest in different regions and cultures. The *Polychronicon*'s attention to chronologies and different languages is also echoed in *T*.

The compiler of *T* is not alone in finding this source text of great interest. The *Polychronicon,* a fourteenth-century universal history originally compiled by the Benedictine monk Ranulph Higden at St. Werburgh's, was one of the most popular historical works of medieval England, used as a source of information by a great number of medieval writers.[121] Arranged in seven books, the chronicle contains a geographical description of the world in Book I and an exhaustive historical account in Books II–VII following the six ages of the world, which includes the creation of man, Old Testament history, the history of great ancient kingdoms such as Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and finally the birth of Christ and the subsequent Christianisation of the Roman Empire. The last two books are concerned specifically with the history of

[120] Harris (1983: 32).
[121] Severs et al. (1989: VIII, 2657).

Britain and are heavily indebted to Geoffrey of Monmouth's account.[122] The chronicle ends with the author's own times, although, as John Taylor points out, 'Higden had little to say about the century in which he lived. It is clear […] that his interest lay in the earlier centuries.'[123] What is striking about Higden's work is that 'unlike previous monastic chronicles, […] [it] included extensive attention to pre-Christian culture',[124] as well as the fact that the work lays an unprecedented emphasis on the compiler's own opinions, which tend to be explicitly marked in the manuscripts, using the abbreviation 'R' for 'Ranulphus'.[125] Higden's original Latin version is extant in nearly 150 manuscripts,[126] one of them an autograph.[127] The great number of copies, and the high quality of most of these copies indicate that the text was highly valued by its medieval audience.[128] Part of the reason why the work proved to be so popular may have been the sheer abundance of information it contained on a wide range of subjects. Taylor describes Higden as 'an omnivorous reader',[129] who was familiar with a remarkably large number of works and genres, which range from scientific writings to homiletic literature.

Given the chronicle's popularity, it is hardly surprising that it attracted the attention of several translators. A fifteenth-century translation is preserved in British Library, MS Harley 2261, and partial translations are contained in British Library, MS Harley 4011, Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS. 1.4.6., and Bodleian Library, MS

[122] Taylor (1966: 44).
[123] Taylor (1966: 45).
[124] Galloway (1999: 275).
[125] Galloway (1999: 275); Beal (2012: 91–92).
[126] There are 148 extant complete and partial copies of the Latin text. Lists of manuscripts have appeared in Taylor (1966: 152–159); Edwards (1978: 2); Dennison and Rogers (2002), and Edwards and Freeman (2016). The unpublished PhD dissertation by Freeman (2013) contains the most recent attempt to compile a complete list of manuscripts. I am grateful to Dr Freeman for sharing his research with me.
[127] San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 132.
[128] Edwards (1980: 113).
[129] Taylor (1966: 46).

Lyell 34.1.[130] However, the most widely used Middle English translation was by the prolific translator John Trevisa, a work which was completed in 1387 at the request of Trevisa's patron Sir Thomas Berkeley.[131] It has been noted that Trevisa expanded Higden's already very wide-ranging compendium by adding information from other sources, for instance from his own translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's natural encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum*.[132] Trevisa also adds frequent explanatory notes and comments on Hidgen's text,[133] some of which are copied by the compiler in *T* (see below, p. 83). Scholars have disagreed as to the merits of Trevisa's translation and his proficiency in Latin,[134] and overall Trevisa's translations still remain an under-researched topic.[135]

The source used by the compiler of *T* is the 1482 print of Trevisa's translation by Caxton (*STC* 13438) in modernised language.[136] According to Caxton, the updated language of his print is a result of his own efforts – as he claims, to 'haue endeuoyred me to wryte fyrst ouer all the sayd book of proloconycon, and somwhat haue chaunged the rude and old englyssh [of Trevisa's translation]'.[137] According to Lister Matheson, Caxton's precise source text is not known,[138] but those scholars who have worked on the relationship of the manuscripts of Trevisa's text have found that of all the extant

[130] Edwards (1978: 3). Edwards (1980: 113–114) also mentions independent earlier translations of the geographical material from the *Polychronicon* in British Library, MS Harley 4011, and Cleveland Public Library, MS W q091.92-C468 (A).
[131] Severs et al. (1989: 2656). On Sir Thomas Berkeley's patronage, see Hanna (1989). On Trevisa's possible involvement in the Wycliffite Bible, see Taylor (1966); Waldron (1988); Fowler (1993); Fowler (1995). On Trevisa's translation technique, see Waldron (1988: 189–190).
[132] Steiner (2015: 76).
[133] Fowler (1995: 178).
[134] See, for instance, Babington and Lumby's verdict that '[i]t must be owned that Trevisa has occasionally fallen into the most ludicrous errors […]. It is impossible not to perceive that Higden's scholarship is very far superior to that of his translator' (eds. 1865–1886: I, lix–lxi), while Lawler (1983: 267) finds the translation 'surprisingly fluent and competent […], accurate, intelligible, and idiomatic'.
[135] A welcome step to alleviate this dearth of scholarship is Jane Beal's study on Trevisa (2012).
[136] Edwards (1986: 143). The text was printed again by de Worde in 1495 (*STC* 13439) and by Treveris in 1527 (*STC* 13440).
[137] Quoted in Matheson (1985a: 601). For an evalutation of this statement, see Hellinga (2010: 109).
[138] Matheson (1985a: 601).

versions, Caxton's text is closest to the version in Bodleian Library, MS Harley 1900, although opinions differ as to the exact nature of this relationship.[139]

Kate Harris notes that the excerpts from the *Polychronicon* contained in *T* use Caxton's edition as a source text,[140] without a more detailed analysis to substantiate this claim. She also points out that the same source is behind the *Polychronicon* excerpts in *H*.[141] Indeed, my own collation revealed that the *Polychronicon* passages in *T* show many marked similarities with Caxton's text,[142] and that many unique variants which appear in Caxton also appear in the manuscript. For instance, Caxton has the variant 'helthful' (Book II, ch. 6, xix^{v}), as opposed to 'heleful' in a number of manuscripts, among them Cambridge, St John's College, MS H. 1,[143] and *T* follows Caxton's version here ('heltheful', l. 769). Likewise, both *T* (l. 1195) and Caxton have 'the see' (I, 13, xv^{v}) where Cambridge, St John's College, MS H. 1 has 'Parthia'.[144]

As the analysis on pp. 241–251 demonstrates, many passages in *T* are strikingly similar to Caxton's text and only show minute differences, but in other places the versions differ more substantially. It is, of course, conceivable that it is not the print version which was the exemplar used for *T* but that the scribe used another source closely related to Caxton's version, which already contained additions and paraphrases of the kind observed in Chapter VI. However, as the analysis of the general characteristics of *T* in the rest of this chapter shows, changes of this type occur consistently throughout *T* in conjunction with a range of different sources, and therefore must have been part of an overarching design by the same compiler. Typically, the text of *T* changes the order of sections from the *Polychronicon*, jumping back and forth

[139] Compare the stemmas in Cawley (1937–1939: 479) (who knew only 7 manuscripts of Trevisa's translation), Taylor (1966: 139), and Waldron (ed. 2004: xxiii).
[140] Harris (1998: 168).
[141] Harris (1983: 32).
[142] This is also noted by Blake (1989: 424) and Wakelin (2014: 175–177).
[143] Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: II, 239).
[144] Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: I, 93).

within a single chapter as well as between different chapters, in order to create a narrative which sometimes has a more strictly chronological sequence than the *Polychronicon* itself, and which tends to omit excessively abundant information. For instance, in the section dealing with the location and properties of earthly paradise, Caxton's text expands in an argumentative manner on what 'shorte wytted men' (xiij^{v}) believe of earthly paradise, explaining why these beliefs cannot possibly be true. *T* omits these arguments and continues instead with the next section in the *Polychronicon*, which details what 'wyse men conclewdeth' (ll. 551ff.). Such textual strategies are very much in keeping with the nature of the compilation as a whole, which tends to collect relevant information on a specific topic from various sources, before moving on to the next item in the chronology. The changes to the text of the *Polychronicon* look very much like the work of the same person who compiled the entire history. It is highly likely that this person's exemplar was Caxton's print, as collation reveals that amongst all extant versions of Trevisa's translation, Caxton's print is closest to the text of *T*. What is more, there are several small mistakes in *T* which seem to stem from a printed exemplar. For instance, in l. 729, *T* has 'Ysidorus, libro ij', while Caxton has 'libro 5' (lxxviij^{r}). A possible reason for this change is obvious from the print, since the number 5 in Caxton's type can very easily be mistaken for the Roman numeral 'ij' (cf. Fig. 33).

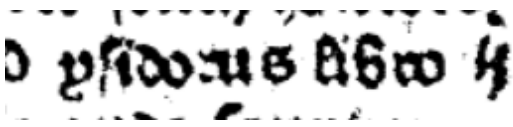


Figure 33: Detail of f. lxxviij^{r} of Caxton's print

This does not prove beyond any doubt that Caxton's print was the exemplar used, since a similarly ambiguous number could theoretically appear in a manuscript source as well, but it does strongly point to this conclusion. What is more, the evidence of the Brut chronicle manuscript *L* shows very clearly that the scribe had access to a copy of Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon*, and that in this earlier manuscript he used it to

revise his own earlier translation of the *Polychronicon* from the Latin (cf. p. 10). It is therefore very likely that the exemplar used for *T* was Caxton's print.

Consequently, the version in *T* is compared to Caxton's print in my analysis. The only full edition of the *Polychronicon* is the nineteenth-century Rolls Series edition by Babington and Lumby. This is an unsatisfactory edition based upon a single manuscript, with partial collation of only three other manuscripts, while now at least fourteen complete manuscript copies are known to exist, along with several printed editions.[145] A modern, updated edition of the rest of the *Polychronicon* remains a *desideratum*. Since Babington and Lumby's edition is too unreliable to provide a sufficient point of comparison, references in my analysis and commentary are made directly to the print.[146]

2 Changes to the source texts

Changes to the source texts in *T* can be broadly categorised into additions, substitutions (where one word is replaced by another), and omissions. In general, the manner in which excerpts from the *Polychronicon* are used varies between very close copying, and interacting with the source text a lot more freely. In the former case, the source text is copied extremely faithfully, with very few additions or omissions. Such a case can be found in the section describing the region of Judea, ll. 1235–1342. Two short excerpts from this lengthy passage in *T* are juxtaposed with Caxton's text below, and are quoted at length to give a flavour of how closely the compiler adheres to his exemplar:

[145] See the list of manuscripts in Waldron (1990). There is a more recent edition of Book VI by Waldron (ed. 2004).
[146] Images of a copy of the print are available digitally on *EEBO*.

Caxton[147]
[xvj^{v}–xvij^{r}]
De Regione Iudee. Capitulum 14
IVdea is a kyngdom of Siria, a partye of Palestina, and hath the name of Iudas,
Iacobs sone, and was somtyme called
Cananea of Cham, Noes sone, eyther of the ten maner of peple that the Iewes put out of that londe.
Petrus. Iudea is taken in many manere, otherwhile for the Londe of Biheste.
And thenne it hath the name of the Iewes and of Iudas. And so it is taken in this speche.
The grete Pompeus made Iudea trybutaryes. And otherwhyle it is taken for the Royamme of Iuda. And so it is wreton of Ioseph, that whan he herde that Archelaus regned in Iudea, he drad for to goo thyder.
And somtyme it is taken only for the lotte of the lygnage of Iudas. And so speketh holy wrytte and sayth, "Iudea and Iherusalem, drede ye not."
[…]
[xvij$^{r–v}$]
Ysydorus libro quinto, Capitulo primo. The Iewes seyn that Sem, Noes sone, that is named Melchisedech also, made and buylded the cyte Iherusalem after Noes flood and called it Salem. But afterward a people that were called Iebusey dwellyd therinne and named it Iebus. So of thylke two names Iebus and Salem is made one name, Iherusalem Afterward Salamon called that cyte Iherosolyma. And poetes that speken shortly callen the cyte Solyma in her short speche.

T
[ll. 1235–1246]
De regione Iudee.
Iudea is a kyngdom of **Siria** and a partye of **Palestina,** and hathe þe name of **Iudas,** Iacobs sonne, and was som tyme called **Cananea** of **Cham,** Noes sone, eyþer of þe ten maner of peple þat the Iewes put oute of þat londe þat come of þe generacion of Cham. **Petrus. Iudea** is taken in dyuers maner, otherwhile for þe Londe of **Bihest,** and than it hath þe name of þe **Iewes** and of **Iudas,** and so it is taken in this speche.
The grete **Pompeus** made **Iudea** trybutaryes. And otherwhile it is taken for þe royamme of **Iuda.** And so it is writtyn of **Ioseph,** that whan he herde that **Archelaus** regned in Iudea, he drad for to goo thedyr.
And some tyme it is take for þe lotte of **Iudas.** And so seithe holy wrytte thus, "**Iudea** and **Ierusalem,** drede ye not."

[…]
[ll. 1269–1276]
Ysidorus, libro v^{o}, capitulo primo, seith how þe Iewes seyn þat **Sem,** Noes sone þat is named **Melchisedech** also, made and buylded þe cyte **Ierusalem** aftyr Noes floode and callyd yt **Salem.** But afterward a peple þat were callyd **Iebusey** dwellyd þerin and named it **Iebus.** So of tho two names Iebus and Salem is made one name, **Ierusalem.** Aftyrwarde **Salamon** called þat cyte **Iherosolyma.** And poetes þat speken shortly cal þe cyte **Solyma** in her short speche.

There are only few differences between this section in Caxton's print and *T*. Apart from occasional changes to function words, what is particularly noteworthy is the replacing of numbers, which are often spelt out in Caxton, by Roman numerals in *T*, e.g.

[147] Caxton's text of the *Polychronicon* is transcribed here from the 1482 print (*STC* 13438, available on *EEBO*). The transcriptions in this and all following sections use modernised punctuation and capitalisaton to allow for an easy comparison with the editon of *T*. Paraphs are not displayed here, and abbreviations have been silently expanded.

'Ysidorus, libro v^{o}, capitulo primo' (ll. 1269–1270) for 'Ysydorus libro quinto Capitulo primo' (xvij^{r}). This reference to Isidore is followed in Caxton by a new sentence beginning 'The Iewes seyn', whilst *T* makes the relation between authoritative reference and content even clearer by connecting them with a verb: 'seith how þe Iewes seyn' (l. 1270). Other differences between the two versions include minor spelling variants, such as 'thedyr' (l. 1245) instead of 'thyder' (xvij^{r}), or, later on in this section, 'behedyd' (l. 1340) instead of 'byheded' (xviij^{r}). However, it is noticeable that less common words such as foreign place names, for which one would typically expect greater variation, are almost always copied exactly as they stand in Caxton (e.g. 'Iherosolyma', l. 1275; 'Gethsamany', l. 1335; 'Bethphage', l. 1335). In other words, the text of *T* only shows minor spelling variation of the sort which is indicative of typical dialectal variation in a process where the scribe remembered smaller portions of the source text rather than copying it letter by letter,[148] but the text also suggests that the scribe was careful to copy difficult and unfamiliar words precisely,[149] probably by slowing down the copying speed to a letter-by-letter basis wherever such words occured.

The only more substantial change in the section on Judea occurs in ll. 1239–1240, where the noun phrase 'þe ten maner of peple þat the Iewes put oute of þat londe' is supplemented by the addition 'þat come of þe generacion of Cham', which is not in Caxton's print. This refers back to previous sections of *T* in which the sin of Ham and his punishment are elaborated upon (cf. especially ll. 862–868), and subtly activates the reader's memory of what he has read before. This creates a connection between different sections across a large number of pages. Such references can be found

[148] As detailed and visualised by Vinaver (1939: 353). See also Chaytor (1945: 14), Dain (1975: 40–46), and Benskin and Laing (1981), who emphasise the auditory element of scribal memory. When copying verse, scribes may have memorised one line at a time (as suggested by Windeatt (1998: 39)), but in the case of prose it is more difficult to say what would have been the norm.

[149] Beadle (2013) and Wakelin (2014: 43–70) find a similar scribal concern with accurate copying when comparing exemplars and direct copies.

throughout *T*, imbuing the text with a sense of unity and cohesion, and are signs of a deliberate authorial strategy. Sometimes these references repeat certain key pieces of information, as in the example above, and even more clearly and extensively in an addition on Lacedaemonia in ll. 10211–10213, 'This Lacedomonia is a prouynce of Grece, and these were tho þat her wyves grucchyd and complayned of her husbondys for beyng longe from home. Herof it spekyth more before in þe kyngdom of **Macedoni'**. This addition is found in the middle of a section copied from the *Polychronicon*, III, 14 (cxxvij^{v}–cxxviij$^{r–v}$), and is inserted after Lacedaemonia has been mentioned in a different context. Not only does this reference provide the reader with a helpful reminder of certain key facts about this region, but it also explicitly points him towards an earlier section – the chapter on Macedonia – where more information can be found. Many other references in *T* follow a similar pattern and refer back and forth within the text explicitly, such as, 'as it is aforsayde rehersyd' (ll. 6345–6346) or 'Belus sonne, kyng of Assirie, of whom þe chapiter beganne' (ll. 3998–3999). A good portion of these intratextual references contain detailed pointers to where in the text the relevant information can be found, like 'as we rede before in þe next lefe' (ll. 4849–4850) and 'We may loke more herfor before in þe latter lefe of þe reyne of Thare' (ll. 8573–8574), with some references even showing evidence of the compiler-scribe having diligently counted the manuscript leaves in order to provide his reader with an exact reference: 'Yf ye wyl knowe þe comodytees and maruels of Egipte, rede þe chapiter of **Egipte** in þe xxxviij lefe beforn' (ll. 3389–3391). In manuscript culture, it is highly unusual for an author to cite by leaf, as later copies could not be expected to have the text identically disposed on leaves.[150] This suggests that the compiler did not envisage any further

[150] For a discussion of the difficulties of foliation in manuscript culture, see Smith (1988: 60). A more general discussion of typical referencing strategies in compilations can be found in Hasenohr (1990) and Blair (2010; see especially Chapter 3, though with a focus on early modern texts), again indicating that the strategy used in *T* is highly unusual for the period.

copying and circulation of his text beyond a single copy,[151] or, perhaps, that he expected any further copying to be undertaken by himself, or a similarly diligent scribe who would adjust such references to individual leaves accordingly.[152] In any case, such finding aids indicate that the compiler-scribe had a very clear plan about what to include in his history and in what form to present it. Sections from the source texts are deliberately chosen for their relevance, and their relation to other sections is made clear through explicit references. Oftentimes these references are original additions and cannot be found in any of the source texts. In other places, however, cross-references which do occur in the source texts are adapted to the requirements of *T*. For instance, the sentence 'Loke more herof in þe reyne of Nachor in þe begynnyng of þe chapiter of Grece at Lacedemonia' (ll. 8580–8581) is adapted from Caxton's *Polychronicon*, which here has 'Loke more herof in the firste book capitulo grecia scilicet lacedomonia' (cviij^{v}). The compiler-scribe evidently rewrote this reference into a format suitable for the new text, firstly by rendering the reference in English instead of Latin, secondly by making it more precise by adding 'in þe begynnyng', and thirdly by adding information which is applicable specifically to the structure of *T* and its use of running headings –'in þe reyne of Nachor', instead of 'the firste book' of the *Polychronicon*. This shows an awareness of and close attention to the requirements of the new text which the compiler-scribe was creating. The total number of intratextual references in *T* is more than sixty, the majority of which are original additions by the compiler, indicating that they are part of a systematic and reader-friendly design. Such devices of textual referencing show that *T*, albeit composed of a very large number of individual sections from a range of sources, is not a collection of passages but a unified, cohesive new text.

[151] This is the conclusion suggested by Harris (1993: 69). In this respect, the manuscript is somewhat similar to other medieval miscellanies with a limited circulation, often containing a variety of technical, legal, practical, and spiritual texts (cf. Connolly (2011: 143–144)).

[152] For a discussion of the implications of this evidence for audience and use of the text, see below, Chapter V.

There is evidence of further strategies employed in *T* to establish cohesion, especially at points of transition from one source text to another. For instance, a section discussing pity in ll. 6526–6532, which is copied from the *Book of Good Manners* III, 1 (218^{r}),[153] is followed by a summary of this passage which is not in any of the source texts and thus likely to be an original addition by the compiler: 'And so was kyng **Alysaundre** mercyful and had pyte of þe wymmen whan he was answeryd to resoun, as before is rehersyd.' (ll. 6532–6533). This added summary of the preceding section is then followed by a section on the reign of Jair (from l. 6534 onward), which is copied from the *Polychronicon* II, 2 (lxxxxvij^{v}). However, this material from the *Polychronicon* is preceded by the addition 'Aftyr þe dethe of Thola' (l. 6534) before launching into details of Jair's time as judge. This addition establishes a connection to another section from the *Polychronicon* several leaves earlier, a passage discussing judge Tola (from l. 6351 onward). This connection with the earlier passage may otherwise not have been immediately clear to the reader – after all, the pages immediately preceding the section on Jair are dedicated to a discussion of the virtue of pity and are copied from a different source, the *Book of Good Manners*. Thus, some of the additions in *T* serve the purpose of making the transition between different source texts smoother by clarifying and summarising information, and connecting otherwise disparate sections to each other. Occasionally, such transition passages are even uttered in a first-person authorial voice. For instance, ll. 6901–6903, which create a transition between exegetical material based on 1 Sam 5:1–4 and a section on covetousness from the *Book of Good Manners* III, 1 (212^{r}), are spoken by a first-person narrator or, more likely, the compiler-scribe speaking for himself in the first person:[154]

[153] On the *Book of Good Manners*, see below, pp. 162–168.

[154] The first-person narration in *T* seems unselfconscious on the whole, although this is of course also a Chaucerian habit. For a discussion of first-person narration in medieval literature, especially Chaucer, see Spearing (1997), and expanded in Spearing (2005; see especially Chapter 3). Spearing doubts

> But nowe I wyl retourne ayen to þe seyde sonnys of **Hely,** þat is to sey, **Ofues** and **Fynyes,** of whom we redde of aforn, þat were ryght couetus and vycyusly disposyd, be w\h/om we may ley grete examplis.

The first-person pronouns in this passage switch from singular *I* to plural *we* in the middle of the sentence, thereby including the compiler amongst the implied readership. The reader is given the distinct impression of being guided through the vast array of historical material by a compiler who is providing his audience with a structural framework, whilst also presenting himself as a reader eager for learning. This structural framework is provided in the form of references and other ordering devices which influence the information structure of the text. In this example, an interpretation as to the morality of certain actions is also given, informing the reader that Eli's sons were 'ryght couetus and vycyusly disposyd'.

This is not the only instance where the compiler provides an interpretation of the historical events which he relates. Sometimes such an interpretation can be a straightforwardly moral one, as after a passage on idol worship copied from *Mandeville's Travels* (ending at l. 3870). After this, the compiler adds, 'Lo, thus mysbeleue and worship had þe pepyl in tyme heere before', before continuing with a passage from the *Polychronicon* (l. 3872), which gives further details of idol worship in different parts of the world. The type of moral judgement which we find in the comment here is similar to the moralising tone used in large parts of the *Book of Good Manners*, and although this is not a source for this particular passage, it may have been the compiler's inspiration for adding comments in a similar vein. Kate Harris has emphasised the 'dominantly homiletic mode of discourse' which the compiler adopts, commenting upon evidence of simplification and clarification in the excerpts from

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whether Chaucer and other medieval texts present a unitary fictional persona as posited by modern narratological theories. For a broader discussion of voice and interiority in medieval texts, and the historical development of these conceptions, see Lawton (2017).

Chaucer (see pp. 204–205 for an evaluation of this statement).[155] However, in many non-Chaucerian passages which give this impression, oftentimes this tone is already present in the source text, and the compiler simply takes this over unaltered. This is most clearly the case with excerpts from the *Book of Good Manner*s, but can also be seen with passages from the *Polychronicon* which adopt a teaching tone, directing the reader's attention to specific passages through imperatives like 'take hede' (e.g. l. 1966). A closer look at the added passages which do not occur in the source texts reveals that not all of the compiler's interpretive comments are moralising in tone. Some comments can be read as either moralising or simply evaluative, like an addition in the section on Tola, one of the judges of Israel, saying that he 'rewled ful wel' (l. 6353), whilst others establish a causal connection between important events. The sentence '**Medea** went from her husbonde **Egeus,** kyng of Athene, into þe ylond **Colchos** þere she was born' (ll. 6353–6354), which is copied from the *Polychronicon*, is followed by an addition by the compiler, explaining: 'This was a parte of occasyoun of þe gynnyng of þe seege of **Troye,** as hereaftyr we shul reede of' (l. 6354–6356). Such comments indicate that the compiler is not solely interested in historical events for their didactic and moral value (an approach taken by the *Book of Good Manners* and the homiletic tradition more generally), but also in connections between historical events and causal patterns, an approach perhaps best described as 'history for history's sake'.[156] At any rate, the one approach does not appear to preclude the other in *T*.

Quite frequently, additions do not serve any of the purposes outlined above – cross-referencing, interpretation, or establishing cohesion – but rather provide additional

[155] Harris (1998: 189). On preaching in late medieval England more generally, see Spencer (1993).

[156] This approach has more in common with Ranulph Hidgen's (who is strongly influenced by the homiletic tradition and provides many *exempla*, yet also relates historical events of general interest without any apparent moral value) than more contemporary fifteenth-century histories and chronicles (which are more concerned with local, contemporary history, in the case of monastic history writing often with an agenda of increasing prestige or legitimising monastic houses) (Gransden (1982, especially pp. 43–57 and 342–424); see also Taylor (1966: 33–48)). *T* shares none of the emerging humanist focus on political rather than moral behaviour (Gransden (1982: 428)) and is, in that sense, firmly medieval.

information which clarifies or explains the material of the source texts. A very simple example of this impulse has already been highlighted in the analysis above: references to authorities in Caxton's edition of the *Polychronicon* are often followed by a punctuation mark (usually a paraph or a *punctus*), whereupon follows the content of said source. *T* often expands such references by adding the word 'seith' to make the connection between source and content even clearer, as in 'Ysydorus […] seith' (ll. 1269–1270). Other additions are similar in their evident desire to make the meaning as clear as language will allow. For instance, the simile 'as swyftly as an arowe to a mans sight' in the *Polychronicon* (I, 9) is expanded to 'as swyftly as an arowe oute of a bowe to a mannys syght' (ll. 1612–1613) in *T*. The care taken over such small additions is noteworthy, given that it is hardly possible to misunderstand the word *arowe* here, or to be unaware of the fact that arrows are shot with bows. Perhaps it was the context which made the compiler feel that some additional clarification was necessary. The comparison with the arrow is made within a section discussing a dangerous whirlpool in the sea, which 'draweth in shippes and casteth hem vp agayn as swyftly as an arowe oute of a bowe to a mannys syght' (ll. 1612–1613). The image of the speed of an arrow is somewhat surprising as an analogy to a ship being swallowed up by the sea, so that the compiler may have felt that some clarification was in order. It is also possible that this expansion is not so much a clarification as a rhetorical device, since the technique of *amplificatio* is an important part of medieval rhetorical practice. Amplification can be achieved by eight distinct methods, one of which is the refining of the subject matter (*interpretatio*),[157] and the expansion of the simile in the *Polychronicon* fits well into this category. The well-educated, Latinate compiler is very likely to have received an education in grammar and rhetoric, and expansions in *T* which do not serve an obvious

[157] See the description of *amplificatio* in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*, and later in John of Garland's *Parisiana Poetria* (Copeland and Sluiter (eds. 2009: 600, 651)).

clarificatory purpose may be a reflection of his rhetorical skill. At any rate, such additions are witness to the compiler's minute attention to detail, which is particularly extraordinary given the total length of the manuscript (225 leaves).

In other sections, the additional information provided is indeed necessary to understand the sense of the text. Some lines in Caxton's *Polychronicon* are somewhat unclear, as in a section describing Ezra's chastising of the children of Israel: 'There he chastysed in his comyng the childer of the transmygracion. and specially preestes for wyues of straunge nacions' (III, 15, cxxxix[r]). *T* clarifies this by adding a participle: 'for *takyng* wyues of straunge naciouns' (l. 10259, italics added), thus making the sense a lot more obvious.[158] Such additions can be found regularly where the sense in Caxton is unclear, or where sentences in Caxton are elliptical. In a section on St Patrick's Purgatory, *T* adds a noun where it is evidently missing from the text of the *Polychronicon*: 'Ther is also Seint **Patriks purgatorie** þat was shewed at his prayers to conferme his prechyng and his lore whan he prechyd to mysbeleued *peple* of sorwe and of payne þat euyl men shulde suffre for her wyckyd werkes' (ll. 3115–3118, italics added). In Caxton's text, the noun which is modified by 'mysbeleued' has been omitted, and this error is rectified by the compiler.[159]

In his correction of errors in Caxton's text, the compiler is not infallible. There are a few cases where he mistakenly amends an account in the *Polychronicon*, such as the story of Helen of Troy's abduction by Theseus. Evidently confusing this earlier

[158] Caxton's version follows Trevisa's translation ('and specialliche preostes for wifes of straunge naciouns'), which translates Higden's Latin text very closely ('et præcipue sacerdotes, pro uxoribus alienigenis'; Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: III, 248–249)).

[159] This omission is particular to Caxton's text; Higden's Latin text has 'populo incredulo', which Trevisa (rather more sensibly than Caxton) translates as 'mysbileued men' (Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: I, 362–363)). The version in *T* is closer to the Latin than Trevisa, since it translates 'populo' as 'peple', suggesting that the compiler may have checked Higden's Latin text before rectifying the error. This fits well with the evidence of London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 84, which shows that the compiler must have had access to a copy of Higden's Latin text in addition to Caxton's edition (as discussed below, Chapter V).

abduction, said to have taken place during Helen's youth,[160] with her later, much more well-known and important abduction by Paris, the compiler changes the name 'Theseus' to 'Parrys', and attempts to reconcile the text in Caxton with what he believes to be the correct version of the story.[161] Where the *Polychronicon* as printed by Caxton has:

> Aboute that tyme Theseus rauesshyd Eleyn and hir twey brethere Castor and Pollux fett hir and brought hir agayne. And toke Theseus moder and chased Theseus out of contray (II, 20; lxxxxv^{v}–lxxxxvj^{r})

the compiler changes this to:

> And also notyth wel þat in þe tyme of **Iayr, Parrys,** þe worthy knyght, rauysshed þe fayre **Elyn.** But than the bretheryn of Elyn callyd **Castor and Pollex** recouered and restoryd hir ayene besyde þe see syde, than Parys beyng absente and oute of countre (ll. 6542–6545)

It is interesting how not only the name of the protagonist is changed here, but other details from Caxton's text as well: for instance, the phrase 'out of contray', originally referring to Theseus being chased out of the country, is applied to Paris in a new semantic context, as an explanation for how Castor and Pollux were able to liberate Helen from her captor, who was 'absente and oute of countre'. The compiler is evidently hesitant to dispense with Caxton's text completely even where he disagrees with its content, but is eager to use as much of the source text as he can, and to make sense of it within a new context.

However, most of the compiler's changes to the source text are a lot more appropriate. In one of the passages copied from the *Polychronicon*, for instance, he notices an incongruity and corrects it in accordance with other relevant information. In a section on judge Abimelech (ll. 6288–6303), he combines different material from books I, 15 and II, 21 of the *Polychronicon*. The passage in the former book relates how

[160] Cf. Diodorus of Sicily (Oldfather (transl. 1939: 4.63.1–3)) and Plutarch (Perrin (transl. 1914: 31–34)).

[161] This is representative of a common phenomenon in Middle English texts dealing with classical matters. As Daniel Wakelin's (2017) recent research has demonstrated, medieval scribes tend to be familiar with the names of certain well-known classical characters and copy them accurately, whilst the names of minor characters which were less widely read about often lead to confusion, resulting in scribal error and reinterpretation of the text.

Abimelech sowed the earth at Shechem with salt after crushing a revolt (cf. Judges 9:45), and mistakenly refers to Abimelech as 'Ierobabels sone' (I, 15, xix^{r}). The passage in Book II, 21, however, provides an overview of Abimelech's reign and correctly identifies him as 'gedeons sonne' (lxxxxvj^{v}). In *T*, these two accounts are brought together. This is reflective of a strategy prevalent throughout *T*, through which the compiler collects information on significant events and historical figures from different places and sources, and brings it together in a single section. As a consequence, the contradiction between the two different names given as Abimelech's father in the *Polychronicon* would have been immediately apparent, with the section in *T* beginning 'Aftyr þe dethe of Gedeon, his sonne Abymalech […] was iugge of Israell' (ll. 6289–6291), and the compiler then inserting the account from Book I, 15 only a few lines later. Consequently, the compiler replaces 'Ierobabels sone' with 'þe sonne of Gedeon' (l. 6301), thus correctly identifying the mistake in Caxton's text and rectifying it. Not only does the compiler possess the skill to collect in one place different pieces of information originally scattered across long source texts, but he is also a discerning and critical reader of his sources who is aware of incongruities which he is willing and able to correct.[162]

Additions and corrections which clarify the sense of the text can range from single words to more substantive additions. In a passage relating the story of Cyrus, the compiler makes additions which explain and clarify the text copied from the *Polychronicon*. Upon being ordered to kill the child Cyrus, who is the son of the king's daughter, the servant Arpagus fails to do as he is told: 'Than he trowed þat þe kyngdom

[162] This might be a reflection of an emerging humanist historical mindset which searches for truth first of all, examining different sources critically, weighing them against each other, and correcting errors, although this impulse is of course also present in earlier, medieval history writing (Gransden (1982: 428)). For a case study of a scribe correcting historical sources whilst copying, see Matthew Fisher's discussion of the scribe of London, British Library, MS Harley 2253 (2012: 100–145). On humanist correction and castigation, see Grafton (2011).

shulde som tyme falle to þe kyngis doughter *and wold nat sle þe childe*, but he toke þe childe to an heerde þat kept þe kyngis bestys and comaunded hym to ley þe childe in a woode there to be deuoured' (ll. 9792–9795, italics added). In this sentence, 'and wold nat sle þe childe' is an addition which is not contained in the *Polychronicon* (III, 4; cxviij[v]). Without this clarifying addition, the narrative is missing a logical step between Arpagus' considerations regarding the king's daughter one day inheriting the kingdom, and his taking the child to a shepherd.

Additions can also occur for stylistic, rather than clarificatory reasons. In some places, *T* introduces doublets by adding a synonym, such as in 'Abraham yaf fyrst *oblaciouns or* tythe *to God*' (l. 4252, italics added). In this example, 'oblaciouns or' as well as 'to God' are added to Caxton's text of the *Polychronicon*. The latter of these additions makes the sentence more precise by mentioning the object of Abraham's devotion, whilst the former of these additions is a synonym for 'tythe'. The purpose of this doublet does not seem to be clarification;[163] it is highly unlikely that *tythe* would have required glossing, as it is widely attested throughout the Old English and Middle English period.[164] By contrast, none of the *MED's* earliest attestations of *oblacioun* pre-date the first quarter of the fifteenth century,[165] which suggests that this word may have been perceived by a late fifteenth-century compiler as the more recent of the two terms. In addition, as a Latinate word it would have been associated with a higher register than the Germanic *tythe*. Thus, the purpose of this addition may have been to update the language of the source text, or the doublet may have been introduced for stylistic

[163] Fifteenth-century translators who expand single nouns into doublets tend to add a less Latinate, older term as the new part of the doublet, the purpose of which seems to be clarification (Workman (1972)). Harris (1998: 183) notes glossing additions in the extracts from Chaucer in *T*. For a discussion of doublets in *T* which are clarifying and glossing the source text, see Chapter VI below.
[164] *MED*, tīthe *n*. (2).
[165] *MED*, oblāciŏun *n*.

reasons, adding variety to the language and adorning it as an attempt at *amplificatio*, not unlike to the changes which Caxton himself makes to his source texts.[166]

The latter explanation is suggested by another example of the same impulse, which can be found in an account of the reign of Ehud. Here a Latinate technical term is added to the *Polychronicon*, which had used a more circumlocutory, and less precise, description. Where Caxton's *Polychronicon* has 'This Aioth vsed eyther hande for his right hand' (II, 17; lxxxxij[r]), the version in *T* runs 'this Aioth was ambidexter. He vsyd to alle thyngis his lifte hande as he dyd his right hande' (ll. 6085–6086). The compiler is likely to have been influenced by Higden's Latin version here, which runs 'Iste Ayoth […] fuit ambidexter, utraque scilicet manu utens pro dextra',[167] but this usage of the term in English would have been highly unusual at the time of the manuscript's creation. *T* antedates the earliest attestation for this word in the *OED* by more than 150 years, with the earliest quotation of *ambidexter* in the sense 'able to use the left hand as well as the right' dating from 1646 (recorded in the *OED* as a literary term).[168] The *MED* only records the word in the sense 'One who improperly occupies two offices or sides with both parties in a conflict; double-dealer'.[169] The striking *terminus technicus*, a stylish, Latinate innovation, provides a clarification of Caxton's rather odd wording, but only highly educated readers would have been able to make sense of this word in *T* at the time of its creation. Those readers not in this group were provided with the following, non-Latinate explanation, which is expanded and much clearer in *T* as compared to the *Polychronicon*. Given this clear description, it is particularly striking that the compiler felt the need to incorporate such an unusual term. This suggests that he

[166] See Blake (1991: 253–258) on Caxton's use of doublets. For a more detailed discussion of the medieval technique of using a second, near-synonymous word to clarify the meaning of the first word, see Rothwell (2007). Wakelin (2014: 203–207) discusses doublets as a stylistic feature of fifteenth-century English. Burnley (1986: 596) notes doublets which lend adornment and abundance to 'curial' prose.
[167] Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: II, 352).
[168] *OED*, ambidexter, *adj*. and *n*., A 1).
[169] *MED*, ambidexter *adj*. as *n*.

was envisaging a mixed and wide audience, but in spite of this was unwilling to compromise on the precise and learned nature of his text with its amplifying and adorning stylistic features.[170]

Similarly, other additions in *T* by the compiler are not necessary at all in order to make sense of the text in the *Polychronicon* in terms of register or sentence structure, but they provide useful additional information on concepts which are perhaps difficult to understand or put into context. This is illustrated by a section on Norway, which describes the polar day and night in detail. Additions which are not in Caxton's text are emphasised in italics below:

> In þe northe syde of þat londe many nyghtes in þe somer tyme, aboute þe styntyng of þe sonne, *þat is whanne þe sonne is at þe hyest, þat is in þe monthe of* ***Iunij*****,** than þe sonne goth not doun but shyneth alle nyghte there. And efte as many dayes in þe wynter, aboute þe styntynge of þe sonne, *whan it is at þe lowest, þat is in þe monthe of* ***Decembr*****e,** than þe sonne aryseth not to yeue hem lyghte. Therfor alle þat tyme they muste werke by candellight what werke þat hem nedeth. To knowe what þe styntyng of þe sonne is to menyng, take hede þat þe sonne styntith twyes a yere, ones in somer whan it goth none higher, and eftsones in wynter, whan it gooth no lower. And so in eyþer tyme is þe styntyng of þe sonne. *And thus from* ***Iunij*** *to* ***December*** *is alwey lyghte þere, and from* ***December*** *to* ***Iunij*** *is contynuel derke þere, thus seyth* ***Treuisa.*** (ll. 2497–2509, italics added)

Each time the solstice is mentioned in this section, the additions clarify whether it is the winter or the summer solstice (e.g. 'whanne þe sonne is at þe hyest'), whilst also detailing the month in question (e.g. 'in þe monthe of Iunij'). The sentence at the end of this passage, which is a new addition for which no obvious source can be determined, gives further details on the months of the polar night and polar day. It is interesting that this information is attributed to Trevisa here.[171] A reference to Trevisa can be found in

[170] This is reminiscent of the Latinate style of fifteenth-century classical translations into English, as discussed in Wakelin (2013).

[171] A section with further information on the polar night and polar day can be found earlier on in the same chapter in the *Polychronicon* (I, 31), and might qualify as a possible source, but is much less specific and does not give precise months for the times in which it is continuously light and dark. Precise months for the solstice are given in Trevisa's translation of Bartholomæus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (IX, 14 and 20; Seymour (ed. 1975), pp. 532 and 534), printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, but collation with *T* does not reveal any similarities in wording. It seems likely that the addition is the compiler's own, or is only very loosely based on other sources.

the *Polychronicon* (I, 31; xlij^{r}) at the start of the sentence beginning 'To knowe what þe styntyng of þe sone is to menyng'. The reference is omitted at the start of this sentence in *T*, but instead it is attached at the end of the sentence containing new information. Perhaps the compiler felt that an addition of such detail and length had to be justified by means of an authoritative source. Whatever the reason, the result of these additions is that the passage in *T* is much clearer as a whole, and now contains further useful details which serve to make the content more precise than it is in the *Polychronicon*.[172]

Additional details which increase the precision of the text can also be found in many other places in *T*, as the compiler frequently adds contextual details and explanations when key places or names are mentioned. For instance, when Andromache's name comes up in a section from the *Polychronicon*, the compiler adds 'þat was Hectors wyfe' (l. 6722). The same pattern can be seen when 'Macedones' is followed by the addition 'þat is in Grecia' (l. 1568). Similarly, 'Athenes' is followed by the addition 'þat is in Grecia also' (l. 1569), 'Isaac' is followed by the addition 'þat was Abrahams \sonne/' (ll. 4254–4255), and 'Aaron' by 'þat was Moyses brother' (ll. 4255–4256). This pattern is common throughout *T*, and is evidence of a systematic intention behind the creation of *T*. Such additions go beyond the merely clarifying additions discussed above; they are not strictly necessary to understand the sense of the text, but they do add precision and detail. Often, they also serve a second function, as they can implicitly refer back to a previous section in which the information has first been provided, and remind the readers of what they have read before (as detailed above).[173]

[172] A marked interest in the times of sunrise and sunset is also evident in *H*, where the penultimate text is a list of the times of sunrise and sunset during different times of the year, followed by a short excerpt from the *Polychronicon* (I, 40, liij^{v} and I, 31, xlij^{v}) on the length of days and nights in different parts of the world. The excerpt from the *Polychronicon* (f. 149^{r} in *H*) shows the same strategies of compilation observed in *T*: within an excerpt of less than a folio in length, the compiler copies from Poly I, 40, and then inserts additional information on the island of Thule from I, 31.

[173] This strategy is similar to that which can be observed in some of Caxton's texts. Waldron's analysis of Caxton's *Polychronicon* reveals clarificatory glosses on specific people and places (1999: 380, n. 6).

Additions which provide supplementary details are not restricted to individual names or places. In a description of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon from the *Polychronicon* (II, 2; cxvj^{r}), the compiler adds 'þe kingdom of Perce' as a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's wife's homeland: 'For he […] sette þere trees and made þere an orchard þat was cleped **Suspensilis**, þat his wyfe myght stande in þat orchard and see home into *þe kyngdom of Perce*, hir owne countre where she was born.' (ll. 9656–9659; italics added). This information is not necessary to understand the text, but it again provides contextual information which makes the account more exact as a result.

All of the additions which function broadly as a means of clarification or explanation testify to the compiler's extraordinary love of detail, as well as his awareness of the needs of his envisaged audience. The text of the *Polychronicon* is explained in a number of ways where necessary, in view of the requirements of a wide range of readers, but relevant information is also added where it is not immediately necessary for an understanding of the text, but as a way of providing contextual details. Several textual strategies are used to ensure that the text as a whole remains cohesive, unified, and easy for the reader to follow and refer back to. Although the compiler evidently subscribed to a holistic approach to history writing, trying to collect information from a range of sources and supplementing it with details where he felt this was in order, he is not unnecessarily verbose, and navigates the tension between length and precision successfully. In fact, as the analysis below will demonstrate, omissions of sections from the source texts show that the compiler is highly selective in which parts of his sources he chooses to include in the manuscript.

The analysis so far has outlined the broad functional categories under which additions in the manuscript can fall – clarification/explanation, correction, intertextual

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Similarly, the intention behind some of Caxton's additions to the prose *Brut* in *The Chronicles of England* (*STC* 9991) is to clarify specific characters' identities, as Wakelin (2011a: 92–93) has demonstrated.

referencing, interpretation, and establishing cohesion. As is to be expected, there is some overlap between these categories, and a single addition can fulfil more than one function at the same time. One category which has not been considered so far is types of changes which show the substitution and reordering, rather than addition, of information.

Replacing of information, where one word or expression is substituted by a synonym, usually seems to happen in the context of modernisation of obsolescent words. For instance, 'mette' in the *Polychronicon* is replaced by 'dremyd' (l. 9786), 'heestes' by 'commaundmentis' (l. 9805), 'heyte' by 'is named' (l. 1580), and 'hyeld water on the erth' by 'shedde oute water' (l. 6050). In all of these cases, diachronic variation appears to be the reason for such replacements.[174] *Meten* fell out of use soon after the Middle English period and is likely to have been perceived as rather more antiquated than *dremen* by the end of the fifteenth century.[175] *Heste*,[176] *hoten*,[177] and *helden*[178] present a similar picture, suggesting that the compiler is updating the language of his sources, replacing words which are falling out of use with more current vocabulary.[179]

Whilst the local replacement of individual words must be largely due to diachronic variation, the reordering of sections, which is very frequent throughout *T*, relates to how information is structured in the text. Reordering can take place on a very

[174] For a linguistic analysis of the text of *T* which discusses the evidence for updated vocabulary in greater detail, see below, Chapter VI.
[175] *MED* mēten, *v*. 3; *OED*, mete, *v*. 2. The latest attestation of this verb used transitively (as in Caxton's text) is 1577 (uncertain).
[176] *MED* hĕst(e, *n*. 1; *OED* hest, *n*. 1. Variation between *heste* and *comaundment* also occurs in different English translations of the *Polychronicon*. Whilst Trevisa's version translates Higden's expression 'jussu senatus' in III, 37 as 'by heste of þe senatoures', the anonymous translation in London, British Library, MS Harley 2261 has 'by the commaundemente of the senate' (Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: IV, 136–137)).
[177] *MED* hōten, *v*. 1; *OED* hight, *v*. 1.
[178] *MED* hēlden, *v*. 1a; *OED* hield | heeld | heald, *v*. I.5.
[179] Caxton himself frequently updates the language of his sources for his prints. See, for instance, the research on *The Chronicles of England* in Wakelin (2011a) and Takagi (2012). Hellinga (2017) refines Wakelin's analysis.

small scale, such as reversals in the order of items in a list. For instance, where the *Polychronicon* has 'Comagena / Palestina. Fenys / Canaan / Idumea and Iudea' (I, 13; xvj^{v}), *T* reverses this to 'Iudea, Canaan, Palastina, Ydumea, Comagena' (l. 1231) whilst omitting Phoenicia entirely. Such reordering of lists happens relatively frequently in *T*, and the reasons for this may be straightforwardly mnemonic ones relating to the copying process, as a scribe who copied by memorising small chunks of texts rather than individual words might easily remember items from a list in a different order to the original one, and occasionally leave out an item.[180]

By contrast, reordering also occurs on a larger scale in *T*, and the reasons for this are clearly deliberate. A lengthy section details the story of Romulus and Remus (ll. 8582–8614), copied from Book II, 31 of the *Polychronicon* (cvij^{v}–cviij^{r}). The flow of this story in Caxton's text is somewhat harshly interrupted by etymological considerations relating to the Latin word *lupa*, and the question of whether the twins were literally fed by a she-wolf, rather than by a human woman of that name. After this section, the story continues with the twins' revenge and killing of King Amulius, a section which sits a little awkwardly after the etymological excursus. The compiler of *T* clearly felt that rearranging the sections would help to make the story run more smoothly. The quotations below illustrate how this is achieved; the text is presented as it occurs in *T*, with the numbers at the start of individual sections relating to the original order in Caxton's text, and italics indicating which parts are additions by the compiler. An addition introduces the story and alerts the reader to what is to come:

> (1) *Also in thes dayes was* ***Remus*** *and* ***Romulus*** *born, as ye shul here*. The fyftenth of **Latyns, Amilius**, Procas yonger sonne, regned xliij yere.
> […] followed by the story of Romulus and Remus: the children are born, the King orders the killing of the children, they are abandoned in the woods and fed by a

[180] Amongst those scholars who have traced evidence of scribes' memories (and their failures) in the copying process, Kane in his edition of *Piers Plowman* (ed. 1960: 116–124), Vinaver (1939), and Parkes (2008: 63–67) are amongst the most prominent. See also Windeatt (1979) and Wakelin (2014: 53–63), who emphasise not scribal inattentiveness but scribal intention behind many variants.

she-wolf, and eventually found by the shepherd Faustulus. In the end, they are recognised by their grandfather:]
And whan Munytor toke hede of þe shap of þe childe, he aduysed hym longe and bethought hym how his doughter childer were layde som tyme in þe woode. Than in þe mene tyme come Fastulus, þe heerde, and brought with hym Romulus. Thenne aftyr whan Munyto\r/ knewe þat þe chyldren were his doughter sonnes, he and þe children entended to slee his broder Amulyus.

(3) Thes children Remus and Romulus waxed strong and gadred to hem many heerdes and theues, and slough Amulus vpon þe ryuer **Alba** and restored her grauntsyr Munytor to his kyngdome ayene.

(2) **Martinus** seith **Faustulus**, þe heerde þat kept þe kyngis beestes, fonde twey lytyl bretheryn leyde be þe brynke of þe ryuer Tyber and brought hem to his wyf þat was callyd **Acta laurencia.** And for her fayrenes and concupyscence of her disordynate lust, she was callyd **lupa** in Latyn, þat is [f. 180^{r}] a woluesse in Englissh. And þerfor þe hows of comyn women is called yet lupanaria in Latyn.

(4) Netheles, wheþer þat woman was callyd lupa or noo, þe olde wrytyng in marbyl and in oþer stones at Rome sheweth yet þat a woluesse fedde þe twey bretheryn with her mylke.

The section concludes with an addition, which includes a typical cross-reference to a preceding section of the text, and establishes a connection with the building of Rome – an element which, although crucial to the story, Caxton does not mention at all here:

> *This Remus and Romulus buyldyd þe cyte of Rome aftyrward, as ye shul rede before in þe chapiter of Italya in þe regne of Rehu.* (ll. 8612–8614)

This sentence in effect replaces the sentence ‘a woluesse is lupa in latyn’ (cviij^{r}), which concludes the story in Caxton’s edition. Given that the meaning of the word *lupa* has already been made abundantly clear above (‘**lupa** in Latyn, þat is a woluesse in Englissh’), the compiler evidently felt that it was unnecessary to repeat this piece of information. Reordering this section achieves a smoother transition from the story itself to etymological questions, which make the passage more coherent and elegant than in Caxton’s version, where section (3) stands in a somewhat displaced position between (2) and (4). Repetition of material in Caxton’s text is omitted, and the passage is introduced and concluded by clear textual markers concerning what is to follow, and references to places in the manuscript where further information can be found. Changes

such as these indicate that the compiler is highly conscious of how information is structured. In a striking attempt at *ordinatio*, he seeks to make improvements to the order of his source texts even in sections where he is not compiling from different places, but quite straightforwardly copying, with minimal changes, a single section from a single source text.[181]

Such reordering of material occurs in many places in *T*, but always seems to be driven by a systematic desire to assemble relevant information on a particular topic in a single place. This can be seen on a much smaller scale than in the previous example in a sentence describing Ptolemy Soter's exploits: 'He put Siria to his kyngdom and warred with þe Iewes þat were ydel in þe holy day and toke Ierusalem by fraude and gyle and toke many Iewes prysonners and solde them for couetyse' (ll. 10830–10833). This sentence is based on material in the *Polychronicon*, II, 32, but it combines the content of two sentences into a single one. In the source, a section running 'he putto Siria to his kyngdome and werred with the Iewes that were ydel in the holy day and toke prysonners of hem and sette hem to sale' (cliij^{v}) is followed by several paragraphs concerned with the leadership in Israel and other countries, interspersed with material on Ptolemy, before returning to the matter of Ptolemy's war against the Jews: 'Tholomeus toke Iherusalem by fraude and gyle and toke many Iewes prysonners and sold hem for couetyse' (cliij^{v}). Although these two sentences appear on the same page in Caxton's edition, they do not stand next to each other but are separated both visually and contextually. In spite of this, the compiler recognises that they describe two aspects of the same event, and overlap in their content. This overlap is skilfully used to combine

[181] Reordering of information in general terms is, of course, not unusual in fifteenth-century compilations and miscellanies – see, for instance, Marleen Cré's observations on the Thornton manuscript Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91, regarding the rearrangement of material (2018: 142–143); but the highly systematic nature of the rearrangement of material in *T* is far beyond what is usual in such compilations. On the role of the *ordinatio partium* in medieval compilation more generally, see, for instance, Minnis (1979) and Rouse and Rouse (1992).

these two aspects into a single sentence: The Jews being made prisoners and sold, a point which is made in both sentences, is only related once, whilst the point from Caxton's second sentence about Ptolemy taking Jerusalem by guile is incorporated into the structure of the first sentence. This is an illustrative example of a technique which the compiler uses throughout *T*, both on a small scale as in this example, and on a much broader scale.[182]

A passage describing the provinces of Africa (ll. 1930–1999) may serve as a larger example of the same principle. This section freely rearranges various passages from the *Polychronicon*, I, 20 (xxiij^{v}–xxiiij^{v}). This chapter is split into seven different sections of varying length (ranging from a single sentence to half a page or more), which are rearranged and occur in the order (1), (3), (2), (6), (4), according to my numbering, as compared to Caxton's ordering. These passages are followed in *T* by two sections from I, 8 (xi^{r}) and from I, 9 (xij^{r}), which discuss the Atlantic, Caspian, and Red Seas, whereafter the text returns to I, 20 and adds what I have called section (5):

> From I, 20 (1)
> Than ister **Numya** þat countre and hathe in þe eeste syde Syrtes minores, þe lasse Sirtes, þat is a perlus place in þe see, and in þe southe Ethiopia, in þe west Mauritanya, and in þe northe þe see Siculus. In þat see is **Ruscida** and **Cartago magna,** þat grete cyte þat was in this maner arered and buylde, as auctours tellen. **Ysidorus, libro xv^{o}, capitulo xiij^{o},** seith **Fenyces, [**f. 36^{r}] men of Fenycia þat londe, wente fro þe Reede See and buylded these cyttees: Fyrst in **Siria** they buylded **Sydon,** and **Tirus** in Affryca Vtyca, in Boecia **Thebe,** and in þe mouthe of þe west occian **Gades.** For in olde tyme þe **Fenyces** were grete marchauntes and passyd into dyuers londes with marchaundyse þat they brought and resseyued þerfor and place to buylde on cytees and townes. **Trogus, libro xviij^{o}. Dido,** whiche was named **Elissa** also, wente oute of Fenycea with a grete companye of yonglynges chosen and sayled fyrste into Cipris. And þere this woman Dido toke with her foure score maydens for to brynge fourthe childeren and come into Affryca. And þere for ese and reste of her men þat were wery of sayllyng, she bought as moche londe as she myght beclippe with an oxes hyde and kutte þe hyde vnto a thonge þat was ful longe and smal, and beclypte þerewith a grete

[182] For other examples of sections whose order has been rearranged by the compiler see, for instance, ll. 1059–1109; ll. 1164–1233; ll. 1930–2000; ll. 2257–2368; ll. 2472–2511; ll. 2805–2857; ll. 2976–3027; ll. 3107–3185, ll. 3622–2700; ll. 3878–3977, ll. 4023–4034; ll. 6455–6526; ll. 7121–7162; ll. 7713–7775; ll. 8584–8613.

cyrquete of grounde and cleped it **Birsa**, that is a thonge, or **Cartada,** þat was a newe toun. Aftyr þat þe name was chaunged and þe place callyd **Cartago magna.**

From I, 20 (3)
Orosius libro iiij^{o} saith þat Cartago is alle aboute xxij^{ti} M paas and euery walle is xl cubites hye and xxx foote broode. And þe cyte is byclipped with þe see wel nyghe al aboute. [omission of 'oute take faucibus that iij M were opend' as opposed to the *Polychronicon*]

From I, 20 (2)
And thus Cartago was ybuylde lxxij yere tofore þe cyte of Rome, so seith **Papias.** And histories telleth þat Rome was buylde þe fourth yere of Achas, kynge of Iuda. Than yf we acounte redyly and put togyder foure yere of Achas, xvj yere of Ionathas, and lij yere of Ozias þat regned tofore Achas, it foleweth than þat Cartago was founded aboute þe fyrst yere of Ozias þe kynge. Netheles **Ysidorus libro 5** and **magister in Historia Scolastica** saith, as it semeth, þat Cartago **[**f. 36^{v}] was founded aboute þe xxxiiij yere of kyng Dauid. **Marianus** seith þat Cartago was buylde aboute þe iiij yere of Amasias, kyng of Iuda. Then yt may not stonde þat **Virgilius** and **Frigius Dares** in his histori of þe bataylle of Troye seith that Eneas sawe þat woman Dido. For Eneas was deede iij^{C} yere and more er Cartago was founded þat Dido founded. Or ther was anoþer Dido and older than she, or Cartago was raþer ybuylded. Therfor Seint **Austyn, libro primo confessionum,** saith þat wise men denyen þat Eneas sawe Cartago or Dido þat womman.

From I, 20 (6)
Take hede þat **Punipeni, Punici and Punyces** also been called **Fenices, Affri, and Cartaginenses,** as they were men of **Fenicea** of Affryca or of **Cartago.** For þat woman Dido þat founded Cartago was a comelyng and come fro Fenycea.

From I, 20 (4)
Mauritana is þe name of two londes. The firste Cezarencis þat hath in þe est syde Numydia, in þe southe þe grauel of þe occean, in þe west þe ryuer Malua, and in þe northe þe jewys of þe grete see. **Tyngytina** is þe laste prouynce of Affryca, and hathe in þe est syde þe ryuer Malua, in þe northe þe see **Gadytanus,** in þe weste þe hylle **Athlas** and the see occian

From I, 8 (xi^{r})
þat begynnyth in þe weste at Hercules pylers. There þe see occian of **Athlant** breketh oute and maketh þe see **Gadytan.** Þe lengthe of þat see is xv M. paas and þe brede v M. paas. And hathe in þe ryght syde **Affrica** and in þe lyft syde **Europa.** And of þat see spryngeth þe inner sees. The endes þerof is þe water **Thanay** in þe northe syde and þe water **Nylus** in þe southe syde.

From I, 9 (xij^{r})
Beda de naturis seith amonge alle þe mowthes and sees þat cometh toward þe londe and oute of þe occian, thre ben holden mooste famous. *And þat ben these*: The mouthe and see hathe two names and is called **Gadytynus** and **Athlantycus [**f. 37^{r}] also. The secounde is callyd **Caspius,** and entreth oute of northeest and departeth betwene þe north syde of Inde and Scicia þat londe, and þat streccheth towarde þe grete mouthe and see þat is named Eusinus. Than þe thyrdde famous

> mouthe and see is þe **Reed See,** and cometh oute of þe northeest and departeth þe southe syde of Inde fro Ethiopya and Egipt. [italics added]
>
> From I, 20 (5)
> Mauritania hathe þe name of Mauron þat is blac, as it were þe countre of blak men. In this Affrica is þe hylle **Athlas** in þe west syde and ende not fer from þe occian. And Athlas is so hye ouer oþer hilles þat lewde men wenyth þat it recheth to þe mone. Ther is ofte seen be nyght fyre flamy and saturi, whiche ben spyrytys of thayre dyuer[s]ly shewed. Also ther is ofte herde tymbres, pypes, and trompes. **Augustinus, De C. Dei, libro 18.** Athlas was an astronomyen, Prometheus brother. Þerfore some feynen þat Athlas bereth vp heuen. And of this man Athlas þe hille hathe his name and is callyd Athlas also. And it is so hye þat lewde men wene þat it bereth vp heuen.

As observed with the smaller example above (the sentence on Ptolemy), the reason for the rearrangement of passages here seems to be their thematic order. (3) is inserted after (1), as it contains some general information on Carthage's size and location, then moving on to more specific historical and political details in (2). This is followed by (6), a short passage on Dido's home country. It seems apt to place this material here, as Dido is mentioned in (2). By contrast, in Caxton this section is placed at the end of the chapter, and as such is isolated from the rest of the material on Dido. Section (4) follows with a new topic, that of Mauritania, but is interrupted at a point where the Gaditanian Sea is discussed. The insertion from I, 8 provides further details on this sea in relation to the Atlantic, which is then followed by a section from I, 9, which contextualises this in relation to the three 'mooste famous' of the world's oceans. The compiler even adds the clarification 'And þat ben these' to make the relation between the statement about the three oceans more obvious, and the subsequent enumeration of their names. After this insertion, the compiler returns to the remainder of I, 20 (section 5). Again, this rearrangement seems to be driven by the impulse to collect information on a specific topic in a single place, instead of leaving it displaced and scattered across different chapters and pages, as can often be the case with Caxton's text. The compiler is not limited by what is visible on one page opening in Caxton's edition, but rearranges

material from disparate parts of Caxton's text in a very complex process of comparison which must have involved the turning of multiple leaves.

With such a large-scale reordering of sections, it is astonishing that the compiler seems to be able to maintain a clear and detailed overview both of his source text, and of the new text he is creating. This is no small achievement, given that the material covers several pages in the manuscript, is excerpted from several chapters of the source text, and is of a complexity which could easily have been confusing. Yet at no point does the compiler repeat any part of the material, nor does he omit any part of the chapter apart from a minor remark in section (3) ('oute take faucibus that iij M were opend'). This masterful overview of the material is evident throughout *T*, and there are only very few exceptions where it seems to have failed and the compiler copied the same section twice (e.g. ll. 1014–1029, which occurs again in 2002–2011).[183] Another example is an account of the Amazons compiled from the *Polychronicon* I, 18; II, 21 and the *Tale of Melibee* 2671–74 (discussed below, p. 160), which appears in very similar form in ll. 1712–1775 and 6374–6435. Given the vast size of the compiler's undertaking, it would certainly not be surprising to find a few errors of this kind, but as suggested below, the double inclusion of the account of the Amazons may not be a mistake at all, but might instead reflect the compiler's particular interest in the Amazons. The compiler's handling of his material thus reveals a large-scale and intricate knowledge of the source texts and of the new text he was creating.

3 Omission of material

The changes to the source texts of *T* indicate a methodical and purposeful compiler who is writing a new historical text with specific objectives in mind, and who aims at

[183] This might, of course, be a deliberate repetition, in which case the compiler's comprehensive overview and purposeful use of the source texts would be even more remarkable.

achieving those through a range of complex textual strategies. This methodical approach entails not only reordering and addition of material for purposes of cohesion, clarification, correction, interpretation, and to improve the thematic structure, but also the omission of material which the compiler deems to be of less relevance. Typical omissions can be broadly categorised into three groups: omission of references, duplicate information, and inessential information.

References to authoritative figures and texts are abundant in the *Polychronicon*. Often these are fully copied in *T* without any significant alterations, but in other places, references are omitted. For instance, *T* copies the sentence 'Þat cyte **Iacob** bought som tyme with moneye and grete trauayle and yaf yt to **Ioseph,** his sonne, aboue his lotte' (ll. 6295–6296) from the *Polychronicon*, I, 15, but does not include the reference at the end of this sentence ('so seyth Iherome' (xix^{r})). Moreover, the subsequent sentence begins with the reference 'Genesis octo decimo capitulo' in the *Polychronicon*, whereas this reference is not included in *T*, which instead only copies the following sentence ('For yt was a cyte of refuge and of socoure, so it is wrytyn in **Iosue, capitulo xx^{mo}**', ll. 6296–6297). As the reference to Joshua at the end of this sentence is included in *T*, the aim does not appear to have been a complete omission of all references in this section. The compiler may have felt that this particular section in the *Polychronicon* was especially dense in references to authorities, so that it was acceptable to leave some of them out – or even that omission was preferable in order to avoid interrupting the flow of the text.

Conversely, references to source texts are added in other places in *T* in order to avoid extensive copying from the *Polychronicon*. Instances of this occur especially towards the end of *T*, where a change of policy seems to have occurred. The compiler might have realised that it was difficult to cover the abundance of material in Caxton and include everything which was potentially of interest within the limited space

afforded by a single manuscript. A section on Democritus, for instance, concludes with the reference 'We may loke more for this in Policronicon in þe iij^{de} boke and xviij chapiter' (ll. 10365–10366), in lieu of including the remainder of this section in the *Polychronicon*, III, 18. As in the example discussed above, the plural pronoun *we* implies that the compiler here includes himself amongst the readership. Similar references occur throughout the following folios: 'We may loke more for this in Policronicon in þe iij^{de} boke and xix chapiter' (ll. 10381–10382), etc. In this way, omission of material can occur in conjunction with added references, in order to shorten the text in *T* whilst at the same time pointing the reader to a place where further details can be found, should they be of interest.

In other places, sections of varying length from the *Polychronicon* are omitted entirely in *T*. In general, this tends to happen where the text of Caxton's print is somewhat verbose, or concerned with inessential detail. For instance, at the beginning of a chapter on Ireland, the *Polychronicon* contains a rather laboured introduction:

> HYbernia, that is Irlond. And was of old tyme incorperate in to the lordship of Britain, so seith Giraldus in sua topographia, where he descriueth it at fulle; yet it is worthy and semely to praise that lond with larger praysing. For to come to clere and ful knowleche of that lond, these tytles that folowe opene the way. Therfor I shal telle of the stede and place of that lond, how grete and what manere londe it is. Wherof that londe hath plente, and wherof it hath defawte, also of what men that dwellid therinne firste, of men, of maners of that lond, of the wondris of that lond, of and worthynes of halowes and saintes of that lond. (I, 32; xlij^{r})

T omits the greatest part of this long-winded introduction entirely,[184] merely copying '**Ybernia** þat is **Irlond,** and was of olde tyme incorperate into þe lordship of **Brytayn,** so seith **Giraldus in sua topographia'** (ll. 2976–2978) before continuing with the rest of this chapter, which is concerned with a topographical description of Ireland.

The compiler typically also omits sections of the *Polychronicon* which focus on divergence between different chronologies, and ways of reconciling them. Book II,

[184] This introduction goes back to Higden's Latin version, and is found both in Trevisa's and Caxton's translations (Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: I, 328–329)).

chapters 4–6 regularly compare the Hebrew Old Testament with the Septuagint with regard to the differences between the life spans given in each for certain Old Testament patriarchs. *T* omits these comparisons systematically. Examples of sections which are omitted are: 'But the thre score & ten putteth an honderd yere to fore the seuentye & withdraweth an honderd afterward. Malaleel fyue and sixty yere old gate Iareth and lyued afetrward [sic] eyght honderd yere and thrytty but the seuentye setteth an honderd to fore v & sixtye and withdraweth an honderd afterward' (II, 4, lxxvj^{v}, regarding the age of Mahalalel), 'In this the seuentye acordeth with other' (II, 4, lxxvj^{v}, regarding the age of Jared), 'But the seuentye setteth an honderd yere bifore the fyue and sixtye' (II, 4, lxxvj^{v}, regarding the age of Enoch), and 'but the seuenty and Ysidorus putten the honderd bifore the thyrtty & afterward two honderd and nyne' (II, 6, lxxix^{r}, regarding the age of Ragau). Through the omission of such comparisons of chronology, the compiler reduces the material to crucial facts. Given that, as the above analysis has shown, the compiler is highly interested in combining different texts and reconciling them, it is somewhat surprising that these passages are omitted. This suggests that the compiler is more interested in presenting a coherent narrative and chronology than in explicitly pointing out the difficulty in reconciling different accounts.

This focus on coherence is also evident in the way in which he frequently replaces lengthy descriptions with much shorter and pithy summaries. Chapter I, 27 of the *Polychronicon* contains an extremely detailed section on the genealogy of the French kings, only a few lines of which are quoted here:

> After Theodericus regned Clodoneus. And after hym his yonger broder Childebertus. After hym his yong sone Dagobertus. And after hym the kynges lignage faylled, for after hym regned his broder Daniel that was a clerk. […] And after hym his broder Hildericus. He was put doun for grete nycete and made a clerk, and lyued as a monk in an abbaye. And thenne faylled the lygnage in men of Ferramundus blood but yet it lasted and dured in a woman that was Batildis, Dagobertus suster. […] This Charles gate the second Pupinus and Charles the grete that was afterward a monke. This second Pupinus was of kynges kynde. For he cam of Batildis that we spak of bifore and therfor he was made kynge of

> Fraunce by assente of alle the chiualrye and by auctorite of Pope Steuen that was pope neyt after Zacharye. This Pupinus gate Charles the Grete (I, 27, xxxvij^{r})

This entire section, covering nearly a whole page in Caxton, is summarised in *T* in the following way:

> Aftyr Theodericus regned **Clodoneus** and so fourthe eche kyng aftyr oþer lynyally tylle it cam to þe ij^{de} **Pupinus,** whiche was ryghtful kyng of Fraunce. And he begate **Charles** þe Grete. (ll. 2599–2601)

Whilst the genealogy is thus reduced to the most important figures – Theoderic and his son, and finally Pippin and Charlemagne, the troubles in succession for the Merovingian dynasty are not explained in detail, but they are acknowledged in the compiler's summary by calling Pippin the 'ryghtful kyng of Fraunce'. This demonstrates that even where the compiler omits lengthy sections of the source text, he is intimately familiar with the omitted material, and is making a well-considered choice to include or exclude a certain section.

The compiler is not only aware of the content of the passages he is cutting down to manageable proportions in this way, but also of the context of each of these sections. This is evident, for instance, in a section in the *Polychronicon* which repeats a reference to the same number of years twice in very close proximity: 'Abraham was born bifore the buyldyng of the cyte of Rome nygh a thousand yere & thre C. Oro. li. 1. The yere bifore the buyldyng of the cyte of Rome a thousand and thre hondred' (II, 9, lxxxij^{v}). The compiler must have been aware of this repetition, and considered it unnecessary, as he shortens the second reference to 'in þat tyme and yere aforseyde' (ll. 3751–3752). The same is true for other cases of repetition (possibly due to dittography) in Caxton's text, as in a section in I, 7 (xi^{r}) on the properties of Africa:[185]

[185] This repetition only occurs in Caxton's edition and in London, British Library, MS Add. 24194, one of the two manuscripts of Trevisa's translation collated by Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: I, 51), which suggests that this error occurred at some point in the course of the transmission of Trevisa's text.

> Also Affryca in his kynde hath lasse space. And for the sturenes of heuen it hath the more wyldernes. And though Affryca be lytil, it hath more wyldernes and waste londe, for grete brennyng of hete of the sonne

By contrast, the compiler, recognising the repetition of 'more wyldernes', omits this.

> Also Affryca in his kynde hathe lasse space and for þe sturenes of heuen it hathe þe more wyldernes and waste londe though it be lykyl, for grete brennyng of hete of sonne (ll. 1021–1023)

Constant attention, both to the content of a specific section, and to its immediate and wider context, is required for these systematic omissions and summaries.

As a closer look at the additions in *T* has demonstrated, the compiler is very adept at collecting information on a specific subject from a range of sources, and rearranging it accordingly. However, his strategies of omitting and abridging his sources show that he is not merely amassing material, but carefully selecting and, if necessary, shortening it with a clear purpose in mind. The way in which the compiler interacts with his sources and maintains an expert overview of a vast quantity of highly complex material on a very large scale, whilst at the same time devoting meticulous attention to detail in view of the requirements of a wide and mixed audience, suggests that the history in *T* is the creation of a highly educated, extremely well-read and systematic mind.

Chapter III Analysis of source texts: biblical and para-biblical sources

Even though the *Polychronicon* contains frequent references to biblical history, the compiler goes beyond these references, and often copies and translates from the biblical text itself. Translations and paraphrases of the Bible appear throughout *T*, but particularly in the account of the Creation and Fall near the beginning of the text, and later on in the account of the kings and judges of Israel. The compiler also uses para-biblical sources which engage with historical material: The Holy Cross Legend, and the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers, all of which are discussed below.

1 Biblical passages

The sections in *T* which use biblical material fall into three distinct categories: first, sections which translate from the Vulgate directly, either with or without inclusion of the Latin text, second, sections which are based on biblical material but summarise it rather than translating the Bible letter for letter, and third, those which provide a commentary and exegesis of the biblical text.

The sections in the first and second categories are of particular interest in a post-Arundelian context. Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions of Oxford* (1409) prohibited both the creation and the perusal of any new translation of Scripture into the vernacular made after the time of John Wyclif, unless the translation had been approved by the

ecclesiastical authorities.[186] The ensuing climate of censorship in fifteenth-century England has been subject to wide-ranging scholarly investigation in the wake of Nicholas Watson's much-discussed article,[187] but the extent to which this climate affected different authors in different social and geographical spheres is still unclear. The legislation regarding Bible translations was only enforced sporadically, and 'many who were technically in default of Arundel's Constitutions escaped without suspicion.'[188] There is, in fact, evidence of ownership of Wycliffite translations by undoubtedly orthodox readers,[189] and there were, of course, a number of practical difficulties in discerning heterodox tendencies in any specific manuscript.[190] Around the time of the compilation of *T* in the late fifteenth century, the English church had undergone significant developments since Arundel's time. Vincent Gillespie has pointed out the shift in perspective during and after Henry Chichele's time as archbishop (1414–1443), a man who 'had intellectual and ecclesiastical horizons that were broader than those of Arundel'[191] and was part of a 'generation [which] shared more common ground with the *Wyclivisiti* than Arundel's'.[192] Nonetheless, Chichele's successor John Stafford's line on vernacular bibles was very restrictive,[193] and Arundel's *Constitutions* remained in force until 1529, hence covering all new translations of the Bible including Tyndale's, and ownership of vernacular scripture could be used as incriminating evidence in heresy trials.[194]

It is unlikely that a highly educated, theologically competent author like the compiler of *T* would have been unaware of the fact that translation of the Vulgate into

[186] Cf. Article 7, quoted and translated in Dove (2007: 35–36).
[187] Watson (1995). For a range of more recent responses to Watson's article, see the collection in Gillespie and Ghosh (eds. 2011).
[188] Hudson (1988: 444).
[189] See Solopova (2016a) and Solopova (2016b).
[190] Hudson (1988: 422).
[191] Gillespie (2011: 13).
[192] Gillespie (2011: 14).
[193] De Hamel (2001: 178).
[194] Hudson (1988: 231), De Hamel (2001: 186–187).

the vernacular was a contentious issue at the time. Nonetheless, he does not have any qualms about translating substantive parts of the Vulgate into the vernacular in this account of Old Testament history. Throughout *T*, we find different ways of gesturing to the original Latin text, and to the manuscript's status as containing an English translation. In many cases, the full Latin quotation is given in a display script, which is then followed by the translation in the more current hand used throughout the manuscript. This does not hide but highlights the presence of the supposedly illegal translation.

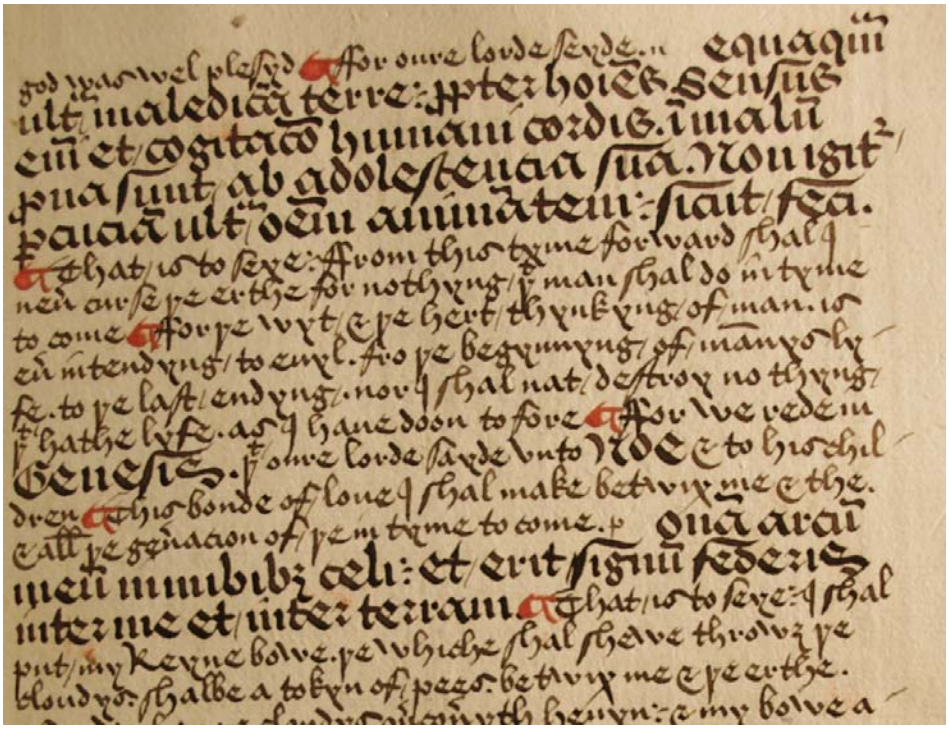


Figure 34: f. 14r

Fig. 34 shows a section from Genesis, which describes God's promise after the Flood never again to destroy mankind through water in time to come. Several sections are quoted directly from the Vulgate, and followed by a translation. On a visual level, the authority of the Latin text is emphasised through the hierarchy of scripts, so that even at a brief glance it is clear that the biblical text is being translated into the vernacular. Its

status as a translation is also highlighted on a textual level by introduction of the phrase 'That is to seye':

> For oure Lorde seyde, "**Nequaquam ultra maledicam terre propter homines sensus enim et cogitacio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescencia sua. Non igitur percuciam ultra omnem animantem sicut feci."** That is to seye, "From this tyme forward shal I neuer curse þe erthe for nothyng þat man shal do in tyme to come. For þe wyt and þe hert thynkyng of man is euer intendyng to euyl, fro þe begynnyng of mannys lyfe to þe last endyng. Nor I shal nat destroy no thyng þat hathe lyfe as I haue doon tofore." (ll. 740–746)

The section emphasised by the display script is Gen 8:21 in the Vulgate, which is quoted in full, and followed by a full translation. This translation shows no similarity to either the Early or the Late Versions of the Wycliffite Bible, which render the same verse as follows:

> **EV:**
> I shal no more curse to the erthe for men, the witt forsothe and the thouȝt of mannus herte ben redi in to yuel fro his tyme of waxyng; therfore I shal smyte no more ech soule lyuynge as Y haue don
>
> **LV:**
> Y schal no more curse the erthe for men, for the wit and thouȝt of mannus herte ben redi in to yuel fro ȝong wexynge age; therfore Y schal no more smyte ech lyuynge soule as Y dide[195]

Compared to the Wycliffite versions, the translation in *T* is arguably freer and more idiomatic, and less restricted by the Latin syntax. The phrase 'propter homines' is translated literally in the Wycliffite Bible as 'for men' in both versions, while *T* has the more extensive 'for nothyng þat man shal do in tyme to come', which interprets the meaning behind the words of the Latin version as referring to man's deeds, and renders it in a much more idiomatic English than the Wycliffite Bible.[196] In a similar way, 'ab adulescentia sua' is translated rather freely as 'fro þe begynnyng of mannys lyfe to þe last endyng' in *T*, which here interprets the time span during which man's heart is

[195] Forshall and Madden (eds. 1850: I, 94).
[196] On medieval translation theory in relation to the four senses of Scripture, and the importance of the literal sense, see the Prologue to Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Literalis*, translated in Minnis et al. (1991: 266–270).

inclined to evil as man's entire life, and mentions explicitly the beginning and the end of man's life. The Wycliffite Bible, again, is more literal here and translates 'fro his tyme of waxyng' (EV) and 'fro ȝong wexyng age' (LV). The Latin 'in malum prona sunt' is translated by the rather stilted 'ben redi in to yuel' in both Wycliffite versions, but *T* gives it as the better-flowing construction 'euer intendyng to euyl'. Clarity and idiomaticity appear to be the aims of the Bible translations in *T*, and in pursuing this aim the compiler is far less conservative and literal than even the Late Wycliffite Version.

In some cases, *T* does not provide a full Latin quotation which is then translated completely, as in the previous example. A section relating how God makes peace with man after the Flood, and creates the rainbow as a token of this peace, does not give full quotations from the Vulgate, but rather gestures towards the source text in a different way:

> For we rede in **Genesis** þat oure Lorde sayde vnto **Noe** and to his children, "This bonde of loue I shal make betwix me and the, and alle þe generacion of þe in tyme to come." "**Ponam arcum meum in nubibus celi, et erit signum federis inter me et inter terram."** That is to seye, "I shal put my reyne bowe, þe whiche shal shewe throwȝ þe cloudys, shal be a tokyn of pees betwix me and þe erthe. And whan þe cloudys ouercoueryth heuyn and my bowe aperyth in þe cloudys, than shal I remembyr þe promys of pees þe whiche I made to the and to thy generacioun and to alle lyuyng peple in tyme to come. And þere shal neuer water drenche furthermore, nothyr man ne beest, for my bowe shal be in þe cloudys, and I shal se yt. And than shal I remembyr þe euerlastyng pees þe whiche is promysyd betwix me and alle þat be lyuyng apon þe erthe." (ll. 746–757)

The source of this section, Genesis, is given at the beginning, making it clear that what follows is biblical material. This entire section (from 'This bonde of loue' onwards) is, in fact, a direct translation of Gen 9:12–16 from the Vulgate, but only a small part of it is quoted in Latin. As in the previous example, this section is followed by 'That is to seye', indicating that what follows is a translation of the Latin. The remainder of the section, however, did not contain any indicators as to its status as translation until I

added editorial punctuation.[197] In practice, it would have been difficult for a reader to tell where the translation begins and where it ends, unless he were to compare it with the Vulgate directly. It seems as if the Latin quotation here functions as a kind of cue. Rather than providing a means of accessing the passage in both languages, its function might rather be to license the presence of an English translation, and gesture to the existence of the Latin authoritative source. Once again, this translation does not show any similarities to the Wycliffite Bible, and is much less literal. *T* translates 'signum federis' rather freely as 'bonde of loue' (whereas EV has 'signe of couenaunt of pees' and LV 'signe of boond of pees'),[198] and adapts the pronouns in this passage to the particular requirements of the narrative: in *T*, God appears to be speaking to Noah first and foremost, addressing him in the second person pronoun in the singular (*the*), whilst the Latin has the plural *vos*.

A similar adjustment of the biblical text to narrative requirements in *T* can be found in a passage translating Gen 3:9–13:

> And than oure Lorde callyd Adam and seyde, "**Adam Adam ubi es,"** 'Adam, Adam, where art thow?' And than Adam spake to oure Lorde and seyde, "A, Lorde, I herde thy voyce welle but I dred to answere vnto þe because I was nakyd, and þerfor I hyd me." Than seyde oure Lorde, "Who shewyd þe or tolde þe þat thow were nakyd but þat thou hast ete of þe tree whiche I forbad þe thou shuldyst nat ete of?" Than seyde Adam, "Lorde þe woman whiche thou ordeynyst to be my felow gaue me of þe tree and I ete yt." Than oure Lorde askyd þe woman why she had so doo. And she seyde, "Lorde þe serpent deceyuyd me and causyd me to ete yt." (ll. 121–131)

Similar to the passage discussed above, this section uses a short Latin quotation as a cue, possibly to legitimise the presence of the translation, before proceeding to translate the rest of the biblical text without any clear marker of it being a translation. Interestingly, the Vulgate merely has 'Ubi es' here,[199] whilst *T* quotes it as 'Adam Adam

[197] For comparable cases, see Moore (2011).
[198] Forshall and Madden (eds. 1850: I, 94).
[199] Gen 3:9.

ubi es', with the repetition of Adam's name heightening the intensity of God's call. It is, of course, possible that the compiler was here working from a variant copy of the Vulgate, but there are reasons to assume that these changes were introduced by the compiler himself. Where the Vulgate has 'Vocem tuam audivi in paradiso', this is translated as 'A, Lorde, I herde thy voyce welle'. The interjection 'A' here heightens the liveliness of the narrative in a similar way to the repetition of Adam's name, which suggests that these changes are the result of the compiler subtly adapting the biblical text and translation to his narrative purposes. The addition of interjections shows that the compiler had a dramatic ear for dialogue, perhaps sharpened by a thorough grammatical education, which would have emphasised the role of interjections in Latin and other languages.[200]

It is worth noting that in the passage cited above, there is no insertion of 'þat is to seye' to indicate that the Latin is being translated. Although translations are marked in this way frequently throughout *T*,[201] there are other passages which do not use this phrase to introduce a direct translation. For instance, a section translated from the Book of Job 1:21 describes Job's reaction after all his worldly possessions have been taken from him:

> And when messengeris come vnto hym and seyde þat his goodys and his childryn were destroyed, he seyde ful mekely, "**Dominus dedit dominus abstulit." '**The good Lorde hathe geuyn alle thyngis, and þe good Lorde hathe takyn alle thyngis.' "**Sicut domino placuit ita factum est." '**As it plese þe good Lorde, so be yt.' "**Sit nomen domini benedictum."** 'His name be blissyd.' (ll. 5631–5635)[202]

In this section, we find sentence-by-sentence glossing of the Latin, so that Latin quotations alternate with English translations. Even though no markers like 'þat is to

[200] For further details on medieval grammarians' discussion of interjections, see Hobson (2018).
[201] See, in addition to the examples given above, the translations from Latin in ll. 4223–4224, 4576. This introductory phrase also occurs with a translation from Aramaic in l. 9725.
[202] The sentence 'Sicut domino placuit ita factum est' is not part of the standard text of the Vulgate, but does appear in some copies (cf. Weber and Gryson (eds. 2007: 733)).

seye' are used, the glossing structure, in connection with the visual alternation between display script and lower-grade script (cf. Fig. 35) makes is quite clear even to a non-Latinate reader that the Latin is being translated one sentence at a time.

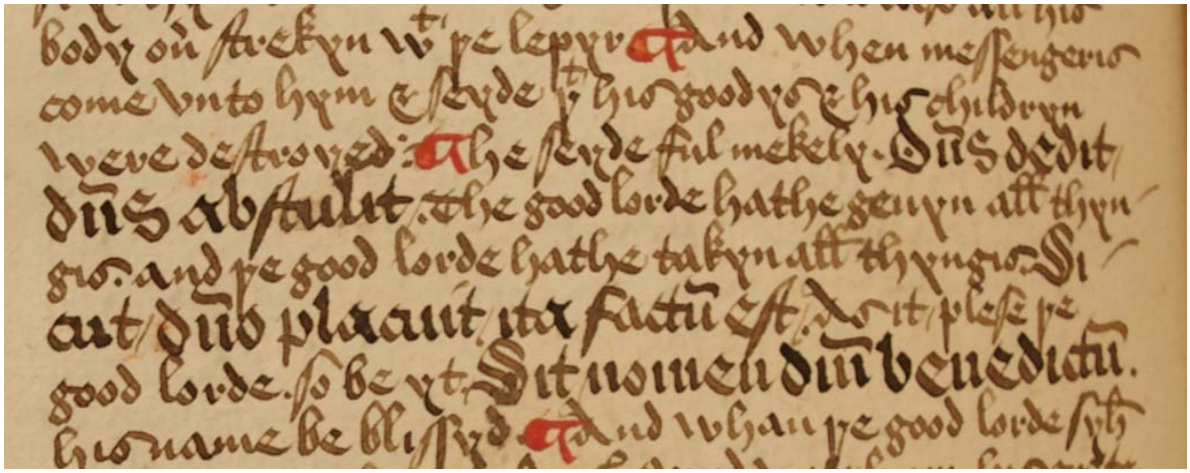


Figure 35: f. 112^{v}

Once again, the translation here is less literal than the one we find in the Wycliffite Bible: whilst both EV and LV translate 'dominus dedit dominus abstulit' as 'the Lord ȝaf, the Lord took awei'[203] and thus stay close to the Latin text, *T* translates more freely as 'The good Lorde hathe geuyn alle thyngis, and þe good Lorde hathe takyn alle thyngis', adding the object 'alle thyngis' for increased clarity and idiomaticity.

All of the examples discussed so far gesture towards their status as translations in a number of ways, either by quoting an entire section in Latin and then translating it, translating sentence by sentence, or providing a short Latin cue followed by a more extensive translation of material which is not quoted in full. However, there are also extensive passages in *T* which are translated directly from the Bible without quoting any Latin. For instance, a lengthy section in ll. 4426–4449 contains an account of Abraham's bargaining with God to save the cities Sodom and Gomorrah. This is a translation of Gen 19:23–33, which a comparison of a few lines will demonstrate:

[203] Forshall and Madden (eds. 1850: II, 674).

> "Lorde, wylt thow destroy a ryghtwys man with a synner? Lorde, yf þere be fyfty ryghtwis men in þe cyte, wylt not thow safe þe cyte for fyfty ryghtwys men? God forbede, good Lord, þat thow shuld slee a ryghtwis man with a wykkyd man. For than a ryghtwis man shuld be as a synner. Lorde, is not þe worlde thyn good? Lorde, doo not þat wykkyd doom." Than þe good Lorde answeryd to Abraham and seyde, "Abraham, yf I fynde fifty ryghtwis men in þe cyte, I shall saue þe cyte for tho ryghtwis men." (ll. 4429–4435)
>
> **Gen 18**
> 23 numquid perdes iustum cum impio
> 24 si fuerint quinquaginta iusti in civitate peribunt simul et non parces loco illi propter quinquaginta iustos si fuerint in eo
> 25 absit a te ut rem hanc facias et occidas iustum cum impio fiatque iustus sicut impius non est hoc tuum qui iudicas omnem terram nequaquam facies iudicium
> 26 dixitque Dominus ad eum si invenero Sodomis quinquaginta iustos in medio civitatis dimittam omni loco propter eos

This section is clearly translated directly from the Vulgate and stays relatively close to the Latin source text, apart from a few liberties which the translator takes with the text, such as insertions of names or appellatives ('Abraham, yf I fynde' for 'si invenero'; 'Lorde, wylt thow destroy' for 'numquid perdes'), replacement of pronouns by nouns ('for tho ryghtwis men' for 'propter eos'), and a rather free translation of 'non est hoc tuum qui iudicias omnem terram' as 'Lorde, is not þe worlde thyn good?'. These changes often serve to increase the clarity of the text and heighten the dramatic qualities of the interchange between God and Abraham, and are thus in keeping with the translation strategies found throughout *T*, as discussed above. However, unlike with the passages previously discussed, here the original language is removed, and it is not made obvious textually or visually that this is a direct translation from the Vulgate. Only a direct comparison with the Latin would reveal that this is the case.[204] Here it seems that English is trusted enough as a medium for conveying the text of Scripture to be allowed to stand alone, as a translation in its own right.

[204] For other lengthy sections which translate directly from the Vulgate without any Latin quotations, although they do mention the relevant biblical passage at the start, see ll. 4487–4550 (translating Gen 27:6–40), and ll. 4938–4963 (translating Ex 4:2–31, with some sentences summarising rather than translating).

Where *T* does contain a Latin quotation, it almost without fail provides an English translation, often introduced by the phrase 'þat is to seye', which is likely to indicate that the compiler did not expect all members of his audience to be Latinate. Given this fact, the very few instances where no translation is provided are all the more striking. In ll. 5110–5121, specific psalms are referred to by their Latin incipits, without a translation:

> And than **Moyses** for to make lande and praisyng to God of ther sauff passage, made thanne this canticle. **Cantemus domino gloriose et cetera.** And whan þe pepil of Israell were comyn to londe, þere they abodyn vij dayes. (ll. 5110–5113)

This section shows a marked interest in liturgical matters, as it details the liturgical practices at Salisbury a few lines later:

> at þe feste of **Pasche** þe quere goith a presessioun abought þe founte vij dayes in þat weke with songe and melodie, seing **In exitu israel de egipto, et cetera** (ll. 5117–5120)

The liturgical practice described here is attested in early printed Sarum Processionals, which include the singing of the psalm 'In excitu Israel de Egypto':
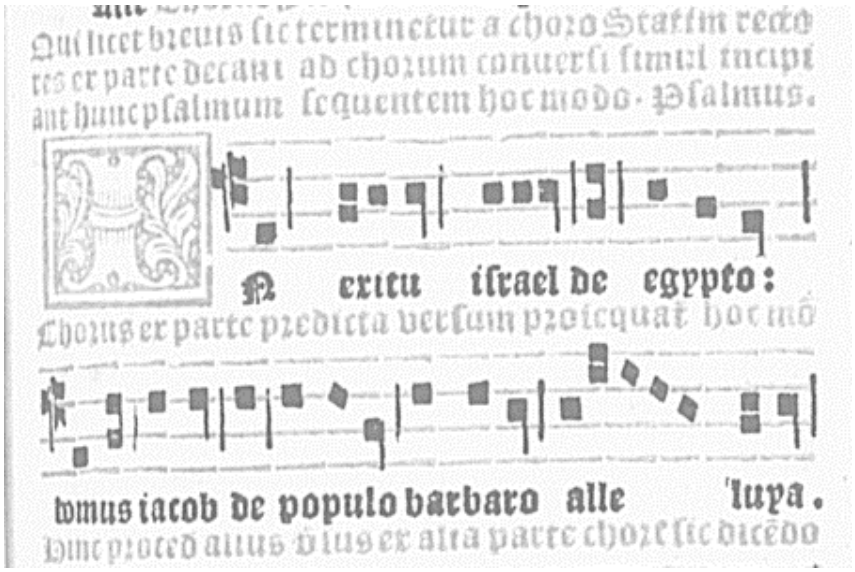


Figure 36: Sarum Processional, printed in 1508 (STC 16233), f. 106[r] (modern foliation)[205]

[205] Image retrieved from EEBO <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:468826249> [last accessed 6 July 2019].

As this section with its focus on liturgical practice would have been of interest mainly to clerical members of the audience, the compiler may have felt that a translation of the psalm titles was not necessary. It may not have been very useful, either, as the liturgy was performed in Latin, and extant translations of liturgical texts were, as far as we are aware, restricted to epistle and gospel lections.[206] The most recognisable form of such psalm titles was thus in Latin, which is why the compiler may have foregone an English translation in this case.[207]

This explanation cannot be applied, however, to another section where the Latin is quoted, but an English translation is not provided. This is in a section referring to the Last Supper, where the words of consecration spoken by Christ are only given in Latin:

> And þat manna þe whiche oure Lorde gaue to þe childryn of Israell synyfyeth þe holy brede þe whiche he gaue to his disciplis longe aftyr at his maundi whan he seyde these wordys, "**Accipite et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum quod pro uobis tradetur."** (ll. 5516–5519)

It is striking that these words remain untranslated. The question of transsubstantiation was, of course, one of the main theological issues contested by the Lollards.[208] As the compiler was freely translating from the Vulgate without any obvious concerns about the restrictions on Bible translation after Arundel, we might assume that he may have had Lollard sympathies. If this was indeed the case, one would think that the words spoken at the Last Supper were the ideal place to comment upon this issue or to voice Lollard views.[209] However, what we find is quite the contrary: not only is there a lack of pertinent commentary or interpretation, but also a lack of translation. It almost seems as

[206] For further details on lectionaries in English, see Solopova (2016b: 6–17). My forthcoming edition of the Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary contains a more extensive analysis of this group of texts than Solopova's. On the use of the psalms in Middle English literature, see also Sutherland (2015).

[207] Other sections which show a marked interest in liturgical practice occur, for instance, in ll. 1030–1036 (which detail the languages used in the liturgy), and ll. 4909–4920 (which explain why three Masses are said on Christmas Day).

[208] For further details on this controversy, see Hudson (1988: 281–290). Ghosh (2002: 164–165; 197–200) discusses some contemporary responses to Wyclif's theology in greater detail.

[209] Such insertions frequently occur in Lollard tracts and commentaries – see, for instance, the 'topics' in the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels* (Hudson (2015: 96–116)). A topic which addresses the Eucharist – *De sacramento altaris* – is edited on pp. 60–66 of Hudson's study.

if the compiler is unwilling to engage with this controversial issue, and evades the controversy by staying on the safe ground provided by Latin. Here as elsewhere, *T* appears completely orthodox in theological terms, and there is no textual similarity to Wycliffite translations. The fact that a writer with orthodox views was able to translate the Vulgate into the vernacular, and clearly mark his translations as translations, without any apparent concern about possible repercussions or censorship, may indicate that restrictions on Bible translation were no longer as severe by the end of the fifteenth century, contrary to the views voiced by some scholars.[210]

If we compare this evidence to *H*, we find very similar translation strategies to those in *T*. In the so-called *Complaint of Our Lady*, a narrative of the Passion from the point of view of the Virgin Mary, Latin quotations are consistently emphasised in a display script, followed by an English translation. Fig. 37 illustrates the visual aspect of these translations on the page, which looks very similar to *T*:

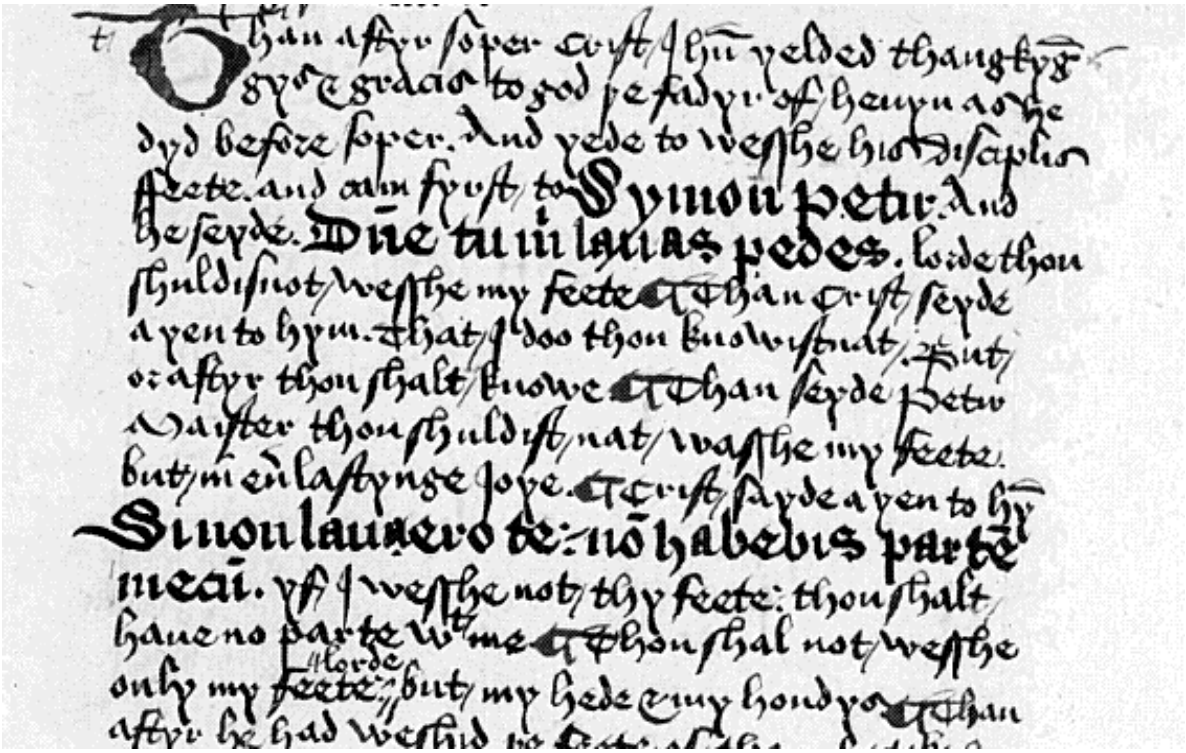


Figure 37: H, *f. 25r*

[210] See Deanesly (1920), Watson (1995), and Daniell (2003).

The *Complaint of Our Lady* also contains an account of the Last Supper. In contrast to *T*, here the words of consecration are, in fact, translated:

> There Crist made the blessyd Sacrament of his precyus body in forme of breede and his blode in forme of wyne. seyng take ye and yete this. for this is my body. And he toke the chalis. seing drynke ye of this. For this is my bloode be the new testament whiche shal be shed for many synnys. Thus euerychone of them resceyuyd his blessyd body. (f. 24^{v})[211]

There are two other extant manuscripts containing the Middle English text of the *Complaint of Our Lady*: Leeds, University Library, MS Brotherton 501,[212] and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498,[213] which has been identified with a Lollard background.[214] In *H*, however, the text appears in a distinct version as the compiler alters and edits this text. Here, 'the narrative is interrupted by digressions and commentaries on episodes'.[215] It does not seem as if the text was included in *H* because of a Lollard agenda similar to that of Pepys 2498.[216] It is clear, however, that whilst the compiler avoids translation of Christ's words at the Last Supper in *T*, he does not have any similar qualms in *H*. The obvious difference between the two texts is that the translation in *H* is copied from another source text, whilst the biblical material in *T* is directly reliant on the Vulgate, and the translation is likely to be the compiler's own work. The compiler, then, seeks to relegate any theological controversy regarding transsubstantiation to the Latin version when translating himself, but is less reticent when copying from another vernacular translation. Both *H* and *T* contain extensive biblical versions in the vernacular, with the compiler freely translating and adapting the

[211] My transcription here is diplomatic.
[212] Hanna (1984: 17).
[213] For a discussion of this manuscript, see Hanna (2003) and Hanna and Lee (2005: 148–221). An extensive description can be found in Zettersten (ed. 1976). For a discussion of the relationship of these versions to each other (as well as to the Anglo-Norman versions in London, British Library, MS Royal 20, and London, British Library, MS Egerton 2781), see Marx (1983). The *Complaint of Our Lady* and *Gospel of Nicodemus* have been edited in Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987).
[214] College (1939).
[215] Marx (1983: 77).
[216] The exact relationship between *H* and Pepys 2498 is difficult to determine. Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 23–25) suggest that the texts in both manuscripts may derive from a common ancestor.

biblical text without any obvious concerns about possible censorship, and without engaging with Lollard issues even where the opportunity presented itself.

To sum up, the compiler of *T* interacts with the Bible on a range of different levels: he translates the text directly from the Vulgate, and gestures towards the Latin source in a variety of ways, ranging from full quotation of the Latin text to complete exclusion of any Latin quotations. His translations are freer than the Wycliffite translations, and are marked by their idiomatic quality. He also adapts the biblical text to increase the clarity and immediacy of the narrative. The compiler has no apparent qualms about translating the Vulgate into the vernacular, despite the problematic status of English translations of the Bible at the time, and although in some places Latin cues may have been used to legitimise the presence of a translation, these cues do not appear consistently in all passages which are translated. In a post-Arundelian context, this evidence is striking, and indicates that the restrictions on translation into the vernacular were less severe by the end of the fifteenth century than has commonly been assumed by earlier scholarship. Very occasionally, Latin quotations remain untranslated. These passages reveal a distinct interest in liturgical matters, and may not have been translated due to practical considerations, and possibly to avoid contentious theological issues such as the nature of the Eucharist. The presence of translation in almost all cases shows the compiler's distinct interest in biblical material in the vernacular, and indicates that he was conscious of writing for a mixed audience, some members of which were not Latinate (or at least preferred the vernacular to Latin). On the other hand, the absence of translations of liturgically relevant phrases might indicate that a large part of the audience was clerical.

However, *T* does not only use biblical material in the form of direct translations. A large part of the text relates Old Testament history as a summary of the biblical text, whether by copying other texts which summarise biblical material, like the

Polychronicon (e.g. the account of Cain and his line in ll. 331–370), or by providing summaries which appear to be based directly on the Bible. For instance, the tale of creation at the start of the text in ll. 1–54 is a summary based on Gen 1:1–31, 2:15–18, 21–25, and 3:1, rather than a line by line translation of the biblical text.[217] The boundaries between word-for-word translation and summary can be blurry, as some passages freely alternate between the two:

> Than furthermore we rede in **Genesis, capitulo iiij^{o},** þat oure Lorde seyde to **Moyses,** "What holdys thow in thyn hande?" Moyses answeryd and seyde, "A rodde." (ll. 4938–4941)

God's words and Moses's answer are here translated quite straightforwardly from the Vulgate: 'dixit ergo ad eum quid est hoc quod tenes in manu tua respondit virga' (Ex 4:2). The following verse in the Vulgate is: 'ait proice eam in terram proiecit et versa est in colubrum ita ut fugeret Moyses' (Ex 4 :3). In *T*, this is translated rather more freely, omitting the phrase 'ita ut fugeret Moyses':

> Oure Lorde bad hym cast it vppon þe erthe. Tho Moyses dyd as oure Lorde commaundyd hym, and yt was turned into a serpente. (ll. 4941–4943)

T then translates Ex 4:4 in a similarly free fashion, but omits Ex 4:5–8 completely, before returning to Ex 4:9, which the compiler summarises and shortens:

> quod si nec duobus quidem his signis crediderint neque audierint vocem tuam sume aquam fluminis et effunde eam super aridam et quidquid hauseris de fluvio vertetur in sanguinem (Ex 4:9)
>
> Than seyde oure Lorde, "Yf the pepyll wyl not trowe þe, take water of þe flode and sched fourthe vppon þe erthe, and whosoeuer shall drynke of þat flode, yt shal be turned into bloode." (ll. 4945–4947)

Whether this is still a translation, or a summary of the biblical text, is difficult to define. It is, perhaps, more appropriate to see Bible translation in *T* on a spectrum ranging from word-for-word translation to free summary and retelling, than to try and classify the text

[217] This is not dissimilar to the techniques we find in German so-called *Historienbibeln*, discussed below, pp. 129 and 206–207.

into different categories. Some of these translations or retellings could be the result of the compiler's recollecting biblical stories from memory rather than with the Vulgate present when composing some of these summaries. Key biblical passages such as Genesis 1 would have been readily present in the mind of an educated medieval writer, and direct reference to a copy of the Vulgate would not have been necessary at all times.[218] In *H*, on the other hand, we find the compiler carefully revising *The Complaint of Our Lady* with Latin additions from the Vulgate,[219] which suggests a preference for direct reference to the Bible, which may also have guided the composition of *T*.

The manuscript also contains a number of exegetical sections which expound the biblical material according to its spiritual significance. These sections are typically introduced by 'Moralite', as in a passage which discusses the significance of Hagar and Sarah in Genesis 16, and starts as follows:

> **Moralite.** ȝef ye wyl consydere aftyr þe trouthe, by þe chamberer is vndirstonde þe synagoge of þe Sarasyns and Paynyms. The chamberers sone be they þat holde and obserue þe lawe þerof. Be Sara is vndyrstonde holy chirche and they þat þe lawe þerof holden is vndirstonde Isaac, fygure of oure Lorde Ihesu Crist. (ll. 4194–4198)

Sections such as this one look very similar to contemporary medieval biblical commentaries, but unusually, they do not appear to be based directly on any of the principal medieval commentaries, such as the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Postillae* or Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla super totam Bibliam*. There are eight sections in total which contain such commentary material,[220] but I have not been able to identify their exact source. This material – moralities and exegetical interpretations – is of a nature which would have been useful for the purposes of preaching and similar tasks, and many educated medieval readers and writers would have been trained to generate

[218] On the memorised Bible which educated churchmen and laymen had readily present in their minds, see Beal (2012: 81).
[219] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 57–58).
[220] These are: ll. 4194–4199; ll. 5158–5171; ll. 5203–5206; ll. 5524–5526; ll. 5599–5626; ll. 6249–6287; ll. 6773–6781; ll. 10034–10059.

texts of this kind.[221] It is thus likely that the commentary sections present the compiler's own version of moral interpretations, perhaps loosely based on a variety of different sources.

The various ways of interacting with the biblical text which we find in *T* – translation, paraphrase, retelling, commenting, and referring to its liturgical use – fits well with the looser kinds of engagement with biblical and para-biblical texts found in other fifteenth-century texts which focus on 'vernacular theology'.[222] Similar to many other fifteenth-century writers engaging with biblical material, the compiler does not seem to be concerned about possible heretical implications of Bible translation. He rather uses the grey area between Bible translation (in its strict sense) and looser engagement with the text creatively and freely – a testimony to the space which fifteenth-century religious culture allowed for vernacular reception of the Bible, in spite of Arundel's legislation. This space applies not only to biblical, but also para-biblical material, such as the Holy Cross legend.

2 The Holy Cross Legend

This legend telling the history of the Holy Cross before Christ was immensely popular and widespread throughout medieval Europe. Versions of this tale are extant in many Western European vernaculars as well as Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Slavonic. It is a tale, or rather a group of tales, which appear in the art and literature of many languages in various shapes over a period of several hundred years. The essential concept underlying these stories is a parallel between man's fall and man's redemption: just as the fatal fruit in the garden of Eden came from a tree, so Christ's Cross was made from

[221] I am grateful to Professor Andrew Kraebel for his comments on this material.
[222] For a discussion of this term, see Johnson (2011). The collection of essays in Gillespie and Ghosh (eds. 2011) demonstrate the range, fluidity, and adaptability of vernacular theological texts in the fifteenth century.

the wood of a tree. This typological analogy is well-known in medieval biblical exegesis, and finds an early expression in verse in a sixth-century hymn to the Cross ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus, which was used in the Divine Office during Holy Week and on prominent feasts of the Holy Cross:

> De parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens,
> quando pomi noxialis morte morsu corruit,
> ipse lignum tunc notavit, damna ligni ut solveret.
>
> Hoc opus nostræ salutis ordo depoposcerat,
> multiformis perditoris arte ut artem falleret,
> et medellam ferret inde, hostis unde laeserat.
>
> (The Creator, grieving for the crime of our first-formed father,
> when by the bite of the fatal fruit he fell in death,
> then picked out wood to remedy the harm that wood had caused.
>
> The plan of our salvation had demanded that this take place,
> so that by his art he should foil the art of the shape-shifting destroyer,
> and secure healing from the very source from which our enemy had worked harm.)[223]

The Holy Cross legend makes this connection between the two trees, in which the tree of Paradise is a figure of the Cross of Christ, more immediate and palpable in ascribing a special history to the wood of the Cross. It recounts the origin of the tree from which came the wood of the Cross, lending it a particular significance appropriate for the important role it will later play in the universal drama of man's salvation enacted on the Cross. Based upon apocryphal material, the legend relates that the tree of the Cross came from a seed of the paradisical tree. Thus, the very same tree which is the means by which death is first brought to mankind later becomes the means by which mankind is reunited with God through Christ's death.

[223] Latin text and English translation quoted from Roberts (ed. 2017: 70–71). Echoes of the ideas in this hymn can be found in the vernacular as well, such as in the B-text of *Piers Plowman*, xviii, 358–59: 'And as Adam and alle þoruȝ a tree deyden, / Adam and alle þoruȝ a tree shul turne to lyue'. English is not the only vernacular in which we find this theme – see, for instance, the German *Vorauer Ezzolied*, which has an even more condensed and pointed reflection: 'von holze huob sih der tot! / von holze gevil er gote lop.' ('From wood came death, through wood he was vanquished, thanks be to God!') (Lange (ed. 2014: 175), stanza XXI, ll. 257–258).

The development of the legend into the form which is contained in *T* is long and complex. Much has been written elsewhere on the early history and tradition of the legend, so that no more than a very short summary need be given here.[224] The development of the tale has been traced by scholars as starting with two initially separate stories, the origin and languages of which are uncertain.[225] One strand of this tradition is a tale of Seth's journey to Paradise to attain the oil of mercy, as found in the Greek text *Life of Adam and Eve*,[226] and later in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae,*[227] with elements of the tale also appearing in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus.*[228] This tradition was combined with an initially separate set of legends concerned with the origin of the wood of the Cross, the so-called 'rood-tree legends',[229] which spread throughout medieval Europe from the eleventh century onwards.[230] An example of such a 'rood-tree legend' is the twelfth-century late Old English text contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, which begins with Moses finding the three branches, includes David and Solomon, and concludes with Helena's finding of the Holy Cross. By merging this set of legends with the 'Seth' legend, two originally separate traditions were combined to form a single story (hereafter referred to as 'Holy Cross legend').[231] The version of the combined legend which had the greatest influence in medieval England is a thirteenth-century Latin text entitled *Post peccatum Adae* (henceforth

[224] A concise summary of early research on the Holy Cross legend is given in Miller (1992: 1–30). Early studies include Meyer (1881: 101–166); Horstmann (1887: 411–470); Morris (1871); and Napier (1894). Esther Quinn's study (1962) revived the interest in the legend in the 20th century, but it is mainly concerned with the key literary motifs and their development rather than the manuscript evidence. See also the unpublished work by Jones (1976) and Fallon (2009).

[225] Stone (1992) gives a summary of the debate surrounding the origin of the legend, and an evaluation of the arguments for a Jewish origin.

[226] See the critical edition of the Greek text by Tromp (ed. 2005).

[227] See the critical edition by Pettorelli and Kaestli (eds. 2012).

[228] For an overview of editions of the Middle English text, see Severs et al. (1989: II, 640–641).

[229] This term is used in Napier (1894).

[230] For a fuller account, see Meyer (1881: 8).

[231] The earliest joint version appears as an interpolation of a Holy Cross legend into the *Vita Adae et Evae*, presumably at the end of twelfth century (Quinn (1962: 11)). For a more detailed overview of all Latin versions of the legend, see Fallon (2009: 18–21).

PPA),[232] which afterwards became the basis of numerous translations into almost all European vernaculars. Its popularity is attested in the large number of over 80 extant manuscripts,[233] the majority of which are found in England.

In medieval England, the *PPA* tradition was widely known, as attested by a number of Middle English texts which were influenced by it. Notably, the legend appears as part of a larger narrative in the *Cursor Mundi*, *Mandeville's Travels*, Caxton's translation of the Latin *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, Mirk's *Festial*, the *Gilte Legende*, Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and the *South English Legendary.* Furthermore, different versions appear in the *Northern Passion*, the *Expanded Northern Passion*, and in the *Northern Homily Cycle*. Only very few scattered allusions to the tale appear in some of the English mystery plays,[234] whilst the Holy Cross legend plays a much more important role in the Cornish *Ordinalia*, where elements of the legend are woven into the biblical pattern and form an integral part of the plays.[235] There are also two independent prose versions of this legend extant in Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS. F. 172[236] and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125.[237]

Not all of the texts mentioned are based exclusively on *PPA*, as the Latin *Vitae Adae et Evae* tradition was also widely known, and sometimes combined with *PPA*. There are some further Middle English versions, such as the *Canticum de Creatione* and

[232] Meyer refers to this text as the *Legende* (1881: 28). In more recent publications, the titles *Legende* and *Post peccatum Adae* tend to be used interchangeably. I use *Post peccatum Adae* because of the greater distinctiveness of that title.
[233] For a list of manuscripts, see Miller (1992: 129–132).
[234] The Towneley, Chester, and Coventry plays all contain references to the 'oyle of mercy': Towneley Play 3, l. 66 (Stevens and Cawley (eds. 1994)), Chester Play 17, l. 78 (Lumiansky and Mills (eds. 1974)), and Coventry Play 28, l. 901 (Block (ed. 1922)).
[235] On the appearance of the Holy Cross legend in the Cornish *Ordinalia*, see Halliday (1955), who chose to publish the Holy Cross legend separately from the rest of the *Ordinalia*; see also Longsworth (1967); Murdoch (1993: 49–58); and Murdoch (1997).
[236] Edited in Hill (ed. 1965).
[237] Edited in Taguchi (ed. 1996).

the Auchinleck *Life of Adam*,[238] which appear to be derived mainly from *Vita Adae et Evae*. The textual relationships between both Latin and vernacular manuscripts containing Holy Cross legends are frequently highly complex and have not yet been completely disentangled.

Within the larger historical framework in *T*, the Holy Cross legend is broken up into smaller episodes, and inserted into the main narrative at the appropriate chronological points in the history, and is thus presented in six blocks of narrative of varying length inserted into the larger work. The main elements of the version of the legend in *T* can be briefly summed up as follows. Before his imminent death, Adam sends his son Seth to Paradise to ask God for the oil of the tree of mercy. Seth is granted the promise that God's own son will be the oil of mercy. Seth is given three seeds from the tree and is instructed to put them under his father's tongue after his death. From the seeds in Adam's mouth grow three trees. Later, Moses takes the three trees to Mount Tabor, before David takes them to Jerusalem, where they grow together into a single tree. During Solomon's time, the tree is cut down in order to be used in the construction of the temple. However, the beam changes in size, so that it cannot be used in the temple. Two women prophesy the destiny of the tree, and out of spite the Jews throw the beam into a ditch. Miracles are subsequently performed by the water of that ditch, until the time when the beam is used as the Cross of Christ (*T* breaks off incompletely before reaching the time of the Crucifixion).

One of the textual features of the Holy Cross legend in *T* which is especially noteworthy is the way in which it is integrated into the context of a historiographical compilation. References to the legend appear throughout the manuscript, the first and last of which can be found on f. 7^{v} and f. 175^{r} respectively. The way in which the tale is

[238] Both the *Canticum de Creatione* and the *Life of Adam* are edited in Murdoch and Tasioulas (eds. 2002: 63–98 and 35–62).

incorporated into the text of *T* is in certain respects comparable to the treatment of the legend in the *Cursor Mundi*,[239] even though the two versions do not appear to be related textually. The legend as it is found in most Middle English and Latin texts is a single, continuous verse or prose narrative. In both the *Cursor Mundi* and *T*, however, the legend is split up into different episodes, which are inserted into the frame narrative in a way which corresponds with the overarching chronology. Thus, in *T* portions of the legend of varying length appear in the sections dealing with Adam, Shem, Moses, David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, at different points in the narrative. The legend is thus integrated into a larger historical pattern and interwoven with other historical events. Essentially, it functions as a sub-plot within *T*, connecting seemingly unrelated episodes in the chronology.

Whilst the different episodes of the Holy Cross legend are split up and occur at different points in the chronology, the compiler of *T* was determined to create a sense of narrative unity and clarity of reference in the text of the legend. This desire is evident in the frequent references which the compiler inserts at the beginning of sections which take up the theme of the Holy Tree, as if to remind the reader of the parts of the legend which have already been recounted. For instance, when the story relates how the three seeds grow into three branches, we are told that 'of þe iij kernelys þat **Seth** putte vnder his fadrys tounge as þe aungil him badde, þere sprange thre fayre braunchis of lyche long' (ll. 486–488). The relative clause which postmodifies the noun *kernelys* is not found in *PPA* – it appears to be added in *T* in order to emphasise the narrative links within the story. Likewise, the account of Moses' finding of the three branches on f. 113^{v} begins with the words: 'Than furthermore we rede how þe peple of Israell abode with Moyses in deserte in þe vale of Ebron where Adam was buryed. And þere Moyses in his vysyoun syȝ þe iij braunchis standyng abought his hede þat grewe oute of Adams

[239] Morris (ed. 1875–1893).

mouthe' (ll. 5670–5673), thus referring to an event which has been mentioned much earlier, on f. 9^{v}, before moving on to tell of the next episode of the Holy Cross legend. First and foremost, such references obviously fulfil a cohesive function. Since excerpts concerned with the Holy Cross legend are frequently rather short and dispersed over a great number of pages in the manuscript, these summaries of the previous elements of the story would serve as a reading aid if a reader tried to recover the connections. Like the strategies observed in Chapter II above, this indicates a compiler who is conscious of writing for an audience, for readers whom he is at pains to provide with as much clarification as possible. The reader is subtly guided through the vast quantity of historical material by means of a recurring story which binds the various events closer together, and is reminded of these narrative links through recurring references. This also shows the compiler's intention to unify the entire compilation, smoothing the transitions from excerpt to excerpt and blending the different elements of the Holy Cross legend into the surrounding material.

At the same time, this splitting of the legend into different parts which are spread out over almost the entirety of the compilation creates a connection which reinforces the typological significance of Old Testament history. As thousands of years of Old Testament history unfold, interspersed with recurring references to the legend, there is a continuous anticipation of the eventual use to which the tree will be put – as the Cross of Christ. History becomes suffused with the expectation of the future saviour of mankind. Just as the tree from which the apple was taken becomes a type of the Cross of Christ, so all the events of the Old Testament relate to Christ and the foundation of his church, and prefigure them. The use of the Holy Cross legend creates a sustained typological structure, gesturing again and again towards the Crucifixion as the central event of history. Since the manuscript is incomplete, we cannot say with certainty whether the Crucifixion was meant to be included in *T*, but the use of the Holy Cross

legend might indicate that it was, and a reference early on in *T* suggests that this was indeed the compiler's intention (on this point see below, pp. 216–217).

As pointed out above, the structural function of the Holy Cross legend in *T* is reminiscent of its use in the *Cursor Mundi*, where it is used in a comparable way to provide structure and narrative unity.[240] A similar use can be observed in the Cornish *Ordinalia*, where the inclusion of the Holy Cross legend emphasises the typological significance of Old Testament material, and refers to the Passion of Christ as the central theme of the plays.[241] The incorporation of the Holy Cross legend in *T* thus creates a sense of continuity throughout the whole text as well as reinforcing a typological perspective on historical events, with an emphasis on prophecy and prefiguration. The Holy Cross sections are pieces of a well-planned larger textual whole, which has a consistent point of view.

The legend is also afforded an increased authority by being placed alongside biblical material. The Holy Cross material is only very occasionally accompanied by any references to sources, as in l. 399: 'Some Doctor seyth'. For the most part, the legend cannot be easily distinguished from the biblical material contained in the history, as in l. 5670: 'Than furthermore we rede how þe peple of Israell abode with Moyses…'. Interestingly, we find chronicles concerned with biblical material which include Holy Cross material in medieval German as well, the so-called *Historienbibeln* ('story-Bibles'). As Brian Murdoch has pointed out, these chronicles tend to emphasise explicitly that the Holy Cross material is not biblical.[242] This is not as noticeably the case in *T*, where the Holy Cross legend is allowed to stand side by side with the Old Testament narrative, mostly without any markers of its non-biblical origin. There is only a single instance where this non-biblical origin is pointed out explicitly. After a

[240] For more detail on this, see Mardon (1967).
[241] Murdoch (1997: 32).
[242] Murdoch (2009: 169–176).

section from the *Confessio Amantis* which discusses rebellion against God's commandments follows short reference to the legend:

> [they] slewh hym on a crosse, whiche was made of þe thre braunchis þat grewe oute of Adams mouthe, as som stories seith, but we rede it \not/ in þe Scripture (ll. 5886–5888)

For the first and only time, the text here emphasises the apocryphal nature of the Holy Cross legend, and even here, this occurs more as an afterthought, with the crucial word 'not' inserted as an interlinear addition. In all other sections which deal with the legend, a reader would require some advanced theological knowledge to be able to distinguish between the apocryphal legend and the Old Testament material which surrounds it, which gives the legend an authority which is close to that of the biblical narrative.

Textually, the Holy Cross legend in *T* is clearly indebted to the Latin *PPA* tradition. This tradition is characterised, first and foremost, by several distinctive plot elements, such as the three-fold vision in Paradise, and the gift of the three seeds.[243] *T* follows this tradition in most of these significant details, which suggests that the *PPA* tradition is at least one of the sources behind the version in *T*. However, not all of the motifs typical of *PPA* are found in *T*. For instance, versions of *PPA* frequently relate how David composed the penitential psalms under the tree in his garden after committing adultery,[244] a detail which is missing in the version in *T*. Another detail not contained in *T* is an explanation of the symbolic significance of the three types of wood from which the Cross is made – in *PPA*, the angel speaks of them as signifying the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,[245] whilst *T* omits this detail. A collation of *T* with the Latin *PPA* reveals that the version in *T* appears to translate some passages quite closely from the Latin, while other passages are considerably shortened, edited, or

[243] For a summary of the main plot elements of *PPA*, as compared to other traditions of the legend, see Fallon (2009: 21–27).
[244] Meyer (1881: 43–44).
[245] Meyer (1881: 37–38).

expanded with additional information. For instance, Adam's sexual abstinence at the beginning of the legend is described in the Latin thus:

> [Adam] ait: 'Ecce tot mala contingunt per mulierem! Viuit dominus non agnosco eam', abstinuitque se ab ea ducentis annis. sed postea per preceptum domini iterum recognouit eam.[246]

This is rendered in *T* as :

> And þere **Adam** seyde þat alle this sorw throw a woman cam, and þerfor shal I neuer nyhe her more. And an C yere and fourty Adam wolde neuer com nyhe his wyfe. But aftyr throuh Goddis commaundment **Adam** toke his wyfe ayen.' (ll. 391–394)

This is a relatively close translation, which, however, omits Adam's invocation of God's name, and changes the number of years from 200 to 140. This number recurs in several other versions, but the numbers employed here are variable throughout the Holy Cross tradition.[247] In other places, *T* moves further away from the Latin text, as in the description of Seth's reaction to seeing Paradise for the first time:

> And whan he cam þere, he was sore aferde of þat blessyd syght, for he cowde nat thynke to what thyng yt myht best by lykenyd to. Yt was so bryght and blessydful to see and as rede as flamyd fyre. (ll. 415–417)

By contrast, the Latin text does not contain a reference to Seth's inability to compare this sight with anything else he has ever seen:

> In itinere vero stupefactus propter splendorum paradisi, credidit enim ardorem ignis

[246] There are several editions of the Latin text. Because, as my analysis shows, the version in *T* heavily alters and edits the Latin text, it is difficult to say to which of the extant Latin versions it is likely to be indebted. This and all following quotations from the Latin *PPA* are based on Horstmann's edition (ed. 1887: 465–469).

[247] The number 140 also appears in the prose version in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, as well as in the French version of the Holy Cross legend contained in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.1.1 (both edited by Taguchi (ed. 1996)). Numbers vary throughout the tradition, sometimes due to the exigencies of rhyme (cf. the Dutch *Boec van den houte*, in which Adam's abstinence lasts for 103 years: 'daerna en was Adaem met Yeuen nie / vleeschelijc in hondert jaren drie' (Baert (ed. 1995: 84; ll. 35–36)). Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* notes the difficulties of reconciling different chronicles' accounts of the time before Seth is born, and sets the period of Adam's abstinence at 100 years (Lucas (ed. 1983: 12; l. 15)).

Such alterations and additions to the Latin text are characteristic of the entire legend in *T*. It is difficult to tell whether these changes are the result of a compiler translating and editing the text of *PPA*, or whether the legend in *T* is indebted to other sources beyond this Latin text. However, some plot elements might suggest that the legend in *T* draws both on the *PPA* and the 'rood-tree' tradition. For instance, *T* recounts how the skin of several Ethiopians is turned white by the touch of the tree (ll. 7885–7887), which is a typical element of the 'rood-tree' legends, but is not found in *PPA*. It is, of course, possible that this blending of material is not original to *T* but occurred in a Latin source text, but this question is difficult to solve in the absence of a Latin text which exhibits the same features as the version in *T*.

What is particularly striking about the version of the legend in *T* is the inclusion of occasional Latin sentences, such as 'Hic mittit Adam suum filium Seth ut sciat quando remittetur sibi culpa sua' (ll. 404–405). All of these Latin sentences in *T* provide a summary of what follows in the narrative, and most of them start with the deictic reference 'Hic'. Surprisingly, these summaries are not commonly found in the Latin text of *PPA* (although the use of headings is common in the *Vita Adae et Evae* tradition). The deictic 'hic' suggests that these Latin sentences were originally marginal headings which accompanied a Latin version of the legend, and which were subsequently incorporated into the main text, either by the compiler or at a previous stage in the text's transmission. However, any such suggestions must remain speculative, as long as possible Latin exemplars containing such marginal notes remain undiscovered.[248] As

[248] I have not been able to examine all extant manuscripts of the *PPA* tradition; however, at this point I can say with certainty that none of the *PPA* manuscripts currently held in Cambridge, Oxford, London, or Munich, contain Latin marginalia which concur with *T*. The 42 manuscripts which were examined are: Cambridge, University Library [UL], MS Ff.1.14; Cambridge, UL, MS Dd.3.16 + Ff.2.8; Cambridge, UL, MS Gg.4.25; Cambridge, UL, MS Mm.4.41; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 66; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 275; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 288; Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 120/189; Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 402/411; Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 408/414; Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 236; Cambridge, St John's College, MS C.12; Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.8; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.21; Cambridge, Trinity College,

pointed out above, the compiler himself uses marginal headings in a similar way to summarise the contents of the main text, as can frequently be seen in *T*, as well as in *H* and *L*, although these marginal headings are usually in the vernacular.

There are other extant manuscripts which illustrate what the compiler's exemplar might have looked like. In the illustrated encyclopaedia known as *Omne Bonum* in London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E 6, Latin marginal headings appear in conjunction with the Holy Cross legend. The entry for 'Adam' contains a version of the Holy Cross legend which is accompanied by marginal headings which follow a similar format to the Latin sentences in *T*, starting with the deictic reference 'Hic'. The content of the headings does not agree with *T*, but nonetheless the similarities between the two texts are striking.

Another analogous use of marginal headings occurs in the stage directions which can be found in some vernacular dramatizations, such as the Cornish *Ordinalia*. The Cornish *Origo Mundi*, for instance, has Latin stage directions such as '*hic ponet grana in ore ade*'.[249] The manuscript of the fifteenth-century Low German play *Der Sündenfall* by Arnold Immessen, which contains Holy Cross material, has Latin stage directions of a very similar kind (e.g. 'Hic ambulat Seth et venit ante paradisum ad cherubin').[250] Vernacular section headings are also relatively frequent in the *Vita Adae et Evae* tradition, as can be seen, for instance, in the fifteenth-century French adaptation of the material entitled *La penitance Adam*, although this text has headings which begin with

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MS O.9.2; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.38; London, British Library [BL], MS Arundel 326; London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian D XIII; London, BL, MS Harley 495; London, BL, MS Royal 6 E 6; London, BL, MS Royal 8 D 4; London, BL, MS Royal 8 E 17; London, BL, MS Sloane 289; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 340; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 499; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [BSB], clm 3433; Munich, BSB, clm 11601; Munich, BSB, clm 27006; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1280; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 57; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 600; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 636; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 88; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. f 19; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 471; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 423; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 228; Oxford, Lincoln College, MS 28; Oxford, Queens College, MS 213; Oxford, St John's College, MS 202; Oxford, Trinity College, MS 7.

[249] Norris (ed. 1859: I, l. 869).

[250] Krage (ed. 1913: 133, l. 1368b).

'how' rather than 'here' (e.g. 'Comment Adam acoucha malade et des belles remonstrances qu'il fist a ses enfans').[251] Even in the iconographical tradition of the Holy Cross material we find similar *tituli*, as in the Dutch woodcut version of the story printed by Veldener in 1483, in which nearly all woodcuts are accompanied by a quatrain beginning with 'Hier'.[252] Although none of these references in Latin and in the vernacular agree with the Latin sentences which are found in *T*, it is clear that there was a long tradition of adding marginal headings or captions to Holy Cross material, in a variety of sources and media, and that the legend in *T* draws on this tradition.

In addition to incorporating Latin sentences, *T* adds information to the legend which is primarily taken from the *Polychronicon*, and from the Defective Version of *Mandeville's Travels*. This is in accordance with compilatory strategies which can be observed across the entire historical text in *T*, in which information on various topics is drawn from a number of different sources in an encyclopaedic manner. For instance, in the section dealing with Rehoboam, during whose reign the Holy Tree is removed from the temple and thrown into a ditch, the opening sentences are copied from Book II, chapter 30, of the *Polychronicon*, and give some background information in order to explain the historical circumstances preceding the theft of the tree:

> **Iosephus, libro 8, capitulo 5,** seith þat **Sufac**, kynge of Egipte, spoylyd and toke awaye þe sheldes of golde þat Solomon had sette in Ierusalem. And **Roboas** sette sheldys of brasse in her stede. (ll. 8349–8351)

In the same section, the compiler adds material on the *probatica piscina* from *Mandeville's Travels*. A passage in *Mandeville's Travels* describing this miraculous pool states 'And what man þat first baþed hym þerynne aftir þe steryng of þe water, he was made hool what sikenesse so he hadde',[253] while the version in *T* reads 'And who þat bathyd hym fyrst aftyr þat in þat watyr, was made hole of what syknes þat he hadde'

[251] Mansion (ed. 2016: 101). Vernacular headings appear throughout this text.
[252] Edited in Baert (ed. 1995).
[253] Seymour (ed. 2002: 36, ll. 17–19).

(ll. 8360–8361). This way of compounding material relevant to the subject matter is characteristic of the way in which the compiler collects information on different subjects from different sources, and then presents them as a cohesive whole at the appropriate points in his history. It is clear, then, that *T* contains a unique version of the legend which arranges the content of the Latin *PPA* to fit the specific needs of this historiographical compilation.

The legend contained in *T* is unique in yet another respect. Even though the overwhelming majority of the text is prose, it contains occasional traces of rhyme and metre, for instance in the section relating Seth's third vision in Paradise. I have lineated my transcription here to bring out the patterning of verse which can be heard, if not seen on the page, in its block of prose:

> and he behelde and sawe vpon þe tre
> a childe late born was to see.
> In cradyl bondys was it bownde
> and in smal clothis it was wounde.
> Abovyn þe crop it lay in swevyn
> on þat tre vp toward hevyn. (ll. 436–438)

In this passage, rhyming couplets with an iambic metre of four or five stressed syllables can be discerned. Overall, more than 30 lines of residual verse can be detected in the legend in *T*.[254] This sporadic occurrence of residual rhyme suggests either that part of the compiler's exemplar was in verse, or that he had access to several source texts containing the Holy Cross legend. If the latter was the case, it appears that he adapted the verse to the overall requirements and to the dominant textual mode of the prose history he was creating.[255] The rhyming sections in *T* are clearly remnants of verse texts, and are thus distinct from the inclusion of rhyming prose which we recurrently find in medieval texts. Within the specific tradition of Holy Cross legends, however, the

[254] See ll. 428–430, 432–434, 436–438, 445–447, 7889–7893 in *T*.

[255] A similar impulse can be detected in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, which includes alliterating passages from the alliterative *Morte Arthure* which Malory used as a source (Vinaver (ed. 1990: I, lvii–lxiv)). On similarities between the *Morte Darthur* and *T*, see also p. 208 below.

text in *T* shows striking similarities with the way in which late medieval German *Historienbibeln* frequently adapt verse sources of the *Vita Adae* tradition to a new prose narrative. An example of this tradition can be found in a fifteenth-century manuscript of a German *Historienbibel* from the Austro-Bavarian dialect area, which contains an 'Adambuch' describing the lives of Adam and Eve in prose, but contains occasional occurences of rhyme, which can be traced back to their rhymed source texts.[256]

I have undertaken a collation of the legend in *T* with the extant versions of the Holy Cross legend in Middle English. *T* shows no perceptible similarities with the versions in the *Cursor Mundi*, the *South English Legendary*, the *Canticum de Creatione*, the Auchinleck *Life of Adam,* Caxton's translation of the *Legenda Aurea,* the *Gilte Legende*, Mirk's *Festial*, the *Morte Darthur*, or the prose versions in Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 172 and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125. Another source of Holy Cross legends which was highly influential, particularly on the English mystery plays, is the *Northern Passion*. Neither the shorter versions of *The Northern Passion* nor the *Expanded Northern Passion* nor the *Northern Homily Cycle* bear any textual similarities to *T*. However, a different, expanded text is contained in the London Thornton manuscript, London, British Library, Additional MS 31042 (*Ad*). This manuscript contains, amongst other texts, the *Northern Passion*, which Robert Thornton expanded considerably, adding several hundred lines dealing with Holy Cross

[256] Vollmer (ed. 1908). Vollmer's edition prints both the prose text of the 'Adam Book' (*Adambuch*), which is part of a *Historienbibel* (of Vollmer's class IIIb), and the verse source from a number of manuscripts of the extended *Christherrechronik* which is nowadays associated with Heinrich von München (in older German scholarship long referred to as 'Schwellhandschriften'). This allows for a close comparison between verse and prose, and shows numerous instances of residual rhyme in the prose text. For further details, see Gerhardt (1977–2006: IV, 67–75); Murdoch (2009: 169–176); and Miller (1992: 347–376).

material.[257] The text of *Ad* frequently bears a marked similarity to the residual rhyme in *T*, and is in places almost identical:

he sawe abown*e* þat Ilke a tre a childe late borne on to See with credill*e* bandis was it bowndyn*e* and in riche clothes wonden*e* and abown*ne* the croppe full*e* euyn*e* Of that tre tornede heuen*e*[258] (*Ad,* f. 42[ra], ll. 21–26)	and he behelde and sawe vpon þe tre a childe late born was to see. In cradyl bondys was it bownde and in smal clothis it was wounde. Abovyn þe crop it lay in swevyn on þat tre vp toward hevyn. (*T*, ll. 436–438)

However, in spite of these similarities, not all of the rhyming words agree between the two versions. The rhyming passages in *T* clearly stand in some textual relation to *Ad* or its sources, but it is unlikely that *T* was copied directly from *Ad* (and there is no reason to think that the compiler had access to this manuscript, which has a traceable provenance), unless the compiler made some marked changes to the text.[259] It is notable that there are similar attempts to 'prosify' a verse source in the excerpts from Gower (see below, pp. 154–159), so that it is likely that these attempts are the compiler's own work, and do not go back to an intermediate source which had already made the change to prose. Here, as elsewhere in the Holy Cross legend, the version in *T* is shortened and devoid of several details which are contained in other versions. For instance, the version in *Ad* describes how Seth, in his third vision in Paradise, sees his brother Abel's soul sitting on the great tree in joy. In several respects, this is puzzling, for the traditional version contained in *PPA* has Abel's soul sitting in the roots of the great tree which reach down to hell. Meanwhile, *T* omits this detail concerning Abel entirely. Such

[257] Foster (ed. 1913–1916: II, 12). Thornton's own way of revising and augmenting his sources bears certain parallels to the techniques we can observe in *T*. For a more detailed analysis, see Keiser (2014), and Thompson (1987).

[258] Cf. Foster (ed. 1913–1916: I, 151; ll. 111–116).

[259] The study of Thornton's treatment of medieval romances by Carlson (2007) suggests that scribal intervention to increase syntactic clarity is not uncommon in the Thornton manuscripts; however, Carlson does not observe any changes to rhyming words. Frances Foster believes that 'the long Cross story of [*Ad*] […] was not introduced by Thornton' but copied from another manuscript (ed. 1913–1916: II, 71), but this other manuscript has not yet been identified.

changes seem to accord with the compiler's overall method of rewriting and shortening his source texts in *T*.

The matter of the relation between *T* and *Ad* is further complicated by the fact that there is a lacuna in *Ad* on ff. 41$^{r–v}$. The part of the text which is missing would have covered Adam's sending Seth to Paradise, Seth's arrival in Paradise, and his first vision. This may explain why no analogue can be found in *Ad* for some of the residual rhyme in *T* corresponding to this part of the legend (cf. note on ll. 439–440 below, p. 274).

Thus, the text of the Thornton manuscript of the *Northern Passion* appears to correspond to *T* only with respect to the rhyming passages, but where *T* presents prose, the text is markedly different in *Ad*. It seems likely that the compiler of *T* drew on a source text of the same textual tradition as the text which Thornton used; *Ad* itself is unlikely to have been the compiler's exemplar. Overall, it is clear that in addition to the verse source, the compiler must have used at least one prose source of the Holy Cross legend. The compiler seems to have had access to several different versions of the legend, which he conflated and rewrote. One of them was possibly in Latin, which would account for the inclusion of Latin phrases in *T*. It is, of course, difficult to determine whether this rewritten text was already present in the compiler's exemplar, or whether it was his own work. However, the manner of compiling from different sources which is evident from the Holy Cross legend is very similar to the compilatory techniques observed throughout the manuscript, which suggests that the latter possibility is likely. Whether the text was the compiler's own work or not, what is certain is that the unique features of the Holy Cross legend in *T* are of great interest. Different traditions were adapted to the requirements and to the dominant textual mode of the history of the world in *T*, creating a unique version of the Holy Cross legend not preserved in any other extant Middle English manuscript.

3 *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*

The *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* (hereafter referred to as *Genealogia*) by Peter of Poitiers or Petrus Pictaviensis (1130–1205) is a Latin text which visualises history in a number of diagrams, originally compiled as an aid to memorising biblical history, and frequently attached to manuscripts of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.[260] Peter of Poitiers's approach in the *Genealogia* is summarised in his prologue:

> Considerans historie sacre prolixitatem et difficultatem circa studium sacre lectionis, […] seriem sacrorum patrum, a quibus per leviticam et regalem tribum Christus originem habuit, cum eorum operibus in unum opusculum redigere acceptavi.[261]
>
> (Considering the length of Holy Scripture, and the difficulties in the study of it, […] I have taken it upon me to reduce into one work the sequence of the Holy Fathers and their works, those Holy Fathers from whom through the priestly and royal tribe Christ took his origin.)

The main time-line in this summary of Holy Scripture is provided by the genealogy of Christ, which is represented in form of a family tree running vertically in the middle of the page or roll, with names of Old Testament characters visually highlighted by circles and accompanied by short text passages describing their lives. Other events of biblical and world history are correlated to this time-line, and elaborated upon to the left and the right of the diagram, sometimes including separate diagrams and charts. The *Genealogia* was enormously influential on later diagrammatic chronicles of the Middle Ages, and was itself subject to later revisions and expansions – for instance, a longer version of the *Genealogia* is interpolated with sections from Comestor's *Historia*

[260] For further details on diagrammatic chronicles and the importance of the *Genealogia* within this context, see Worm (2012), Worm (2013), and Worm (2016). The iconographical tradition of the diagrams is discussed in Murat (2015). A Latin version of the *Genealogia* has been edited by Vollmer (ed. 1908) from Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. 2029.

[261] Vollmer (ed. 1908: 127).

scholastica.[262] There are more than 200 extant manuscripts of versions of the *Genealogia* in Latin and other languages, many of which remain unexplored.[263] Some copies of the *Genealogia* are lavishly illustrated, and use colour coding to distinguish different time-lines, whilst other copies are more modest.

Throughout *T*, there is an evident interest in genealogical matters – the lineage of Christ, for example, is told in two separate, distinctive versions (ll. 7610–7665 and 8978–9008). *T* is indebted to the *Genealogia* in a number of different ways. Most notably, the only illustration in *T*, presenting a circular plan of Jerusalem and its idealised social hierarchy, is drawn from the *Genealogia*, and in fact is in a different hand from the compiler's and may have been culled from an earlier manuscript of the *Genealogia* and glued onto the relevant page in *T*.[264] This visual representation of Jerusalem – Peter of Poitiers's adaptation of the biblical account, and of a description in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*[265] – is a standard element in copies of the *Genealogia*, although its details can vary in different versions. As detailed on pp. 32–33 above, the illustration represents the three rings of walls which denote different parts of the city, labels them in Latin, and marks the boundaries between these different areas in green and yellow.

[262] Moore (1936: 100). On the influence of this text in medieval England more specifically, see Hilpert (1985).
[263] A preliminary list of manuscripts is offered by Piggin (2019), which, though extremely useful, is largely based on manuscript catalogues and has not been checked in detail.
[264] Gameson (2018: 222).
[265] Worm (2012: 140).



Figure 38: Plan of Jerusalem (f. 211^{r})

The insertion of this illustration corresponds with the text immediately preceding it, which describes the rebuilding of the temple under Nehemiah:

> [Neemias] beganne to restore and make þe wallys and yatys of Ierusalem *ayen aftyr þe forme þat Kyng Salomon made it, with iij wallys and iij wardys and vj yates. The ynner warde was þe* ***kyngis*** *and þe* ***preestis*** *habitacioun. The secounde warde was þe* ***prophetis*** *and þe* ***worthy mennys*** *habitacyoun. The iij^{de} [f. 211^{r}] warde was þe habitacioun for þe comente, as it is notyd or drawn here folwyng*. (ll. 10270–10275)

This passage is embedded within a passage from *Polychronicon* III, 16 (cxxx$^{r–v}$) concerning Nehemiah, but the actual description of Jerusalem does not occur in the *Polychronicon* but has been added by the compiler (I have highlighted the added section in italics in the quotation above – as will have been noted, this is almost all of the quotation). This description clearly draws on the illustration, and presents the information contained in the illustration in a more discursive way. This provides a helpful interpretation of the schema, translating some of its most important elements from Latin into English and facilitating immediate understanding by highlighting key terms (kyngis, preestis, prophetis, etc.) by means of a display script. In this way, the

description explains to the reader how to make sense of the illustration. The placement of this description before rather than after the illustration also ensures that the reader already has a firm understanding of the drawing and its meaning at the point when he has reached this section in the manuscript, thereby leaving no room for confusion.

There are other illustrations in the *Genealogia* on which the compiler of *T* draws less obviously. One of these illustrations is a table of the *mansiones*, the forty-two encampments of the Israelites in the desert. This table is based on a long account of the Jews' journey from Egypt to the Holy Land from Ex 12:37 to Deut 34:1, and presents the names of the places where the Jews dwelt in the desert arranged under three arches of an arcade (each representing one year of the journey).[266] The example below is taken from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Rolls 12, which is a representative example of the tradition of the *Genealogia* (though not necessarily the compiler's exemplar):[267]

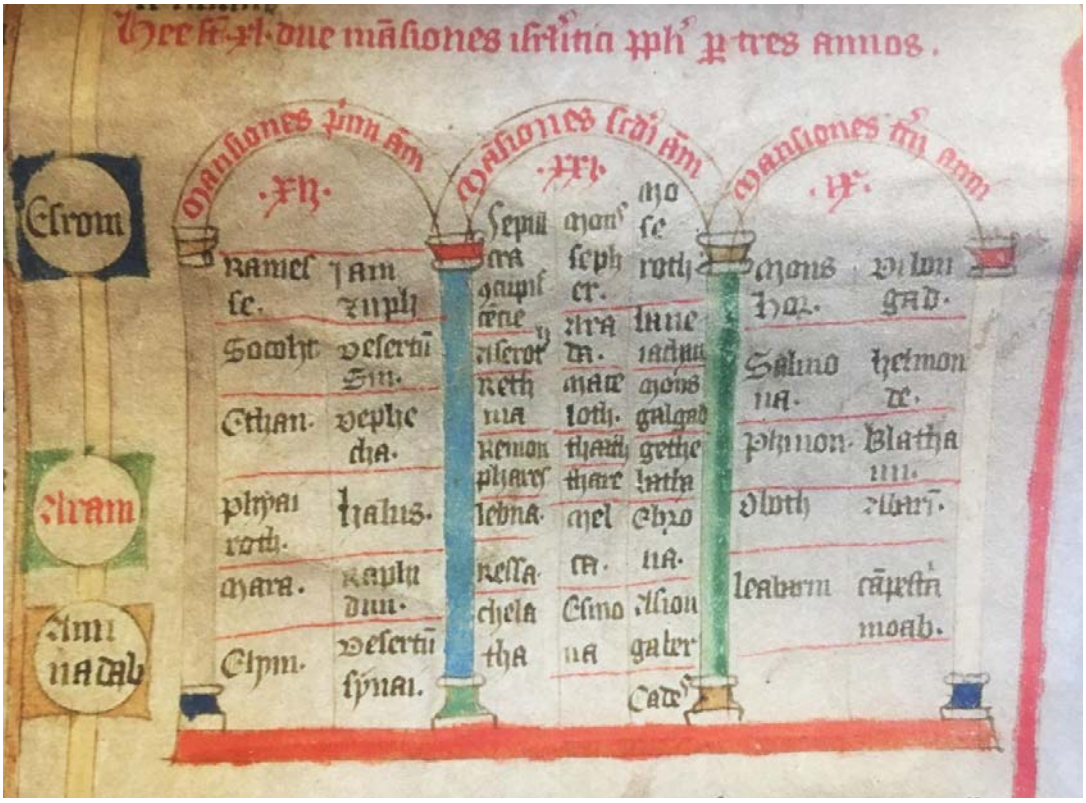


Figure 39: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Rolls 12

[266] On this table, see also Worm (2012: 142).

[267] For a description of MS Bodley Rolls 12, see Madan (1895: 16, no. 8850). For a categorisation of the extant manuscripts available in medieval England, see De La Mare (1971: 81–85).

T likewise contains a section which describes the Jews' dwelling places in the desert, which, albeit in prose, shows striking similarities with the diagram:

> And as **Moyses** ladde these childryn of Israell withynne þe lande of deserte, they made hem dyuerse **mancions** þe space of iij yere. For þe mancions of þe fyrst yere wer on xij, that is to saye, **Ramesse, Socoth, Tham, Phiaroth, Masa, Elym, Iasiffe,** þe deserte of **Syn, Depheta, Halus, Rasydym,** and þe deserte of **Synay.** The mansioun of þe ij^{o} yere weryn this, that is to saye, the **sepultur of couetise, Asseroth, Rethma, Renuos, Phares, Lebua, Resa, Selacha, Mont Zephir, Arada, Maseloth, Caaph, Tares, Meroth, Elmena, Messeroth, Bemacan, Mount Galaad, Lebaca, Ebrona, Asiongabar, and Cades.** And þe manseouns of þe iij yere were [f. 110^{r}] thes xj callyd, that is þe Mounte Ore, **Salmans, Phynon, Eboth, Loaba, Rym, Dibongadus, Helmon, Delbataym, Ebaryme, Decampestres, De Moab.** And thus they hadden for this thre yere xlij mansiouns. (ll. 5492–5504)

It is, in theory, possible that the compiler drew this list of encampments directly from the Bible, but since this material is spread over a large number of chapters in the biblical text, it is much more likely that the immediate source of *T* is the *Genealogia*. This is suggested by the fact that the description in *T* takes up the categorization of places according to three years which we find in the *Genealogia*. Furthermore, *T* follows closely the order of items in the diagram in MS Bodley Rolls 12. Whilst it is true that the order of items in this table can vary slightly between manuscripts of the *Genealogia*, the order in MS Bodley Rolls 12 is representative of a great number of manuscripts. The only difference between *T* and MS Bodley Rolls 12 is some divergence in spelling, as is to be expected with unfamiliar place names which were copied many times in an extensive manuscript tradition.[268] This also explains cases where a single place name such as 'Leabarim' in MS Bodley Rolls 12 appears as two separate places ('Loaba, Rym') in *T*. In most significant details, however, *T* follows Peter of Poitiers's table. In a manner which is similar to the plan of Jerusalem, the compiler here appears to use the

[268] The spellings of these place-names in *T* do not seem to derive from an English translation of the *Genealogia*, as they do not show any similarities with the English version in London, British Library, MS Add. 30509. I have not been able to examine the extant manuscripts of the *Genealogia* currently held outside of Oxford, but of the English and Latin manuscripts currently held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (cf. Piggin (2019) for a list), none show any striking similarities with *T* in the spelling of these place names.

diagram in the *Genealogia* as the basis of his own description, with the difference that in this case, the actual diagram is not included in the manuscript but entirely replaced by the description. As this diagram is merely a table containing a list of items, the compiler may have felt that it was not necessary to include the illustration in this case, since all vital information could be integrated into the text in a more discursive form – as opposed to the diagram of Jerusalem, which could not as easily have been replaced by a description.

Another section in *T* a few leaves before the list of the dwelling places in the desert presents a detailed list of the twelve tribes of Israel and Jacob's progeny, only a part of which is quoted here:

> The peple þat come of **Iudas** […] Of Amram come **Aaron, Moyses,** and **Maria.** Of Iudas, þe iiij^{the} sone of Iacob and of Lya, come **Her, Ouan, Sela** \be hys fyrste wyfe Sue/. ^And Iudas had by his secounde wyfe **Thamar Phares and Zardan.**^ Of **Ioseph,** þe enleuenyth sone of Iacob and of Rachel, come **Manases** and **Effraym.** […] Of Ner come **Abner** et cetera. And of **Dyna,** ^Iacobs doughter, yt tellyth hereaftyr what com of hyrre in þe xxiiij lefe.^ (ll. 4655–4668)

Again, this list summarises biblical material (Gen 29:31–30:24, Gen 35:16–26, and Gen 38) and could, in theory, be drawn directly from the Vulgate. However, the way in which the list is compiled indicates that it is more likely to draw on the family tree in the *Genealogia*, an example of which can be found in London, British Library, MS Add. 30509:

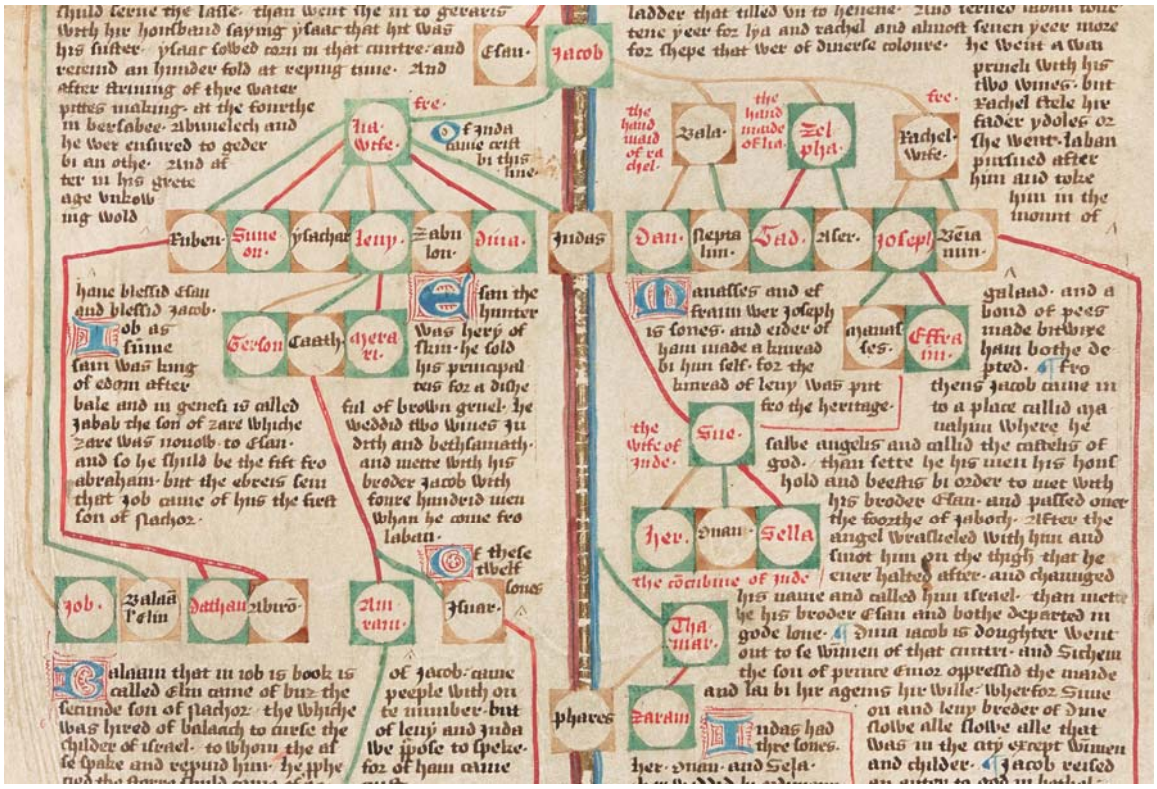


Figure 40: London, British Library, MS Add. 30509, f. 2[269]

The sons of Jacob and their offspring appear in the exact same order in both texts. The way in which the list is structured is more likely to be extracted from the diagram in the *Genealogia* than a summary of a lengthy account in the Bible. *T* seems to mirror practices we find in several copies of the *Genealogia* of differentiating visually between men (in black ink) and women (in red),[270] which is imitated in a heading in the account of the kings of Israel in *T*, where the name of the first female ruler Athaliah (l. 8496) is emphasised in red. What is more, information on the name of Judas's first wife, and his sons by his second wife, is added to the list in a manner which can plausibly be explained on the basis of the family tree in the *Genealogia*. The phrase 'be hys fyrste wyfe Sue' occurs as an interlinear addition above the deleted 'and Phares' (l. 4663),

[269] © British Library Board. This is a fifteenth-century English version of the *Genealogia.* For a very brief description, see Trustees of the British Museum (1882: 85). *T* does not appear to draw on an English translation of the text directly.

[270] The same practice occurs in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow MS 53 and London, British Library, MS Additional 30509.

which is followed by the marginal addition ‘And Iudas had by his secounde wyfe **Thamar Phares and Zardan’** (l. 4664, cf. Fig. 41).



Figure 41: T, *f. 92*^{r}

This apparent confusion over Judas’s two wives is understandable if we observe how this relationship is shown in the family tree. Judas’s name is connected to Sue with a line in red, and from there to the names of his sons ‘**Her, Ouan, Sela**’. ‘Phares’, the name which is deleted in the manuscript, is the name of one of his sons by Thamar, and is clearly connected to Judas in the diagram with a thick line and indicated as his successor in the genealogy of Christ. The name of Judas’s second wife Thamar, however, is only connected to this by a thin green side arm to the line, and therefore her connection with Judas is less immediately obvious, since her name is not linked to Judas’s directly. In some other manuscripts of the *Genealogia*, the connection between Judas and his two wives is even more difficult to trace:



Figure 42: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Rolls 12

In this example, Sue is noted to be Judas's wife ('uxor Iude'), but his relation to Thamar is unclear based on the family tree alone. A look at manuscripts of the *Genealogia* thus shows how a compiler extracting information from the family tree may have missed the name of Thamar and her other son Zardan at first, taking Phares to be another son of Judas and Sue. Then, realising his mistake at a later point, the compiler corrected himself, adding the note 'be hys fyrste wyfe Sue' over the deletion, and inserting the additional comment concerning Judas's second wife and her two sons in the margin. In this manner, *T* offers fascinating insights into the compiler's process of excerpting information from a diagram and presenting it in a more conversational form, and shows the difficulties of interpreting such a diagram and how mistakes can occur in this process. In the course of composing *T*, the compiler also acts as a reader of his source texts, and his errors and revisions give insight into how a complex text like the *Genealogia* was read in the late Middle Ages.

The way in which the compiler uses the information contained in the diagrams in the *Genealogia* is therefore markedly different from the intention of the source text: whilst Peter of Poitiers summarises long stretches of the biblical text and extracts essential information from it, presenting it in condensed form in diagrams and family trees, the compiler of *T* reverses this process by describing the diagrams in a more lengthy prose text. This description of illustrations, and excerpting of information from them, can be described as a kind of compilatory ekphrasis. This can most clearly be seen in the case of the plan of Jerusalem, which runs counter to Peter's aim of reducing and summarising 'the sequence of the Holy Fathers' but rather expands upon this illustration in detail.

The compiler of *T* uses the *Genealogia* not only for ekphrastic but also for structural purposes. The chronology of the lineage of Christ which is so prominent in the *Genealogia* provides the underlying structure of the chronological sequence in *T*. The

running titles found at the top of each page in *T* (see the description above, pp. 26–27) refer to the ancestors of Christ, and thus relate the historical events treated in the text to biblical chronology. The *Genealogia* is likely to have been the principal source for this chronology, as the names of the holy fathers which appear as running titles in *T* agree largely with those in Peter of Poitiers's timeline.[271] The names which appear in *T* are 'Adam, Seth, Noe, Sem, Phaleth, Rehu, Saruch, Nachor, Thare, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judas, Phares, Esrom, Aram, Aminadab, Naason, Salmon, Booz, Obeth, Ysaye and Iesse,[272] Dauid, Salomon, Roboam, Abya, Iosaphath, Ioram, Athalia, Amasyas, Ozias, Ioathan, Achas, Ezechias, Manasses, Amon, Iosias, Ioathas, Iechonias, Sedechias, Salatiel, Zorobabel, Elyud, Elyachym, Asor, Sadoch, Achym'. This list includes the majority of the names which appear in the *Genealogia* up to the time at which the chronology in *T* breaks off. The only names in the *Genealogia* which are omitted in *T* are: 'Enos, Caynam, Malalehel, Jareth, Enoch, Mathusalam, Lamech, Arphaxat, Sale vel et Caynam, Heber, Asa, Ochozyas, Joas'.[273] It is noteworthy that most of the names which are omitted in *T* appear early on in the time-line in the *Genealogia* in close succession, especially during the first few generations after Adam. This indicates that omission of certain names on the time-line might simply be due to choices of design and page layout: If names follow in close succession and if there is relatively little to say about them, there might not have been a separate page available in *T* to include the

[271] *T* is not unique in providing running titles referring to the generations after Adam and before Christ. In the copy of Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon* currently held in the Huntington Library, San Marino (call no. 61511), a medieval reader has added running titles and marginal notes in red referring to the generations after Adam (together with notes referring to years of the world and details of chronology). This reader, however, seems to take his cues from the text of the *Polychronicon* and its chapter titles rather than from the *Genealogia*.

[272] The Latin text of the *Genealogia* has 'Ysay sive Jesse' here (Vollmer (ed. 1908: 151)). The conjunction is mistranslated by the compiler as 'and' rather than 'or'.

[273] This list is based on the edition of the Latin text in Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. 2029 in Vollmer (ed. 1908).

names of Enos, Caynam, or Malalehel as a running title. In such cases, the compiler may have decided to skip some figures of lesser importance in the running titles.[274]

Some running titles include further information which is not based on the *Genealogia*. In the sections of *T* which describe the different parts of the world, for instance, the names of the continents which are discussed are included in the running titles, such as 'Affrica' and 'Europa'. In other places, the biblical source text which is treated in a particular section is included in the running title ('Regum'), a dynasty or people is mentioned ('Perses'), or other key figures which are not part of the lineage of Christ are added: 'Moyses', 'Josue'. In all of these cases, these supplementary names are added to the name of the relevant figure in the genealogy of Christ. Very occasionally, the running titles do not contain the name of the relevant ancestor of Christ at all, but merely provide a summary of the topic which is treated on a particular page: 'Paradise' or 'Petigru'[275]. These are exceptions to the rule, however, which demonstrate that the compiler was willing to adapt Peter's strict scheme to the requirements of the history in *T*. Nonetheless, the family tree in the *Genealogia* provides a stable underlying chronology which informs the historical events which are recounted in *T*.

It is unclear whether the compiler's source text was a Latin or an English version of the *Genealogia*. Since *T* does not appear to borrow any longer sections of text from the *Genealogia* but rather adopts its chronological structure, opportunities for collation

[274] A similar phenomenon occurs in John Capgrave's fifteenth-century *Abbreviacion of Cronicles*, which has very little to say about early figures such as Enos or Mahalalel, so that there are no entries for long stretches of years early on in the chronicle, such as Anno 502–624, 626–795, etc. (Lucas (ed. 1983: 11)). A similar lack of material on these early figures may have led to their exclusion from the running titles in *T* due to the exigencies of the page layout.

[275] The word *petigru* is used very frequently in the fifteenth century to denote 'a genealogical chart or table' (*MED* pĕdegru(e *n*. 1b). Compare, for instance, William Paston's letter to Thomas Carey in 1492: 'As for the pedegrewes that I sent you, yf they haue do you any good I am glad of it' (Beadle and Richmond (eds. 2005: 21, no. 943)). The term evokes heraldic, chivalric, and secular connotations as much as the kind of biblical genealogy presented by the *Genealogia*, perhaps reflecting the fact that the kings and rulers included in the lineage of Christ were important figures in historical as well as religious terms.

are limited. However, overall the evidence points more towards a Latin exemplar, as the plan of Jerusalem seems to have been culled from a Latin manuscript. What is more, in l. 8128 the name of one of King David's sons is given as '**Ietram** vel **Nathan**', with the use of *vel* indicating that this section is based on a Latin exemplar. The use of a Latin source is also suggested by the description of the forty-two encampments in the desert: 'The mansioun of þe ij^{o} yere weryn this' (ll. 5497–5498), with the numeral indicating that the compiler had in mind the Latin ordinal *secundo* rather than the English *seconde*. Since numerals in *T* are usually given in English, except where a source has references in Latin (which is the case for some of the references in the *Polychronicon*), this is likely to indicate that the compiler was drawing on a Latin diagram in his list of the Jews' dwelling-places in the desert. In this way, a Latin source text is adapted by the compiler to provide the underlying chronological structure of *T*, which connects historical events to each other and heightens their importance by relating them to the lineage of Christ. This reliance on the *Genealogia* may point towards the life of Christ as the possible intended end-point of *T*, and strengthens the evidence on that point to be gained from the Holy Cross legend and the compiler's intertextual reference to the Passion (cf. the discussion below, pp. 216–217).

Both the *Genealogia* and the Holy Cross legend, then, reinforce the typological significance of the text. Both sources recur throughout the text and function as a thread connecting distinct episodes; in the case of the *Genealogia*, typology is referred to in more palpable ways through the visible chronological structure of the text, whilst the Holy Cross legend provides a connection to salvation history in less obvious (though just as significant) ways inherent to the narrative and its interpretation. Both para-biblical sources thus complement the use of the biblical text proper in *T*, and demonstrate a wide range and versatility of biblical engagement which includes many different kinds of biblical and para-biblical sources. As we have seen, the very term

‘source’ has to be taken in a broad sense when describing *T*, as the compiler responds not only to the biblical texts themselves, but also to illustrations and diagrams in a type of ekphrasis which serves to enrich and specify the narrative.

Chapter IV Analysis of source texts: Minor non-biblical sources

Apart from biblical and para-biblical materials, the compiler uses various other minor sources, which are incorporated into the framework of the *Polychronicon* and the Bible, to flesh out and provide further details to the narrative. This chapter analyses the compiler's use of these minor sources, and his ingenuity in adding these details from a variety of works which, it seems, he read precisely for passages of relevance to the historical text in *T*, in order to give it further precision and focus. This chapter concludes with a summary and overview of the compiler's use of sources, and the function which each of them serve within *T*.

1 *Mandeville's Travels*

Mandeville's Travels, the fictitious account of the travels of Sir John Mandeville to the Holy Land and beyond, is thought to have been first written in French around 1356 by an unknown author, a Benedictine in northern France.[276] A large number of different versions and translations of this text are extant;[277] the version of the text which spread in England during the second half of the fourteenth century was written in Anglo-French and is known as the Insular Version. The oldest English translation of the Insular Version has been called the 'Defective Version' by modern scholarship, on account of missing part of the description of Egypt. This version became the dominant form of the text in medieval England and is extant in 'thirty-three manuscripts and six fragments

[276] Seymour (ed. 2002: xi).

[277] For a more detailed account of the extant versions and their textual relationships, see the introductions in Seymour (ed. 1973), Seymour (ed. 2002) and Seymour (ed. 2010).

and extracts'.[278] It was also the basis of two unique interpolated versions, one of which is extant in London, British Library, MS Egerton 1982, and the other in London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus C.xvi, and later became the base text of the first printed edition by Richard Pynson in 1496 (*STC* 17246).

The compiler of *T* uses information from *Mandeville's Travels* primarily to supplement and expand sections from the *Polychronicon*, especially in passages concerning the Holy Land, and the Holy Cross legend. Kate Harris notes that the excerpts from *Mandeville's Travels* are not based on a printed edition,[279] but she does not give further details on the exact source. A collation of the different versions with *T* is not unproblematic, since here as elsewhere in the manuscript the compiler freely edits and reworks his source. Therefore it can never be unequivocally clear whether a change to the text in *T* has been copied from the exemplar, and is thus indicative of which source text was used, or whether a particular change was introduced by the compiler of *T*. Overall, *T* agrees most closely with the Defective Version. There are also some similarities with the Cotton Version, but overall the Defective Version appears to be the most likely source.

Some passages illustrate these textual relations particularly well. For instance, a section which discusses the trees of Hebron copies a section from *Mandeville's Travels* which mentions a tree which 'bare leuys vnto þe tyme þat oure Lorde suffryd dethe for mankynde, and than yt deyde and so dyd alle þe trees of þe worlde.' (ll. 4151–4153). The Defective Version goes on to state 'And so dide alle trees in þe world or ellis þei fayled in here hertes or ellis þei fadid, and ȝit beþ many of þese in þe world',[280] whilst *T*

[278] Seymour (ed. 2002: xii).
[279] Harris (1983: 32).
[280] Seymour (ed. 2002: 25; ll. 7–8). All of the following references to the Defective Version are quoted from Seymour's edition. It is worth keeping in mind that Seymour's edition uses Oxford, Queen's College, MS 383 as the base text, and does not contain a full collation of all thirty-three extant manuscripts. Seymour only notes 'substantial variant readings' in a few select manuscripts (ed. 2002: xxviii). It has not been possible within the scope of this project to collate the excerpts in *T* with all extant

omits this piece of information and goes on to copy the subsequent sentence from *Mandeville's Travels* which speaks of a prophecy. Interestingly, the Cotton Version omits this very same piece of information on the trees.[281] This might suggest that the compiler consulted the Cotton Version rather than the Defective Version, but there are some clear indications that this is unlikely to have been the case. For instance, in a passage which lists the contents of the Ark of the Covenant, the Cotton Version has 'a tabernacle square of gold'[282] where the Defective Version has 'a table square of gold'.[283] This is likely to be a scribal error in the Cotton Version, as the word 'tabernacle' occurs several times in close proximity to this phrase. *T* agrees with the Defective Version and speaks of 'a square tabyl of golde' (l. 6887). Likewise, in ll. 291–293 *T* follows the syntax of the Defective Version more closely than that of the Cotton Version:

T	*Defective Version*	*Cotton Version*
And they cary al her marchaundyze on chamayles, mules, hors, dromedaryes, and oþer bestis	But þey carie merchaundises vpon camelis, mules, dromundaries, and hors, and oþer beestis[284]	But vpon camaylles, mules, hors, dromedaries, and oþer bestes men caryen here marchandise thider[285]

T also agrees with the Defective Version on the name 'Iosyas' (*T*, l. 295) ('Iosiac' in Seymour's edition),[286] while the Cotton Version has 'Ysaac'.[287] These passages are exemplary for a number of variant readings in lexis and syntax where *T* agrees more closely with the Defective Version than with the Cotton Version. The Cotton Version itself is a conflated text of the Defective Version, which was altered by reference to the

manuscripts of the Defective Version. Therefore, any references made to Seymour's edition must be regarded with a certain amount of circumspection.

[281] Seymour (ed. 1967: 50; l. 6).
[282] Seymour (ed. 1967: 63; l. 9).
[283] Seymour (ed. 2002: 34; ll. 21–22).
[284] Seymour (ed. 2002: 50; ll. 13–14).
[285] Seymour (ed. 1967: 89; ll. 7–9).
[286] Seymour (ed. 2002: 50; l. 15).
[287] Seymour (ed. 1967: 89; l. 13).

Insular Version.[288] Since the manuscript of the Defective Version upon which it was based is lost, it is difficult to disentangle the exact relationship between *T* and the various manuscripts of *Mandeville's Travels*. This is even further complicated by the fact that in the textual tradition of *Mandeville's Travels*, scribes have been very willing to alter and rewrite,[289] so that the exemplar used by the compiler could well have been different in some details from any extant manuscript. At any rate, it is clear that *T* is closer to the Defective Version than to the Cotton Version.

Seymour groups the manuscripts of the Defective Version into five distinct groups which represent closeness of textual affiliation.[290] Seymour lists *T* as a manuscript whose subgroup is 'undetermined',[291] but my collation of *T* with the text of the Defective Version has shown that *T* is likely to have had recourse to an exemplar within Seymour's Groups 2–5. There are frequent instances where Seymour's Group 1 diverges from the readings found in Groups 2–5. In all those instances, *T* agrees with Groups 2–5. To name only a few examples, in the section on Noah's ship upon Mount Ararat, *T* has 'ther may no man gone vp onto þe hille for snow þat is alwey there vppon, wynter and somer' (ll. 803–804). Seymour's Group 1 omits 'wynter and somer', whilst Groups 2–5 include this detail.[292] In a similar manner, *T* includes a sentence in a section on the holy rock of Bethel and elaborates: 'And in þat roche was Seynt **Symyon** whan he resseyuyd oure Lorde into þe temple.' (ll. 8209–8210) This comment is missing in Group 1, indicating again that the exemplar which the compiler of *T* used must have belonged to Groups 2–5. Other variant readings in *T* which are unique to Groups 2–5

[288] Seymour (ed. 1973: 196).
[289] On the *mouvance* of *Mandeville's Travels*, see especially Higgins (1997), and White (2016: 258–290).
[290] For more details on the textual affiliations, and a list of the manuscripts in each group, see Seymour (ed. 2002: xiv–xxvi).
[291] Seymour (ed. 2002: xxvi).
[292] Seymour (ed. 2002: 60; l. 27).

include ‘Abrahams heyre’ (l. 295–296), ‘þe cytte aftyr his name’ (l. 296), and ‘no god but it is’ (l. 3859).

Interestingly, Pynson’s print is categorised as part of Seymour’s Group 2, as he is likely to have used a manuscript from this tradition as a base text. Kate Harris does not mention the evidence which led her to the conclusion that the exemplar of *T* was not a printed edition,[293] so it is worth briefly considering this possibility – after all, the compiler did avail himself of Caxton’s printed edition of the *Polychronicon*. The text of the *editio princeps* of 1496 remained the basis of later printed English editions until 1725,[294] and therefore provides a useful point of comparison, regardless of which of the early editions the compiler could have used. It is striking that some of the readings unique to the print do indeed appear in *T*. For instance, the sentence ‘And þere prayde Dauid to oure Lorde and to þe aungel þat he wolde yeve hym mercy and þe pepyl’ (ll. 8204–8205), contains the addition of ‘and the aungel’, which is also found in the print, but not in many manuscripts.[295] Similarly, *T* agrees with the print in a number of other details, such as the order of the list ‘chamayles, mules, hors, dromedaryes, and oþer bestis’ (ll. 292–293), while many of the manuscripts have ‘camelis, mules, dromundaries, and hors, and oþer beestis’,[296] switching the order of the animals on the list. This in itself, however, is not significant enough to suggest that the manuscript was copied from a print, as the compiler inverts or changes the order of items on lists relatively frequently throughout the text (e.g. ‘one of an oxe and one of an hors’, ll. 3851; ‘needful and profytable’, ll. 3861–3862). Such inversions also occur in sections which are copied from other sources than *Mandeville’s Travels*, for instance the

[293] Harris (1983: 32).
[294] Seymour (ed. 2002: xii). See also Seymour (1964).
[295] Seymour (ed. 2002: 35; l. 15). Seymour notes that ‘and the aungell’ is added in the print, but does not note that this is, in fact, an addition which is not unique to the print, as it occurs in London, British Library, MS Arundel 140 as well (f. 15^{r}). This manuscript is dated c. 1450–1475, but shows no closeness with *T* in terms of dialect (given as Lincolnshire in Mooney et al., *Late Medieval English Scribes* [last accessed 5 July 2019]).
[296] Seymour (ed. 2002: 50; l. 13–14).

Polychronicon (e.g. ll. 2079–2080: 'kyngdomes, ilondes, cytees, peple, and townes', as opposed to 'Kyngdomes, Ilondes, peple, Cytees & townes', *Poly* I, 8, xj^{v}). A slightly different case is one instance of a Latin quotation from the Bible in the section on the *probatica piscina*. *T* quotes Christ's words to the paralytic as 'Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula' (l. 8366). Interestingly, the Defective Version has 'Tolle grabatum tuum et uade',[297] whilst the print agrees with *T*. This might at first glance indicate that *T* was copied from the print; however, both versions occur in the Vulgate itself – and as is clear from other sections of *T* which contain original translations from the Bible, the compiler had access to the Vulgate text. Whilst the account of this event in John 5 uses the word 'ambula', Mark 2 uses both 'ambula' and 'uade' in close proximity to each other:

> quid est facilius dicere paralytico dimittuntur tibi peccata an dicere surge et tolle grabattum tuum et ambula
> ut autem sciatis quia potestatem habet Filius hominis in terra dimittendi peccata ait paralytico
> tibi dico surge tolle grabattum tuum et vade in domum tuam (Mark 2:9–11)

Since the two wordings are used synonymously in the Vulgate, it is clear that both versions must have been current in the medieval mind, especially so since John's version is used in the liturgy in the Sarum and other rites, as a gospel reading on the Ember Friday of Lent.[298] If scribes loosely remembered this lection, the change from 'uade' to 'ambula' is a switch which could easily happen, and in fact it does happen in some manuscripts of the Vulgate.[299] Therefore, this change is not necessarily an indication of textual affiliation between *T* and the print. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the Cotton Version, as well as London, British Library, MS Arundel 140,[300] similarly replace 'uade' with 'ambula', a change which must have happened

[297] Seymour (ed. 2002: 36; ll. 20–21).
[298] Dickinson (ed. 1861–1883: 162).
[299] Wordsworth and White (eds. 1889–1908: 196).
[300] This is not noted in Seymour's edition. The sentence occurs on f. 15^{v} of the manuscript.

independently from the print.[301] It is, of course, entirely possible that both versions were current in the numerous manuscripts of *Mandeville's Travels*, and that the compiler of *T* did not replace these words himself, but merely copied from a manuscript which contained a different wording. In either case, there is no strong evidence of *T* being copied from the print, but the evidence does suggest that compiler's exemplar was closely related to Pynson's copy-text.

It is important to keep in mind that even though the Defective Version is extant in the relatively large number of thirty-three manuscripts, there must have been a much greater number which have not survived. Seymour ventures a guess that 'over one hundred manuscripts […] and perhaps many more were written before Pynson's *editio princeps*'.[302] This is especially important for Group 2, with which Pynson's edition is affiliated. Seymour notes that the 'lack of close affiliation within the [second] subgroup suggests that the extant manuscripts are a small remnant of a once much wider dissemination of their common text'.[303] Pynson's copy-text does not survive, and derives from the common ancestor of Group 2 independently of the other manuscripts in this group.[304] The exact textual relationships between these manuscripts are therefore unclear, and our grasp of them can only be a patchwork due to the loss of numerous manuscripts. This is a caveat to be kept in mind when determining what the compiler's exemplar may have looked like, as is the fact that it is unclear how far any changes in *T* are due to the compiler's own initiative, or indicative of his source. Nonetheless, the evidence indicates that the compiler's exemplar came from the same branch of the

[301] Similar changes occur in other places in *T*, for instance in ll. 8200–8201, where *T* quotes a passage from Gen 28:16 as 'Vere locus iste sanctus et ego nesciebam', whilst the Defective Version has 'ignorabam' (Seymour (ed. 2002: 35; l. 1)). In this case, 'nesciebam' is indeed the more frequent variant in copies of the Vulgate (Gasquet (ed. 1926: 269)).
[302] Seymour (ed. 2002: xvi).
[303] Seymour (ed. 2002: xxi).
[304] Seymour lists the manuscripts in Group 2 as London, British Library, MS Arundel 140; London, British Library, MS Royal 17 B. xliii; London, British Library, MS Harley 2386; London British Library, MS Harley 3954; and San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 114, along with Pynson's print (Seymour (ed. 2002: xx)).

textual tradition as Pynson's copy-text, and must have been closely related to Pynson's exemplar in that it already contained the readings which the print shares with *T*.

2 *Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*

A similar interest in topographical features of the Holy Land as in *Mandeville's Travels* is evident in the compiler's use of Wynkyn de Worde's print *Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe*, a short guide-book for pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, containing practical information on travel arrangements, locations, and languages. We know of three consecutive editions printed by de Worde in 1500 or shortly before (*STC* 14081),[305] 1515 (*STC* 14083), and 1524 (*STC* 14083). *Information for pilgrims* is a very minor source for *T*: the compiler uses material which is based on the first edition only once on a more extensive scale (for the length of a paragraph in a description of Egypt in ll. 1507–1517), and another time to provide a very short piece of information on Mount Sinai (ll. 5141–5142). Kate Harris has noted that the date of de Worde's first edition may suggest a *terminus post quem* of 1500 for *T,*[306] but it would be simplistic to accept this dating, for a number of reasons.

Wynkyn de Worde's print is predominantly in English, but the last pages of the print are in Latin (from p. dvj^{r} onwards). E. Gordon Duff comments in his facsimile of the print that 'the author seems to have been too impatient of finishing to translate',[307] whilst Christine Cooper-Rompato believes that the inclusion of Latin was a deliberate means of imbuing the book with 'a sense of authority'.[308] The compiler of *T* has recourse exclusively to the Latin part of the text, and only uses material contained in the

[305] E. Gordon Duff dates the first edition to 'about 1498' (ed. 1893: 17), *STC* and Lewis et al. (1985: no. 85) date it to '1500?'. More recently, Lotte Hellinga has argued for an earlier date of 1496 (2003).
[306] Harris (1983: 33).
[307] Duff (ed. 1893: 9).
[308] Cooper-Rompato (2011: 226).

chapters ‘Peregrinaciones montis synai’ and ‘Peregrinacones terre egypti’. The material used in *T* appears on a single page of the print (ej^{r}). The compiler of *T* translates this Latin material into English, as a comparison with de Worde’s text reveals:

> Also fro þe seyde cyte of Massare iij dayes jorneye in þe londe of Egipte is a certayne countre callyd Mense Luto, in þe whiche is a monastary of Iacobynes callyd Elmatanate. (ll. 1511–1514)

The Latin version of this passage in the print is as follows:

> Item a predicta ciuitate Messare per tres dietas in patria Egypti est quedam patria nomine Menpheluto in qua est monasterium Jacobitarum nomine Elmarath.[309]

T presents here a close translation of the Latin text, with the exception of the two place names Menpheluto and Elmarath, which appear in *T* in the quite different form ‘Mense Luto’ and ‘Elmatanate’. This is rather striking, as the compiler copies place names from printed sources elsewhere with little variation (as detailed in the analysis of the compiler’s method above, pp. 69–71). Variation of the sort we find here is typical of manuscript transmission. For instance, ‘Menpheluto’ might have been rendered in a manuscript with <f> instead of <ph>, which the copyist confused with a long <s>. This indicates that the compiler’s exemplar is likely to have been a manuscript version of the Latin text, rather than de Worde’s print.

Information for pilgrims is anonymous, and it is unclear which sources de Worde used for his print. It is entirely possible that parts of the text were circulated earlier, in a different form. As Duff notes, medieval pilgrimage guide-books are well-known for their ‘want of originality’ and re-use of material from earlier accounts,[310] and in fact some parts of *Information for pilgrims* are heavily indebted to William Wey’s *Itineraries*.[311] It is therefore not a far stretch to assume that *Information for pilgrims*

[309] Tramscribed from Duff’s facsimile (ed. 1893) of de Worde’s print (ej^{r}).

[310] Duff (ed. 1893: 11). For a more detailed analysis of the iterative features of medieval pilgrimage narratives, particularly in relation to *Mandeville’s Travels*, see Bale (2016).

[311] On this connection, see Duff (ed. 1893: 12) and Mitchell (1964: 19), though the latter somewhat overstates the case, as pointed out by Cooper-Rompato (2011: fn. 16). Wey’s work is contained in a

may have re-used material not only from Wey, but also from other sources. This would mean that the Latin text appearing in *Information for pilgrims* may have been available before 1500 in manuscript form. However, even if we were to assume that the Latin text is original to *Information for pilgrims*, it is still entirely possible that it was circulated before 1500, as the date of the journey in question could have been more than a decade earlier: Duff has argued on the basis of a date of the month given in *Information for pilgrims* that the journey to the Holy Land is likely to have been made in the 1480s or 90s.[312] It is also noteworthy that the compiler only incorporates a translation of some of the Latin material, but does not copy from the English text in the print at all (which one would have expected the compiler to find useful). This again suggests that the 1500 print was not the compiler's exemplar, and it is more likely that the compiler and de Worde had the same or a similar source. There is, then, reason to assume that the exemplar was an earlier, manuscript version of the Latin text, and that the 1500 *terminus post quem* does not apply to *T*.

3 *Confessio Amantis*

More than twenty excerpts from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* are scattered throughout the text. The compiler copies mainly from Books V and VII of the *Confessio*, and occasionally from the Prologue and Book II. Kate Harris has analysed the Gower excerpts at greater length,[313] concluding that 'the compiler had access to a copy of the

unique copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 565, and was written between 1462 and 1476 (*Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1584> [last accessed 12 August 2019]). Wey entered the house of the Bonhommes of Edington, an Augustinian order, around 1467.

[312] Duff (ed. 1893: 9).

[313] Harris (1993: 71–75).

first recension'[314] of the *Confessio*. Many of these excerpts are as brief as a single line or a short phrase, and are used to provide additional information on the biblical narrative, particularly regarding idol worship and different religions in different parts of the world. Some of these extracts appear to be loosely based on the *Confessio* rather than copied from it word by word:

> [Nynus] made a ryche precyus ymage of his fadyr in golde and precyus stonys fyne, aftyr his fadyr euyn lyke. And þerevppon a lawe he sette þat euery man shulde honoure þat ymage with sacrifise and truage. (ll. 3797–3799)

This passage is indebted to a description of idol worship in Book V of the *Confessio*, which runs

> Fro Nembroth in the rihte line,
> Let make of gold and stones fine
> A precious ymage riche
> After his fader evene liche;
> And therupon a lawe he sette,
> That every man of pure dette
> With sacrifice and with truage
> Honoure scholde thilke ymage (ll. 1547–1554)[315]

A comparison of the two versions shows that *T* not only rearranges the order of Gower's lines, but also rephrases them, thereby removing most of the rhyming couplets. The only rhyme which is preserved is *ymage–truage*, whilst the dialectal spelling *lyke* all but conceals the rhyme with *ryche*. Two different interpretations of the evidence suggest themselves: the compiler was either working with the *Confessio* in front of him, copying the content with little regard to the precise verbal expression, and restructuring the verse to fit into his prose narrative, or else he was copying from memory, and inserted half-remembered lines from Gower's poem into *T*. The third possibility – that the compiler was working from a source text which already contained a version of the *Confessio* in an altered form – is less likely. The use of the Latin notes to the *Confessio*,

[314] Harris (1993: 74).
[315] All references are to Peck's edition (ed. 2000–2004).

Book V, ll. 870–1277 in a list of the Greek gods in ll. 3830–3843 of *T* indicates that the compiler did have access to a full version of the *Confessio* in its traditional form.[316] Interestingly, here, as in the *Genealogia*, the compiler is responding to the paratexts in his sources, and incorporating them into his own new text. The occurrence of *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* in verse in ll. 9042–9565 likewise suggests that the compiler had access to a full version of the *Confessio*. As I have argued above (pp. 43–49), the leaves containing *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* were recycled in *T* and could have been written earlier, so that this does not prove beyond doubt that the compiler had access to a full version of the *Confessio* at the time of writing *T*. However, residual rhyme occurs in conjunction with other source texts as well (e.g. the Holy Cross legend).[317] This indicates that incorporating verse into the prose history was part of the compiler's textual strategy in composing *T*, and is likely to have been his own design rather than that of his exemplar.

Other possible echoes of the *Confessio* in *T* are even shorter, and fainter, than in the example above. Another section on idol worship contains the phrase:

> For þere was noon but fewe in þat tyme but þat he had aftyr his owne choyse a god (ll. 3778–3779)

This may be indebted to the following lines from Book V of the *Confessio*:

> Ther was no man that time bore,
> That he ne hadde after his chois
> A god, to whom he gaf his vois. (ll. 1624–1626)

The similarity between these lines is fairly generic and commonplace, and unlike Harris suggests (who here finds clear evidence of an extract from the *Confessio*),[318] it is difficult to see here more than a faint echo of Gower's text. If the compiler was indeed

[316] Here, as in the *Genealogia*, the compiler responds to the specific presentation and layout of the source texts in the manuscripts. For a comparable case, see Chaucer's use of glosses and commentary material in his Italian sources, as discussed by Clarke (2011).
[317] For a discussion of residual rhyme in the Holy Cross legend, see above, pp. 128–131.
[318] Harris (1993: 71).

copying from the *Confessio* here, such echoes may suggest that he was often copying from memory, perhaps through loose association, rather than with a source text open in front of him. Such a process of memory and association leading to the inclusion of traces of a well-known poem in a prose text is entirely in keeping with what we would expect from a compiler who was evidently very learned and widely read.

Apart from the long excerpt of *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (the only excerpt visually preserving verse), other more substantive excerpts indebted to the *Confessio* occur in ll. 6121–6175 (*Gideon*, *CA* VII, 3629–3781), in ll. 8273–8311 (the *Folly of Rehoboam, CA* VII, 4027–4129), and in ll. 3517–3611, in an account of Constantine and Silvester, which is based on Book II, ll. 3188–3483. Here as elsewhere, only residual rhyme is preserved, and the version in *T* skips over some parts of the poem or merely summarises them. For instance, the beginning of this section runs as follows:

> I fynde how **Constantyne** þat was som tyme emperour of Rome in his lusty age, he was infecte with þe lepre ouer al his body and also his visage, þat he myht neyþer ryde ne goon. And so he kept hym close in his chambyr tyl þat remedy myghte be founde. (ll. 3517–3520)

This appears to be a condensed version of ll. 3187–3197 of the *Confessio*:

> Among the bokes of Latin
> I finde write of Constantin
> The worthi Emperour of Rome,
> Suche infortunes to him come,
> Whan he was in his lusti age,
> The lepre cawhte in his visage
> And so forth overal aboute,
> That he ne mihte ryden oute:
> So lefte he bothe schield and spere,
> As he that mihte him noght bestere,
> And hield him in his chambre clos.

The most obvious similarity is 'his lusty age', rhymed with 'visage',[319] and 'close in his chambyr', although the word order in *T* is inverted from 'his chambre clos'. These

[319] The rhyme age – visage, which is retained in *T*, appears a single time in *Troilus and Criseyde* (Book V, ll. 1836 and 1838), and four times in *The Canterbury Tales* in the Ellesmere manuscript (Cromie (1875:

similarities suggest some influence by the *Confessio*, but many of the other similarities between the two versions are generic, and due to the fact that both versions recount the same story. The version in *T* presents a much more factual account than Gower. Lines such as 'So lefte he bothe schield and spere, / As he that mihte him noght bestere', which do not drive the narrative but serve more as a tableau, are omitted entirely. The compiler is evidently eager to present a clear, concise, and factual narrative. Once again, the nature of the similarities between the two versions suggests an echo of Gower's text drawn from memory rather than direct copying from an exemplar, but the changes might also be the result of a deliberate policy of mining the source for information with little attention to its precise literary features, and rendering this information in prose rather than verse.

Kate Harris notes that in '*Constantine and Silvester,* the compiler is not just concerned to facilitate instant comprehension of the detail of the narrative but also to spotlight the moral issues it raises'.[320] Harris's assessment of this treatment of the *Confessio* is overwhelmingly negative: she sees the compiler's attempts at clarifying, glossing, and rewriting the source text as 'underscor[ing] what is exceptional in the poet's art', designed 'for the ill-informed reader, ill-equipped as to attention span and of unretentive memory'.[321] Her interpretation of the evidence is that this is a compiler 'operating […] in [a] world of fixed terms', and 'working […] at the nadir of the proud tradition of monastic history writing'.[322] Such a negative view, however, elides the significant difference in genre between Gower's poem and its use in the historiographical compilation. The compiler is evidently not interested in preserving the subtleties of Gower's poetic language, but in presenting information on historical,

7)), suggesting that this rhyming pair is not completely unusual, but also not very frequent in Middle English verse. Its memorable quality may have been the reason why the compiler retained it.

[320] Harris (1993: 75).

[321] Harris (1993: 74–75).

[322] Harris (1993: 75).

religious, and moral matters in clear and unambiguous terms. Such factual and moral certainties are in line with what the contemporary reader would expect to find in a text of the given genre, even if this approach is likely to be somewhat less popular with the modern reader. In fact, this focus is not too dissimilar to the one found in other historigraphical texts such as the *Polychronicon*, in spite of its obvious differences from *T*. As the above example reveals, poetic phrases such as 'in his lusty age' do find their way into *T* on occasion, and show that the compiler is not unresponsive to Gower's memorable lines and rhymes – but, in keeping with the nature of the text he is compiling, they are not his chief focus.

4 *Canterbury Tales*

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are another minor source used by the compiler to provide historical detail and moral interpretations of the biblical text. Only excerpts from the prose tales – *The Parson's Tale* and *The Tale of Melibee* – occur in *T*, perhaps due to their suitability and relevance to the subject matter of the compilation. Kate Harris has written extensively on the extracts from Chaucer in *T*,[323] so that only a brief summary need be given here.

There are four extracts from *The Parson's Tale* in *T*: an account of God's command to Adam not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the temptation of Eve, and an exposition of original sin in ll. 55–118 (accompanied by a marginal addition which contains material similar to Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B. 2. 18, a variant copy of Nicholas Love's translation of the *Meditationes vite Christi*);[324] an excerpt on the origin of thraldom in ll. 795–799, an explanation of mercy and pity in ll.

[323] Harris (1998).
[324] Harris (1998: 174).

3618–3622, which serves as a conclusion to the story of Constantine and Silvester from the *Confessio Amantis*, and finally a discussion of fornication in ll. 7928–7936, which is brought to bear on Amnon's rape of his sister Tamar. A single short section from *The Tale of Melibee* is used twice in *T*, in both cases to provide additional detail to an account of Amazonia. In a passage copied from the *Polychronicon* (I, 18, with additions from II, 21), Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons, rebukes Alexander the Great for demanding tribute. The compiler then adds from the *Tale of Melibee* (2671–2674) the following proverbial passage:

> It is a woodnes a man to stryue with a more myhty man than he is hymself. And for to stryue with as stronge as hymself, it is perel. And for to stryue with a weker man than hymself, it is bothe foly and shame. And þerfor a man shulde exchew and flee stryuyng as moche as he myhte. (ll. 1766–1770)

The same passage appears a second time in ll. 6428–6431, in the same context: the account of the Amazons, compiled from the *Polychronicon* I, 18 and II, 21, is here copied a second time, with the same additions from the *Tale of Melibee*. Double copying of two identical passages combined from different sources is rare in *T* (see above, p. 93). It is possible that this was due to an oversight by the compiler, but may also indicate his particular interest in the Amazons. The fact that there is then a third account of Thalestris and Alexander from *Polychronicon* III, 28 (though this time without the *Tale of Melibee*) in ll. 10700–10710, suggests that the latter was the case.

The Tale of Melibee also provides a clear link to the compilation in *H*, which also uses this tale as a source, and very likely was copied from the same exemplar.[325] Manly and Rickert demonstrated that this copy is closely affiliated with London, British Library, MS Harley 7334 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 600.[326] However, as Kate Harris has convincingly argued, the version of *The Parson's Tale*

[325] Harris (1998: 181).
[326] Manly and Rickert (1940: 401–402).

used in *T* is not closely affiliated with this textual tradition.[327] Thus, the compiler either used two different copy texts for the two tales, or he consulted a single copy text deriving from a mixed textual tradition.[328]

In a manner which has already been noted with regard to other source texts, the compiler is eager to edit and clarify the sense of passages from *The Canterbury Tales*. He provides glosses, inserts doublets, and replaces synonyms.[329] A sample comparison between the passage cited above and Chaucer's text will serve to demonstrate these techniques:

> it is a woodnesse a man to stryve with a strenger or a moore myghty man than he is hymself, and for to stryve with a man of evene strengthe – that is to seyn, with as strong a man as he is – it is peril, and for to stryve with a weyker man, it is folie.' And therfore sholde a man flee stryvynge as muchel as he myghte. (2671–2673)

Notable variants between the two versions include the omission of 'a strenger or' and 'a man of evene strengthe – that is to seyn' in *T*. In this way, the compiler removes glossing additions and repetitions which he may have deemed unnecessary, in order to simplify and clarify Chaucer's syntax. However, he does add doublets in other places, perhaps to bring out specific subtleties of meaning: 'folie' becomes 'bothe foly and shame', and 'flee' becomes 'exchew and flee'. Changes such as these are typical of additions and omissions throughout the manuscript and across different source texts, and are reflective of the compiler's overarching purpose of clarification and simplification in writing and editing the text.

[327] Harris (1998: 183).
[328] See fn. 32 above on the independent circulation of the prose tales. It is, thus, entirely possible that the compiler had access both to a miscellany with *The Tale of Melibee*, and a different miscellany with *The Parson's Tale,* or that he had an exemplar which had already gathered the two tales together from different sources.
[329] For a fuller analysis, including sample collations with both *T* and *H*, see Harris (1998).

5 *Book of Good Manners/Livre des Bonnes Meurs*

The *Book of Good Manners*, or *Livre des Bonnes Meurs* by its French title, is a treatise on the organisation of society and a guide to leading a moral life, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the Augustinian friar Jacques Legrand, or Jacobus Magnus.[330] It is adapted from Legrand's larger work, the *Sophilogium*, a Latin treatise on the love of virtue and wisdom, which was subsequently translated into French by the author himself.[331] The *Book of Good Manners* is based on some parts of the *Sophilogium*, and deals in five books with themes such as the avoidance of deadly sins and the cultivation of virtue, the three estates, and how to prepare for one's death.[332] Legrand's work is encyclopaedic in nature, collecting a wealth of *exempla* and citations from biblical and classical sources. Finished in 1404 and revised in 1410, the book enjoyed an immense popularity with its medieval audience, with as many as 72 surviving manuscripts in French,[333] alongside numerous printed editions. The text was translated into English several times. Those translations which survive are London, British Library, MS Harley 149, ff. 183–255; a translation by John Shirley in MS Additional 5467, ff. 92–211; San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 39872 (formerly known as Beaumont College, Old Windsor);[334] and Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter T. 3. 16,[335] which contains the same version as the Huntington manuscript.[336] The work was also printed by Caxton in 1487 (*STC* 15394) and later by Pynson in 1494 (*STC* 15395) and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498 (*STC* 15397). Caxton's print is entitled

[330] Gärtner (1904: 45).
[331] Lindström (1977: 304).
[332] Wijsman (2011: 3).
[333] Beltran (ed. 1986: 290–295). More recent research mentions as many as 75 manuscripts (Wijsman (2011: 4)).
[334] Bond (1954–1955). For descriptions, see Dutschke (1989: II, 719) and Hanna, III (1984: 45–46).
[335] For a description, see the *University of Glasgow online catalogue* <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=34502> [last accessed 6 July 2019].
[336] Lindström (1980).

The book of good manners and contains a distinct translation which is not based upon any of the extant manuscript versions.[337]

T uses excerpts from the *Book of Good Manners* predominantly in the second half, with the first excerpt appearing in ll. 4184–4193, and the last one in ll. 8911–8959. Harris notes that her 'analysis of the texts has shown that the Trinity copy contains the same version as Harley 149',[338] although she does not give any further details regarding this analysis. A closer look at the extant translations reveals that *T* is indeed closest to MS Harley 149, as a comparison of a small passage from Legrand's Book I, chapter 14 may help to demonstrate. In *T*, this passage runs as follows:

> O falce envye, what harmys hast thou done and how many men haue been destroyed be þe! For by þe **Cayn** killyd his brothir **Abel,** as it apperyth in þe thryd chapiter of **Genesis.** Also be enuye **Ioseph** was solde by his bretheryn whiche myht not endure to se þe grete loue þat his fadyr louyd hym as it aperyth in þe boke afore rehersyd. (ll. 5242–5246)

This passage appears in MS Harley 149 as follows:

> O falce envye, what harmes hast þou done and how many men haue ben destroyed by the. For by the Caym kylled hys brothyr Abel, as yt appereth yn the thyrde chapytre of Genesys. Aso by the, envye, Ioseph was solde by hys brethyrn whych myght not endure to see the gret loue that hys fadyr loued hym, as yt appereth yn the booke affor rehersed. (ff. 203$^{r–v}$)

By contrast, the version in San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 39872, shows marked differences in its choice of words and syntax:

> O fals enuie, what thou doest much harme. How much pepill hast thou distroyed. Through the Chaym slwe his owne brother Abel, as it appereth in the iij chapiter of Genesis. By the, enuie, Joseph was solde of his brethren the which might not se þe loue that his fader had to hym, as it appereth in the book afore seid. (f. 79^{v})

The sections from the *Book of Good Manners* in *T* are often, as in the given example, extremely close to the version in MS Harley 149. Occasionally, there are slight

[337] For a closer comparison between Caxton's print and the manuscripts versions, specifically MS Harley 149, see Lindström (1979). Amongst other things, Lindström points out that the chapters in Parts IV and V in Caxton are in the wrong order, and that Caxton is more prone to taking over French words from his source than the translator of Harley 149 (p. 310).
[338] Harris (1983: 32).

differences in wording between the two versions (e.g. 'he wolde nat do to hym no maner of reuerence', ll. 5367–5368, vs. 'he wolde not worshyp hym', f. 185^{r}), and references to sources can be omitted in *T*. The compiler of *T* also corrects information in the *Book of Good Manners* where necessary. For instance, the line 'the kynge Pharaon of Egypte that made drowne the chyldren of the Iewes' in MS Harley 149 – evidently a confusion with the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea – is corrected to 'kyng **Pharao** of Egipte þat pursuyd þe pepyl of Israell' (l. 6317–6318). Occasionally, the material from the *Book of Good Manners* is expanded in *T* with additional information, as in the following section about Absolon:

> And of Absolon also, whyche wolde haue take awey the Reeme from hys fadyr, was not he myschevously slayn, as yt appereth yn the seconde booke of Kynges (MS Harley 149, f. 185^{r})

In *T*, this is copied with additional information on the manner of Absolon's death:

> And of **Absolon** also, whiche wolde haue taken awaye þe reeme from his fadyr, and also he toke soche a pride of his here þat as he roode, þe wynde blew yt abouhte a bouhe and þerby he hynge tyl he was myscheuously slayne, as it aperith in þe ij^{de} boke of **Regum** (ll. 5378–5381)

The ways in which material from the *Book of Good Manners* is changed and expanded is in keeping with the compilatory strategies which can be observed throughout *T* (see above, Chapter II).

The difficulty with editing the passages from the *Book of Good Manners* in *T* is that there is at present no modern edition of any of the English translations of this work available. In spite of its enormous popularity in the Middle Ages, the text has been largely overlooked by modern scholars and has remained unedited apart from a single chapter printed in Gärtner's doctoral thesis[339] and an unpublished PhD thesis by B.R.

[339] Gärtner (1904). Gärtner edits three English versions the last chapter of Book V (Shirley's manuscript London, British Library, MS Additional 5467; London, British Library, MS Harley 149, and Caxton's print) in comparison with a French version of the text.

Campbell.[340] The cross-references to the *Book of Good Manners* given in the Commentary in this edition are to Book, Chapter, and folio number in MS Harley 149.

T uses material from the *Book of Good Manners* to provide a moral commentary on Old Testament events, and the particular vices exhibited by Old Testament characters. For instance, an account of Abymalech's suicide (ll. 6304–6309) is followed by a lengthy excerpt from the *Book of Good Manners* discussing murder and its punishment, using a number of exempla. The connection between Old Testament events and moral excursus are sometimes more associative than obvious, and the shift in tone in moving from one to the other can be rather striking at times. Thus, after relating how the temple in Jerusalem was burnt by Nebuzaradan following a long siege (a section copied from the *Polychronicon*), the narrative moves to an exposition of why men should honour the Church and should not destroy it. The destruction of the temple forms a connection between the two sections, but the narrative voice is noticeably changed in the moralising section:

> Also þat yer þat was þe xix yere of Nabugodonosor, **Nabusardan** brente þe **temple** and house of Ierusalem and destroyed þe wallys and toke awey þe vessel with þe pylers […]. And so þe temple was brente iiij^{C} and xxxiiij yer aftyr þat it was bylded, so wrytyth þe **Hebreyes.**
> **Now here yt spekyth and leyth example how men shulde worship þe Chyrche and nat destroye the Chirche.**
> The Chirche is þe modyr of alle Cristyn peple. Wherfor yt ouht to be take in grete reuerence […]. And to this purpos we rede in þe first boke of þe stori **tripartite** how **Constantyne** was a Cristyn man and louyd God and þe chirche so moche þat wheresomeuer he went, he lete cary with hym a tabernacle shapyn lyke a chirche (ll. 8904–8917)

The fact that the material in *T* originates from different sources is perhaps most noticeable in excerpts from the *Book of Good Manners*, due to this shift from a historical narrative which focuses on factual events to a voice which uses exempla to provide moral guidelines for the reader. Throughout *T*, the narrator tends to include

[340] Campbell (1978). The *Book of Good Manners* has received more attention amongst French scholars. Evencio Beltran (ed. 1986) has produced a critical edition of the French versions of this text, but the English versions remain largely unexplored.

himself as a member of the addressed audience by using first person plural pronouns ('we rede', l. 8924),[341] but the rare instances where the audience is addressed in the second person singular tend to occur in the sections from the *Book of Good Manners*: 'Moreouer thow muste vndirstonde þat þe Chirche ouht to be free and not boonde' (ll. 8953–8954). Nonetheless, the compiler is clearly eager to blend these excerpts into the surrounding material, introducing new passages which create a transition between the *Book of Good Manners* and other sources. For instance, the section on how to honour the Church finishes with the words:

> And this shewyth vs how euery man ouhte to dowte þe Chirche and obey it in alle ryht and resoun and nat destroye (ll. 8959–8960)

At the end of this sentence, the compiler inserts:

> as **Nabusardan** dyd þe temple of Ierusalem, whiche we spake of beforn and wyl now retourne vnto ayen. (ll. 8960–8962)

This is a new addition which relates back to the last historical event referred to before the section from the *Book of Good Manners*, and leads the reader back to the historical narrative after the moral digression. Such techniques are typical of the compilation as a whole, as demonstrated in Chapter II above.

Overall, the use of the *Book of Good Manners* is highly selective. The compiler freely selects from different sections and exempla within single chapters, and also across different chapters. These selections are then presented as cohesive new sections in *T*. To give only one brief example, the following section is composed of material from three different chapters in the *Book of Good Manners*, and introduces original material alongside it:

> We rede also how **Amalech** made I ayenst þe childryn of Israell for feere þat he had to leese his lordship, as it apperyth in þe vij chapiter of **Exode.** Rede we not also how þe pride of **Nychanor** was scumfyte and brouht to nouht, as it aperyth in þe first boke of **Machabeus** in þe vij chapiter. Than let vs remembyr what is

[341] See above, p. 75.

> befalle of þe power of **Nero**, whiche was a grete synner. Where is þe puyssaunce of **Pharao?** Where is þe myhte of **Troye**, whiche somtyme bare a grete name? Where is **Babylonye**, whiche was somtyme made of a meruelus heythe? Certaynly alle is come to nought. For pryde may neuer endure. And as me semyth, we haue examplys ynow here before rehersyd for to eschewe this fowle synne of pride. (ll. 8025–8034)

Whilst the first sentence is copied from Book I, 7, the second one originates from I, 1, and is followed by a sentence referring to Nero, which appears to be the compiler's own addition. The following section (Where is… may neuer endure) is copied from the *Book of Good Manners* I, 4. The passage is concluded by another original addition: 'And as me semyth, we haue examplys ynow here before rehersyd for to eschewe this fowle synne of pride.' The narratorial voice here presents itself as an authoritative selector of exempla who – perhaps deeming the abundance of exempla in the source text a little over the top – decides on a smaller selection of material, and is ready to move on to the next point.

The rationale according to which specific exempla are selected is difficult to discern, but overall there appears to be a focus on examples from the Old Testament, in keeping with the focus of *T* as a whole. For instance, a section on envy copied from the *Book of Good Manners* I, 14, includes exempla from the Book of Daniel and the Book of Kings:

> What made **Danyel** to haue persecucioun, nothyng but þe envye as yt apperyth in þe vj chapiter of Danyel. And throuh envye, **Architefel** fylle in dispeyre. For whan he sawe þat **C**ufel was holde a wyse man and þat he gouerned welle suche thyngis as was putte vnto hym, than Architefel, throuh his grete envye, felle in dispeyre and [f. 104^{v}] hynge hymself, as it aperith in þe ij^{de} boke of **Regum** in þe xvij chapiter. (ll. 5246–5251)

This section omits an exemplum from the New Testament, which occurs in MS Harley 149 immediately after the exemplum from the Book of Daniel:

> Ho made oure sauyour Ihesu Cryst be dampned to the dethe, no thynge but the envye of þe Iewes whych myght yn no wyse see the gret myracles and goodnesses that he dyd dayly amonge hem, as Saynt Luke recyteth yn hys .xix.th chapytre (f. 203^{v})

In *T*, the compiler initially copies 'What made **Danyel** to haue persecucioun, nothyng but þe envye of þe Iewes' due to eyeskip to the following passages, but then, realising his mistake, deletes 'of þe Iewes'. This proves that the section on the envy of the Jews was indeed present in the exemplar, but that the compiler chose to omit it from *T*, and proceed immediately to the exemplum about Architefel. However, this policy of focusing on the Old Testament does not hold true for all cases, as other sections do include exempla from the New Testament (e.g. ll. 5384 ff.).

The above example of ll. 8025–8034, copied from three different chapters of the *Book of Good Manners*, is representative of most excerpts from this source and other minor sources, which select material from different chapters of the source text, and switch back and forth between them, often within a few lines. Individual exempla within a single chapter are sometimes copied in a different order than in the source text. What is more, there are additions of new material which serve to clarify the content and create a transition between different excerpts. In spite of this, in the manuscript there are very few indicators of mistakes in the course of what must have been a complex process of composition from a variety of minor source texts. It is difficult to imagine that the compiler created such an intricate pattern of short passages from different leaves of the source text as a matter of course as he was composing *T*, and an earlier draft version is likely to have preceded the text in *T*.[342]

[342] On this point, see also the discussion below, pp. 174–186.

6 Source texts of *T*: Concluding thoughts

The nine source texts used by the compiler are put to very different uses in *T*. The chief source text in size, making up roughly two thirds of *T*, is without doubt the *Polychronicon*, which the compiler methodically copies and rewrites (as detailed in Chapter II above). Higden's history provides a framework into which smaller passages from other sources are inserted to provide additional information and detail.

The passages of the *Polychronicon* which refer to biblical history are supplemented by translations and paraphrases based directly on the Vulgate, or the liturgical use of the biblical text. Biblical events are also frequently referred to in excerpts from *Mandeville's Travels*, which is chiefly used as a source to provide information on the history and topography of the Holy Land. A similar interest in the Holy Land is behind the addition of some small sections from the *Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, which are translated from Latin. The inclusion of excerpts from these texts gives the compilation a focus on pilgrimage and travel in connection to biblical events, which goes beyond that which is present, to a lesser extent, in the *Polychronicon*.

Whilst these sources flesh out details of history and biblical narrative, an overarching intellectual structure is provided by the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*. Peter of Poitiers's text is used to structure the vast amount of historical material according to the generations after Adam and before Christ, relating the historical events to biblical chronology and imbuing them with a sense of direction. This chronological structure is made visible on the page through running titles and informs the way in which the compilation is constructed. To use an imperfect analogy, if we were to look at the compilation as a body, the *Genealogia* would serve as the skeleton, whereas the flesh would consist of the *Polychronicon*, and other, more minor

sources would act as small tattoos. Whilst the relation of historical events to the lineage of Christ provides a clear and obvious structure for *T*, the Holy Cross legend serves a similar purpose, though in a more subtle manner. The different episodes of the legend, which are split up and stretch across almost the entirety of the compilation, function as a narrative thread which establishes cohesion and continuity. By emphasising a typological interpretation through the connection of the tree of Paradise with the cross of Christ, the legend creates a sense of anticipation of the coming of Christ which pervades the Old Testament historical events in *T*. The structure created by the Holy Cross legend, then, is not so much chronological but typological, and narrative more than visual. In this way, the legend complements the more visual use of the *Genealogia* and its focus on chronology. Together, both sources create a firm and multi-faceted structure to orient and guide the reader of the compilation through history. The teleological nature of this structure is directed towards the Incarnation and the Crucifixion, which suggests that the life of Christ may have been the intended outcome, and the most crucial event described in *T*, contained in the now lost (or never completed) pages at the end (see also below, pp. 216–217).

Guidance is also provided in moral terms by the lengthy excerpts from the *Book of Good Manners*, which explain and interpret the biblical and historical events, and use them as exempla to encourage a virtuous life. A similar moral purpose is served by the minor excerpts from Gower and Chaucer, which are included perhaps through the compiler's associative memory, and are thus brought to bear on a text of a quite different genre than their original context. This moral interpretation of events gives further structure to the compilation, rooting it in biblical exegesis. Three of the four senses of Scripture – the literal, the typological, and the moral – are thus covered

extensively in *T* and interwoven in the compilation through the use of different source texts.[343]

The compilation, then, shows evidence of a compiler thinking both horizontally and vertically in arranging and editing his material, and referring to a wide – and perhaps surprising – selection of texts of different genres and textual traditions, including both manuscript and print, and prose as well as verse. Different sources are used to fulfil different functions within *T*, and the resulting compilation reveals a variety of textual modes and strategies, including close copying, summary, expansion, translation, and paraphrase.

[343] *T* also refers to the anagogical sense in some places – see, for instance, ll. 7530–7533, which mention the parable of the ten virgins, and relate the parable to its anagogical meaning.

Chapter V Authorship, Audience, and Context

1 The case for a compiler-scribe

Throughout this study, the terms 'compiler' and 'scribe' have been used interchangeably, reflecting the fact that there is convincing evidence to support the assumption that the compiler and the scribe of *T* are one and the same person and that, consequently, this manuscript is an autograph.[344] This working assumption now merits further substantiation. Broadly speaking, there are two arguments to be made for a compiler-scribe: The first looks at the evidence of *T* in isolation, whilst the second takes into account the evidence of the two other manuscripts in the same hand, *H* and *L*. The former argument will be discussed first, before moving on to the latter, and it will become clear that the latter argument presents the stronger case for a compiler-scribe.

Kate Harris has firmly asserted the idea that scribe and compiler of *T* are one and the same person. While her earliest article on the manuscript mentions that 'the compiler *seems* to be one and the same as the scribe' (my emphasis),[345] the phrasing in one of her later articles is less cautious: 'The compiler and the scribe *are undoubtedly* one and the same'.[346] Her conclusion is based on the 'substantive marginal additions and the presence of deletions and interlineations, all testifying to moments of indecision in the process of composition',[347] and on her claim that the manuscript has 'draft status',[348] but she does not expand on this evidence in greater detail.

It is worth disentangling these separate claims. Whilst there is convincing evidence that the compiler and scribe are indeed the same person, Harris's reasoning in

[344] On autograph manuscripts and their various forms in late medieval England, see Beadle (1994).
[345] Harris (1983: 33).
[346] Harris (1998: 179).
[347] Harris (1998: 179).
[348] Harris (1998: 179).

support of this claim is at times disputable. As she correctly points out, there are indeed signs of addition and revision throughout the manuscript. These include deletions (e.g. l. 10180, f. 209^{r}), interlinear additions (l. 4676, f. 92^{v}), and marginal additions (cf. Fig. 17 above, p. 36). It is worth noting that most of the marginal additions stem from the same sources as the main text (e.g. the addition from the *Polychronicon* in ll. 1055–1057). Where a direct source cannot be identified for the marginal additions, their content and tone is in keeping with the overall character of the compilation (e.g. marginal additions of biblical material in ll. 4671–4674). Marginal additions appear throughout the text, but are particularly clustered around ff. 91^{v}–92^{v}, where they add details to a genealogical account of the lineage of Christ, which is based on the *Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers. This evidence may well indicate that the scribe is the same person as the compiler, who is compiling whilst he is copying, and occasionally changes his mind about what to include. Hypothetically, there are other possible scenarios, and it is useful to entertain them for a moment. The scribe of *T* could have had a relatively complete compilation in front of him, and could have decided, whilst copying it, to add further information to the text in the form of marginal notes and interlineations. The fact that marginal additions are taken from sources the same or similar to the main text does not offer definitive evidence that the scribe and compiler were one and the same person. If the scribe and compiler were working in the same environment or institution, is possible that the scribe had access to some of the same source texts which his copy text used, and that he had recourse to these in order to expand the compilation in front of him whilst copying it.

It is difficult to come to a decisive conclusion based solely on the evidence of marginal and interlinear additions, partly because the manuscript does not have ‘draft status’, contrarily to Harris’s claims. This is the case partly because the number of these additions is very limited, and long stretches of *T* are remarkably tidily written. For

instance, as pointed out in the description above (p. 35), ff. 23^{r}–90^{r} do not contain any interlinear or marginal additions, and any deletions and corrections are solely due to eye-skip or straightforward orthographical mistakes, and do not provide any evidence of an ongoing process of compilation. The manuscript is very evenly and neatly written throughout, and the number of substantive marginal additions to the main text is only twelve in total,[349] which is a comparatively small number considering that the manuscript contains 450 pages (meaning that only 2.7% of the pages contain marginal additions).

This is not the kind of presentation one would expect from a manuscript which, according to Harris, has 'draft status'.[350] If the scribe were compiling the text whilst writing, one would expect many more signs of restructuring, deletion, and addition than are found in *T*. Harris is convinced that the manuscript is not a 'fair copy',[351] but the evidence suggests that it is far closer to this category than to that of a draft. It is difficult to imagine that the highly complex compilatory work explored in Chapter II would not show more signs of change and revision at draft stage, even if it is accepted that the compiler was gifted with impressive skills of memory and retention. Although there are some additions and deletions, on the whole the manuscript is likely to represent an advanced stage in the composition process. Thus, two scenarios are possible: The manuscript is either a scribe's copy of an earlier compilation, to which the scribe added new material, or it is the compiler-scribe's fair copy of one or several earlier working copies,[352] in which he nevertheless made a few changes and additions to the text.[353]

[349] These instances are: ll. 68–82, 1055–1057, 4575, 4622–4629, 4648–4650, 4664, 4667–4668, 4671–4674, 5208–5209, 5285–5289, 5548–5552, 7803–7804.
[350] Harris (1998: 179).
[351] Harris (1983: 33).
[352] Cf. Richard Beadle's spectrum of autographs (1994: 260–268).
[353] It is not unusual for compilers to revise the text at such a late stage of composition. For instance, William Worcester is known to have inserted several marginal and interlinear additions into an originally fair copy of *The Boke of Noblesse* (Wakelin (2007: 95)).

Both scenarios would plausibly explain cases like the one discussed above (pp. 167–168), where the scribe or compiler evidently changed his mind about what to include during the process of writing *T*. In the section from the *Book of Good Manners* in ll. 5246–5251, *T* omits a note regarding the envy of the Jews. A deletion proves that this note was present in the exemplar, but that the scribe chose to omit it from *T* during the process of copying. Three hypothetical explanations present themselves: first, that the compiler was compiling directly from his exemplars whilst writing *T* – an explanation which seems unlikely given the complexity and yet overall tidiness of the blend of sources in *T*. Second, that a scribe who was copying an earlier compilation by another compiler made changes to the text whilst copying, or third, that a compiler-scribe was making a fair copy of an earlier draft, and during the process of copying he changed his mind about what to include in *T*.

Even though both the second and the third scenarios offer possible explanations of the palaeographical evidence, there is circumstantial evidence connected to details of spelling in *T* which suggests that the third is more likely, and that the scribe and compiler are indeed the same person. As discussed above (p. 57), the occurrences of yogh in *T* are distributed unevenly across the text, indicating that its use is dependent on its occurrence in the source texts, through a process of 'constrained selection'.[354] If the scribe were one or more stages removed from the compiler, such spellings would be less likely to be preserved, as the scribe's (or several scribes') dialectal colouring would come to overlay the original source texts' spellings. In *T*, however, there is a clear pattern discernible in the distribution of certain spellings,[355] which, at the very least,

[354] See *LALME*, I, 19 for further details on 'constrained selection'.

[355] To name just one example of similar types of transmission, where scribes' copies preserve their exemplars' spelling, see the case of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, where the scribe of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, in spite of his relatively consistent translation into his own dialect, perpetuates some of the linguistic variation in his exemplar (which was the work of two scribes whose orthographical practices differed significantly). For further details, see Cartlidge (ed. 2001: 40–44).

indicates that *T* is very close to the compiler's text. Thus, the likeliest interpretation of the language and visual appearance of *T* is that compiler and scribe are one and the same, and to posit the more complex scenario that a scribe was adding to an already existent compilation whilst copying it – though hypothetically possible – would violate the principle of Ockham's razor.

Whilst *T* in isolation does not provide absolutely conclusive evidence for the identity of the scribe with the compiler, the case for a compiler-scribe becomes even stronger if we take into account the two related manuscripts *H* and *L*. As previously argued, *T* is very tidy both visually and textually, and is unlikely to be a first draft. We get an idea of how an earlier draft stage might have looked if we compare the text of *T* to *L*, which contains numerous marginal additions and notes (as pointed out in the description above, pp. 29–30). As discussed by Lister Matheson, *L* was written in two distinct stages, and the compiler revised his earlier draft using material from Caxton's edition of the *Polychronicon*. The earlier draft contains an expanded version of the prose *Brut* with additions from further historical and legendary sources, including what is likely to be the compiler's own translations from the Latin *Polychronicon*. Matheson details how '[a]t some point soon after the publication of Caxton's edition of the *Polychronicon* in 1482, the compiler thoroughly revised his book by using the printed edition as the source for further interpolations, added in the margins or on interleaved slips or written over original text that he washed out'[356] – for instance, ff. 66^{v}–67^{r} (cf. Fig. 43) contain marginal additions from Caxton's *Polychronicon* V, 4 (cclxxxv^{v}–cclxxxvj^{r}). However, some of the sections written over the washed out text do not appear to be from Caxton's text but the compiler's own translations (cf. f. 20^{v}), which suggests either that even at the earlier of the two stages of composition, the compiler

[356] Matheson (1998: 310).

corrected his work by washing out the text, or that at the second stage of composition, Caxton's text was not seen as superior in all cases.

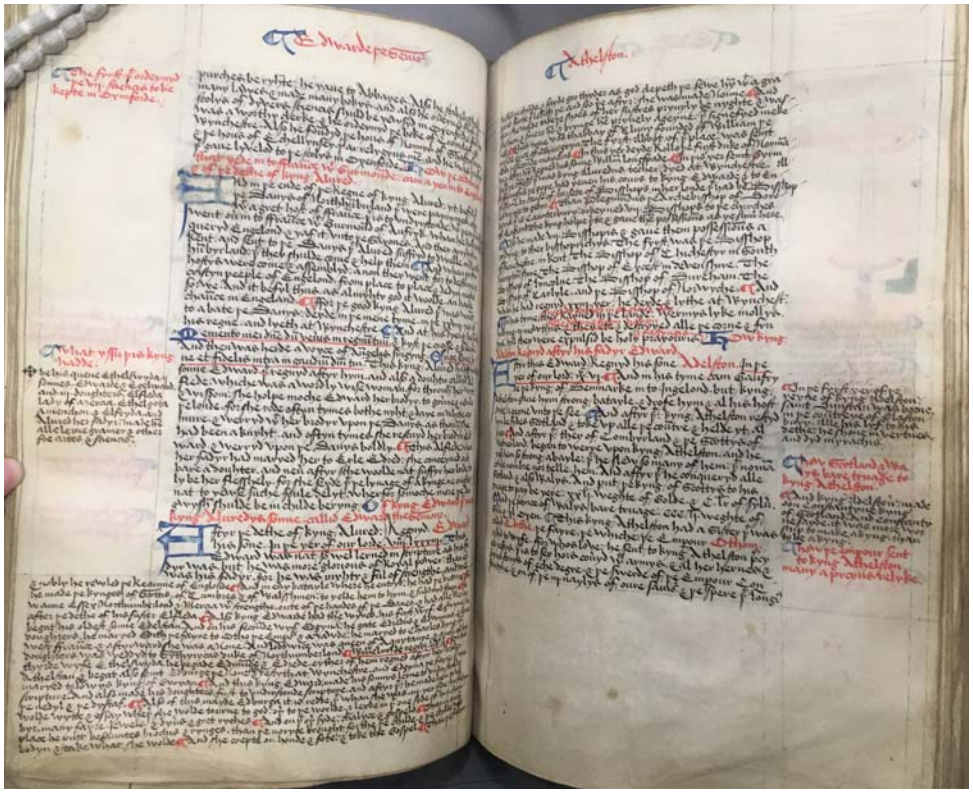


Figure 43: L, *ff. 66*^{v}*–67*^{r}

Chapter II above presented an extensive analysis of the complex and methodical compilatory strategies used in *T*. The compiler expertly handles a large amount of material, includes a wide variety of sources, which he restructures and rewrites whilst paying close attention to textual detail, and the larger-scale focus of the text. The textual strategies employed in *T* are remarkably systematic and consistent throughout the compilation. It is striking how similar *L* and *H* are to *T* in these respects. *L* is dated a few years earlier than *T*, and perhaps resembles *T* most closely in terms of the textual strategies it employs, creating a continuous historical narrative out of several different source texts.[357] Here, as in *T*, these sources are combined to create a new, coherent text, and the seams between individual source texts are not clearly visible. *L* thus creates a

[357] For a full account of the sources, see above, p. 10, and Matheson (1998: 309).

unique historical account which draws on a number of separate sources, and, much like *T*, conflates the information contained in them into a single narrative. A passage which describes Emperor Constantine's deeds illustrates the similarities between the techniques in *L* and those observed in *T*:

> Also in his sepulture he made a crosse in þe whiche was wretyn: Hoc est signum invincibilis dei viui, 'this is þe tokyn of þe invincible and victorious God of lyfe'. After this, Constantyne was smytyn with lepre ouer alle his body, whiche was sent hym by God for þat he expulste Pope Syluestre owte of Rome. (*L,* f. 20[v])

The first sentence is a shortened translation of the following section in Higden's Latin *Polychronicon*:[358]

> Constantinus Romam ingreditur, et in manibus dextris imaginum quas senatus ad honorem triumphi ejus erexerant, fecit signum crucis depingi, et subtus describi, "Hoc est signum invincibilis Dei vivi." (IV, 26)

Here, Higden's more wordy description of the circumstances of how Constantine's monument was erected ('in manibus dextris imaginum quas senatus ad honorem triumphi ejus erexerant'), is replaced in *T* with the less precise, but shorter 'in his sepulture'.[359] However, there is no imprecision whatsoever here concerning the inscription on the monument, which is given both in Latin and in an English translation in *L*, and expands 'invincibilis' to the elegant doublet 'invincible and victorious'. This is reminiscent of similar techniques of excluding inessential information in *T*, but preserving details which the compiler deemed important (cf. Chapter II).

This section is followed in Higden's text by a passage describing a military interlude in Britain, in which Trahern is sent by Constantine to restore Roman rule during the usurpation by Octavius. *L* omits that entire section, and instead carries on

[358] Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: V, 122–124). This passage occurs in Caxton's print on ccxij[r], but the translation is unrelated to the one we find in *L* here.
[359] None of the quotations given for *sepultur(e*, n. in *MED* suggest that the word was used in any other context than that of burial. The word does not seem to have been used to refer to monuments erected during a person's life-time.

with a translation of material concerning Constantine's leprosy, which follows in Higden's Latin text after the section about Trahern:

> Post victoriam de Maxentio habitam Constantinus valida lepra est percussus. *Ranulphus.* Volunt quidam, sicut patet in legenda sanctorum de vita Silvestri, quod merito persecutionis tyrannicæ, qua Silvester inter cæteros urbe fugit, Constantinus lepra percussus sit […].

The compilatory method we find in *L* here is very similar to that which we see in *T*: essential information concerned with historical and moral facts is extracted. Higden's more cautious wording ('volunt quidam') is not translated, and the compiler's wording leaves the reader in no doubt that Constantine's leprosy is a punishment 'sent hym by God'. References to sources ('Ranulphus', 'in legenda sanctorum de vita Silvestri') are also omitted, and the compiler seems concerned to extract the crucial facts from Higden's more expansive and long-winded text. Thus, the textual strategies we find in *L* are strikingly similar to those in *T*. In both texts, the compiler extracts crucial pieces of information from the *Polychronicon* whilst omitting others which he considers less essential, and this process can apply to entire sections as well as to single words or phrases of the source text. Those sections which are copied are then brought together in a coherent new form, and combined with extracts from a range of other sources.

As described above, *L* shows numerous signs of addition and revision in the course of the text's composition, and from these signs it is clear that *L* must be the working copy of a compiler-scribe. Through the visual layout of the text on the page, we can see the manuscript being compiled as it is written, which gives us an indication of what the process must have entailed. Since the compilatory strategies observed in *L* and *T* resemble each other so closely, it is likely that both texts are the result of the same compiler-scribe's efforts to create two historiographical compilations with two different foci – the history of Britain and Old Testament history, respectively. The two manuscripts can thus be seen as complementary in some respects, and whilst *T* mostly

copies from Books I–III of the *Polychronicon*, *L* is concerned with the books from IV onwards of the same source. In terms of the content and historical period covered, there is little overlap between the two texts, but on one occasion, both incorporate the same section on the foundation of St Peter's Church in Rome. What is particularly striking here is that the source of this section in *T* is not Caxton's print (as elsewhere in *T*), but the compiler's own translation of the *Polychronicon* (IV, 26), which also occurs in *L*. The sections in *T* and *L* run as follows:

L	*T*
And to the foundacioun of Seint Petris chirche, the emperoure hymselfe went fyrste with a mattok and openyd the erthe and bare vij baskettys ful of calyon on his owne schuldrys. Than whan þis large graunt was made opynly be Constantyn to þe chyrchis, as it specifieth in libro iiij^{o}, xxvj capitulo of Policronica, oure olde enemy þe devyl opynly in þe ayre pronownsid and cryed, "Sic hodie infusum est venenum in ecclesia dei." That is to sey, 'So þis day poysoun is cast in to þe chirche of God.' (f. 21^{v})	And to þe foundacioun of Seint Petris chirche, þe emperour hymselfe wente fyrst with a mattoke and openyd þe eerthe and bare x baskettys ful of erthe on his shuldrys. Than whan this large graunte was made opynly by Constantyne to þe chirchis, as it specifieth in libro iiij^{o}, capitulo xxvj^{o} of Policronica, oure olde enemy þe deuyl opynly in þe ayre pronownsyd and cryde, "**Sic hodie infusum est venenum in ecclesia dei.**" That is to say, 'So this day poysoun is cast into þe chyrche of God.' (ll. 3611–3617)

It will be noted that the sections are virtually identical, apart from a few very minor details. These consist of variations in the numbers ('x baskettys' in *T*, 'vij baskettys' in *L*), and the use of the word 'erthe' (*T*) instead of 'calyon' (*L*, meaning 'gravel') to translate 'terra'[360] in Higden's text. The former can be explained relatively straightforwardly by the similarity between the cursive fifteenth-century numerals **v** and **x**, which the compiler may have misread in the exemplar.[361] The use of 'calyon' appears to be a correction in *L*, where another word has been deleted by scraping off the surface, and 'calyon' written instead. The deleted word appears to have been a little shorter than

[360] Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: V, 180)

[361] See Johnson and Jenkinson (1915: 50–53). Babington and Lumby's edition of the *Polychronicon* indicates that there is some variation regarding numbers in the Latin manuscripts as well (some have 'decem', others 'duodecim'; V, 128, n. 7).

'calyon', and might well have been 'erthe'. It is possible that this correction stems from the second phase of the composition of *L*, where the compiler used Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon* to introduce numerous corrections and additions. Caxton's version has 'cleye' (ccxij^{v}) instead of 'erthe', and this difference may have prompted the compiler to reassess his original translation of the building material used. *Calyon* is a relatively unusual word, which is why it may have been deliberately replaced by *erthe* in *T*.[362] At any rate, it is very likely that this section in *T* was copied from the compiler's own translation in *L*.[363] Based on these observations, the case for a compiler-scribe is so strong that it is very difficult to think of any other scenarios of composition which would as plausibly explain the manuscript evidence.

The structure of *H* is different from that of the other two manuscripts, as individual texts are visibly separated from each other in *H*, sometimes with several blank pages between them. Nonetheless, upon close examination it becomes clear that some of the individual texts exhibit similar features to *T* and *L*. William Marx remarks with regard to the version of the *Complaint of our Lady* contained in *H* that it is a 'distinct version', 'interrupted by digressions and commentaries on episodes and a reviser seems to have gone through the text removing many indications of first person narrative.'[364] Amongst all five extant manuscripts which contain this text, *H* is the only one to add exegetical and commentary material throughout the text.[365] *The Complaint of our Lady* also incorporates additional material from another text concerned with the

[362] One of the quotations given for *calliŏun*, n. in *MED* ('If my executours thynkke that brykke be not sufficient to endure, lete it be maad with calyoun and moorter', from a will proved at Bury St Edmunds in 1463) indicates that it was considered a particularly durable building material. *MED* only records a total of nine instances of the word, four of which appear in the works of Lydgate. See below, pp. 248–250, for a discussion of the compiler's stylistic changes to Caxton's text.

[363] It is difficult to say why the compiler chose to use his own earlier translation instead of Caxton's here. The most obvious difference between the two versions in the inclusion of the devil's words in Latin and English in *L*, whilst Caxton's version only contains a translation. The compiler may have felt that it was necessary to include these words in their original language, which may have prompted him to use his earlier translation of this passage in its entirety here.

[364] Marx (1983: 77).

[365] Marx (1983: 77).

sorrows of the Virgin Mary, known as *The Lamentations of Mary*, whose purpose seems to have been to heighten the pathos of how Mary's grief is presented in *H*.[366] In their edition of *The Complaint of our Lady*, Marx and Drennan note a process of extensive revision behind the version in *H.* The editors' analysis of these changes proceeds to describe in detail how brief allusions to certain biblical events prompted the compiler to include a fuller account of these events, often adding quotations from the Vulgate.[367] Occasionally, legendary material and moralising comments on particular episodes are added to the text,[368] whilst in other places, short sections of the original *Complaint of our Lady* are omitted. Their analysis of the text leads the editors to conclude that the alterations of the source text in *H* were part of a conscious and purposeful design, 'the result of detailed and extensive revision'.[369] Although they note the possibility that the text had been altered in the course of previous transmission, based on the textual evidence the editors favour an identification of the scribe of the manuscript with the reviser of the text.[370] Their overall conclusion is that *H* 'is probably instructional as well as devotional', and that there 'is also an encyclopaedic character to the text which suggests that it was designed to form part of the larger sequence of texts in which it is found in its manuscript'.[371] The other texts of *H* lay outside the scope of Marx and Drennan's investigations, but we can indeed find similar techniques employed in other texts copied in this manuscript. To give one example, in an excerpt from the *Polychronicon* in *H*, a marginal addition notes Christ's words to the paralytic in both Latin and English: 'And sayde **Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula.** Take thy cowge and walke' (f. 60^{r}). Here, as in the *Complaint of our Lady*, the compiler adds material from

[366] Marx (1983: 78).
[367] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 59).
[368] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 65).
[369] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 68).
[370] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 66).
[371] Marx and Drennan (eds. 1987: 70).

the Vulgate (which might be taken directly from a copy of the biblical text, or quoted from memory) to supplement the text.

Marx and Drennan's observations regarding the *Complaint of Our Lady* in *H* were made without reference to (and probably without extensive knowledge of) *T* and *L*. It is, therefore, all the more striking how closely their analysis of the textual revisions aligns with those found in *L* and *T*. The signs of revision in *H* are extremely similar to what we find in *T*, with a reviser systematically reworking the original source texts. Looking at *H* in isolation, the editors' conclusion is that the scribe is likely to be the same person as the compiler.[372] The same conclusion suggests itself if we look at *T* in isolation. Drawing together the evidence from all three manuscripts *T*, *L*, and *H*, a clear picture emerges of a compiler-scribe making similar changes to his source texts and using very similar strategies and a similar visual layout to compose three distinct new texts. It is, of course, difficult to determine in every single instance whether all of these changes in all three manuscripts were introduced by the compiler or whether they stem from the exemplars from which he was copying. Nonetheless, the evidence demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that the compiler and scribe must be one and the same person, whose working method we can see most clearly in *L*, the manuscript which is closest to draft stage. It is, therefore, justified to view *T*, *L*, and *H* as a single compiler's autographs. They testify to the compiler's lasting interest in the *Polychronicon*, which is used as a source for all three texts, and his preference for composing complex texts which include encyclopaedic elements.

[372] See also Mary Wellesley's account of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* in *H* (2018: 152–157), which comes to the same conclusion.

2 The physical process of compilation

We can only speculate how the physical process of compilation from such a wide and complex array of sources would have been conducted. In *T*, the compiler interacted with at least nine, if not more source texts in total, interweaving them to form a complex network of quotation and reference, and jumping from one source to another often within just one or a few lines. At least in the initial draft stage, the compiler must have worked with several exemplars open in front of him at the same time – likely more exemplars than a single desktop surface could comfortably hold. In terms of desktop arrangements, an obvious aid to compilation could have been book carousels, which existed in forms of varying sophistication, and would have allowed the compiler to turn the moveable surface and refer to a number of exemplars with greater ease.[373] Nonetheless, even with the use of such physical aids to compilation, the compiler would have been required to hold in his memory a rather extraordinary amount of material from different sources in order to combine and rearrange information from his sources in such a complex way, as described in Chapter II. Some source texts, such as short echoes of the *Confessio Amantis*, may have been quoted from memory rather than directly copied from an exemplar (see above, p. 154–159), but others show clear signs of detailed and careful direct copying (most prominently, the *Polychronicon*, copied directly from Caxton's print). The evidence of *L* shows that a revision of the first draft of his own, separate translation from *Polychronicon* in that manuscript was conducted by interleaving the manuscript with *schedulae* containing additions, which gives us an

[373] On the uses of medieval book carousels and their portrayal in illustrations, see Kwakkel (2018a: 217–221), and the related blog post: Kwakkel (2018b). Jardine and Grafton (1990) discuss the later innovation of the book-wheel, and the kind of scholarly, professional reading it enables. See also the representations of medieval writing furniture in illustrations discussed in Scott (2006: 134–138), and, from an art-historical perspective, in Drimmer (2019: 8–10). An illustration in San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 268, f. 79^{v} (reproduced in Drimmer 2019: plate 1) shows a scribe/compiler working on a slanted desk with a book carousel by his side, and is representative of the kind of desk the compiler of *T* could have used.

indication of the compiler's working method which might also be applicable to *T*.[374] *Schedulae* may have played a part in the complex rearrangement of material evident in *T*, although many excerpts – especially from the *Polychronicon* but also from the *Book of Good Manners* and the *Vulgate* – are too long to have comfortably fitted onto parchment offcuts. The minor sources, such as *Mandeville's Travels*, the *Parson's Tale* and the *Tale of Melibee*, and the *Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, could more plausibly have fitted onto *schedulae*, as the great majority of them have only a length of 3–12 lines in my edition.[375] Wax tablets, of course, were the other available aid to composition,[376] but their presence at an early stage of composition, like that of *schedulae*, must by their very nature remain speculative, and is unlikely given the scale of this work and the excerpts.

Given the length of many excerpts, especially from the *Polychronicon*, another possibility is that the compiler's first draft was a print of the *Polychronicon*, to which he added passages from other sources by writing in the margins or interleaving.[377] This would account for the fact that the *Polychronicon* is the most sizeable source used in *T* and functions as a kind of framework. However, whilst some of the shorter excerpts from other sources could have plausibly fitted into the margins of a copy of the *Polychronicon*, the same cannot be said for the longer excerpts. Many average-sized *schedulae* would have been required to hold the more substantive additions, for instance the long excerpt from the *Book of Good Manners* in ll. 6455–6526, which covers about

[374] On *schedulae* and the practice of folding slips containing scholarly notes into manuscript quires, see Kwakkel (2012) and Kwakkel (2018a: 183–186). Blair (2010: 213–229) discusses the use of slips by Early Modern compilers. See also the recent scholarly controversy on the use of *schedulae* in the revision of *Piers Plowman* – the hypothesis was proposed by Warner (2011), and refuted by Adams and Turville-Petre (2014).

[375] Cf. the identification of sources in the Commentary below. The only two exceptions to this rule are ll. 83–118 with an excerpt from *The Parson's Tale*, and ll. 3844–3870, with an excerpt from *Mandeville's Travels.*

[376] Rouse and Rouse (1989). See also Lerer (2003: 1258–1259).

[377] Cases of Early Modern compilation through cutting and pasting from manuscripts and prints are discussed in Blair (2010: 213–229), and it is likely that late medieval compilers would have used similar strategies.

three and a half folios in *T*. *L* indicates that the compiler was not averse to using a large number of slips to add text to an existing manuscript, so that it is possible that he did the same when compiling *T*.[378] Nonetheless, this hypothesis cannot plausibly explain the complex rearrangement of material within the *Polychronicon* (as discussed in Chapter II). It is difficult to see how the reordering of Caxton's text (on a scale ranging from as little as short phrases to entire chapters) could have been thought out and clearly indicated on the very pages of a print of the *Polychronicon*, and that a copy of this annotated print would present the rearranged material as neatly as we see in *T*, with so few errors. On the whole it does not appear likely that the compiler's first draft was using a print of the *Polychronicon* as a basis. What is clear is that the existing manuscript *T* is very likely to be a copy at a late stage in the composition process, preceded by one or more draft compilations. Nonetheless, the compiler continued to add material in the margins where he was unsatisfied with the main text of *T* – an indication of his continued urge to perfect the compilation in a process of revision which perhaps did not have a clearly defined end-point, the signs of which we can also see in *L*.

3 Questions of authorship and authority

If *T* and the other two manuscripts, then, are the product of a single compiler-scribe's creative impulse, we must consider the implications for our understanding of these texts, and the authority we (and a medieval audience) ascribe to them. The question as to whether the compiler-scribe is to be regarded as an author, as a compiler, as a scribe, or as something altogether different, is in some ways a theoretical quibble, but it nonetheless has direct implications for the interpretation of the text and for editing

[378] *T* does incorporate, of course, some extra leaves in the form of the inserted verse leaves from Gower's *Confessio* (see above, pp. 43-49).

practice (see Chapter VII below). Until now, the creator of *T* has been referred to as a 'compiler' and 'compiler-scribe', as it has become clear from an analysis of the text that his activity can be described as the compiling of material from different exemplars. However, this term may not describe his activity exhaustively.

To approach the issue more systematically, we must first ask how the different ways in which writers interacted with their sources were seen by medieval writers themselves. In a frequently quoted passage, in which St Bonaventure discusses theological writings, he points out different modes of authorship:

> Aliquis enim scribit alienam materiam nihil addendo, vel mutando ; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed non de suo : et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena, et sua ; sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam ; et iste dicitur commentator. Aliquis scribit et sua, et aliena ; sed sua tamquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem : et talis debet dici auctor[379]
>
> (Somebody writes down material that is not his own without adding or changing anything, and that person is simply called a scribe. Somebody else writes down material that is not his own and adds other material, but not his own, and that person is called a compiler. Somebody else writes down material that is not his own as well as his own, but that which is not his own forms the main part while his own is added for the sake of clarity, and that person is called a commentator. Somebody else writes down his own material and that which is not his own; but his own forming the main part while that which is not his own is added to prove a point, and such a person should be called an author.)

Bonaventure does not include the possibility of somebody writing down exclusively his own material, since this is not a relevant category for theological writings in particular, and for most Middle English texts in general. As Mary Hamel puts it, '[f]ew if any Middle English texts […] were 'original' in the sense 'not derived from something else'',[380] and the derivativeness of Middle English texts is always one of degree and not of substance. Since the work of Michel Foucault it has become a commonplace in literary studies that the concept of authorship is in itself a functional category subject to

[379] Peltier (ed. 1864: 20).
[380] Hamel (1998: 204).

historical development,[381] and that the concept of an 'original' author is linked to ideas of literary genius which are post-medieval,[382] and only enabled by the changes of print culture. In the medieval period, value is ascribed to old material viewed in a new light rather than to completely new material, and consequently, the work of Bonaventure's *compilator* would not have been less highly valued than that of an *auctor*.

At first glance, according to the classification by Bonaventure, the writer of *T* appears to hover somewhere between the categories of compiler and commentator. He does copy materials from different sources which are not his own, but he also introduces original passages. Since this original material is not used systematically as a commentary to clarify certain points, but often to make the transition from one excerpt to another more fluent, following Bonaventure's categories it would be most accurate to refer to the creator of *T* as a compiler, albeit not a typical one. However, it is important to keep in mind that Bonaventure's comments refer specifically to Latin theological writings. As Matthew Fisher has pointed out, 'the schema has become too broadly applied, and widely misused and misunderstood'.[383] Alastair Minnis also notes that the scheme 'does not quite fit the practice of late-medieval compilers'.[384] Bonaventure's categories cannot be transferred directly to all forms of literary composition and writings in the vernacular. Very obviously, the scheme does not cover forms of composition such as the one we find in *T*, with a compiler substantially reworking, extending or abridging his sources. Even though, as the previous chapters have shown, it is difficult to determine in all cases whether a particular feature of the text of *T* is the result of the compiler's intervention, or was already present in the exemplar, it is clear from the broader analysis that *T* exhibits signs of consistent compilatory editing and

[381] Foucault (1977). Amongst the extensive scholarship on this question, see especially Love (2002) and Ezell (1999), who explores authorship in the Early Modern period.
[382] Blair (2010: 176).
[383] Fisher (2012: 72).
[384] Minnis (1979: 416).

reordering, as well as of accurate and precise copying. This indicates very clearly that the compiler's work was a process of selective and discerning interaction with the texts of his exemplars which employs a range of different textual strategies. These activities certainly go beyond what Bonaventure describes as the tasks of a compiler, but it is not at all unusual within the context of late-medieval compilation, as many compilers were 'perfectly willing to add material *de suo*'.[385] In view of the limited applicability of Bonaventure's scheme, a more accurate way of describing the creator of *T* may be offered by the following concept formulated by Nicolas Jacobs:

> [T]he polarity between scribes and authors is resolved […] by recognizing it as a question less of persons than of functions, which can in some cases be exercised simultaneously.[386]

Cases such as that of Thomas Hoccleve, who worked as a clerk of the Privy Seal, as a scribe,[387] and as a professional author,[388] demonstrate the fluidity of these defined categories. The writer of *T* similarly fulfils several of these functional categories: first of all, he is a scribe, in that he copies his source texts.[389] In addition, he also performs other tasks, like the editing and rearranging of the material in order to give it a new form, serving a new, distinctive purpose. Furthermore, he acts as a translator of Latin material into the vernacular. Finally, he also adds some of his own material to the compilation. With these activities, he takes on some of the functions typically

[385] Minnis (1979: 416).
[386] Jacobs (1998: 12).
[387] Schieberle (2019).
[388] Fisher (2013: 208).
[389] As has been pointed out by recent research, even this function is less straightforward and clearly defined than it would seem at a first glace. As Matthew Fisher rightly emphasises, in older scholarship 'medieval scribes have been silently assigned a fixed and stable intention. The assumption that scribes intended to copy their exemplars informs and indeed permeates critical understandings so thoroughly that scribal intentionality is excluded by the very vocabulary of textual scholarship and editing' (2013: 207). On the intentionality of scribal copying and correcting, see, for instance, Wakelin (2014).

associated with an author.[390] The compiler, then, is a compiler at the higher end of the spectrum, as it were – a compiler with certain distinctively authorial traits.[391]

This has crucial implications for the value and authority we ascribe to the text of *T*. According to Jacobs's model, if a scribe takes on some of the function of an author, the resulting text acquires a 'de facto authority'.[392] Matthew Fisher's recent study of scribal authorship has highlighted the centrality of these types of texts to medieval textual culture. He coins the term 'derivative textuality', which very aptly describes texts in the same category as *T*. As Fisher explains,

> derivative texts are the product of a particular and elaborate methodology, in which composition cannot be neatly or trivially divided from quotation and translation. Derivative texts are complex tissues of quotation and translations, assembled into a narratively continuous and textually coherent whole.[393]

As a result, derivative texts intrinsically evade the conventional binary between copying and creating, between authors and scribes. Derivative texts reveal at least in part an authorial intention behind them, which manifests in the activities of compiling, editing,

[390] There are various definitions of what the term 'author' means in a medieval context, and it would exceed the scope of this thesis to discuss them in detail. The core problem of defining this term is that the medieval understanding of an author's activity deviates radically from modern conceptions. Although postmodern theories have shifted the emphasis somewhat, our epistemological understanding of authorship still seems to circle around the idea of 'originality'. By contrast, reference, adaptation and quotation of other authors is what is expected of a medieval author, and forms part of the very fabric of medieval textual culture. There is no easy overlap between modern and medieval conceptions of authorship, and this functional category can quickly become subject to anachronistic readings. This is further complicated by the fact that the techniques used by medieval authors are genre-dependent, and authorial strategies of secular poets differ from those of theological writers. In theological writing in particular, there was a fear of hubris connected to the term *auctor* when applied to 'modern' writers, since medieval men famously saw themselves merely as *nagi gigantum humeris insidentes*, 'dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants' – the ancient writers (Minnis (1988: 12)). Amongst the sizeable of body of scholarly discussions of medieval authorship and authority, see especially Minnis (1988), Copeland (1991), and the more recent publications by Partridge and Kwakkel (eds. 2012) and Edwards (2017). On postmodern theory and the medieval text, see Jacobs (1998: 13).

[391] In broad terms, the medieval understanding distinguishes between an *auctor* and a *compilator* in the sense that the former has full responsibility for a piece of writing, whilst the latter 'roundly disclaimed responsibility for what he had merely reported […] from his sources, the works of *auctores*' (Minnis (1979: 387)). Nonetheless, a distinction between the two functions cannot be sharply drawn in all medieval discussions of the issue. The role of compiler was an established category by the late Middle Ages, and there was an awareness that this role 'had been employed by many *auctores*' (Minnis (1979: 421)).

[392] Jacobs (1998: 11).

[393] Fisher (2012: 7).

and translating. A crucial element of this definition is the aspect of a 'new textual whole' being created, and *T* is an excellent example of this process, with its consistent textual strategies and integration of source texts into a new context. Such a view, of course, has significant implications for the authority and the value ascribed to such a text. Older scholarship once tended to think about such texts as 'bad texts', operating with categories such as 'correct' and 'incorrect' to describe their textual features. This view is rooted in a fundamentally post-medieval conceptualization of the roles of authors and scribes, and does not accurately reflect the realities of medieval writing and copying. More recently, research has tended to value and enquire into such scribal authorship, recognising the fact that a derivative text creates a 'new textual whole' which can be 'correct in its own terms'.[394] Changes to the compiler's source texts in *T* show obvious signs of being part of a large-scale revision which shifts the overall conception of the source texts and produces a new work in its own right.

Not only is the compiler of *T* an 'authorial' compiler in the sense of a functional category, but he also presents himself as such in the text through the use of a distinctive voice which speaks with a certain authority. As we have seen in Chapters II–IV, the text contains comments in the first person singular, which guide the reader through the historical material:

> But nowe I wyl retourne ayen to þe seyde sonnys of **Hely,** þat is to sey, **Ofues** and **Fynyes,** of whom we redde of aforn, þat were ryght couetus and vycyusly disposyd, be w\h/om we may ley grete examplis. (ll. 6901–6903)

In this comment, the narratorial 'I' is clearly distinguished from the communal 'we' of the specific readership of the text ('we redde of aforn'), and, perhaps, a slightly broader 'we' of an interpretive community ('we may ley grete examplis'). Both of these first-person plural pronouns include the narrator, but his authorial voice is in places shown to be distinct from the mere communal 'we'. This makes explicit the intervention of the

[394] Jacobs (1998: 13).

compiler who orders the material according to specific principles, and guides the reader through it by means of the authoritative voice of a narrator. This narrator does not stop short of offering his own opinion on the assortment of exempla, which amounts to a meta-textual commentary relating to the structuring and inclusion or exclusion of material:

> And as me semyth, we haue examplys ynow here before rehersyd for to eschewe this fowle synne of pride (ll. 8033–8034)

And similarly, such sections can be meta-textual comments on the plight of the compiler faced with long sources:[395]

> …but Y ouerskyppe þat because þe mater is longe. (ll. 10759–10760)

In all these cases, the text presents us with a confident narratorial voice, which claims the authority of someone newly composing a text from pre-existent material, and navigating it differently from the original source. This confident voice is not unusual within the context of late medieval culture, where *compilatores* enjoyed considerable prestige.[396] One of the key tasks of the medieval compiler was the *ordinatio partium,*[397] the clear ordering and arrangement of material, and a compiler 'would regard the virtuosity of his *ordinatio* as a major part of his achievement'.[398] The compilation in *T* indeed shows strategies of *ordinatio*: the running titles provide a clear structure according to the chronology of the subject matter,[399] and the marginal headings further subdivide the material into thematic passages. The principle of *ordinatio* in

[395] A similar meta-textual language is used by Chaucer in the *Book of the Duchess*: 'For many a word I over-skipte / In my tale, for pure fere / Lest my wordes mysset were' (ll. 1208–1210). The translation of the *Polychronicon* in London, British Library, Harley 2261 also uses this term in a similar sense – 'Eusebius callethe this man Cletus, but he ouerskippede hym in his cronicles', translating Higden's Latin 'prætermisit' (translated by Trevisa as 'overlepe'; see *MED*, overskippen *v.*).
[396] Minnis (1979: 421).
[397] Minnis et al. (1991: 198).
[398] Minnis (1979: 416).
[399] This is not dissimilar to Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, which is ordered chronologically according to individual Emperors' reigns (Minnis (1979: 404)).

compilations extended to providing unambiguous references to *auctores*, and such references are given throughout the text of *T*.

What is more, the emphasis placed on the names of *auctores* such as Isidore, Augustine, Orosius, and others, by means of a display script in *T* serves as a finding aid on the page, and highlights their authority visually, whilst perhaps also revealing the compiler's pride in the learnedness of his compilation. This use of the display script for key names and places would have required the compiler to evaluate constantly the text he was copying and decide what was particularly important. There are, in fact, signs of careful self-correction where his attention faltered and he omitted to emphasise an important name (see above, p. 45). Late medieval compilers placed great emphasis on the ease with which a reader could find what he wanted quickly and efficiently,[400] and the mise-en-page of *T* is certainly intended to serve this function. Ease of reference was important in compilations due to their dual function: first, for a reader who had access to the authoritative texts in their full original form, compilations could serve as an aid to finding references to *auctoritates* quickly, and then go back to the original work. Second, they could make key passages (*flores*) from the *auctores* available to readers who could not refer to the originals due to lack of access, time, or intellectual capability.[401] The layout and textual features of *T* would have facilitated such referencing. Nonetheless, there are few signs which would indicate that the compilation was intended to be read primarily in a discontinuous way. Unlike many encyclopaedias, there are no indices, tables of content, summaries, or similar navigational aids which would clearly suggest discontinuous reading. Nonetheless, as discussed above (Chapters III-IV), the marginal headings and running titles following the *Genealogia* create a clear structure and serve as navigational aids in *T*, although their principal function seems to

[400] Minnis (1979: 404).
[401] Minnis (1979: 402–403).

have been to highlight the patterns of salvation history. The reader, then, certainly did have the option of reading *T* discontinuously if he so wished, but unlike encyclopaedias, discontinuous referential reading does not seem to have been the compilation's primary purpose.[402]

The confident narratorial voice which we find in *T* is therefore quite appropriate within the context of late medieval *compilatio*: the compiler's strategies in composing the text, which largely consist of compiling, editing, reordering, and translating material from different sources, follow the established principles of *compilatio partium*, *ordinatio*, and *translatio*.[403] It is clear, then, that the compiler of *T* assumes the posture of a narrator and *compilator*, and that contemporary readers would have ascribed to the compilation the authority which was due to a text which quotes *auctoritates*, teaches history and morality, and translates the sacred text of Scripture.

The fact that compilations like *T* require a repurposing of the source texts which is not to be underestimated as a creative act has not only been stressed in recent research, but also by medieval compilers themselves. Ranulph Higden himself refers to this in his preface to the *Polychronicon*, where he mentions the well-known anecdote of Virgil or Horace (he is not sure which of the two),[404] who is accused of merely gathering verses from Homer and using them in his own poems – in effect, of being a compiler. His reply is: 'Magnarum esse virium clavam de manu Herculis extorquere'[405] (translated in Caxton's version, which the compiler of *T* must have read, as 'it were right greete strengthe to wreste a maas oute of Hercules honde', vj^{r}). Higden is encouraged by this, and asks that no man blame him ('nullus igitur me majorum

[402] On textual markers of discontinuous reading, see Sawyer (2016a). Sawyer also notes that some redactions of *The Prick of Conscience* required 'pre-emptive […] discontinuous reading by the redactor, so that his readers in turn could concentrate on the passages selected and reordered' (p. 275). A very similar process seems to lie behind the compiler's editing and reordering of passages from the *Polychronicon* in *T*, which certainly required discontinuous reading in the process of compilation.
[403] Minnis (1988: 374).
[404] In his *Etymologiae*, Isidore of Seville identifies the man in question as Virgil (Irvine (1994: 242)).
[405] Babington and Lumby (ed. 1865–1886: I, 12).

exulcetur, quæso') for his act of compilation. Higden is aware that compilation requires a repurposing of the original texts – here described as an act of violence, of wrestling the club from Hercules' hands.[406] Changing the framework of a text alters the direction and the resulting interpretation of a text, and in that sense, with all due humility, adds something to the work of the authors ('quippiam adjiciam laboribus auctorum'). This is an appropriate way of thinking about a text like *T*, which repurposes references and quotations from *auctores* to fit into a different framework with its own distinct layout and structure, and creates a new textual whole which is an achievement in its own right. In this sense, medieval approaches to compilations are a helpful way of thinking about, and ascribing value to derivative texts even for the modern reader.

4 Questions of genre

As we have seen, *T* fits well into the medieval textual mode of *compilatio*, and its organisational and textual principles can clearly be situated within this tradition. The modern term 'compilation' is sometimes used in a specialised sense to refer to these principles, but more frequently, modern scholars have used the term 'compilation' broadly to refer to manuscripts and bound volumes which contain mixed contents or multiple items. It is important to distinguish between these two meanings, as this term applies to *T* in its medieval, but hardly in its modern sense. The terms 'miscellany', 'anthology', 'composite book', or 'compendium', have often been used synonymously with 'compilation' in recent scholarship.[407] The paradigmatic 'miscellaneous'

[406] Fisher (2013: 216–217). See also Taylor (1966) on Higden.

[407] Some recent studies have highlighted the problems of classification of miscellaneous manuscripts. See especially Varila (2016: 60–64) and Connolly and Radulescu (2015). Connolly and Radulescu suggest 'multi-text manuscript' as a broad term to refer to such manuscript collections (2015: 1), but even this term is not without its problems, as it raises theoretical questions about what constitutes a 'text' in a medieval context. On the methodological implications for editing these types of texts, see Robins (2013).

manuscript or compilation is typically seen as a collection of thematically mixed contents, which are collected in a single volume, and are – at least in theory – visually distinguished from each other.[408] In that sense, *T* is not a typical compilation, as the excerpts from its source texts are not presented as a collection of distinct items, but form a new textual whole with its own framework, from which the original texts cannot easily be reconstructed. In *T*, the erasing of textual boundaries is inherent to the very conception of the text, and thus the term 'compilation' is only applicable to *T* in the specific sense of describing the textual processes of the manuscript's creation. *L* presents a similar case, whilst *H* copies the texts in this collection as separate items, and is thus closer to a typical 'compilation' in its modern sense.

The corollary of these considerations is that there are certain difficulties in describing the text of *T* in generic terms. By virtue of being compiled from a wide range of different source texts, the resulting derivative text has similarities with a range of genres, whilst not being a typical example of them, in the same way that it is untypical of the family of 'miscellanies'. *T* invites comparisons with diverse genres such as histories and chronicles, encyclopaedias, preaching manuals, and the continental tradition of the 'story-Bibles' (medieval German *Historienbibeln*). At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that modern generic labels are limited in their usefulness in describing the realities of medieval literary culture, as has frequently been noted.[409] In *T*, the compiler is quite happy to combine a treatise against the seven deadly sins, an account of the battle of Troy, the tale of Noah's Flood, and a description of the customs of the Romans, all in the same text, which certainly challenges modern conceptions of

[408] Nonetheless, confusion over where one text ends and another begins is not uncommon in miscellaneous volumes. See, for instance, Varila's study (2016) of medical miscellanies. Some definitions stress the purpose of such texts more than their visual appearance – see Emily Steiner's definition of compendia as 'texts designed to synthesize, summarize, and organize a lot of information about a subject' (2015: 73).

[409] See, for instance, Pearsall (1984: 129).

genre, but fits very well with the medieval tradition of universal history. In fact, the compiler himself seems to have seen the text primarily as a historical one, as he refers to it as a 'cronycle' (l. 3356). To a medieval audience, the problem of genre would have been non-existent, as for them these themes would simply have been relevant aspects of universal truth, pursued through the writing of history.

Universal history is the medieval genre *par excellence* which expresses this thought, and it is certainly telling that the *Polychronicon* functions as a source which defines the framework of *T* – in merely quantitative terms, it is the dominant source text of *T*, and thus provides the scheme into which excerpts from different sources are embedded.[410] Understanding medieval history writing is therefore an important key to understanding *T*, which so extensively draws on this tradition.[411] The importance of history for medieval culture can hardly be overestimated, since, as Andrew Galloway stresses:

> Christianity […] was, as it still is, inherently a historical religion. Definitions and assertions of temporal communities, dominion, and other social ideals and institutions were […] based on historical circumstances or claims.[412]

Within Christian tradition, the redemption through Christ was understood to be the central event of all history, an event to which all other times and periods had reference. At the same time, it was an essentially historical event, an act of God within history. The progression of time from Creation to final judgement was seen as a linear temporal succession of events. History was understood to be universal, because God become man in Christ was the God of all peoples and all times. From the earliest Christian chronicles, such as the *Chronicle* by Eusebius of Caesarea (AD 260–340), chroniclers

[410] Harris (1983: 32).
[411] For an overview of the development of universal chronicles in the Middle Ages, see the opening chapter in Taylor (1966). There is a vast body of scholarly explorations of the topic, frequently concerned with case studies. See, for instance, the recent collection of essays in Campopiano and Bainton (eds. 2017).
[412] Galloway (1999: 255).

therefore attempted to unite the historical accounts of different peoples and nations within a single chronological framework.[413] Historical writing and the religious, then, are intrinsically linked, and we see this reflected in *T*. An early example of this tradition in Middle English is the *Cursor Mundi*, and as discussed above (p. 120), this text is comparable to *T* in the way in which it uses the Holy Cross legend to create narrative unity in spite of the multiplicity of excerpted sources. In the *Cursor Mundi*, the Holy Cross legend underlines the typological significance of the Old Testament history – as Nicole Fallon puts it, the legend gives 'readers the impression that they [are] being led on a predetermined route through the ages […] [It] helps weave together the vast expanses of biblical history',[414] and the same can be said for *T*.

The *Polychronicon* in particular played a crucial role in history writing of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the fact that the compiler chose to use it as a source in all three extant manuscripts *T*, *L*, and *H*, reveals his deep and long-lasting fascination with this historical text. The *Polychronicon* also represents an important stage in the development of the medieval chronicle and its negotiation between authoritative sources and the writer's own voice. By its very nature, history writing relies very heavily on quotation of authoritative sources; it

> requires a strange form of composition, in which literary invention is mediated by a reliance upon sources in order to narrate what happened in the past. […] History writing, then, relies upon intertextual transfer, upon generations of texts and narratives being copied, altered, and situated in new texts.[415]

One of the key characteristics of the text of *T* – the fact that it redefines the contextual framework of its authoritative sources – is therefore a textual strategy which is inherent to the genre itself. Many medieval histories started as compilations of vast numbers of

[413] Taylor (1966: 34).
[414] Fallon (2009: 109).
[415] Fisher (2012: 1–2).

different authoritative sources.[416] In the monastic tradition, these authorities were more important than the names of the individual writers and compilers of histories, who often remained anonymous.[417] Ranulph Higden was the first chronicler to introduce an authorial signature to mark passages which expressed his own additions,[418] which in turn led to an increasing confidence among historical authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, allowing 'the writer's present identity and voice [to] stand alongside of the authoritative textual traditions of the past'.[419] In Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, he built upon this strategy established by Higden by adding his signature to his own notes and additions. Whilst the compiler of *T* does not follow the same trend in marking his own additions, he is not precisely an example of monastic anonymity either – the clear signalling of his own identity as a compiler by first-person singular pronouns reveals a confidence reflective of the developments of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century history writing.

Seen in the context of medieval history writing, *T* is not a conventional reiteration of other men's thoughts, but rather a single compiler's effort to combine and unify those fragments of knowledge and truth which were within his reach. It is only logical that to arrive at a universal view of history, the text would include pieces of secular, religious, moral, didactic, and historical material. The *Polychronicon* itself provides a precedent for the same kinds of procedures which the compiler of *T* also employs. For instance, there was a long tradition of including both historical and geographical information in universal chronicles, first established by Orosius's *Historiæ Adversus Paganos*,[420] and *T* firmly situates itself in this tradition by copying long

[416] Galloway (1999: 269).
[417] Beal (2012: 92–93).
[418] This can be seen in Higden's autograph manuscript San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 132.
[419] Galloway (1999: 275).
[420] Campopiano (2017: 7). On the connection between geography and history in Higden's text, see also Dreer and Lilley (2017).

stretches of the description of the world in Book I of the *Polychronicon* in ll. 979–3700. *T*, like many other universal chronicles, begins with the Creation as the first paradigmatic event in history affecting the world in its entirety.[421] It also draws on commonplaces like the schema of the six ages of the world,[422] which are alluded to in marginal notes such as 'Prima etas' (l. 726), as well as being mentioned in the text at greater length ('And thus endyth þe thyrd age of þe worlde, from þe byrthe of **Abraham** to þe kyngdom of **Dauid**', ll. 7594–7596). The compilation in *T* also follows some of the textual strategies already established in the course of the genesis of Caxton's text of the *Polychronicon*: when John Trevisa translated Higden's Latin text into English, he freely added information from other sources in his translation, especially from his own earlier translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum*, thus turning 'Higden's carefully defined compendium into a mega-compendium'.[423] Trevisa's translation includes useful information from additional sources on any and all topics mentioned in Higden's Latin chronicle, crossing genre boundaries into areas such as natural philosophy, politics, and ethics.[424] The compiler of *T* seems to have been driven by similar strategies in the way he included information from a wide range of additional sources. There are no encyclopaedias – texts which treat the properties of all *res naturales*[425]– amongst the immediate sources of *T*, and *T* in fact presents a different type of text from typical encyclopaedias like *De proprietatibus rerum*, which is structured according to the hierarchical order of natural things,[426] or Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, whose structure follows the six days of creation.[427] However, the compiler's method is similar to that of an

[421] Campopiano (2017: 9–10).
[422] Taylor (1966: 35).
[423] Steiner (2015: 76).
[424] Steiner (2015: 83).
[425] See the definition in Ribémont (1997: 53).
[426] See the edition of books I–IV edited by Abeele (ed. 2007).
[427] Mulchahey (1998: 468).

encyclopaedist, in that he collects information on specific topics from different sources, and from different places within the same source texts, and arranges it in a clearly ordered way which is easily accessible for the reader. This can be observed throughout the text, for instance in the passage on the polar night in ll. 2497–2509 (discussed above, pp. 83–84). *T* thus follows and builds upon many of the encyclopaedic strategies which are already present in Higden's, and even more so in Trevisa's text. Nonetheless, *T* cannot be described as an encyclopaedia in the strict sense of the word. Two of the key features of medieval encyclopaedias are that they present searchable texts, i.e. through the addition of tables or indices, or through alphabetical organization of the subject matter, and that their purpose is educational, often used in institutional settings in monasteries and universities.[428] Whilst a didactic tone is discernible especially in the parts of *T* which deal with exempla, the compilation shows no obvious signs of institutional use, and though it may have been used for reference purposes, it does not offer any tables of content which would make the text more readily searchable. It is evident from medieval encyclopaedias that they were intended to be skim-read rather than read cover to cover,[429] but the same is not obviously true of *T*. Even though the compiler in places expands the text (which had previously been expanded by Trevisa), in other places he is trying to delimit his compilation so as not to exceed a certain size, omitting passages from the *Polychronicon* which are more tangential to the subject matter (cf. pp. 93–98). Thus, the strategies to be observed in *T* are not only reminiscent of Trevisa's but also of Higden's, in that they are concerned with the limitation of the universal chronicle to a manageable size.

[428] Twomey (2006: 331–332). A definition of the genre is not straightforward – the very term 'encyclopaedia' is post-medieval, and coined during the Renaissance. Problems of genre and definition are addressed in detail in Binkley (ed. 1997). On the features of medieval encyclopaedias, see also MacDonald and Twomey (2004), Callatay and van den Abeele (eds. 2005), and Franklin-Brown (2012).
[429] Twomey (2006: 334).

One of the additional sources on which *T* draws is the collection of exempla in Legrand's *Book of Good Manners*. There is, in fact, a precedent for universal chronicles including collections of exempla, not just in English, but also in other vernaculars: Chronicles of the High Middles Ages frequently draw on exempla to further the moral education of their aristocratic lay readers, as in the Middle High German *Kaiserchronik*,[430] and in the French chronicle *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cézar* by Wauchier de Denain.[431] Higden himself drew on books of exempla such as the *Gesta Romanorum* when composing the *Polychronicon*,[432] and the inclusion of further material of this kind in *T* ought to be seen very much within this context. Exempla were an element of the rhetorical art of preaching,[433] and contemporary commentators such as Richard FitzRalph and Thomas Gascoigne criticised the overabundance of such pious stories in late medieval preaching,[434] especially in the preaching of friars.[435] Wyclif even explicitly condemned the fact that sermons contained references to 'cronyclis of þo world, as þo batel of Troye',[436] indicating that world history of the type we find in the *Polychronicon* and *T* could be put at the service of the requirements of preaching. Collections of exempla flourished in the Middle Ages,[437] and the exempla in *T* drawn from the *Book of Good Manners* can be clearly situated within this tradition.[438] The *Book of Good Manners* may have particularly suited the compiler's interests because of its wealth of exempla concerning historical personae taken from the Bible and classical authorities, rather than the more hagiographical focus of many other collections of

[430] Wittig (2017).
[431] Gaullier-Bougassas (2017).
[432] Taylor (1966: 47). Higden was well versed in the medieval *artes praedicandi*, as his treatise *Ars componendi sermones* shows (for an overview of this work, see Wenzel (2015: 23–24)).
[433] Wenzel (2015).
[434] Wenzel (2013: 245), Spencer (1993: 79).
[435] Spencer (1993: 246). On the Franciscan preaching handbook *Fasciculus Morum*, see Wenzel (1978).
[436] Quoted in Spencer (1993: 79).
[437] For an overview of collections of exempla, see Mulchahey (1998: 458–472). There is considerable overlap between this genre, and medieval chronicles, florilegia, legends, and sermon collections, which were variously mined by preachers for their exemplary content.
[438] On the *Book of Good Manners* and this tradition, see Connolly (1998: 122–126).

exempla, such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.[439] The use of biblical material to illustrate or prove a point in preaching was referred to as 'figura',[440] which could plausibly explain the inclusion of some of the commentary material in *T*, for which no direct source has been found. Many of these passages in *T* are introduced by referring to the biblical material as 'figure':

> And as be **figure** we haue in þe boke of **Numeri** what tyme þe children of Israell were entryd into þe londe of **Moab,** they abode a whyle in Sechym. (ll. 5678–5679)

The pattern according to which the material is introduced is remarkably similar to that known from sermon collections. Compare, for instance, a Latin sermon in a collection in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 1, f. 164^{r}, which likewise introduces the material as 'figure', followed by a reference to the biblical book in question:

> In cuius Figura habitur primo Regum 9^{o} quia dauid vnctus in regem quesiuit si superesset aliquis de domo saul vt cum eo faceret misericordiam
>
> (A figure of this can be found in 2 Samuel 9, where David, after being anointed king, asked if anyone were left of the house of Saul, so that he might be merciful to him.)[441]

There is, then, a clear similarity between this genre and some sections in *T*. Kate Harris has concluded that there is a 'dominantly homiletic mode of discourse'[442] in *T*, but this conclusion is probably an overemphasis of the role of exempla within *T* (which perhaps is more striking today due to the modern reader's aversion to didactic material of this kind). If we consider *T* within the context of other universal chronicles, it becomes clear that the inclusion of exempla is very common with texts of this genre, and would in fact have been part of the medieval audience's generic expectations.

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[439] On the use of the *Legenda aurea* as a source for homiletic material, see Mulchahey (1998: 465–466).
[440] Wenzel (2012: 686) and Wenzel (2005: 321–322). Helen Spencer, however, notes that there was 'no great concord over terminology: exemplum, figura, fabula, historia seem often to be approximate synonyms' (1993: 81, n. 16).
[441] This collection is described in Wenzel (2005: 95–99). The translation used here follows Wenzel (2012: 686).
[442] Harris (1998: 189).

Whilst it may be true that preaching 'had a dominant influence on the very character of [the compiler's] thought'[443] – a statement which is certainly correct for a great number of educated churchmen and laymen of the late Middle Ages – from a 'dominantly homiletic mode of discourse' we would expect a consistent, sustained moral application of historical events throughout *T*, and an overall argumentative aim to call the reader to amend his or her life. This is evidently not the case; whilst some of the compiler's comments offer moral evaluations (cf. p. 75), not all of the historical events described in *T* seem to serve a moral purpose, and long sections of the *Polychronicon* are copied without any obvious moral or didactic application. The tone adopted in the sections copied from the *Book of Good Manners* is markedly different, for instance, from the description of the world copied from the *Polychronicon*. Neither is the text 'dominantly homiletic' in the sense of being something close to a sermon collection, nor in the sense of being a preaching manual. There are certain similarities between *T* and medieval florilegia – collections of quotations from *auctoritates* – which were used by preachers as a tool to help flesh out their sermons.[444] However, florilegia such as Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* present authoritative quotations arranged alphabetically according to different topics,[445] which is not the case in *T*. The overall purpose of *T,* then, does not seem to be to serve as a preaching aid – although it would have been possible to use it to that effect, the arrangement of material in *T* would not have been particularly helpful for a busy preacher looking for fast and effective ways of finding illustrative examples for a sermon. It is, in essence, a text which is much more expansive and holistic than a mere collection of exempla, and – as opposed to florilegia – it is meant to be *read*, rather than *searched*.[446]

[443] Harris (1998: 189).
[444] Mulchahey (1998: 448).
[445] Rouse and Rouse (1979) present a detailed study of the *Manipulus florum*.
[446] See Rouse and Rouse (1979: 3–35) on the structure of florilegia.

As the inclusion of exempla in history writing shows, there is a certain amount of overlap between homiletic literature and universal chronicles. This is also evident in the inclusion of long passages of biblical material and biblical translation in *T*, and in universal chronicles more generally. Homilies preached in English were one of the primary means of accessing the Scriptures for lay audiences throughout the medieval period, as they translated key parts of the pericopes for a specific liturgical day into the vernacular.[447] The *Polychronicon* and other histories likewise render long passages of the Vulgate in the vernacular which contain material relevant for universal history. As *T* covers only the time before Christ, the New Testament is largely excluded from it, but it includes large stretches of the Old Testament, partially translated verbatim from the Vulgate, and partially given as paraphrases. The *Polychronicon* likewise contains paraphrases and translations of major sections of the Vulgate, but quite frequently the compiler of *T* does not seem satisfied with them, especially where they are short, and replaces them with more expansive ones of his own. Thus, Chapter II, 11 of the *Polychronicon* only mentions very briefly that Jacob tricked his older brother and received his father's blessing:

> Iacob after that he hadde bought the first birthes and slyly geten his faders blessyng by his moders counsayle he went doun into Mesopotania (lxxxv^{v}).

T replaces this with a much more detailed account of the story of Jacob and Esau in ll. 4487–4550, translating Gen 27:5–39 of the Vulgate. As Jane Beal has pointed out, the *Polychronicon* is 'both a form of Bible translation and a commentary upon it',[448] which places excerpts from the Bible into the context of the history which it relates. In *T*, these features are intensified by replacing short summaries of the biblical text with longer translations and paraphrases of the Vulgate, thus presenting biblical history in the context of world history. The importance of the biblical content of the *Polychronicon* to

[447] Beal (2012: 68).
[448] Beal (2012: 68).

the compiler of *T* is perhaps even more evident in *H*, where he chooses to copy excerpts from the *Polychronicon* which are concerned with the events leading up to Christ's death, and following the Resurrection. In *H*, even more so than in *T*, the *Polychronicon* is used as a source primarily for its biblical content.[449]

A similar connection between biblical history and world history can be found in other vernaculars, and in this regard, *T* should be seen in a wider European context. Good examples are the late medieval German *Historienbibeln*, prose narrative Bibles which add other historical and didactic material and were possibly first intended for an audience of lay brothers.[450] There is a wide range of different *Historienbibeln* with significant textual differences, but their main sources include both biblical and para-biblical texts like the Vulgate and Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, as well as secular chronicles such as the *Weltchroniken* by Rudolf von Ems, the *Christherrechronik*, and others,[451] and some *Historienbibeln* include a description of the world.[452] Although there is no direct textual influence of such *Historienbibeln* on the text of *T*, there are similarities in the way in which these bibles adapt verse sources – not only of the Holy Cross legend, as discussed above (p. 129), but also of verse chronicles like that of Rudolf von Ems.[453] Similarities of a formal kind can also, perhaps, be detected in the opening words of the *Historienbibeln*, which typically invoke the power of God before moving on to an account of the creation of the world based on Genesis: 'Dô Got in siner magenkraft schwebt und alle ding in siner wißhait hett'[454] ('God in his majesty is above all and holds all things in his wisdom') and 'Richer god von himelrich und ertrich und obe allen kreften swebet din kraft'[455] ('God, Judge of heaven and earth, and your power

[449] Beal (2012: 133).
[450] Murdoch (2003: 9). For a list of manuscripts and descriptions, see Vollmer (1912).
[451] Gerhardt (1977–2006).
[452] See the *Historienbibel* (of Vollmer's class IIa) edited by Merzdorf (ed. 1870: II, 595–900).
[453] For more details, see Merzdorf (ed. 1870: I, 101).
[454] Merzdorf (ed. 1870: I, 107).
[455] Merzdorf (ed. 1870: II, 595).

is above all powers'). Although there is no direct connection with *T*, there is a certain similarity to its opening formula and its emphasis on God's power: 'Almyghty God of his diuine power þat made alle the worlde of nouȝt' (l. 1). The connection, then, between biblical translation and paraphrase and world history is a close one, not just in English but also in other European vernaculars. Late-medieval biblical histories are perhaps best seen as different expressions of a common, pan-European textual tradition, and much work remains to be done on the interrelations between texts of this group in different vernaculars.

This focus places *T* in a unique position amongst other fifteenth-century compilations and chronicles. Local and English history had long been a key focus for many medieval chronicles – we find this concern as early as the thirteenth century in Matthew Paris's universal history in the *Chronica Majora*, but especially so in the fifteenth century, when the long tradition of monastic history writing tended to shrink from the broad focus of universal history to mere local history of specific religious houses.[456] Vernacular history writing for and sometimes by the laity was popular by the end of the medieval period,[457] the most prominent example of which are the *London Chronicles*,[458] but in lay history writing, secular and current history and politics in the context of the Wars of the Roses tended to receive a greater focus.[459] The history in *T* contravenes this trend. Whilst *L* does pay attention to more recent historical developments, *T* is almost entirely unconcerned with them, and focuses instead on more distant, but also, in a sense, timeless historical events – those of the Old Testament, which have implications for all of human history for all time to come. There are few universal histories being written as late as the fifteenth century in English, and none are

[456] Galloway (1999: 280).
[457] Galloway (1999: 278).
[458] See McLaren (2002).
[459] See, for instance, the chronicles edited in Matheson (ed. 1999).

comparable in textual terms to *T*. Capgrave's *Abbreviacion of Cronicles*,[460] for instance, operates within a universal framework of world history, but is firmly rooted in the annalistic tradition as a structuring principle, whilst *T*, for all its interest in chronology, does not follow an annalistic structure. In terms of subject matter, there is some overlap between *T* and the Old Testament histories such as the *Historye of the Patriarks*, but unlike *T*, that text is mainly based on the *Historia Scholastica* and its Old French translation, and shows a different focus on a female religious readership.[461] *T* is also entirely different in nature from chronicles such as Thomas Gardyner's *Flowers of England*, a prose chronicle not far removed in time from *T*, which was completed in 1516, contains a history from Brutus to the reign of Henry VIII, and follows a clear political agenda.[462]

In terms of specific textual strategies, *T* also invites comparisons with fifteenth-century texts of very different traditions. For instance, the inclusion of residual rhyme in the prose narrative of *T* invites comparison with texts such as the *Morte Darthur*, which includes alliterative lines drawn from one of Malory's key sources, the alliterative *Morte Arthure*.[463] Malory's strategies of compiling material from *Morte Arthure* and a wealth of English and French sources in verse and prose, which included restructuring this material, reversing the order of narrative episodes and drastically reshaping the stories according to a 'different architectural design',[464] is in principle similar to the textual strategies we find in *T*, although they are here applied to a very different subject matter. The number of texts and genres which are comparable to *T* in terms of specific textual strategies is large, partly because *T* is firmly situated within the context of

[460] See the edition by Lucas (ed. 1983). On the annalistic tradition, see Kempshall (2011: 83).
[461] For details, see the edition by Taguchi (ed. 2010).
[462] Payne and Boffey (2017).
[463] See Vinaver (ed. 1990: I, lvii–lxiv) and Clark (1996).
[464] Vinaver (ed. 1990: III, 1275). For details of Malory's compilatory strategies, see the commentary in volume II of Field (ed. 2013).

typical medieval *compilatio*. As an example of universal history writing, then, *T* presents a unique and intricate text which follows a long-standing tradition, and thus at the same time harkens back to previous centuries and is firmly rooted in the fifteenth century by its use of current textual strategies.

5 Origin and audience

As mentioned in the manuscript description (pp. 58–60), the material evidence of *H* points to a monastic environment. However, it is not unambiguously clear whether the evidence of the sewing strips in *H,* which indicate an Augustinian context, is directly transferrable to *T* and offers firm evidence of its origin. As discussed in Chapter VI below, the linguistic evidence of *T* points to Norfolk or Suffolk rather than Bisham in Berkshire or Tandridge in Surrey, but scribes were, of course, mobile. According to Kate Harris,

> clerical origin, particularly origin in an Augustinian house, would be fully in accord with the temper of both manuscripts. Such an origin would also offer explanation of the number, and to some extent, the nature of the sources used in the Trinity history[.][465]

Unfortunately, Harris does not elaborate on this point, but the hypothesis is a tempting one. The majority of early medieval history writing originated in monastic environments, and although lay history writing and political historical writing saw a rise in the fifteenth century,[466] accompanied by an increasing professionalization of the book trade, books continued to be written and copied in monastic environments.[467] The importance of the Augustinian order[468] for the production and dissemination of

[465] Harris (1983: 31).
[466] Galloway (1999: 255).
[467] Doyle (1990), Horobin (2010: 65).
[468] The term 'Augustinian order' is here used in its broad sense which includes the main order as well as 'the two small groups which followed the so-called 'rule of St Augustine' – the community of Arrouaise,

literature in the late Middle Ages has long been recognised: Augustinians appear to have been involved in the writing not only of religious, but also of a large number of historical, scientific and other learned works in the vernacular,[469] and some Augustinian canons were prolific scribes and compilers, such as William Charyte, Augustinian canon at Leicester, whose library catalogue drawn up in the second half of the fifteenth century states that 'he had himself compiled and written twelve volumes and twenty-three rolls'.[470] An Augustinian context for the manuscript would certainly tie in well with the compiler's use of the *Confessio Amantis*. The connection between the Augustinians and Gower is well-documented, as Gower is known to have stayed at the Augustinian priory of St Mary 'Overey' in Southwark and made ample use of its library.[471] Augustinians continued to own, read, and copy Gower's works after his death,[472] and may have been 'instrumental in the dissemination of the poet's works'.[473] The *Confessio* was, of course, also widely read amongst non-Augustinian audiences, and the other sources used by the compiler which suggest an Augustinian connection (such the *Book of Good Manners*, written by an Augustinian, and *Information for pilgrims*, which uses material by William Wey, who entered an Augustinian order) would have enjoyed a similarly wide dissemination. Unfortunately, library catalogues and booklists do not survive from all Augustinian communities in England, specifically not from the two priories of Bisham and Tandridge which have been conjectured as origins for *T* (see above, pp. 58–60), so that no library can be identified which held all of the books used by the Trinity compiler.[474] In general, however, the range of books

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with houses concentrated in Lincoln diocese […]; and the Victorines, with a few foundations […] around the Severn' (Hanna (2000: 27)).

[469] Hanna (2000: 29–31).

[470] Doyle (1990: 12). On Charyte's catalogue, see also Webber and Watson (1998: 104–109).

[471] Parkes (1995: 81).

[472] Pouzet (2010: 21).

[473] Pouzet (2010: 12).

[474] The catalogues and booklists from Augustinian houses edited in Webber and Watson (1998) do not reveal any significant overlap with the sources used in *T*.

available in Augustinian libraries catering to diverse reading interests would have provided ample resources for the compiler's ambitious project. As previously discussed, the way in which *T* uses the Holy Cross legend is comparable to the legend's function in the *Cursor Mundi*, where it provides structural and narrative unity for an account of history which is teleologically directed toward the birth of Christ. Interestingly, Augustinian authorship has been conjectured for the *Cursor Mundi*, too,[475] and the similarities between these two universal chronicles which are situated at the intersection between history writing and a typological reading of the Old Testament are, perhaps, no mere coincidence. The fact that Jacques Legrand, the author of the *Book of Good Manners*, was an Augustinian, too,[476] fits this pattern well, although all of this contextual evidence is circumstantial rather than definite.

A monastic or canonical context would also offer a good explanation for the compiler's marked interest in liturgical matters, and his repeated references to liturgical practices after the use of Salisbury (see above, pp. 108–109) and the use of the psalms in a liturgical setting:

> And so thy made in þe furnes this tracte: **Benedictus es domine,** whiche is songe in þe chirche in þe ymber dayes. (ll. 9610–9612)

The compiler's evident close knowledge of liturgical practice surrounding the Ember Days, and the fact that he deemed it of sufficient interest to include it in the history, points to an origin in a religious house. The intensely learned character of *T*, its references to biblical commentary, scholarly literature and common homiletic topoi, can all be plausibly situated in such a context. *T* is obviously steeped in the tradition of universal history writing, but nonetheless it is not typical of monastic history writing at the time, the majority of which continued to be in Latin,[477] turned from a focus on

[475] Hanna (2000: 36).
[476] Saak (2012: 473).
[477] Gransden (1982: 345).

universal history towards 'house histories [and] collections of historical anecdotes useful for sermons'.[478] The overall tone of *T*, then, does point to an origin in a religious house, and the same could be said for *H* due to the nature of its sources and its material evidence.[479] The extensive knowledge of Latin necessary for translating the *Polychronicon* into English and the compiler's remarkably wide-ranging reading in *L* likewise fit well with such a context.[480]

A possible origin in an Augustinian house fits well with the palaeographical evidence outlined above (pp. 35–49): the compiler is clearly well-trained as a scribe, but rather conservative in his choice of script, which includes some older Anglicana letter-forms. All corrections in the manuscript are self-corrections by the compiler-scribe (apart from corrections by later readers). The evidence points to production in a religious house in an informal or personal context rather than a traditional scriptorium, which fits well with what we know of book production by the monastic orders within the period – in many religious houses, there seem to have been individual scribes who were very competent craftsmen, rather than regular and thorough courses of training for scribes, as professional scribes could be employed from outside if their expert skills were needed.[481] Nonetheless, the compiler is not writing exclusively for his personal use – as we have seen above, he is conscious of writing for an audience throughout the text. Nonetheless, he does not envisage further copying of the text beyond the single existent manuscript copy (as the cross-references to individual folios indicate; see above, pp.

[478] Galloway (1999: 280).

[479] Ralph Hanna mentions in passing that *H* is a 'cheap bookshop production' (1996: 304), but unfortunately does not elaborate on this point.

[480] It is worth noting that conclusions about the compiler are guided by whichever manuscript the analysis is based on – *L* with its inclusion of the *Brut* and Arthurian stories, looked at in isolation, would not necessarily evoke strong ideas of an Augustinian context. Lister Matheson's work on *L* has tended to situate the compiler in a more secular context, comparing him to Caxton in his literary tastes, and describing him as 'an intelligent, widely-read Englishman', the likes of which formed the audience of Malory's *Morte Darthur* (Matheson (1985b: 91)). Nonetheless, Matheson's work on *L* was not finished in 1985, and the comprehensive study of *L* which he was working on unfortunately remained unfinished, and unpublished.

[481] Doyle (1990: 13).

72–73), which again suggests a use in a specific context with a limited audience. The lack of provision for further copying indicates that the manuscript was not written for a commercial context (apart from that of a possible commissioned copy, but there are no signs that *T* might have been a bespoke production, and its rather modest nature would not suggest such a conclusion). *L* and *H* strengthen the impression that the three manuscripts are rather idiosyncratic in their choice of sources as well as their codicology and palaeography, and arguably reflect the compiler's personal interests rather than a patron's. The most likely context, then, is that the manuscript was produced in a religious house, reflects the compiler's personal interests, but envisages a limited audience beyond the compiler's personal use. At first glance, an obvious audience would be the members of a religious house,[482] but this does not fit well with some of the features of the text of *T*. As discussed above, translations of Latin phrases are provided throughout the text, and are only omitted very infrequently. This indicates that the compiler was writing for an audience which was at least partly unlatinate, which we would expect to be the case more with a lay or a mixed audience than with a religious community. It is, of course, possible that the book was used by other members of a religious community as an aid in their studies, as a reference work (although *T* is not designed as a book of reference in the same way that florilegia were), or purely for curiosity and pleasure. The inclusion of homiletic material and exempla might point to an objective of educating and instructing the laity, and there is abundant evidence from other vernaculars such as Middle High German that universal histories and *Historienbibeln* were used for this aim. Nonetheless, the compiler's interests are decidedly learned and intellectual, and even though he goes to great length to clarify the material of his source text, the knowledge which the text presumes about matters theological and liturgical goes far beyond what is necessary or helpful for the basic

[482] See the scheme by Lyall (1989: 14).

instruction of a lay audience. The compiler's audience, even if it included laypeople, must have been extremely well-educated. At the same time, reading the text of *T* one cannot help but feel that there is also a great element of personal enjoyment in the complicated way the compiler unifies complex material from different sources, seeks to lay them out clearly, rearranges material in an extremely detailed and thorough manner, and presents a comprehensive and well-rounded view of world history. *T* seems to be situated in a contextual space between book production in a religious house, use in the context of a mixed audience and possible use by members of a religious community, and production for the writer's own use, in the sense that it allowed him the opportunity to pursue at great length his personal interests across a wide range of texts which cannot be easily classified in generic terms – in short, to enjoy the process of compilation and the writing of history for its own sake.

6 T, H and L – three sides of the same triangle?

H and *L* are similar to *T* in a number of crucial aspects, both visual and textual. Although the texts of the three manuscripts focus on different time frames, and draw on different sets of sources, all three of them testify to the compiler's lasting fascination with the *Polychronicon* over several years, if not decades, and in two languages. All three texts also show similarities of handwriting, design, and layout, including running titles in a display script,[483] and similar strategies of compilation, which range from extremely careful and close copying to large-scale rearrangement and rewriting of sources texts. Daniel Wakelin has demonstrated the similarities between *H* and *T* in their careful corrections to individual words, even where these are not strictly necessary,

[483] The use of a display script to emphasise key names in the main text occurs mainly in *H* and *T*, but only rarely in *L*, perhaps due to *L* being the earliest in date amongst the three manuscripts.

but rather mirror the spelling of the printed exemplar.[484] The same study also discusses in detail the compiler's concern about the visual aspect of his writing, which is visible in his system of capitalization in both *H* and *T*.[485] In addition, where the compiler copies from the same texts in different manuscripts, the textual strategies which can be observed are also similar. Kate Harris notes, for instance, that additions to the excerpts from Chaucer in *H* and *T* are of a similar kind, serving the purpose of clarification.[486] Strategies of intertextual reference of the type observed in *T* (discussed above, Chapter II) can also be found in *H*, as an addition at the end of the *Tale of Melibee* in *H* exemplifies: 'as we may rede of them here folluyng' (f. 99^{r}). This addition provides a transition to the next text, the *Monk's Tale*, and indicates that in spite of the miscellaneous structure of the distinct texts in *H*, the collection of texts follows a distinct design and thematic concept, similar to *T*. Like *T*, *H* contains quotations from the Vulgate, which are almost always translated, and shows an impulse to collect relevant information on a particular subject matter. For instance, in an account of the martyrdom of the apostles copied from the *Polychronicon*, the compiler adds quotations from the Vulgate in the margins: 'Whan he seyde **Domine quo uadis**' (f. 59^{r}). These quotations do not occur in Caxton's *Polychronicon*, but add contextual detail to the account of the acts of the apostles in *H*, testifying to a similar desire for textual completeness and compendiousness which is also noticeable in *T*.

In previous research, *L* has not been considered as thoroughly in relation to *T* as *H*, but here, too, we find an intense interest in the *Polychronicon*, which goes as far as a thorough revision of the compiler's first version in the light of Caxton's print. These revisions indicate that the compiler is striving towards a kind of historiographical completeness, at the expense of neatness of page layout and design. The compiler is

[484] Wakelin (2014: 175–176).
[485] Wakelin (2014: 178).
[486] Harris (1998: 186).

almost obsessively aiming at improving the text of his compilation, which is remarkable given than *L* contains a number of illustrations, indicating that it was not in the first place intended to be a rough draft.[487] *L* demonstrates the true range of the compiler's literary interests: *T* could be summarised as having a focus on biblical history, and the same broadly applies to *H* (although its contents are not exclusively religious, but also include more secular material, as detailed above, p. 11), but in *L* the compiler evidently applied his skills equally avidly and persistently to more recent history, Arthurian tales, and the *Brut*. Taken together, the three manuscripts give us a sense of a compiler whose approach to history writing could be described in similar terms to that of Higden, who was 'an omnivorous reader, a 'literary glutton''.[488] It is, perhaps, no mere coincidence that *T*, *H*, and *L* can be seen as complementary in terms of the historical periods they cover. *T* contains an account from Creation to the time of Hannibal, *H* is largely (though not exclusively) concerned with the time of Christ and the apostles, and *L* covers more recent history up to the time contemporary to the compiler. Even though the three manuscripts were clearly not intended to be parts of a continuous collection – the distinct nature of the excerpts in *H* is too dissimilar to the new textual whole which is created in *T* and *L* – the compiler does seem to have had a desire to cover all of human history from Creation to the present in some form in his collections and compilations. It is worth keeping in mind that *T* breaks off incompletely, so that it is difficult to say at what point it was originally intended to end. The inclusion of the Holy Cross legend in *T* might indicate that the compiler meant to include a narrative of the Passion and Crucifixion, which would constitute the typological fulfilment prefigured by the history of the wood of the cross, similar to the function the legend serves in the *Cursor Mundi* (see above, pp. 115–131). In fact, a short intratextual reference in a section on the Holy

[487] For the comparable example of the *Boke of Noblesse*, see fn. 353 above.
[488] Taylor (1966: 46).

Cross legend near the beginning of *T* does indeed indicate that the compiler was intending to include an account of the Passion:

> And why þe Iewis made þe crosse of thes foure maner of trees, ye shul vndirstond hereaftyr in þe story of þe Passioun of oure Lorde Crist Ihesus. (ll. 502–504)

The deictic 'hereaftyr' is similar to the types of intertextual references we find throughout *T* (cf. Chapter II), and suggests that the life of Christ was meant to be included, possibly as the end-point of the history in *T*. An account of the Passion from the Virgin Mary's point of view, as well as the section from the *Polychronicon* covering the same time period, are also contained in *H*. If the compiler's plan was to include the Passion and Crucifixion in *T* as well, it might be most appropriate to see the three manuscripts as complementary, and slightly overlapping in terms of the time frame covered. The perspective on the Passion and Resurrection through the eyes of Mary offered in *H* may have been different from that which the compiler was planning to include in *T*, where these events are largely conceived of in typological terms through the Holy Cross legend. *T*, *H*, and *L*, can therefore been seen as broadly part of the same historiographical enterprise, but as differing in aspects of compilatory technique and the choice of source texts. It is a compendious and remarkable achievement.

Chapter VI Linguistic Analysis

This chapter returns from the more discursive tone of the preceding chapters to the more formal format and apparatus required for an edition. As *T* is late in date, the account of the text's phonological features has been kept relatively brief, and provides an overview rather than an exhaustive list.

1 Main phonological features

1.1 Vowels

The reflex of OE /a/ before a nasal is usually spelt <a>: <can>, <man>, <many> (with the infrequent variant <meny>). Before homorganic consonant groups, which caused lengthening, the spelling can be both <a> and <o> (<londe>, <lande>, <honde>, <hande>), with both spellings being very frequent. The reflex of OE /*a*:/ appears as <oo> or <o> (<stoon>, <boon>, <bone>).

OE /æ:[1]/ is usually written <e> (<strete>), but occasionally occurs as <ee> (<street>). 'Each' (OE *ǣlc*) is usually spelt <eche>, whilst 'there' (OE *þǣr*) frequently occurs in the abbreviated form (<þ*er*e>).

The reflex of OE /y/ is generally spelt <y> or <i> (<synne>, <hylle>, <hille>, <fulfil>), with no discernible preference. The variant <cherche> occurs in the manuscript *L*, but not in *T* itself. The reflex of OE /y:/ likewise appears as both <y> and <i> (<fyre>, <fire>).

OE /e/ before non-lengthening consonant groups is written <e> (<self>, <yet>, <strengthe>), but can also occur as <i> (<silffe>, <ʒyt>).

As to the Old English diphthongs, the reflex of OE /e:o/ is written <e> (<tre>, <thefe>, <frende>) or <ee> (<tree>, <freende>). The reflex of OE /æ:a/ is spelt <e> (<beten>, <bem>).

1.2 Consonants

OE word-initial /hw/ occurs as <wh> throughout. OE initial /f/ is spelt <f> throughout.

OE /ʃ/ is generally spelt <sh> initially (<shal>, <shape>), but occasionally <sch> (<schepe, scharpe>). In medial position, the phoneme is often represented by <ssh>, as in <flesshe>, <wasshyng>, or as <sh> (<worship>). Somewhat less frequently, it also occurs as <ss> (<flessly>).

The reflex of the OE voiced allophone of /θ/, which occurs in a vocalic environment, is occasionally represented by a spelling with <d> (<broder>, <whedyr>).

Medial and final consonants are sometimes doubled (<beclippe>, <gladde>).

2 Linguistic Profiles

A dialect analysis of most late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century texts is extremely difficult due to the nature of the language changes taking place around that time. As M. L. Samuels has pointed out, it is hard to localise late Middle English texts based on their dialectal characteristics due to 'the growth of standardization and the displacement of local usage'. He goes on to identify two main processes which can be observed:

> (i) the writer replaced his own more obviously local forms directly by those of Chancery Standard […].
> (ii) the writer replaced his own forms, not by those of Chancery Standard, but by other forms in very widespread use […] [leading to] a 'colourless' regional

> language which may present almost as great an obstacle to exact localization as standardisation proper.[489]

The processes of dialectal convergence taking place at the end of the fifteenth century mean that many texts show an accretion of different regional forms in the spelling system of a single scribe, and 'spellings which have hitherto been members of regional systems become like the coins when two currencies are combined; […] they pass from writer to writer, or from writer to printer and back again, and their regional significance is lost'.[490] Thus, if the regional variants in the manuscript are comparatively inconclusive, this is entirely in keeping with the nature of late fifteenth-century language and the loss of significance of dialectal features.

This is not the only reason why an analysis of the language of *T* is fraught with problems. Part of the difficulty also lies in the nature of the manuscript itself. For many of the compiler's sources it cannot be said with certainty what the exemplar's exact form and dialect was, which makes it difficult to determine which features of the text come from the exemplar, and which were changes introduced by the compiler – although, in quantitative terms, Caxton's *Polychronicon* certainly provides the greatest number of words. It is widely agreed that there are three different types of copying in the Middle Ages: firstly, a scribe may copy his exemplar *literatim*, without changing its language at all. Alternatively, he may convert his exemplar's language completely into his own dialect, or, as a third option, he may apply a mixture between the two.[491] With regard to *T,* it seems unlikely that a compiler who took so much interest in editing his texts would not make changes to his source texts' language as well, a hypothesis which is explored in greater detail below.

[489] Samuels (1981: 43).
[490] Samuels (1981: 48).
[491] *LALME* I, 13. For a more detailed explanation, see Benskin and Laing (1981).

So far, the linguistic features of *T* have not received any detailed scholarly attention. Kate Harris deals with language only in a footnote, stating that 'Jeremy Smith's first analysis of a questionnaire on the language of the Trinity manuscript secured the answer 'Berkshire(?)'.[492] Regrettably, she does not specify what data were used for this questionnaire. In order to provide a more extensive survey of dialectal features in the text, a linguistic questionnaire has been completed for *T* (see Table 1), based on the model of *LALME*, despite the date of the manuscript, which is later than most surveyed for *LALME*.[493] The selected test-items are those contained in the standard survey questionnaire used by the editors of *LALME* for Southern texts, since there is reasonable evidence to suggest that *T* originated from the South.[494] Following the model of *LALME*, the inventory contains the test-items of the questionnaire on the left, printed in small capitals, while the corresponding Middle English forms contained in *T* appear in lower case Roman letters on the right. Expanded abbreviations have been marked by italics. Based on this linguistic profile, it is possible to analyse general tendencies in the language of *T*, and to draw tentative conclusions as to the scribe's dialectal background. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that due to the emergence of standardisation, *LALME* only covers the period of late Middle English up to 1450. *T*, on the other hand, is certain to have been written later than this date, since Caxton's print of the *Polychronicon* was published in 1482.[495] Since the gradual emergence of a standard did not immediately result in the disappearance of local writing systems,[496] *LALME* can still be of great use for the analysis of manuscripts written after 1450. However, Merja Stenroos has emphasised that 'only texts that contain a regionally

[492] Harris (1983: 31).
[493] For a detailed account of the principles behind the linguistic profiles in *LALME*, see 'General Introduction' (I, 3–36) and 'Introduction to Linguistic Profiles' (III, ix–xvii).
[494] See above, pp. 57–61.
[495] See above, p. 66.
[496] Horobin (2011: 74).

localisable usage were included in *LALME*. This means, of course, that any survey based on the *LALME* corpus will be skewed away from standardisation: the findings may be seen as representative for non-standardised texts, rather than for the overall text production'.[497] This caveat has to be kept in mind for the discussion of the linguistic profile of *T* and possible conclusions.

THESE:	these (thes) ((thees, thies, þese))
SHE:	she ((sche))
HER:	her (here) ((hyr, hir, hyrre))
IT:	it (yt) ((hit, hyt))
THEY:	they ((þey, thay, thei))
THEM:	them (hem) ((theym))
THEIR:	ther, her ((theyr, their, here))
SUCH:	soche, suche (swyche) ((such, shuche, swhiche, swych))
WHICH:	whiche, which*e* ((whyche, which))
EACH:	eche ((ecche))
MANY:	many ((meny))
MAN:	man*,* ma*n,* mannys *gen*, ma*n*nys *gen* ((ma*n*nes *gen*))
ANY:	ony (any) ((eny, oni))
MUCH:	moche ((mykyl))
ARE:	ben ((been, bene, be, ar, are))
IS:	is ((ys))
ART:	arte (art)
WAS:	was ((wass))
SHALL *sg:*	shal ((shall))
2sg:	shalt ((shalte))
pl:	shul ((shal))
SHOULD *sg:*	shulde ((sholde))
WILL *1sg:*	wyl, wole, wolle
2sg:	wylt
3sg:	wylle, wyl, wole, wol
pl:	wylle, wyl, wil
WOULD *1sg:*	wolde ((woolde, wold))
2sg:	woldest
FROM:	from ((fro))
AFTER:	aftyr ((after, aftir))
THEN:	than, thenne, then, thanne, þan, tho
THAN:	than, then ((þan))
(AL)THOUGH:	though (thouh) ((thaugh, al thowȝ))
IF:	yf ((if, yef, yeue, ȝef, ȝif))
AGAINST:	a yenst ((a yenste, ayenst, a geynse, a geyn, ageyns))
AGAIN:	a yen, ageyn (agayn) ((agayne, ageyne, a gayn, a gayne, a yene, a yenne, aȝen))

[497] Stenroos (2007: 18).

ERE *conj*:	or ((er))
SINCE *adv*	sythe, sethyn, sythen, syþ
conj	seth, sith, syth
YET:	yet ((ȝet, ȝyt))
WHILE:	while ((whyle, whilys, whiles))
STRENGTH:	strengthe ((strength, strenght))
LENGTH:	lengthe
vb:	length-
WH-:	wh-
NOT:	not (nat) ((nauȝt))
NOR:	ne (nor) ((ner))
WORLD:	worlde ((world))
THINK:	thynk, thynke ((thenk-))
WORK *sb:*	werke ((worke))
vb:	werke (worke) ((werch-))
THERE:	þ*er*e ((þ*er*, there, ther))
WHERE:	where
MIGHT *vb:*	myght, myht ((myȝt, myȝte, myghte, might, mythe, myhte))
THROUGH:	throuh ((throw, throwe, thoruh, throwh, thruh, throwȝ, thrugh))
WHEN:	whan ((whanne, when, whenne))
substantive plural:	-is, -es, -ys, -s
present participle:	-yng, -ynge, -enge
strong preterite plural:	-e, -yn, -en
ADDER:	addres ((addyr, eddres))
ASK:	ax- (ask-)
BEFORE *adv:*	before ((be forn, be for, bifore, byfore))
pr:	before ((bifore, byfore))
BEYOND	be yonde ((beyonde))
BOTH:	bothe, both
BRIDGE:	brygge
BURN:	brenn-
pt:	brent, brente ((brende))
ppl:	brente, brent ((ybrent))
BURY:	bury, burye
ppl:	buryed
BUT:	but
CALL:	call- ((clepe))
ppl:	callyd ((clepyd, cleped, clepid))
CAME *sg:*	cam, com, come
CHURCH:	chirche
COULD *sg:*	coude, couthe
DAY *pl:*	dayes
DIE:	dey, dye, deye
pt:	deyde (dyed) ((deyed))
DO *3sg:*	dothe ((doth, doith))
pt-sg:	dyd ((dyde))
pt-pl:	dyd ((dyden))
DREAD,	dred, drad (dradde)

SPREAD:	spradde, sprad
EITHER *pron:*	eyther, eyþ*er* ((either))
EVIL:	euyl (evyl)
EYE *pl:*	yen (eyen)
FETCH:	fecche
FILL:	fulfylle, fulfyl, fulfillyd, fulfilled, fyllyd
FILTH:	fylthe
FIRE:	fyre ((fire, fyer))
FIRST:	first, fyrst ((fyrste, firste, ferst))
wk-adj:	þe first (þe firste, þe fyrst) ((the first, the fyrst, þe fyrste))
FLESH:	flesshe ((flessh))
GATE*:*	gate ((yate))
GIVE *pt-sg:*	yaf, gaue (yaue) ((gaf, yafe, yave, gave, ȝaf, yaffe))
ppl:	yeuen, geuyn ((gevyn, yeven, yeue, ȝouen, forgeuen))
GO *3sg:*	goyth, gothe (goth) ((gooth))
GOOD:	good ((goode))
HANG *pt (tr* and *intr):*	hynge ((hyngh, henge, honged))
HAVE:	haue, have
inf:	haue ((have, han[498]))
pt-sg:	had, hadde
pt-pl:	had, hadde ((hadden))
HEAR:	here
HENCE:	hens, hense
HIGH:	hye (highe) ((high, hyghe, hyh, hyhe, hyȝhe))
cpv:	hyer, higher
sup:	hyghest, heyghest, hyest
HIGHT:	heete, hete (hight) ((highte, hyte))
HILL:	hille (hylle)
HITHER :	hydyr
HOLD *pt-sg:*	helde (heelde)
pt-pl:	helde (heelde)
HUNDRED:	houndred (hondred, hundred) ((hondryd, houndryd, hundryd))
I:	I ((y))
KIND *etc:*	kynde ((keende, keend))
LAND:	londe (lande) ((lond, land))
LEAD *pt:*	ladde, led (ledde, lad)
LESS:	lasse ((las, lesse))
LET *pt:*	lete, lette (leete, let)
LIE *vb:*	ly, lye
LITTLE:	lytyl ((lytel, lytyll))
LIVE *vb:*	lyue ((leve))
NEITHER+NOR:	neyþ*er*+ne (neyther+ne) ((nouther+ne)) ((ne+ner)) ((neyþ*er*+ner))
NO MORE:	no more (no mo)
OR:	or ((owþer, owther, outher))
OWN *adj:*	owne ((owen, own))
PRIDE *etc:*	p*ri*de ((pryde))

[498] This form in the infinitive only occurs once in the manuscript (f. 225^{r}, l. 30). It is palaeographically difficult to determine whether the form here is <han> or <hau>. *LALME* gives no attestations for <hau>, which is why I have decided to interpret the form as <han>.

READ *pt:*	rede ((radde))
RUN:	renn-
pt:	ranne ((ran))
THE SAME:	thilke, thylk, thylke, that ilke
SAY:	sey (say, seye, saye)
SEE *pt-sg:*	sawe (syh) ((saw, sy3, sye, sygh))
pt-pl:	sawe ((syh, syhe, sy3))
ppl	seen ((seyn, seyne, sene))
SELF:	self ((silffe, sylf, sylfe, selfe, selffe))
SILVER:	siluer, syluer ((syluyr))
SIN *sb:*	synne
SLAIN:	slayne
SPAKE, BRAKE:	spake ((spak)), brake ((brak))
THENCE:	thens ((thennes))
THOUSAND:	thousand ((thousande, thousend, thowsende, thowsand))
TOGETHER:	to gedyr ((to geders, to geder))
TWO:	two ((twey, tweyne, tway, twayne))
UNTIL:	tyl ((tyll, tylle))
WEEK:	weke ((wyke))
pl:	wekes ((wekys))
WENT:	went (wente, yede) ((ȝede))
WHAT:	what
WHETHER:	whe*þer* (whether) ((whethyr, whedyr))
WHITHER	whyder
WHO:	who
WHOM:	whom ((whome))
WHOSE:	whois (whos)
WITEN:	wete
pt-sg:	wist, wyst
WITHOUT *pr:*	w^{t} oute ((w^{t} outen))
adv:	w^{t} oute
WORSE:	worse ((werse, wers))
WORSHIP *sb, vb, adj:*	worship ((worshipe, worschip, worshep-)))
YIELD:	yelde ((ȝelde))
-ER:	-er ((-yr))
-LY:	-ly

Table 1: Linguistic profile of T

Overall, the linguistic profile of the text reveals a remarkably large number of different forms, with several test items eliciting as many as five or more variants. This is a picture which we would expect, given how widely former regional variants had spread and become a 'common currency' at the end of the fifteenth century, as pointed out above. However, whilst the scribe's repertoire is very wide, it is by no means arbitrary.

For instance, even though nine different variants for the preterite singular of *give* can be found in *T*, some of them widely spread, others more regional, there is not a single instance of the form <gafe>, which according to *LALME* was one of the four most frequent forms throughout the North and South. The absence of certain forms can be just as illuminating as their presence, and it shows that the scribe must have been selective in his choice of spelling variants.

This impression is strengthened by the overall pattern which emerges from the linguistic profile. It appears that, for most of the test-items, the scribe had one or two preferred spellings which appear much more frequently than other variants. It is striking that often the scribe's preferred spellings are of a colourless, over-regional kind, and frequently show a layer of Chancery spellings, while minor variants tend to be more regional and less widely disseminated.[499] A likely explanation is that the minor or less frequent spelling variants for each test-item occurred in the exemplars from which the compiler was working, and that they were occasionally taken over unaltered. This in turn shows that the scribe must have made changes to the spelling patterns he found in his exemplars, and that these changes are relatively systematic and consistent. The marked layer of Chancery spellings makes a localisation of the text difficult, and it is important to keep in mind that less frequent spelling variants, which tend to be more regional, are likely to be influenced by the language of the exemplars. This does not mean, however, that they are insignificant. A scribe who is obviously concerned about the language of his text and who is willing to introduce changes is likely to have retained forms from his exemplars only when he was familiar with them, even if they were little used variants in his own dialect. *LALME* uses the term 'constrained selection'

[499] For some examples of this pattern, see the forms found for THESE, HER, ECHE, (AL)THOUGH, AGAIN, THROUGH, GIVE *pt-sg*, KYNDE.

to describe this process.[500] Therefore, the evidence to be gained from infrequent dialectal forms in the linguistic profile can still be indicative of the scribe's passive repertoire.

As pointed out above, the linguistic profile reveals a layer of what has often been called 'Chancery Standard' spellings.[501] For instance, the most frequent form for the third person plural pronoun in the oblique case used throughout the manuscript is <them>, although occasionally <hem> can also be found. The dominant form for THESE is <these>, and SHOULD is spelt <shulde> much more frequently than <sholde>. Furthermore, <ben> is the dominant form for *are*, while other forms such as <ar> and <are> only occur very infrequently. There are also certain conservative spellings for the voiceless palatal and velar fricatives [ç] and [x], in <high> or <though> (although, as discussed below on pp. 256-267, the scribe may have indicated palaeographically through the use of 'otiose strokes' that these sounds were no longer pronounced). All these features are indicative of the emerging standard associated with the spelling system of the Chancery. Other typical Chancery spellings include the recurrent forms <not, but, whiche> as well as <suche>, which is far more prominent than <swych> and other <sw>-spellings.[502]

However, the manuscript also contains a variety of non-Chancery spellings. These include <her> and <here> as variants alongside <ther, theyr, their> for THEIR, paralleled by <hem> alongside <them, theym> for THEM. <Her> and <hem> are retained specifically in the London dialect,[503] and are also extremely frequent across

[500] *LALME* I, 19.
[501] Fisher's (1996) understanding of the term 'Chancery Standard' has been strongly contested by other scholars. For a short summary of the debate, see Mugglestone (2006: 111–112); for a more detailed account of the problems with Fisher's publications, see Benskin (2004). I use the term 'Chancery Standard' here as synonymous with Samuels' (1989) 'Type IV' language, without subscribing to Fisher's errors.
[502] Samuels (1989: 80).
[503] Gramley (2011: 105).

most other regions of the South in the fifteenth century.[504] These forms, therefore, do not point to a specific area of origin. <High> alternates with the non-Chancery, phonetic spelling <hye>,[505] which mirrors the vocalisation of the fricative /x/ in the course of the fifteenth century. It is true that the language of the Chancery was itself far less uniform than the modern term 'standard' would seem to suggest. Jeremy Smith here differentiates between 'standardised' or 'focused' language and 'standard' or 'fixed' language to describe the difference between the kind of centripetal tendencies we find with Chancery as opposed to the fixed prescriptive rules which govern the use of Present-Day standard English.[506] In spite of this lack of uniformity of spellings in a 'focused' language, spellings untypical of Chancery are frequent enough in the manuscript to indicate that the language of *T* is an idiosyncratic mixture of different forms, even though the layer of Chancery spellings is quite pronounced overall. Some of the non-Chancery forms used in *T* such as <hye> or <from> appear to have been widely spread throughout England.[507] Such forms are characteristic of a colourless, over-regional language which does not allow any closer localisation of the text. However, it is clear that the text does not have a Northern origin, as evidenced by a number of forms such as <eche>, which occurs almost exclusively in the South, and occasionally in the Midlands.[508] This theory is further supported by the fact that the grapheme <þ> is consistently distinguished from <y>, which, as Michael Benskin argues, is a scribal practice distinctive for southern and Midlands scribes.[509]

A number of forms are more clearly indicative of the text's origin. Most of them point towards the dialectal area of the East Midlands, such as the representation of the

[504] *LALME* I, 314–317.
[505] Christianson (1989: 99).
[506] Smith (1996: 66–70).
[507] *LALME* I, 414, 329.
[508] *LALME* I, 326.
[509] Benskin (1982: 15).

reflex of the OE voiced allophone of /θ/ by the voiced plosive *d* (<broder>, <whedyr>). Little evidence can be found to support Jeremy Smith's localisation to Berkshire.[510] It is true that some Berkshire forms do occur in *T*, such as <hynge> for the preterite of HANG, or <eyþ*er*> for EITHER. However, for a significant number of forms in *T*, Berkshire is not listed in *LALME*. Examples in this category are <to gedyr> as a spelling for TOGETHER, <tyl> for TILL, and <went> for WENT, a form which is particularly significant because it is very frequent.

It is striking that all of the forms mentioned above are recorded for Suffolk, a region which also comes up quite frequently for many other more regional spellings in *T*. For instance, the form <wylt>, which is the only form for the second person singular of WILL in *T*, is recorded for Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Surrey.[511] The dominant form for the test-item THENCE is <thens>, and is recorded multiple times for Suffolk, alongside less frequent occurrences in the South East and South West. A number of other dialectal forms, such as <tho> for THEN, <al thowȝ> for ALTHOUGH, <sythe> for SINCE, <brent> for the preterite of BURN, <evyl> for EVIL, <hadden> for the preterite plural of HAVE, <hense> for HENCE, <keende> for KIND, all have Suffolk in common as a possible area of origin. Most of these forms also occur in Norfolk, although Suffolk is listed slightly more frequently. On the other hand, the spelling <ner> for NOR occurs very frequently in Norfolk, but slightly less frequently in Suffolk. A point which would speak against Norfolk, however, is that *T* does not contain any of the most distinctive features usually associated with the Norfolk dialect, like initial <x> in SHALL and SHOULD or initial <q> in WHICH, WHERE, etc.[512] Another prominent form is <throuh> for THROUGH, which occurs around 60 times in *T* and is only recorded for

[510] Harris (1983: 31).
[511] *LALME* IV, 44.
[512] Beadle (1991: 91). However, these forms are relatively rare even in Norfolk. The distinction between <y> and <þ> in *T* is untypical of Norfolk, but *LALME* does list some linguistic profiles of Norfolk texts which follow this distinction (e.g. LP 669; LP 4633; LP 4662).

Norfolk, Suffolk, Worcestershire and Warwickshire.[513] In fact, Worcestershire and Warwickshire are two other areas which appear quite frequently as a possible dialectal point of origin for many forms, though slightly less frequently than Suffolk and Norfolk. Surrey also appears several times – a county which is especially interesting, because it has been named as a possible point of origin for the manuscript, an argument which was made based on the material evidence (see above, pp. 57-61). For instance, according to *LALME* the form <a yenne> for AGAIN is quite rare in Late Middle English. Of the very small number of occurrences of this form, the majority have been localised to Surrey.[514] However, the forms typical for Surrey seem to be less numerous than those from Suffolk. Suffolk is also interesting as it is relatively close to Essex, where we know the manuscript circulated in the sixteenth century (see pp. 60-61).

Overall, the dialectal evidence compiled in the linguistic profile indicates that the language of *T* is most likely to be dialectally influenced by Suffolk. A case could also be made for Norfolk, Warwickshire or Worcestershire, followed by Surrey, although the evidence for these areas seems less compelling. This is perforce a tentative conclusion, in view of the general problems of localising very late Middle English texts, and the specific nature of the composite text of *T*. It is also important to remember that such dialectal forms give primarily an indication of the scribe's own language and background, and will not necessarily point towards the place where the manuscript was copied.[515] At the same time, we should keep in mind the problems connected to 'otiose strokes' as discussed below. An editor naturally has to make a decision about whether to interpret such strokes as abbreviations and expand them, and this decision should be based on a thorough analysis of the palaeographical evidence, as attempted below (pp. 256-267). However, in a dialectal analysis it would be problematic to use forms such as

[513] *LALME* IV, 98.
[514] *LALME* IV, 66.
[515] Horobin (2011: 61).

<whiche> or <high>, where the form which appears in the edition rests solely on an interpretative decision by the editor. I have therefore avoided using these and similar forms in this analysis. What can be confirmed with certainty is that the manuscript is not a Northern text, and likely shows some East Anglian dialectal influence. Even though a few dialectal traces remain in the text, overall it displays a marked layer of Chancery language as an emerging over-regional standard.

The analysis so far has looked at the language of *T* as a consistent whole, produced by a single compiler-scribe. As pointed out above, most medieval scribes do not replace the language of their exemplars completely by their own, but apply a mixture between the two, with some relicts from the source texts remaining in the copy. It is tempting to assume that the few dialectally marked features of the language of *T* are simply a reflection of the language of the source texts, but a closer look at the text reveals that the matter is more complex. Many of the dialectally marked forms discussed above, such as <wylt> and <keende>, appear across sections from at least three different source texts – their use is consistent enough to suggest that they are more than mere relicts from the source texts. Other forms, such as <thens>, appear predominantly – though not exclusively – in excerpts from the *Polychronicon*, but this could simply be due the fact that the total amount of text copied from the *Polychronicon* is larger than that from other sources. On the other hand, there does seem to be an influence of the language of the source texts on the spellings with <ȝ> in *T*. As pointed out above (p. 57), <ȝ> appears predominantly in the biblical material from the Vulgate, the *Confessio Amantis*, and the Holy Cross legend, as well as some sections whose source could not be identified, which indicates that their appearance is the result of 'constrained selection'. As the sections based on the Vulgate are likely to be the compiler's own translation from Latin (see above, pp. 99-115), they might arguably reflect his own language most clearly. To establish whether the sections based on the

Vulgate show different dialectal features than other sections, and the text as a whole, a linguistic profile has been compiled for ll. 4280–4369 as a test case. This section contains the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and is mainly based on Gen 19, along with some minor additions.

THESE:	these
SHE:	she, sche
HER:	here
IT:	it, yt
THEY:	they
THEM:	them, hem
THEIR:	ther, her, þere
SUCH:	soche, swyche
WHICH:	whiche
MANY:	many
MAN:	man
MUCH:	moche
ARE:	ar, are, be
IS:	is
WAS:	was
SHALL *sg:*	shal
pl:	shul, shal
SHOULD *sg:*	shulde
WILL 3*sg:*	wol
WOULD *1sg:*	wolde
FROM:	from
AFTER:	aftyr
THEN:	than
IF:	yf
AGAINST:	a yenst, ageynyst
AGAIN:	a yen, ageyn
ERE *conj*:	or
YET:	yet
WHILE:	whyle
WH-:	wh-
NOT:	not, nat
NOR:	nor
WORLD:	worlde
THERE:	þ*er*e, ther
WHERE:	where
MIGHT *vb:*	myght, myhte
THROUGH:	throw
WHEN:	whan
substantive plural:	-is, -es, -ys
present participle:	-yng, -ynge, -enge
strong preterite plural:	-e, -yn, -en
ASK:	ask-
BEFORE *pr:*	before
BOTH:	bothe
BRIDGE:	brygge
BURN *ppl:*	brent
BUT:	but
DO *pt-sg:*	dyd
EVIL:	euyl, evyl
FIRE:	fyre
GATE:	gate
GOOD:	good
HAVE *inf:*	haue
pt-sg:	had
pt-pl:	had
HEAR:	here
HENCE:	hense
HILL:	hille
I:	I
LEAD *pt:*	led
LITTLE:	lytyl
NO MORE:	no more
OWN *adj:*	owne
SAY:	sey-, say-
SEE *pt-sg:*	syȝ
pt-pl:	syȝ
ppl	seen
SIN *sb:*	synne
SPAKE, BRAKE:	spake
TOGETHER:	to gedyr
TWO:	two
UNTIL:	tyl
WENT:	went, yede
WORSHIP *vb:*	worschip-
-ER:	-er, -yr
-LY:	-ly

Table 2: Linguistic profile of ll. 4280–4369

This linguistic profile was then matched with the data available on the *eLALME* database.[516] The result of this search showed relatively little overlap between *LALME* and the inventory of ll. 4280–4369, but the closest match was a text from Suffolk (LP 8340, indicated by red arrow in Fig. 44).

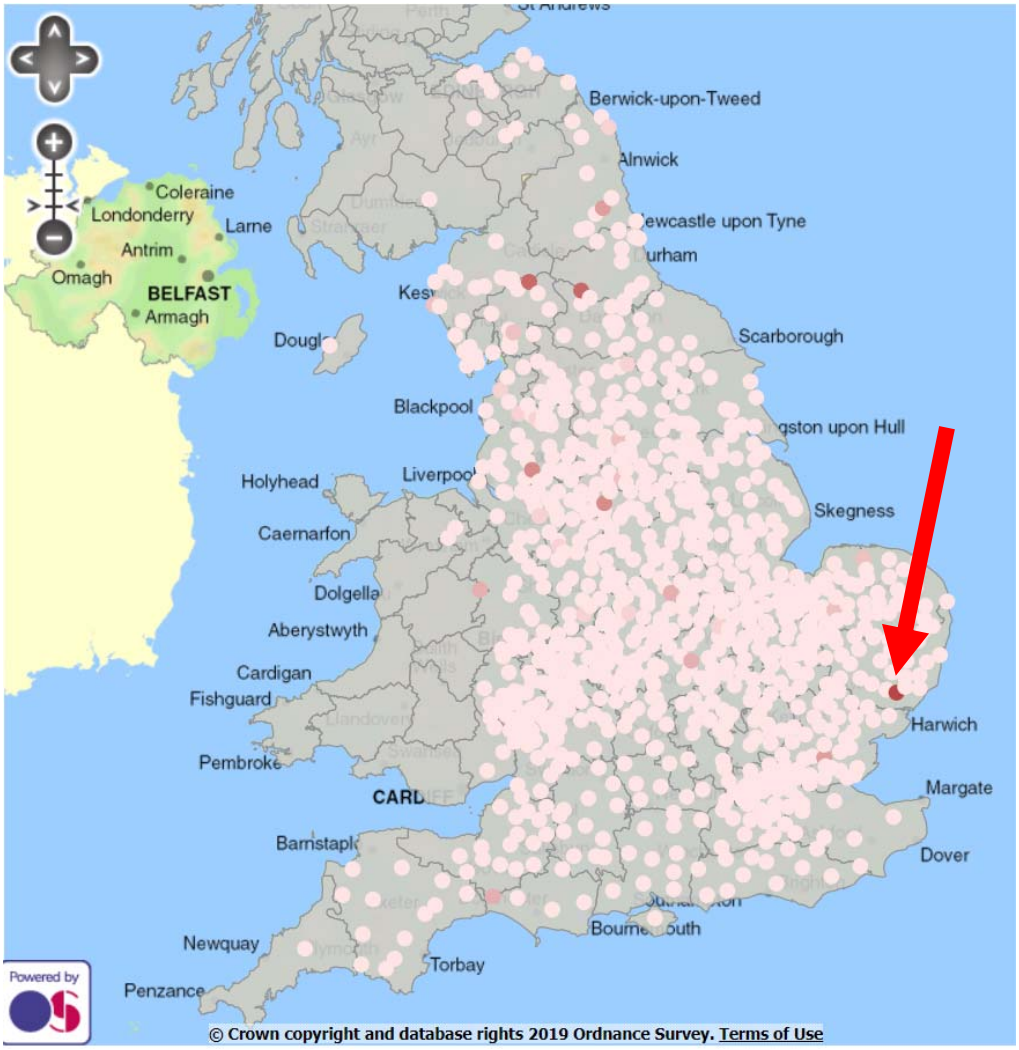


Figure 44: Visualisation of matched linguistic profiles in eLALME

Thus, the linguistic data drawn from a section which is likely to be the compiler's own translation, largely without relying on an intermediate source, agree with the East Anglian localisation suggested by the linguistic profile of the text as a whole. This allows two conclusions: first, the language of *T* is consistent overall, as a smaller

[516] <http://archive.ling.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme_scripts/mapping/fitting.html#> [last accessed 20 July 2019].

sample of forms drawn from a specific section largely dependent on one specific source matches the conclusion suggested by a large-scale inventory of the entire text. Second, in spite of some evidence of 'constrained selection' (and possible relicts) according to different source texts, the language of *T* points towards a localisation to East Anglia, specifically Suffolk, no matter whether a source-specific smaller-scale sample or a large-scale sample of the entire text is taken as the basis of the investigation.

For a comparison, sample linguistic profiles have been compiled from *L* and *H* (cf. Table 3). This analysis used a sample of 30 pages from various points in the manuscripts (*L*: ff. 14^{r}–20^{r}; 101^{r}–105^{r}, 196^{r}–199^{v}; *H*: 30^{v}–37^{r}, 59^{r}–64^{r}, 102^{r}–104^{r}).[517] This is why these profiles are less extensive than the one compiled for *T*, and do not yield an answer for all test items. Nonetheless, the data allow some general conclusions regarding the language of these other two manuscripts by the scribe.

	L	***H***
THESE:	these, þese, thes	thes
SHE:	she, sche	she
HER:	her	her, hyr
IT:	it, yt	it, hyt, hit
THEY:	they, thei, þey	they, thei
THEM:	hem	hem, them
THEIR:	her, there, herre, here	ther, her
SUCH:	swiche, swyche	soche
WHICH:	whiche, which*e*, wheche	whiche
EACH:	eche	yche
MANY:	many, meny	many
MAN:	man	ma*n*
ANY:	any, eny, ony	eny, ony
MUCH:	myche, moche	myche, moche, mykyl
ARE:	been	are, ben
IS:	is	is
ART:		art, arte
WAS:	was	was

[517] Sample pages have been chosen at random, whilst making sure that they are representative, firstly by choosing pages from the first half, middle, and second half of each manuscript, and secondly by not choosing pages which start a new text (to account for the scribe's 'working-in' phase). Because of the limits of this sample analysis, no attempt has been made to categorise forms according to overall frequency.

SHALL *sg:*	shal	shal
2sg:		shalt
pl:	shul, shal	shul
SHOULD *sg:*	shulde	shulde
WILL *1sg:*		wyl
3sg:		wol, wyll
pl:	woole, wole, wille, wyl	wol, wyl
FROM:	fro, from	from
AFTER:	aftyr, afftyr	aftyr, after
THEN:	þen, tho	then, than
THAN:	than	than
(AL)THOUGH:		thoug~~h~~, though
IF:	yf, yef, ȝef	yf, yeff
AGAINST:	a yens, a yenst	a yenst
AGAIN:	a yen, a geyne, a yn	a yen, ageyne, agayne, ageyn
ERE *conj*:	or	or
SINCE *conj*	sith	syn
YET:	yet	yet
WHILE:	whilys	while
STRENGTH:	strengthe	strengthe
LENGTH:		lengthe
WH-:	wh-	
NOT:	nat	not, nat
NOR:	nor	nor
WORLD:	worlde	
THERE:	þ*er*e, þ*er*, there, ther	there, ther
WHERE:	where	
MIGHT *vb:*	miht, myht, myhte	myght, myghte
THROUGH:	throuh*e*, throuh	throughe, throuh*e*, throuhe, through
WHEN:	whan, whanne	whan, whanne, when, whenne
substantive plural:	-ys, -is, -es	-ys, -is
present participle:	-yng, -ing	-yng, -ing
strong preterite plural:	-en, -yn	-e
ASK:	ax-, ask-	ax-
BEFORE *adv:*	a fore	beforne
pr:	a fore, before	before
BOTH:	bothe	bothe
BURN:	bren	bren-
pt:	brende	brente
ppl:		brente
BURY:		bury
ppl:	beryed	buryed
BUT:	but	but
CALL *ppl:*	callyd, callid	callyd
CAME *sg:*	com, cam	come
CHURCH:	chirche, cherche, chyrch-	
DAY *pl:*	dayes	

DIE:		dye, die
pt:	deyde, deyed	
DO *pt-sg:*	dyd	dyd
pt-pl:	dedyn	
DREAD, SPREAD:	dradde, drad, dredde	dred
EVIL:		euyl
EYE *pl:*		eyen
FILL:	fulfyl	fulfyl-
FIRST:	first	fyrst
FLESH:		flesshe, fleshe
GATE*:*	yat-, gat-	yat-
GIVE *pt-sg:*	yaf	yaff
ppl:	yevyn, gevyn	geuyn, gevyn
GOOD:	good	good
HANG *pt:*		henge
HAVE *inf:*	haue	haue
pt-sg:	had, hadde	had, hadde
pt-pl:		haddyn, had
HEAR:	her-	her-
HENCE:		hens
HIGH:	hye	hyghe
HIGHT:	hyte	hyght
HITHER :		hydyr
HOLD *pt-sg:*	heelde	
pt-pl:	heelde, helde	
LAND:	land, lande, lond, londe	lond
LEAD *pt:*	ladde	ladde, ledde
LET *pt:*	leet	let
LIE *vb:*	ly-	
LIVE *vb:*	lyve	
NEITHER+NOR:	neythyr+ne, neyther+ne, nothyr, noþ*er*+ne	neyther+nor, nother+
NO MORE:	no mo, no more	no mo, no more
OR:	or	outher
OWN *adj:*	owne	
RUN:		renn-
pt:		ranne
THE SAME:	thylke	
SAY:	seyn, sey	sey
SEE *pt-sg:*	saw	sy
pt-pl:	saw, sy~~h~~	sy~~h~~, sye, sawe
ppl	sey	
SELF:	selfe	sylf, self
SILVER:	sylu*er*	
SIN *sb:*	syn-	syn-
SLAIN:		slayn, slayne
THENCE:	thens	thens
THOUSAND:	thousend	thousand
TOGETHER:	to gedre, to gedyr	to gedyr, to gedyrs
TWO:	two, ton	two

UNTIL:	tyl	tyl
WENT:	went, yede	wente, yede
WHAT:	what	what
WHETHER:	whedyr	whethir, whethyr
WHO:		who
WHOSE:	whoys, whos, whois	whos
WITEN:		wete
pt-sg:	wist	
WITHOUT *pr:*	w*ith* oute, w*ith* outyn	w*ith* oute, with owten
WORSHIP *sb, vb, adj:*		worship
YIELD:	yelde	
-LY:	-ly, -lyche	-ly

Table 3: Linguistic profiles of L *and* H

If we compare the forms in *L* and *H*, it is immediately apparent that they are overall very similar to the forms in *T*. In many cases, *L* and *H* contain the same forms which are most frequent in *T*, as for WAS, SHALL *sg*, WORLD, CALL *ppl*, FIRST, THENCE, etc. Some items even show exactly the same repertoire as in *T*, such as LAND in *L*. This means that the scribe's language across all three manuscripts is very consistent overall, and consequently, *L* and *H* display the same layer of Chancery spellings and other widely spread, over-regional forms as *T*. Thus, *T* is usually representative of the scribe's active repertoire of spellings. In turn, *L* and *H* only occasionally contain forms which are not in *T*, such as for the test-items EACH and CHURCH. Some of these forms are widely spread and therefore do not allow for any closer localisation, such as <yche> for EACH or <myche> for MUCH.[518] Other forms, however, are of a more regional nature, and it is striking that many of the more regional forms not contained in *T* tend to point towards East Anglia as a point of origin. To name but a few examples, this is the case for the forms <be forne> for BEFORE, <cherche> and <chyrch-> for CHURCH, <seyn> for SAY and <whedyr> for WHETHER,[519] which are all frequent in both Norfolk and Suffolk. The rare form <whoys> for WHOSE is exclusively recorded for Norfolk and Suffolk in

[518] *LALME* IV, 26; IV, 31.
[519] *LALME* IV, 127; IV, 144–145; IV, 241; IV, 280.

LALME.[520] There are a few exceptions which do not point to either of the two counties, such as the form <herre> for THEIR, which only appears in Devonshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Somerset,[521] but such exceptions are very infrequent. Overall, it is clear that Norfolk and Suffolk are the most common denominators for dialectal forms in *H* and *L*. This evidence is very much in accord with the findings in *T*.

Some forms in *L* and *H* may suggest that Norfolk is the likelier candidate, so that it is worth taking a moment to assess the evidence for Norfolk in greater detail. For instance, the form <nothyr+> for NEITHER+NOR appears only in Norfolk, Surrey, Yorkshire, West Riding, and Lincolnshire.[522] The form <to gedyrs> for TOGETHER is only recorded a single time in *LALME*, and this attestation is from a Norfolk text.[523] However, as mentioned above, none of the manuscripts contain any of the more characteristic features of the Norfolk dialect, like word-initial <x> in SHALL or <q> in WHICH. One might speculate whether these more striking features are the ones a scribe from a non-Norfolk background trying to use an over-regional spelling system like Chancery would discard first of all when copying a text with Norfolk dialectal features, whilst he could more easily have missed less obvious regional spelling like <to gedyrs>.[524] Another spelling which may betray a Norfolk influence is the lowering of *i* to *e* in words like *busy*.[525] A slightly different scenario is also possible: if we assume that the scribe was from Norfolk, but was trying to write in an over-regional language, the more outlandish features may have been the ones which he avoided most of all,

[520] *LALME* IV, 284.
[521] *LALME* IV, 15.
[522] *LALME* IV, 222.
[523] *LALME* IV, 269. The *LALME* spelling is <togedyrs> in a single word, but it is still relevant because word division in *T* is very idiosyncratic in general. The scribe has a strong preference for separating prefixes (and what he erroneously believes to be a prefix) from the stem of a word.
[524] Note that <to gedyr> without a final *–s* is a very common spelling in *T*, which may have contributed to the scribe's overlooking such a more subtle dialectal form.
[525] This word is not contained as a test-item in *LALME*. In *T*, the spelling <besy> occurs 23 times in total, while <bysy> only occurs twice, and <bisy> once. There are no attestations for <busy> in *T*. On Chaucer's use of this feature of Norfolk language in the *Reeve's Tale*, see Horobin (2002).

while he might not have changed less obviously dialectal spellings.[526] As most of *T* is copied from other sources, especially the *Polychronicon*, it would certainly be odd for a scribe at the end of the fifteenth century to 'translate' these texts into Norfolk language with all its peculiarities. It is also important to remember that not all Norfolk texts show these more striking Norfolk forms, especially spellings of SHALL with initial <x>, so that the absence of such features does not necessarily have to speak against an origin from this area. A case could be made, then, for either Norfolk or Suffolk: whilst *L* and *H* seem to point more towards the former, *T* would suggest the latter. It is difficult to narrow down this result even further, because forms originally associated with the Norfolk or Suffolk dialects are likely to have attained a wider currency through the processes of dialectal convergence at the end of the fifteenth century.

Given the nature of the three manuscripts' language and their pronounced features of Chancery language, it is probably not possible to make any more definitive statement than that the language is consistent across all three manuscripts, and that all three contain dialectal forms which suggest Norfolk or Suffolk. This area may be a possible place of origin of the manuscript, but it is important to keep in mind that scribes can be quite mobile and may live and work in an area which is different from their own dialect or training. To be more cautious, then, the evidence is likely to point towards East Anglia as the scribe's dialectal background.

[526] A similar process seems to be suggested by the pattern to be observed in the Paston Letters. Norman Davis points out that Walter Paston spells 'shall' and 'should' with *x* in his earliest letter as an undergraduate, but reverts to the less obviously dialectal spelling with *sch-* in his later letters (Davis (1954: 129)); cf. the edited letters in Davis (ed. 2004: 644–648).

3 Linguistic analysis of changes to the source texts

In order to investigate the language of *T* in greater detail, it may be of interest to compare the linguistic features of the printed text of the *Polychronicon* to those of the manuscript. Chapter II above contains a brief comparison between the *Polychronicon* and *T* as a parallel text (p. 70), but the following analysis focuses in greater detail on linguistic features than the one presented above. A passage describing the condition of man from the *Polychronicon*, II, 3, which the compiler copied with comparably few alterations, has been chosen, and is given in parallel text below. Differences between source and manuscript text have been underlined. A thin line indicates differences in spelling, while a thick line indicates changes in lexis, phrasing and content.

Caxton		***T***
Though man, as it is sayde, be lyke and	1	Though þat man, as it is sayde, be lyke
acorde to the world in two thynges that	2	and acorde to þe worlde in two thyngis
be conteyned therin, netheles in many	3	þat be conteyned there ynne, netheles in
poyntes of mannes condicion of his	4	many poyntys of mannys condycioun, of
prerogatyue and his worthynesse he is	5	his prerogatyue and his worthynesse he
dyuerse and vnlyke to the world. For	6	is dyuerse and vnlyke to þe worlde. For
though mannes bodye were made firste	7	though mannys body were made firste of
of erthe, yet it was so couenable and so	8	erthe, yet yt was so conuenable and so
acordyng to the soule that in mannes	9	acordyng to þe soule þat in mannys body
bodye was euenesse of complexion	10	was euenesse of complexioun acordyng
acordynge to lymmes, rightfulnesse of	11	to þe lymmes, ryghtfulnesse of stature,
stature, fayrenesse of shap, and so shuld	12	of fayrnesse of shap. And so shulde þe

the body be afterward buxome to the soule withouten ony rebellion and brynge forth childre without ony synne and lyue without ony defaute of strengthe and be translated and chaunged in to blysse of heuen withouten deyng and deth. Also he shold gete and conceyue childre without shame and a woman shold bere childre withoute sorowe and woo and haue mete and drynk without swete and trauayl steryng and moeuyng in lymmes withouten ony mysfare. And to all this, Paradyse was yeuen mankynde for to dwel in, and woman for to be mannes felawe, Paradyse to wonyng place, the tre of lyf for mete and al creatures for solace, and atte laste god hym self for to be mannes mede. But allas, that so noble a banyour felle so soone, that was erly brought forth, and put in worship. He knewe not that he shold be like to beestes whan he dyd that was forbode. Fro that day forth, the body that is corrupt by synne greueth the soule. The

body be aftyrwarde buxome to þe soule withouten ony rebellyon and bryng I children withoute ony synne and lyue withoute ony defaute of strengthe and be translated and chaunged into blysse of heuyn withoute deyng and dethe. Also he shulde gete and conceyue children withoute shame or synne and a woman shulde bere chyldren withoute sorwe or woo, and haue mete and drynke withoute swete or trauayle, steryng and mevyng in lymmys withoute ony mysfare. And to alle this, Paradise was yeuen mankynde for to dwelle ynne and woman for to be mannys felawe and Paradise ther dwellyng place, þe tree of lyf for them to feede on and alle creaturys for solace, and at last God hymself for to be mannys mede. But allas þat so noble a banyour felle so sone, þat was erly brought fourthe and put in worship. He knewe not þat he shulde be lyke to bestys whan he dyd þat was forbode. From þat tyme fourthe, þe body þat is corrupte by synne greuyth þe

flesshe coueyteth ayenste the soule and mannes wyttes torne and assente lightly to euyl. A mannes oune meynal wyttes, be his owne enemyes, so that al mannes lyf is in temptacion whyle he lyueth here in erthe. And the disposipon [sic] of the soule ruleth, meynteneth, helpeth, and conforteth the bodye. But ayeinward, the wretched disposicion of the bodye distourbeth the soule. Also man is euer fayllyng and wayward. He may not stydfastly abyde. He falleth lightly but he may not lyghtly aryse, Profyt of byrth is sorow and care in lyuyng and man must nedes deye. Plenius libro septimo decimo, capitulo tercio decimo. And thaugh all other that be made haue shelles, ryndes, skynnes, wolle, heer, bristels, feders, wynges, owther skals, man is born withoute ony helyng or keueryng nakede and bare. Anone at his birth he gynneth for to wepe atte begynnyng lyke a beest but his lymmes fayllen hym and maye not helpe hymself. But he is febler than ony

soule. The flesshe coueyteth ayenst þe soule and mannys wyttys torne and assente lyghtly to euyl. And mannys owne meynal wyttys be his owne enemyes, so þat alle mannys lyfe is in temptacioun while he lyueth here in erthe. And þe disposisyoun of þe soule ruleth, meynteneth, helpeth, and comforteth þe body. But ayenward, þe wrecchyd dysposicyoun of þe bodye distourbleth þe soule. Also man is euer fallyng and wayward. He may not stydfastly abyde. He fallyth lyghtly but he may not lyghtly aryse. Profyt of byrthe is sorw and care in lyuyng, and man must nedys dye.

Anone at his birthe he gynnyth for to wepe and crepe atte begynnyng lyke a beeste and his lymmys fayllen hym and may not helpe hymself. But he is febler

other beeste. He can noon helpe. He may nought doo of hym self but wepe with al his myght. No beest hath lyf more brutyl and vnseker. None hath sekenesse more greuous, noon more lykyng to do otherwyse than he shuld. None is more cruel. Also other beestes loue eueryche other of the same kynde and dwell togyder and be not cruel, but to beestes of other kynde that be contrary to hem. But man torneth that maner doyng vp so downe, and is contrary to hymself and cruel to other men, and yf he may not reche for to greue other, thenne he becometh angry and cruel to hymself	63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78	than any other beest. He can noon helpe. He may nought doo of hymself but wepe with alle his myhte. No beeste hathe lyfe more bruttyl and vnseker. None hathe sekenesse more greuous, noon more lykyng to do oþerwyse than he shulde. Noon is more cruel. Also oþer bestis loue eueryche oþer of þe same kynde and dwelle togedyr and be not cruel but to bestis of oþer kynde þat be contrary to hem. But man turnyth þat maner doyng vp so downe and is contrary to hymself and cruel to oþer men. And yf he may not reche for to greue oþer, then he becomyth angry and cruel to hymself.	

Table 4: Comparison of a passage from the Polychronicon (Book II, ch. 3) and ll. 172–209 of T[527]

Caxton's text usually follows the main features of Chancery Standard, as using a language which was widely understood meant that people throughout the country were able to read it with ease, thus maximising profits for the printer.[528] Many of the forms found in Caxton's text as well as *T* clearly show a layer of Chancery spelling. For

[527] My transcription of Caxton's text uses modern punctuation and word division to facilitate the comparison with *T*. Therefore, differences in punctuation and word division between print and manuscript are not underlined.

[528] Horobin (2011: 75).

instance, *T* retains forms like <many> (l. 4) and <not> (l. 34), which represent typical Chancery spellings. Likewise, <chaunged> (l. 17), <a yenst> (l. 38), and <though> (l. 1) are spellings in *T* representative of Chancery Standard, even if they contain minor spelling variants compared to Caxton's text.[529]

Caxton's text also has several more regional forms, for instance the form <ony>, which tends to occur more frequently in the South East and East Midlands.[530] The text of *T* preserves this form for the most part (see ll. 14, 15, 16 and 24). Where certain forms which did not conform to the standard appear in *T* in unaltered form, several explanations present themselves. One of them is that the compiler-scribe had no interest in changing his source texts' language at all – which, however, is a scribal behaviour that occurs only rarely in late medieval texts,[531] and is not corroborated by the frequent changes in spelling that occur with other words throughout *T*. Another possible explanation is that the form <ony> was a feature familiar to the scribe from his own dialect and thus remained unchanged. This, however, does not explain why <ony> is occasionally changed to <any> (l. 63). At first glance it seems as if the form <ony> might be a relict from the source text, taken over unaltered by the scribe, but the linguistic profile of *T* reveals (cf. Table 1) that <ony> is the dominant spelling for ANY in *T* overall, which suggests that it is not a relict. It is not clear why the scribe sometimes copies <ony> unaltered, and sometimes changes it to <any>, but it appears as if the scribe perceived both forms as close to interchangeable.

The words in which the manuscript differs from Caxton's text more straightforwardly are very diverse in nature. Some can be explained by the tradition of

[529] Upward and Davidson (2011: 82–83).
[530] *LALME* I, 329. For more detailed comments on Caxton's dialect, see Samuels (1981: 45), who thinks that forms like *ony* are likely to be signs of East Anglian influence on Kentish, Caxton's own dialect.
[531] Benskin and Laing (1981: 56).

manuscript writing, like the frequent use of abbreviations. Other variants which occur in *T* can be roughly categorised into several groups, which will be discussed in turn.

First, the compiler-scribe uses different graphemes from those used by Caxton for certain phonemes. The most prominent example is the regular substitution of <þ> for <th> in words like like <þe> (l. 2), <þat> (l. 3), and <oþer> (l. 69), while the digraph <th> is preserved in other words, in initial, medial as well as final position: <thyngis> (l. 2), <worthynesse> (l. 5), <fallyth> (l. 50). The usage of <þ> in *T* is restricted to a few function words, a pattern which is not uncommon in late Middle English.[532] Even though <th> in word-final, medial, and initial position was well-established by the time *T* was written,[533] Chancery Standard preserves <þ>.[534] Moreover, as Michael Benskin points out, <þ> survives longest in positions where it is followed by a superscript,[535] effectively functioning like an abbreviation. Indeed, <oþer> and <þat> do contain superscripts marking abbreviations, while <þe>, although not spelt here with a superscript, is likely to have been known to the scribe in its superscript form <þ^{e}> from manuscript tradition – a familiar form which might be the reason why he chose to use *thorn* in this word. Apart from the influence of familiar scribal patterns, considerations of space may also have prompted the scribe to use *thorn*; it does, after all, save work, time, and ink to write only a single graph instead of a digraph. The distribution of <th> and <þ> does not seem to be connected with the distribution of their phonemic correlates /ð/ and /θ/, since <th> can stand for both /θ/ (<thyngis>, l. 2) and /ð/ (<though>, l. 7) in late Middle English.

There is also a number of lexical items containing spelling variants, similar to <any> and <ony> as discussed above. The change of <shold> to <shulde> (l. 12)

[532] Caxton frequently replaces thorn with the digraph due to the constraints of the type he uses (Blake (1976: 89)).
[533] Benskin (1982: 27).
[534] Samuels (1989: 80).
[535] Benskin (1982: 26).

occurs frequently, but this does not allow any closer localisation, as the spelling <shulde> is frequent throughout the South, and the West and East Midlands.[536] It is, in fact, a typical feature of Chancery Standard, while <sholde> frequently appears in fourteenth-century material and is a feature of what Samuels terms ‘‘Type III’ – the language of Chaucer’.[537] The compiler might simply be updating the language to a more recent form here.

In general, most of the spelling variants tend to occur in suffixes. A very typical change is the replacing of <e> in unaccented, word-final syllables by <y>, especially in the morphemes indicating the plural (<creaturys>, l. 30) and the genitive (<mannys>, l. 31) in nouns, and in the third person singular present indicative (<greuyth>, l. 37). In none of these cases does this spelling provide any phonological information, since the vowel in unstressed, word-final syllables would have been pronounced as [ə] by the time the manuscript was copied. Although *LALME* records the spelling <es> for the plural morpheme as slightly more frequent than <ys>,[538] both forms are used too widely to allow any conclusions as to the provenance of the text. It is, in all likelhood, merely a personal preference on the part of the scribe. Nevertheless, the fact that the third person singular suffix is spelt with <th> and has not been altered to <s> allows a general localisation to the South (but again, not to any particular region therein).

The most striking change throughout the text is the constant addition of final *–e* to nouns in the singular (<dethe>, l. 18). Due to the weakening of vowels in unstressed, word-final syllables and the subsequent loss of word-final /ə/, the spelling without a final *–e* would have been generally accepted and current by the end of the fifteenth

[536] *LALME* I, 341.
[537] Samuels (1989: 70).
[538] *LALME* I, 465, 521.

century.[539] These corrections may indicate a certain conservatism on the part of the compiler-scribe. It is important to note, however, that this tendency is not entirely consistent: occasionally, the compiler omits final *–e* although it does appear in Caxton, for instance in <body> (l. 9) and <ayenst> (l. 38). The somewhat erratic nature of these changes is entirely in keeping with scribes' treatment of final *–e* in the late fifteenth century, which can often vary without any discernible pattern.

A variant which occurs repeatedly is the addition of a macron over the ending in French and Latin loanwords where Caxton only has the ending <ion>. As discussed in the chapter on abbreviations below (pp. 256-267), is it not completely certain whether this macron is a mark of abbreviation or an otiose stroke. A survey of the quotations given in the *MED* for the words *condycioun* (l. 4), *complexioun* (l. 10), *temptacioun* (l. 43), and *disposisyoun* (l. 44) shows that spellings both with and without <u> were common near the end of the fifteenth century, although a slight tendency might be detected towards <ion> in late Middle English. If the stroke is interpreted as a mark of abbreviation, this might again be taken to indicate a conservative penchant on the part of the compiler, but the evidence is too unclear to come to such a conclusion with any certainty.

Other variants in the passage above are similarly inconclusive. For instance, where Caxton repeatedly uses the plural form <childre>, *T* has the double plural <children> (l. 21). Both forms, however, occur frequently in many dialects in Middle English[540] and thus do not allow a regional localisation.

However, apart from a few idiosyncrasies, the majority of the spellings in the excerpt in *T* copied from Caxton are of a standardised or at least colourless nature, rendering a precise localisation of the manuscript by means of language difficult. The

[539] Daniel Wakelin likewise notes the addition of word-final *–e* in his account of 'needless' changes to the spelling in *T* (2014: 175–178).
[540] Brunner (1984: 19).

differences observed in the passage above are too minor and the process of standardisation too prominent to lead to any conclusive evidence as to the manuscript's origin, except for the fact that the text did not originate from the North. What can possibly be deduced from a variety of details is a certain conservatism of the scribe.

4 Stylistic variation

Similarly to the passage analysed in Chapter II, on the level of words and content the changes in this passage from the *Polychronicon* are insubstantial and limited to minor differences. Many of them, like the substitution or addition of function words (e.g. *of*, l. 11; *or*, l. 21), which do not change the basic sense of the sentence, can be explained by a rapid pace of writing, which meant that the scribe remembered small chunks of text from his exemplar rather than copying it letter by letter.[541] In this case, slight misremembering of individual function words would happen comparatively frequently. Other changes appear to be synonym substitutions, like *dwellyng* (l. 28) instead of *wonyng*, or *to feede on* (l. 29) instead of *for mete*. It is likely that the purpose of these changes here was to update Caxton's language – according to the *OED*, both *wonyng* and *mete* (in the sense of 'food') are still attested in the fifteenth century, but die out shortly after.[542] It is therefore probable that they would already have been perceived as old-fashioned by the time the manuscript was produced. In this case, the fact that the obsolescent word is replaced with a more current one can be seen as evidence of a

[541] Wakelin (2011b: 51). For a more detailed discussion of this process, see Vinaver (1939: 353).
[542] The last attestation of *woning* given in the *OED* dates to 1602 (sense I. 2). According to the *OED*, *meat* in the sense 'food, a meal' lives on until the 17th century. By which point exactly these words would have started to fade from use is difficult to say, but it is likely that they were starting to be obsolescent at the end of the fifteenth century.

scribe who is concerned about presenting his text in an easily comprehensible language.[543]

A similar explanation could be behind the scribe's addition of *and crepe* to Caxton's word *wepe* (l. 60). In fact, Caxton's version *he gynneth for to wepe atte begynnyng lyke a beest* is rather peculiar, and would make more sense if he had *crepe* instead of *wepe*.[544] This seems to have been the scribe's feeling also – the version *to wepe and crepe atte begynnyng lyke a beeste* in *T* introduces something which is perhaps best described as an explanatory doublet – two words connected by *and*, in which the second serves to clarify the first. This is not entirely unlike Caxton's own stylistic device of adding doublets to his texts, i.e. doubling a word by a second word which is very similar in meaning.[545] This technique is very prominent in Caxton's prints, and it is quite possible that this style produced an echo in *T*, with the compiler trying to enhance the literary style already found in the source text.[546] The fact that the doublet rhymes would also have helped to increase its memorability for the reader.

Although all these changes are comparatively minor, the omission of about seven lines in which the naturally protective skins of animals are favourably compared to the unprotected skin of man (Caxton, ll. 53–58) demonstrates that the compiler was selective in his choice of text and adapted the source to the length and intention of the new text. As an analysis of the *Polychronicon* excerpt has shown, however, it would be too reductive to regard the compiler's treatment of his texts only in terms of simplification. In fact, large passages from Caxton's print are taken over unaltered or only with minor alterations. In fact, the mistake <disposipon> (l. 43) in Caxton is even

[543] However, the scribe seems to have missed the word *mete* used in a similar sense in l. 22, and copies it unchanged.
[544] This wording stems from Trevisa's version: 'he gynneth forto wepe; at þe begynnynge liche to a beste' (Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: II, 217)).
[545] Blake (1991: 253). For a more detailed discussion of the medieval technique of using a second, near-synonymous word to clarify the meaning of the first word, see Rothwell (2007).
[546] See also pp. 81–82 above for a discussion of the compiler's use of doublets.

corrected to the more acceptable form <disposisyoun> (l. 44) in *T*, indicating how much the scribe was concerned with the accuracy of his text. All of these features palpably demonstrate the purposeful process of curtailment and selection behind the composition of *T*, and support the findings presented in Chapter II above.

Chapter VII Editorial Policy

1 Editing *T*: some preliminaries

For an edition of any Middle English text, the choice of editorial method depends on the features of the text which is being edited, but also, on a more fundamental level, on the editor's critical perspective and the intended audience of the edition.[547] This edition of *T* is mainly intended for a scholarly audience with pre-existing knowledge of Midde English, but it should also be accessible to the interested amateur.

It is obvious that questions of textual authority and authorial ingenuity are inseparably mingled with questions of editing practice. This is particularly pertinent to texts like *T*, which have suffered from scholarly neglect for reasons relating 'not [to] intelligibility but literary quality'.[548] The editor of *T* ought to be clear about the status and authority which is accorded to this text, and as argued above, it is the basic contention of this study that *T* is not merely an interpolated copy containing variant versions of authoritative texts produced by scribal intervention, but rather an act of authorial ingenuity, producing a new text in its own right. In manuscript texts, the line between copy, rewritten copy, translation, and original creation is always blurry to a certain degree.[549] This observation is particularly relevant for vernacular historiography, whose very textual form invited addition and alteration, as Matthew Fisher shows.[550] Vernacular historiographical texts are frequently not only widely copied but also extensively edited and rewritten in the course of transmission. One need not subscribe to extreme postmodern textual theories, which claim that the distinction between

[547] Hanna (1987: 88).
[548] Jacobs (1998: 4).
[549] For the connections between textual theory and editing, see, for instance, Pearsall (1994).
[550] Fisher (2012: 28).

authorial and scribal text is anachronistic and that no difference whatsoever is to be made between these two types of text in editing[551] to realise that the variant readings and choice of sources in *T* reflect a conscious and motivated decision by the compiler. Even though *T* is unlikely to be of great use for any traditional critical editions of the individual source texts which are excerpted by the compiler, the compiler's method of selection and revision creates a new text which is much more than merely a sum of the extracts which constitute its parts (as argued above).

The editor of *T*, therefore, should have a twofold aim. On the one hand, the edition ought to identify all the excerpted sources and analyse how they are rewritten by the compiler and brought into conjunction with other sources. Such alterations to source texts might, perhaps, be shown most clearly in a parallel edition of *T* and the source texts. Merely to compare the extant text to its multiple sources, however, would be a reductive approach which would risk losing sight of the text as a whole, and would fail to bring to light the shifting conceptions and relationships which are created between the different extracts by integrating them into a larger historical framework. The editor's other objective must also be to analyse and highlight the text's own perceptive and wide-ranging use of sources relevant to the main themes found in the text. This is why a separate commentary with references to source texts and an analysis of the version in *T* is here preferred to a parallel text edition.

[551] For more background on this point of view, see Machan (1992).

2 Editorial method

In accordance with these aims, the text has been edited following the principles outlined below. The edition provides a text which allows the reader close insight into the process of copying and revising which lies behind the manuscript. Therefore, editorial intervention in the text has been kept relatively minimal, and follows the the editorial policy favoured by the Early English Text Society (EETS). The letters *u* and *v* have been preserved as they occur in the manuscript, as well as the letters *þ* and *ȝ*, and *i* and *j*.[552] Minuscule forms of *i* and *j* are unambiguous. The majuscule form is usually indistinguishable as *I* or *J*, both in the current script and in the display script, regardless of which sound is denoted. Hence, words starting with a capital *I*, such as *Iudith* (l. 9982, f. 204^{v}), might in theory have been transcribed as either *Iudith* or *Judith*. However, this edition treats the ambiguous majuscule *I*/*J* as *I* throughout, which is in keeping with the overall relatively consistent scribal practice.

Numerals appear in the manuscript in a large variety of forms. The edition preserves the manuscript usage as far as is possible and practicable. I have regularised numerals where the manuscripts usage might lead to confusion or misunderstanding. This is most typically the case when Roman numerals are not used in a classical way but serve as abbreviations for words like 'hundred' or 'thousand' in the context of a sentence, e.g. *viij*^{C} *yer and xl* (ll. 595–596, f. 11^{v}). In all such cases, the Roman numeral *C* or *M* (sometimes occurring as *Ml*) is presented in superscript, as in the given example. This practice can be observed in the manuscript as well, but it is not completely consistent.

The display script used for names and specific phrases is indicated by **bold type** in order to represent their appearance on the manuscript page as closely as possible,

[552] For a full outline of the EETS's editorial policy, see <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~eets/Guidelines%20for%20Editors%2011.pdf> [last accessed 6 July 2019].

which might allow conclusions as to the use of the text. In some places, the scribe underlines key words in red where the display script seems to have been forgotten. These cases are also, however, indicated by bold type in the edition, accompanied by a note in the textual apparatus. Marginal headings for individual sections of the manuscript text are presented in separate text boxes, so as to indicate the way in which marginal headings are used to refer to the main text in the manuscript.

To increase the readability of the text, some features have been modernised. Double **f** is represented as capital **F** in the edition. *Litterae notabiliores* have not been especially marked in the edition, and large initials which were not fully executed, but for which space has been left free have been supplied. Abbreviations have been silently expanded throughout the text, but the method of doing so is discussed in detail below. Abbreviated titles and names of sources (usually in Latin, e.g. 'W. De r., libro ij^{o}', l. 2848) have been expanded where a full form is found elsewhere in *T*; otherwise they have been transcribed as given in the manuscript.[553] Following the EETS guidelines, punctuation, capitalisation, and word division have been modernised, but the editor's intervention has been kept as minimal as possible. The manuscript's use of these features is commented on in detail in the manuscript description (see Chapter I above). Paraphs have not been reproduced. Lines, line numbering, and paragraphing are editorial. At the beginning of a new page in the manuscript, the folio number is given in [square brackets]. Where emendation is necessary, the editor's intervention has been marked with square brackets, and a transcription of the manuscript variant is given in the critical apparatus. Where the manuscript text is illegible as a result of physical damage, this has been marked by <…>.

[553] For full forms of sources, also refer to the edition of the *Polychronicon* by Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886).

As Derek Pearsall points out, editions 'collapse the processes of textual evolution into a single textual moment',[554] which can give an inaccurate impression of the actual process of composition. An edition must necessarily always present the text as an end product, and thus as something static and not dynamic. However, *T* also allows fascinating glimpses of the dynamic aspect of composition through a number of marginal additions and interlineations. This is the reason why the indicators of this process have been preserved in the edited text as far as possible. Interlinear additions have been marked by \forward and reverse primes/. Where additions to the text occur in the margins rather than between the lines, they have been marked by ^superscript caret marks^. Deletions and corrections by the scribe have been noted in the critical apparatus at the foot of the page, but only where they are indicative of substantive change (e.g. excluding cases where a word has been erroneously duplicated and subsequently deleted). Minor orthographical corrections, such as correction of single letters, which was usually executed *calamo currente*, are not noted in the apparatus.

The commentary's function is to analyse the compiler's way of interacting with his sources, combining and rewriting his source material. References to the relevant source texts will be given in as much detail as possible, where necessary quoting the source in order to show the differences to the version contained in *T*.[555]

[554] Pearsall (1994: 113).

[555] There is no glossary included in this edition, since any such work would be unassessed within the framework of the D.Phil.

3 Abbreviations and otiose strokes

The range of abbreviations in the English text of *T* is not particularly wide; a large proportion of them are the conventional marks of abbreviations for the function words <þ*a*t>,[556] <*and*>,[557] <þ*e*re>.[558] Abbreviations for *with* also occur frequently.[559] The abbreviation <w^{t}> could be interpreted either as <w*i*t*h*> or as <w*y*t*h*>, and indeed, both spellings occur in the manuscript where the word *with* is not abbreviated, indicating that <i> and <y> are used by the scribe as free variants. However, there is a slightly greater frequency of the former, which is why all abbreviations have been expanded as <w*i*t*h*>.

Other abbreviations in the manuscript are more complex. The scribe frequently uses marks which indicate an *n*, either in medial or final position. These often appear in words of Romance origin, and at first glance it may be doubtful whether they are indeed marks of abbreviation or otiose strokes. For instance, the spelling which we find on f. 100^{v}, l. 11 (cf. Fig. 45) could be interpreted as <Aūgel> or as <Aǹgel>. In the first case, the word would have to be expanded as <Au*n*gel>; in the second case, the flourish would have to be interpreted as an otiose stroke.

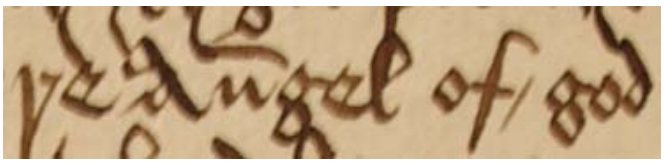


Figure 45: f. 100^{v}, l. 11

[556] E.g. f. 8^{r}, l. 2.
[557] E.g. f. 8^{r}, l. 6.
[558] E.g. f. 8^{r}, l. 10.
[559] E.g. f. 7^{v}, l. 28.

The problems surrounding so-called 'otiose strokes' in manuscripts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries are well-known to editors of late medieval texts. Malcolm Parkes defines the term *otiose stroke* quite straightforwardly as 'a superfluous stroke, one which does not form part of a letter, and which does not indicate an abbreviation'.[560] To distinguish between otiose strokes and marks of abbreviation, however, can be an extremely difficult and contentious task, particularly in late medieval manuscripts, where the boundary between marks with and without linguistic signification is frequently a blurry one.[561] This is partly due to the fact that in Middle English most inflexional endings undergo a process of levelling until they disappear by the end of the Middle English period. Many fourteenth-century texts, for instance, still maintain a certain distinction between the strong and weak declension of the adjective. Monosyllabic adjectives which end in a consonant do not take a final *–e* in the strong declension in the singular, while they do take an *–e* in the plural and in the weak declension. This distinction is given up by the end of the Middle English period, and the adjective becomes indeclinable.[562] Since this decay of inflectional endings was a gradual process, and since scribal habits in general tend to be conservative, it is unclear how far individual manuscripts mirror these linguistic developments, and therefore, whether a stroke is otiose or not. Further complications are the internal inconsistencies of scribal habits which are often apparent even on a single manuscript page. Most of the existing palaeographical publications on this matter do not exceed the scope of case studies based upon individual texts, manuscripts, or scribes, so that a more complete overview of these developments remains a *desideratum*.[563]

[560] Parkes (1969: xxvi).

[561] For this reason, Anya Adair has suggested the term 'ambiguous strokes', which is an appropriate description of the situation we find in many manuscripts, and avoids a simple binary between marks of abbreviation and 'otiose' strokes. For further details, see Adair (forthcoming 2019: 3).

[562] See Lass (1992: 115–116).

[563] Even broader overviews of the history of handwriting show the same uncertainties as to this matter: e.g. C. E. Wright's doubting comments in his study (1960: 21).

To determine whether a particular macron constitutes a mark of abbreviation or an otiose stroke is thus a task left to the individual editor, who has to judge each case based on palaeographical aspects such as the ductus of a stroke as well as more general patterns in the habits of a scribe. Accordingly, the editorial decisions which we find in editions of Middle English texts are varied, and range from diplomatic approaches which simply reproduce the flourishes as they appear on the page[564] to approaches which are more interventionist to a varying degree[565] (sometimes without clearly explaining the rationale behind their choices).

In *T*, comparing an individual spelling to the scribe's habits in the rest of the manuscript can often give an indication as to how the strokes should be interpreted. There is no discernible difference in ductus between the strokes in this manuscript: they are marked by a consistent thickness and prominence. To come back to the case of <Aūgel> or <Aⁿgel> mentioned above, it is striking that only two lines below the first occurrence we find the same word in the manuscript, this time spelt <Aungel> (cf. Fig. 46).

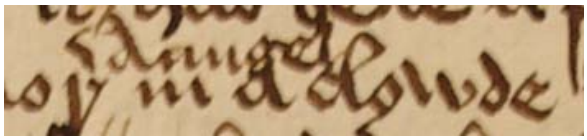


Figure 46: f. 100^{v}, l. 13[566]

As the word occurs here as an interlinear addition, it is likely that the scribe chose not to use an abbreviation for reasons of space or clarity. Another explanation might be that the scribe, pausing to interline, reduced his speed of writing, and therefore did not

[564] See, for instance, Bühler's edition of *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (ed. 1941). The downside of such a method is, of course, that it skirts the problem of otiose strokes entirely.

[565] See, for instance, Bühler's edition of *The Epistle of Othea* (ed. 1970), which expands some flourishes, but ignores others.

[566] The second letter in the word <Aungel> is indeed an <u>, even though the photograph might suggest an <a> due to a small spot on the paper.

abbreviate the word here. The manuscript contains further instances of <Aungel> or <Aungell*e*> spellings, as on f. 139^{r} (ll. 20 and 23). These spellings indicate that an interpretation of <Aūgel> as <Au*n*gel> is likely to be the correct one.

Similar strokes can appear in word-final position, and are typically found in words ending in *–ion* or *–ioun*. The suffix of the word in Fig. 47, for example, could be interpreted either as <ioū> with an abbreviated word-final –n, or as <ioñ> with an otiose stroke.

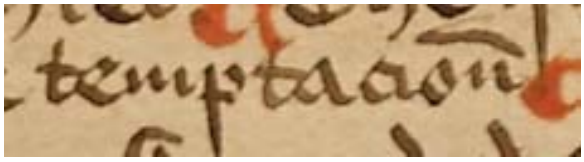


Figure 47: f. 213^{r}, l. 21

Solving this problem is more difficult than in the previous example. Some spellings with <ioun> do appear in the manuscript, such as <diuisioun> (cf. Fig. 48), but they are very infrequent.

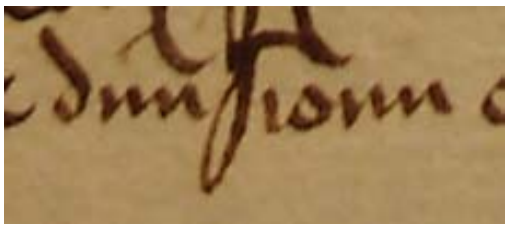


Figure 48: f. 194^{r}, l. 43

By contrast, the number of <ion> spellings without a stroke of any kind is far greater (cf. <habitacions>, f. 121^{r}, l.11; <auysion> f. 200^{r}, l. 12; <temptacion>, f. 2^{r}, l. 31). This could be seen as evidence that the flourish in <ioū> or <ioñ> is not meant to indicate an abbreviation and is not to be expanded. On the other hand, there are also numerous examples where a macron definitely does indicate a word-final *–n*, as in <me*n*> (f. 135^{v}, l. 29). The evidence, then, is ambiguous, and the scribe's behaviour is inconsistent. To

introduce some regularity into my edition of the text, and following the pattern found in cases like <Au*n*gel>, I have decided to interpret all cases in this category as abbreviations and have expanded them.

No clear pattern could be found with flourishes through word-final <ll>. Typical words which exhibit this feature are <a~~ll~~>, <sha~~ll~~>, and occasional proper nouns such as <Israe~~ll~~>, <Salathie~~ll~~>. The evidence is contradictory: while <alle> without a flourish appears over 100 times as opposed to 13 instances of <all> without a flourish, suggesting that the stroke ought to be expanded, the numbers for *shall* give the opposite impression (<shall>: 8 instances; <shalle>: no instances). With most of the proper names, versions with strokes coexist alongside versions without a stroke and without a final *–e*.[567] In my edition, therefore, I have interpreted all such flourishes as otiose, except in the case of <all*e*>, where the manuscript evidence seems to suggest otherwise.

A similarly contentious case are the strokes which appear through the ascender of <h>, typically in word-final consonants and consonant clusters like <sy~~h~~>, <slou~~gh~~>, <ny~~ht~~>, <my~~ht~~>, <thou~~gh~~> (cf. Fig. 49), <kny~~ht~~>, <ny~~h~~>, <whic~~h~~>, <throu~~h~~> (cf. Fig. 50), etc. These strokes are prolific, and at first glance do not appear to follow any obvious pattern. Most editors of late Middle English texts have described otiose strokes on a palaeographical-orthographical level and found the usual inconsistencies in different scribes' treatment of these strokes, but few scholars have included phonological aspects in their analysis as well. If we try to categorise the instances of strokes in *T* phonologically, the stroke through the ascender of <h> appears where it represents, either on its own or as part of a digraph, one of the following phonemes: /tʃ/ as in <whic~~h~~> (f. 9^{v}, l. 23), /ʃ/ as in <fless~~h~~> (f. 34^{v}, l. 35), /θ/ as in <entret~~h~~> (f. 27^{v}, l. 16), or etymological /x/ as in <thou~~gh~~> (f.17^{v}, l. 14). Nearly all instances of flourishes on <h>, apart from very few exceptions, fall into one of these categories. Since the

[567] An analogous variation occurs with <Au*n*gel> (f. 26^{v}, l. 16) and <Aunge~~ll~~> (f. 139^{r}, l.17).

scribe's practice seems to differ according to the sound which is expressed by the grapheme <h>, these categories will be treated separately,

In cases where <h> represent the affricate /tʃ/, there is evidence to suggest that the strokes are marks of abbreviation which are to be expanded as *–e*. For instance, the word *which* appears about 20 times in the text with a flourish. While the spelling <whiche> without a flourish occurs more than 500 times, <which> without a flourish only occurs twice, and those two instances are deletions, in which the scribe arguably did not add the stroke because adding the word had been a mistake in the first place. It is quite clear, then, that the flourish in <whic~~h~~> should be expanded to <which*e*>. A comparable pattern emerges for words with a similar phonological form like *swyche*. In all these cases, abbreviations have been expanded in my edition.

Strokes in the second category, where <h> indicates the fricative /ʃ/, seem to follow the same rule, even though the number of items for comparison is smaller here. A relatively frequent word is <flessh>, which appears with a flourish 8 times in the manuscript. <Flesshe> without a flourish appears 35 times, while the number of instances for <flessh> without a flourish is as small as 2. As in the previous category, the evidence suggests that the strokes are likely to be marks of abbreviation here, and they have been treated accordingly in the edition.

By contrast, there are only very few examples of a stroke on <h> where it represents the phoneme /θ/, typically in the third person singular ending of the present tense, as in <entret~~h~~> (f. 27^{v}, l. 16). The great majority of similar inflectional endings has no flourish and ends on *–eth*, without a word-final *–e*. Forms like <Sabaot~~h~~> (f. 19^{r}, l. 34), which are unlikely to contain marks of abbreviation,[568] strengthen the impression

[568] The *MED* does not record the form **Sabaothe* at all. It is true that the *MED* corpus is largely composed of edited texts and does therefore not necessarily represent the full manuscript evidence of Middle English texts, so that it is possible that the variant **Sabaothe* does exist in some manuscripts. It would, however, certainly be an unusual and obscure spelling.

that the strokes in this category are to be interpreted as otiose strokes and should not be expanded in an edition.

The situation is less clear with words in the fourth category, like *though* or *through*. Very few unmarked examples of these words are contained in the text which would help to corroborate an interpretation either as abbreviations or otiose strokes.



Figure 49: f. 17^{v}, l. 14

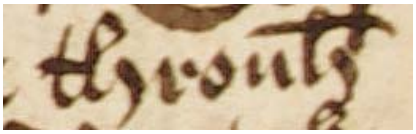


Figure 50: f. 17^{v}, l. 25

There are numerous instances of *though* in the text, spelt <though> or <thouh>, but it only appears three times without a flourish, but with a final *–e* (f. 50^{r}, l. 8; f. 63^{r}, l. 36; f. 64^{r}, l. 35). The occurrences without either a flourish or a final *–e* are rarer, but there are a few (f. 61^{r}, l. 24). The same can be said for *through*, which only appears twice as <throuh> without a flourish (f. 2^{v}, ll. 4 and 11), and never with a final *–e*. This scarcity of unmarked examples for these words means is that it is extremely difficult to determine whether the words carrying strokes should be expanded or not. Similarly, if we look at the occurrences of *knight*, we can find spellings of <knyhte> in the text (f. 43^{v}, l. 21), but also cases where it is obvious that the stroke must be otiose because expansion is not possible (cf. Fig. 51).

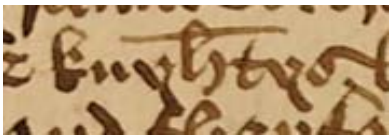


Figure 51: f. 125^{v}, l. 15

A comparable picture emerges for words like <nyh>, <syh>, <slouh>, etc.: For most of these words there are some unmarked examples with a word-final *–e*, and some without. The overall impression is that the scribe's practice is irregular, and that no discernible pattern emerges from the manuscript text. Linguistically, this can be seen as evidence of the fact that word-final *–e* was very unstable and was presumably no longer pronounced by the end of the fifteenth century.

The otiose strokes through <h> in this category, however, seem to follow a pattern of a different nature. The stroke here marks a grapheme which etymologically represents, either on its own or in combination with <g>, the phoneme /x/ (realised as either [x] or [ç], depending on the sound environment), as in <sy~~h~~>, <slou~~gh~~>, <ny~~ht~~>, <my~~ht~~>, <thou~~gh~~>, <kny~~ht~~>, <ny~~h~~>, <throu~~h~~>, <wrou~~ght~~>, <hi~~gh~~>, <tau~~ght~~>, <low~~h~~>, <brou~~ht~~>, <enowg~~h~~>. This consonant, which was still pronounced in Chaucer's time, is vocalised and disappears towards the end of the Middle English period. There are different hypotheses as to how exactly this process took place,[569] but philologists generally agree that it must have reached its end point in the fifteenth century. In all likelihood /x/ was no longer pronounced around the time when *T* was written, as evidenced by spellings without <h>, such as <knytys> (l. 7378), and inverse spellings, such as <douhters> (l. 4353) for *doctors* and <doctor> (l. 5761) for *doughter*. It might, therefore, be possible to suggest a different interpretation of the flourishes from the usual explanations. Could the flourish over <h> indicate that the sound represented by this grapheme was not pronounced – in other words, that the letter itself was 'otiose'?

[569] For two differing points of view, see Sauer (1998) vs. Obst and Schleburg (2010).

The manuscript evidence seems to point in this direction. There are also occasional forms like <wyndow~~h~~> (f. 153^{r}, l. 5), where <h> does not stand for a phoneme, which reinforce this interpretation. Interestingly, in his analysis of this scribe's habits of correction Daniel Wakelin comes to the conclusion that the varying spellings which represent /x/ in the manuscript suggest the scribe's uncertainty over this sound and how to represent it on a graphemic level.[570] This is exemplified by cases like a correction on f. 51^{v}, where the spelling <nyhght> is deleted and then corrected to <nyg~~h~~t> with a stroke, as if he was struggling to find a spelling which would be appropriate for the sound /x/, or more precisely, the lack thereof. A similar uncertainty may be behind spellings where *yogh* is used to denote the former palatal fricative, such as in <syȝ> (f. 8^{r}, l. 27). As the manuscript evidence would suggest, the scribe's most frequent solution to the problem appears to have been to add flourishes over 'otiose letters'. It is a tempting conclusion, and one which would make sense of the scribe's spelling practice in a rather convincing way. In my edition, I have therefore decided to treat the flourishes in this category as otiose; and even if the 'otiose letters' theory were to turn out to be incorrect, other rationales (such as the general loss of final *–e* in this period) would suggest the same policy.

A specific case which is difficult to categorise is the occurrence of proper names in connection with possibly otiose strokes through <h>. Names such as <Io~~h~~n> and <Iosep~~h~~> regularly appear with strokes. Spellings of both of these names with a word-final *–e* are attested throughout the Middle English period,[571] but are much rarer than spellings without *–e*. *T* contains an instance of <Iosep~~h~~e> (f. 188^{r}, l. 16), which suggests that the stroke is otiose in this case, and possibly throughout the text, and is to be categorised with examples like <wyndow~~h~~> (see above). However, it is difficult to

[570] Wakelin (2014: 177).

[571] Cf. quotations for 'Iohne' and 'Iosephe' in the *MED* corpus, whose number is much smaller than 'Iohn' and 'Ioseph'.

extrapolate from a single instance, and there are no comparable spellings with both a stroke and a word-final *–e* for <Io~~h~~n>. In spite of these caveats, it seems likely that the strokes in these cases are otiose, and consequently they have not been expanded in the edition.[572]

All of the patterns outlined above are tendencies rather than absolutes. In most categories, it would be possible to find at least one example in the manuscript to suggest the contrary. After all, scribes are not automata. Compilations like *T* are by definition influenced by a number of different exemplars and, inevitably, the scribal habits therein, and a scribe will almost inevitably copy a number of forms from his sources which do not conform to the overall pattern. This, however, does not invalidate said pattern. The fact that a scribe can, in moments of inattentiveness and fatigue, take over certain flourishes from his exemplar or add strokes to certain letters contrary to his usual practice does not mean that his practice is completely arbitrary. The conclusions above are drawn from a comprehensive survey of letter forms in the entirety of the manuscript where the number of instances is convincing enough to indicate a general trend.

The scribe's practice as observed in *L* is slightly less consistent than in *T*. In general, strokes are thicker and more pronounced than in *T*. *L* uses the same range of abbreviations as *T*, although some of them are used less frequently. For instance, *that* is usually abbreviated in *T*, while it is frequently spelt <that> in *L*, with only a few instances of the abbreviated form. There are frequent instances of strokes which serve as actual marks of abbreviation, as in <hy*m*> (f. 35^{r}, l. 5) or <me*n*> (f. 34^{v}, l. 7). Other frequent additions are strokes over words ending in *–ion* or *–ioun*, and equivalent sounds in the middle of words, especially in words derived from French (<cou*n*tre>, f.

[572] This practice of adding 'otiose' strokes to proper nouns may be a habit inherited from copying Latin and mixed-language documents, in which proper nouns are regularly abbreviated (e.g. <Io~~h~~is> for *Iohannis*), so that spellings like <Io~~h~~n> became standard practice even in English texts, where they did not denote inflectional endings.

34^{v}, l. 22). Less consistent is the use of flourishes over words containing the phoneme /x/. There are a number of instances of otiose strokes, as in <brou~~h~~te> (f. 25^{r}, l. 8), and especially frequent with <throu~~h~~> (f. 16^{r}, l. 34), but words such as <nyht> (f. 2^{r}, l. 2) appear without a stroke much more often than in *T*. The strokes also tend to be placed above the grapheme **<**h**>** rather than running through its ascender as in *T*. If we keep in mind that *L* was written before *T*, this evidence can be interpreted as the sign of a scribe who has either not yet developed a consistent strategy of representing the disappearing phoneme /x/ on a graphemic level, or of a scribe who is only in the process of developing such a strategy.

A problem with trying to establish such a chronology of spelling strategies is the fact that *H* cannot be dated with certainty as earlier or later than *T*. Some of the watermarks in *H* are later in date than in *T*, but of course watermarks only provide a *terminus post quem*. *H* displays the same repertoire of strokes as *T*, but the scribe's practice is not nearly as consistent. Generally, there is a great number of flourishes on the first few pages of each text in *H*, after which they get less numerous. This is especially noticeable at the beginning of the *Complaint between God and Man* (from f. 1^{r}), and at the start of *The Monk's Tale* (from f. 100^{r}). For instance, at the beginning of the latter text we find forms such as <thoug~~h~~> (f. 100^{r}, 9), <heig~~h~~> (f, 100^{r}, l. 12), and <throug~~h~~> (f. 100^{r}, l. 32), all with a flourish, but only a few pages later, forms such as <though> appear without a stroke (f. 108^{r}, l. 11). It seems likely that some of the exemplars the scribe was working from contained a great number of otiose strokes, which the scribe first copied and then, after his initial working-in phase, started to reproduce them less faithfully. Throughout the texts, words containing the former phoneme /x/ appear appear with and without flourishes, sometimes within the same stanza (cf. <wight> with and without a stroke on f. 104^{r}, ll. 13 and 15), without any observable pattern. The only strokes which appear to be relatively consistent are those

over the endings of French-derived words, as in <passyo*u*n> (f. 55^{r}, l. 23) or <gouernau*n*ce> (f. 120^{r}, l. 32), and where they clearly are actual abbreviations (<hy*m*>, f. 32^{r}, l. 8). Given the lack of a consistent spelling strategy of the kind we find in *T*, could *H* be, similarly to *L*, a manuscript written a little earlier, when the scribe had not yet fully developed this spelling pattern? It is a distinct possibility, but such an argument is, of course, in danger of becoming circular, as there is no evidence outside of spelling to suggest such a chronology. We should also bear in mind that not all parts of *H* were necessarily written around the same time, as discussed above (p. 19). It is also interesting that the practice regarding strokes seems to vary between different texts in *H*. The use of flourishes in Lydgate's *The Churl and the Bird* (f. 135^{v}–141^{r}) seems, on the whole, to be much closer to what we find in *T*, even though it is not quite as consistent. Whether this variation between different texts in *H* is due to the influence of exemplars, or whether it was due to a conscious decision by the scribe, possibly indicating that the various texts in *H* were copied at different points in time, is nearly impossible to tell.

All that can be said with certainty, therefore, is that *T* employs distinctive spelling strategies, which seem to include a habit of marking letters as 'otiose' where they no longer represent the phoneme /x/, and that such strategies are absent, or at least less consistent in *L,* which was written before *T*, as well as in *H*, the dating of which is unclear. Regardless of the chronological order, this evidence foregrounds *T* as a manuscript unlike the others, as a place where the scribe gave special attention to the relationship between graphemes and phonemes in late Middle English and where he developed spelling patterns which testify to a great awareness of linguistic processes and changes happening at that time.

Chapter VIII Commentary

The main aim of the commentary is to identify and analyse the compiler's use of source texts. The text is, on the whole, relatively easy to follow for the scholar of Middle English, but explanations are given for words which allow conclusions as to the compiler's use of sources.

All excerpts from the compiler's source texts in *T* contain minor alterations, deletions, and additions. It would exceed the scope of this commentary to note every single minor change, but the nature of the compiler's changes to his source texts is analysed in greater detail in Chapters II-IV above. If more substantive changes occur, such as omissions or additions of whole sentences or entire passages, this has been noted in the commentary. The commentary uses the following phrasing to categorise such changes:

- 'with omissions': omission of a passage of approximately 1–15 lines
- 'with major omissions': omission of a passage of approximately 15 lines or more
- 'based on': The version in *T* does not copy the source verbatim
- 'loosely based on': The key content of the source text is preserved, but the version in *T* contains major changes, omissions, or additions

Where none of these phrases occur, the source has been copied with no or very minor changes. However, these categories are loose and at the editor's discretion, as grey areas are unavoidable in any editorial work, especially with texts of great length and complexity. The commentary does not chase the sources of the sources of *T*, e.g. authorities cited by Higden etc. For a list of abbreviations, and the editions cited in the commentary, see 'Abbreviations, Sigla, and Conventions', pp. vii–viii.

1–54 Almyghty God… invye there at: Based on Gen 1:1–31; 2:15–18; 2:21–25; 3:1.

55–68 Why commaundyd God… with her membrys: *Parson's Tale* 326–329.

68–82 In þe etyng… shulde had mercy: Similar material appears in a variant copy of Nicholas Love's translation of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 2. 18, at f. 2^{v}, ll. 17–27 (Harris (1998: 174–175)).

83–118 Lo here may… worthy to dye: *Parson's Tale* 330–342, 355–57, 266, 271, 268.

119–161 Than aftyr this… bothe ȝede ynne: Based on Gen 3:8–23.

160 Parismate: An unusual spelling of *perizomate*, a word of Greek origin, which appears in Latin versions of the Holy Cross legend in the sense 'a girdle worn round the loins' (see also *MED* perizōmata *n. plural*). As discussed in greater detail by Carolyn Jones (1976: 90), the Greek word is preferred in the Holy Cross legend to the Latin translation in the Vulgate (*tunicas pelliceas*, Gen 3:21).

161–162 And Metodre seythe… into þe worlde: Loosely based on *CA* VIII, 48–53.

163–171 We rede in Genesis…ete not therof: Based on Gen 3:22, 3:24.

172–221 Though þat man… dwelle with hym: *Poly* II, 3 (lxxv^{r}–lxxvj^{r}).

222–232 Adam was made… offence and wrathe: *Poly* II, 4 (lxxv^{r}).

233–238 Than aftyr this… cyte of Philisteis: *MTDV* ch. 6 (p. 23, ll. 25–29).

238–240 And yt was not longe… first dyd amys: The preceding passage from *MTDV* is followed in Seymour's edition by 'And þere it was so free þat men toke alle þe flears of alle oþere places þat hade done ille' (p. 23, ll. 30–31). It is likely the basis of the sentence in *T*, since certain key words and thoughts appear in both (*MTDV*: 'oþere places þat hade done ille' – *T*: 'alle placis þat had doon euyl'). However, the wording

and meaning of this passage in *T* is very different, probably due to a series of copying errors and subsequent reinterpretations by one or more scribes in the course of transmission.

240–249 And in this vale… anon he synnyd: *MTDV* ch. 6 (p. 24, ll. 19–26).

249–254 And þerfor they sey… lastith to Ierusalem: No direct source found, but this section reinforces ideas mentioned in the preceding sections.

255–288 Than Adam in þe xv^{ne}… begynnyng of þe worlde: Based Gen 4:1–17.

289–290 Damascus is as… in þe sonde: *Poly* I, 13 (xvj^{v}).

290–293 And þere is… and oþer bestis: *MTDV* ch. 9 (p. 50, ll. 11–14).

293–294 Policronicon seith Eleaser… þat cytte Damascus: *Poly* I, 13 (xvj^{v}).

294–297 And some seythe… Cayn slewe Abel: *MTDV* ch. 9 (p. 50, ll. 14–17).

297–300 which was þe first martyr… with good wylle: No direct source found; possibly the compiler's own addition. The account of Abel's righteousness is based on Gen 4; the idea that he was the first martyr is a commonplace (see, for instance, St Cyprian's *Exhortation to Martyrdom* (*PL,* IV, col. 667A)).

301–320 And than oure Lorde… nor hurte hym: Based on Gen 4:9–15.

320–330 And than Cayn… stopyng to þe erthe: No direct source found.

331–370 Cayn, Adams fyrst… in Noes flode: *Poly* II, 5 (lxxvj^{v}–lxxvij^{r}).

358 For Pyctogoras fonde them: *T* summarises a longer explanation in *Poly* which gives details of Tubal's and Pythagoras' inventions. The shortened version in *T* is similar to the section on Tubalcain in the *Genealogia* (*Ba*, membrane 1).

371–379 And aftyr þat… for al mankynde: No direct source found; ll. 371–372 might

be indebted to *MTDV* ch. 6 (p. 23, 26–28).

379–388 This lande þat… and of hony: *Poly* I, 14 (xvij^{r}). This passage is copied selectively from various sections in this chapter of *Poly*, omitting large sections in between.

388–391 And ouer þat lande… to þe last endyng: No direct source found. The idea of Mars being imbalanced, hot, and dry is a commonplace; see the Middle English version of Richard of Wallingford's *Exafrenon Prognosticorum Temporis* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 67 (ed. North (1976: I, 215)).

391–502 And þere Adam… Lorde Crist Ihesus: This is the first occurrence of Holy Cross legend material in *T*. It is not easy to determine where the actual legend begins in the manuscript. The Latin *PPA* incorporates a short account of the killing of Abel as well, but the version of this event in *T* is more elaborate, and appears to be mainly indebted to the Vulgate. The passage on f. 7^{v} in *T* contains the first line to correspond roughly to the Latin text of *PPA*.

The Holy Cross legend in *T* is, strictly speaking, incomplete. On the preceding folios, no mention is made of God's promise of the oil of mercy to Adam, even though this is a typical feature of the legend in the Latin, which begins with

> Post peccatum Ade, expulso eo de paradiso propter peccatum, dum clamaret in misericordia domini indutus periȝomate, ex benignitate suscepit promissum quod in fine seculorum daret ei deus oleum misericordie.

The oil of mercy is eventually mentioned in *T*, but at a later point in the narrative than in *PPA*. In effect, this narrative element is not mentioned where it occurs chronologically, after the expulsion from Paradise; God's promise is only mentioned in retrospect when Seth is sent to Paradise to attain it (cf. ll. 407–408). This omission could simply be an act of negligence on the part of the compiler. Alternatively, it may indicate that the

compiler assumed that the content of the Holy Cross legend would be so widely known that God's promise to Adam did not need to be mentioned separately.

395–396 Anno mundi CC xxx natus est Seth: The Latin cues are a unique feature of the legend in *T*. They do not correspond to any known version of *PPA* (see also pp. 125–127 above).

407–408 þat he wolde... myhte haue hele: *MTDV*, ch. 2 (p. 8, ll. 22–24). Several variants found in the version of *Mandeville's Travels* used in *T* suggest that the exemplar belonged to Seymour's subgroups 2–5 of the Defective Version (pp. xvii–xxv). For details, see pp. 148–149 above.

410 my steppys: There is no mention of Eve here, while in the Latin *PPA* Adam speaks of 'vestigia mei quam matris tue'. Within vernacular traditions of the Holy Cross legend, this omission is highly unusual.

422 he wolde be deede: The Latin does not contain any reference to Adam's wish to die, merely his wish to attain the oil of mercy.

423 Abyde thou here at this gate: The spatial positioning of the characters is slightly different in *PPA*: there, Seth is stopped by the angel before reaching the gate of Paradise, and is then instructed to go to it ('Vade ad hostium paradisi'). After each of the three visions, Seth then comes back to tell the angel what he has seen. The version in *T* is less precise in its description of movement.

428–430 And out of þat… had no savour: Residual rhyme with no corresponding passage in *Ad,* but there is a lacuna in *Ad* (ff. $41^{r–v}$). It is therefore likely that other manuscripts of the same textual tradition as Thornton's source did contain a passage corresponding to this rhyming section in *T*.

429–430 oo braunche þeron was drye: In *PPA*, the entire tree is described as bare of

leaves.

432–434 Than sawe he… ganne to fle: Residual rhyme, similar to *Ad*:

> than saw Sethe an vggly syghte
> aneddir rampande a lothely wyghte
> he fauldide hy*m* abowte that tree
> ffor dred to þe erthe southe gan*e* fle (*Ad*, f. 42[ra], ll. 11–14; Foster I, 151, ll. 101–104)

435 Goo ageyn and beholde wel: *T* here turns a descriptive phrase in *PPA* into direct speech, which heightens the immediacy of the situation.

436–438 and he behelde… vp toward hevyn: Residual rhyme, corresponding to *Ad*:

> he sawe abown*e* þat Ilke a tre
> a childe late borne on to See
> with credill*e* bandis was it bowndyn*e*
> and in riche clothes wonden*e*
> and abown*ne* the croppe full*e* euyn*e*
> Of that tre tornede heuen*e* (*Ad*, f. 42[ra], ll. 21–26; Foster I, 151, ll. 111–116)

439 throwh þe erthe to helle yt ȝede: The version in *T* omits any mention of Seth's vision of his brother Abel's soul in hell, which is a typical feature of *PPA*. The Cornish *Ordinalia* also omit any mention of Abel (Murdoch (1997: 26)). Some French versions which omit this detail are mentioned by Prangsma-Hajenius (1995: 100–101).

439–440 throwh þe erthe… he had seyn: Residual rhyme; no corresponding passage found in *Ad*. This coincides with a gap in the text of *Ad* on fols. 41[r–v].

440–443 and prayde hym … tre so hye: Residual rhyme, corresponding to *Ad:*

> and prayede hy*m* þat he wolde saye
> when*e* his ffadir sold dye
> and what þat ilke childe myghte Senfye
> that he saughe hynge so hye (*Ad*, f. 42[ra], ll. 35–38; Foster I, 151, ll. 125–128))

445–447 for he shal byen… behytyth so largely: Residual rhyme, corresponding to *Ad*:

> ffor he sall*e* by alle the synn*e*
> that alle his kynde es born*e* In*e*

and at þat tyme *þa*t that salle bee
Sall*e* grace and mercy be plente
and þat es þe oyle of Mercy
that god highte hym so largely (*Ad*, f. 42^{rb}, ll. 6–11; Foster I, 152, ll. 135–140)

454–456 And of these thre kernelys… here owne foly: Copied, with some alterations, from *MTDV* (p. 8, l. 30 – p. 9, l. 5). In *PPA*, the angel explains that the three trees will signify the Trinity, but he does not prophesy that those who come of Adam will be saved through the fruit of the tree. The inclusion of this prophecy here gives more context to the angel's gift to Seth of the three seeds, and strengthens the narrative link between the early and the late history of the tree.

457–464 And whan Seth… dethe was come: There is textual borrowing from the version in *Ad* here, but without any interest in retaining the rhyme in this case.

he ȝode home to ffadir and dame
and tolde adam whare he had bene
and of þe syghtis þat he hade sene
and how þe angelle bade hy*m* saye
that he solde dye the thirde daye
when adam herde þat tythynge
ffor Ioye he loughe a grete laghynge
and cryede lowde als he loughe
lorde my lyffe es lange ynoghe
I pray the ȝif thi will*e* it bee
Myn lange lyfe reue þ*o*u it me
Nev*ir* ȝitt ne loughe adame
Bot for Ioye þ*a*t his ~~dame~~ dede came (*Ad*, f. 42^{rb}, ll. 25–37; Foster I, 152–153, ll. 154–166)

466–470 on þe viij day… redemyd: There is no analogue for the equation of the day of Adam's burial, the Annunciation, and the Crucifixion in the Latin versions of *PPA*. However, the tradition that the creation of man, the Fall, the Annunciation, and the Crucifixion took place on the same day is wide-spread throughout patristic literature. See *Glossa ordinaria* (*PL*, CXIV, col. 239); Honorius Augustodunensis, *Hexaemeron* VI (*PL*, CLXXII, col. 266), see also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* I, 56; VII, 45 (Beauvais rpt. 1964); and Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 'De

annunciatione dominica', I:117, and 'De passione domini', LI:136–137 (see Maggioni (ed. 1998)). The idea behind this is typological, reinforcing the tree of death – tree of life parallel of the legend.

471–481 And in this place… callyth yt Arbothum: *MTDV*, ch. 6 (p. 24, ll. 2–13).

481–485 And also in this vale … grace of God: *MTDV*, ch. 6 (p. 24, ll. 30–34).

490–495 And ye shul vndirstonde… was of cedre: *MTDV*, ch. 2 (p. 7, l. 20–26).

491–492 In cruce sit palma, cedrus, cipressus, oliua: In the version of the legend contained in *MTDV*, Seth is given four grains instead of three. Consequently, this passage describes how the cross of Christ was made out of four kinds of trees. The compiler of *T* copies that description, but otherwise adopts the more conventional version in which there are three trees (cf. ll. 488–489), which leads to slight incongruities. Even the more conventional version is not completely uniform – some versions describe the third tree as a pine (Meyer (1881: 37–38)), while others have a palm tree as is the case in *T.* This mixture of traditions indicates that the Holy Cross legend in *T* is indebted to several textual traditions, and that the compiler must have copied from these versions eclectically.

495–500 on þe mount … in þat same place: *MTDV*, ch. 7 (p. 29, ll. 10–17).

500–502 And þe table … was of olyve: *MTDV*, ch. 2 (p. 7, ll. 26–28).

503–504 ye shul vndirstond hereaftyr in þe story of þe Passioun: This reference indicates that an account of the Passion was part of the original plan of the historical narrative in *T* (see above, pp. 170 and 216–217). Whether it was indeed included remains impossible to determine, since the manuscript is incomplete.

505–523 Now we may… hym golden grauel: *Poly* I, 10 (xij^{v}–xiij^{r}). *T* does not copy

the third question listed in *Poly* here ('what countrey and place is paradyse in erthe'), but refers to it further below (ll. 552f.). Three lines concerning the rivers of Paradise on p. xiij^{r} are also omitted.

524–526 And in this watyr… golde þat is: No direct source found.

526–572 Also this streme… shulde come thereynne: *Poly* I, 10 (xiij^{r}–xiiij^{r}). A section of 20 lines on p. xiij^{v}, describing what 'shorte wytted men' believe about Paradise, and why it cannot be true, is left out.

572–581 This erthe here… synne of disobediens: No direct source found. The idea of nature becoming adverse to man after the Fall is wide-spread; see, for instance, 'The Expulsion' in the *York Plays* (Beadle (ed. 2009: ll. 87–122)).

582–610 Treuisa seith þat…score and ten: *Poly* II, 4 (lxxvj^{r}–lxxvj^{v}).

611–635 No man shal… is in Siria: *Poly* II, 5 (lxxvij^{v}).

637–665 For we rede in þe booke of Genesis… withynne and withoute: Based on Gen 6:1–14.

666–671 And this ship… a cubyte longe: *Poly* II, 5 (lxxvij^{v}).

671–678 And thus oure… sent þe rayne: Based on Gen 6:18–22.

679–702 Hugo de Ar… is of Maij: *Poly* II, 5 (starting with a section from lxxviij^{r}, but then jumping back to lxxvij^{v}, before returning to lxxviij^{r}). The section in ll. 682–686 appears a second time in ll. 8150–8152.

702–711 And þe vij day… on þat hille: Loosely based on Gen 7:10–8:13.

712–714 passyd xv^{ne} cubyttes… vp so hye: *Poly* II, 5 (lxxviij^{r}).

714–724 Than at þe last… than yt cecyd: Loosely based on Gen 8:21–9:17.

725–732 This yer endyd… oþer dele abyde: *Poly* II, 5 (lxxviij^{r}).

733–734 Than at last… that is Maij: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxviij^{v}).

735–757 And þere he made… apon þe erthe: Gen 8:20–21 and 9:8–17. *T* provides Latin quotations from the Vulgate and direct translations here. In ll. 751–757, the English continues beyond the Latin text which is provided.

758–771 Petrus 329…herbys and rotes: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxviij^{v}).

771–776 Also from þe tyme… be Goddis iugement: No direct source found; possibly the compiler's own addition.

777–794 Than aftyr þat Noe… he and alle his: Loosely based on Gen 9:19–27.

795–799 And Seint Austyn… for his synne: *Parson's Tale* 754–756, 766.

801–804 And some seith… wynter and somer: *MTDV*, ch. 14 (p. 66, ll. 24–27).

806–811 Than this floode … tyme of Abraham: Continuation of the Holy Cross legend. The explanation as to how the three rods could survive the Flood is not contained in *PPA*. Here as elsewhere, the compiler of *T* is at pains to create a consistent narrative with logical narrative connections.

811–813 And aftyr this flode… and of mankeende: Loosely based on *CA* V, 1605–1609.

819–860 Genesis. Than two… in straunge langage: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxviij^{v}–lxxix^{v}), omitting several passages which discuss the chronology in greater detail.

861–875 Cam the secounde sone… þe toþer Ianus: Loosely based on Gen 10.

876–897 Than Methodius seith… floode shulde come: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxix^{v}).

897–911 and therfor Nemproth… throuhoute þe worlde: No direct source found;

possibly the compiler's own addition.

911–914 For þere God… shedyng of tounges: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxix^{v}).

914–921 for þe langage of Hebrewe… shul rede hereaftyr: No direct source found. The idea of Hebrew being linked to Eber is conventional; see, for instance, the anonymous treatise *Incipiunt generationes Cham filii Noe* (*PL*, LIX, col. 527A).

921–928 This toure was… shadde and skateryd: *Poly* II, 6 (lxxix^{v}), with some sentences summarising rather than copying directly.

929–951 Iosephus libro primo… of wylde beestis: *Poly* I, 13 (xvj^{r}–xvj^{v}), jumping back to an earlier section within this chapter after 'foure myle brode'.

952–960 Than Nemproth, a… þat cytte more: Loosely based on *Poly* I, 6 (lxxix^{v}).

960–969 Ysidorus, libro 14… in Actibus apostolorum: *Poly* I, 13 (xv^{v}–xvj^{r}).

970–978 whan men were… subgettis and seruauntys: *Poly* II, 7 (lxxx^{r}).

978–983 as hereaftyr we… dyuydyd in many: No direct source found; possibly the compiler's own addition.

984–998 The departyng of… þe west occian: *Poly* I, 6 (x^{v}), with additions from *Poly* I, 7 and I, 11.

999–1004 Plenius, libro vj^{o}… shappe than Affryca: *Poly* I, 7 (xj^{r}).

1005–1014 Ysidorus, capitulo v^{o}… þere by Gades: *Poly* I, 6 (x^{v}), with additions from *Poly* I, 30.

1014–1029 Than this parte… bolder of herte: *Poly* I, 7 (xj^{r}).

1030–1036 And thus as… Osanna and Amen: No source found for section detailing the languages used in the liturgy of the Mass; possibly the compiler's own addition.

1037–1038 Moyses hebreas… callida nostras: The same Latin phrase appears (in inverted order) in John of Garland's *Compendium gramatice*, vv. 321–322 (Haye (ed. 1995: 78)).

1041–1053 Ysidorus, libro 14… Thanays in the northe: *Poly* II, 7 (lxxx^{r}–lxxx^{v}), jumping back and forth within the chapter. Additional information from *Poly* I, 6 (x^{v}).

1053–1059 Assiria, a countre… is callyd Cancasus: *Poly* I, 13 (xv^{v}). The marginal note about Nemproth, embedded in this section, is from *Poly* II, 6 (lxxix^{v}).

1059–1109 Ysidorus saith þat Asya… Ynde is endyd: *Poly* I, 11 (xiiij^{r}–xiiij^{v}). The order of different sections in the chapter has in places been rearranged. Some additional information from *Poly* I, 19 (xxiij^{r}) on Ethiopia has been added, and applied to India instead.

1110–1163 De parchia… but the bones: *Poly* I, 12 (xv^{r}–xv^{v}).

1164–1233 Ysidorus, libro 14… þat cytte Damacus: Sections from *Poly* I, 13 (xv^{v}–xvj^{v}), in rearranged order. No direct source found for the passage on the phoenix (1215–1218: For in þe… cometh another fenix).

1220 Ynde: *Poly* has 'Iude' here. It is difficult to say with certainty whether the word in *T* is *Ynde* or *Yude*, but the former is more likely. In this case, compiler must have misread the word in Caxton's print.

1235–1386 De regione Iudee… Pentapolis in Affrica: *Poly* I, 14 (xvij^{r}–xiij^{v}), with some additions on the dangers of wealth from an unidentified source in the section on Sodom and Gomorrha. The section in ll. 1352–1358 is copied a second time in ll. 4378–4382. The addition in 1370–1372 (And now is þere… cause of alle ther woo) is from Lydgate's minor poem *The Nightingale*, ll. 292–294 (Glauning (ed. 1900: 11)).

1388–1392 Canaan is a prouynce… Cham, Noes sonne: *Poly* I, 15 (xviij^{v}–xix^{v}).

1392–1403 For of Cham… was Noes sonne: *MTDV* ch. 18 (p. 95, ll. 1–17).

1404–1465 Also Palestina… and of Ismael: *Poly* I, 15 (xviij^{v}–xix^{v}).

1436 þe tribu: Probably a scribal error. *Poly* has the Latin phrase 'de tribu'.

1467–1495 Egipte is the vttermest… þe grete see: *Poly* I, 16 (xix^{v}–xx^{r}).

1496–1506 Beda de naturis… and strecceth westward: *Poly* I, 9 (xij^{r}).

1507–1517 In this londe… Katheryn was marteryd: *IPHL*, Peregrinaciones terre egypti (e j^{r}).

1518–1589 Here take hede… syde of the hille: *Poly* I, 17 (xx^{r}–xxj^{r}), with additions from *Poly* I, 13 (xxij^{r}).

1592–1613 Solinus seith by… a mannys syght: *Poly* I, 9 (xij^{r}–xij^{v}).

1614–1656 Also Hircania… two Panonyes also: *Poly* I, 17 (xxj^{r}–xxj^{v}).

1657–1775 Capadocia þat londe… her owen peple: *Poly* I, 18 (xxj^{v}–xxij^{v}), with additions to the account of the Amazons from *Poly* II, 21 (lxxxxvj^{v}–lxxxxvij^{r}), and the *Tale of Melibee*, 2671–2674 (1766–1770: It is a woodnes… as he myhte). The compiler combines different accounts about the Amazons in a coherent and cohesive manner. The account of the Amazons appears in a very similar form, including the material from the *Tale of Melibee*, in ll. 6374–6435.

1778–1826 De Affrica… beestis and fowles: *Poly* I, 19 (xxij^{v}–xxiij^{r}), with additions on the geographical position of Gades from *Poly* I, 30 (xxxix^{v}), and additional information on Africa from *Poly* II,7 (lxxx^{r}) and *Poly* I, 7 (xi^{r}).

1826–1895 Varro seith in… in face lyke another: Different sections from *Poly* II, 1 (lxxij^{r}–lxxiij^{v}), with additions in ll. 1848–1863 from *Poly* II, 2 (lxxiiij^{r}) and *Poly* II, 25 (cj^{r}).

1895–1904 In Affryca be… of Adams kynde: *Poly* II, 2 (lxxiiij^{r}).

1906–1929 Ysidorus, libro xiij^{o}… haue no fysshers: *Poly* I, 19 (xxiij^{r}–xxiij^{v}).

1930–1999 Than ister Numya… bereth vp heuen: *Poly* I, 20 (xxiij^{v}–xxiiij^{v}). The order of different sections within this chapter is rearranged. Additional information is taken from *Poly* I, 8 (xj^{r}–xj^{v}) and *Poly* I, 9 (xij^{r}).

1941 þerfor and place: Likely to be a scribal error. *Poly* I, 20 has 'therfor lond and place' (xxiij^{v}).

1973 jewys of þe grete see: A reference to the two promontories facing each other across the Strait of Gibraltar, also known as the Pillars of Hercules.

1995 flamy: Probably a misreading of Caxton's text, which has *fauni.*

2002–2011 The whiche parte… cowarde of herte: *Poly* I, 7 (xj^{r}). The same passage is copied above, ll. 1014–1029.

2008 lykyl: *Poly* I, 7 has 'lytil'. The compiler, probably mis-reading Caxton's print, changes this to 'lykyl' twice, here and in the other place where he copies the same passage (see above).

2012–2036 Europa is þe thyrde… and ouer mesure: *Poly* II, 7 (lxxx^{r}–lxxx^{v}), with additional information from I, 6 (x^{v}).

2017–2019 ouer iij^{C} countrees foure score and fourtene, vnder xxxj^{ti} langages: *Poly* II, 7, assigns these numbers to the reign of the heirs of Cham, not Japheth. This might be a copying error due to eye-skip.

2037–2049 Than Ysidorus… þe southe syde: *Poly* I, 21 (xxiiij^{v}).

2049–2081 Ysidorus, libro 14… hath dyuerse names: *Poly* I, 8 (xj^{r}–xj^{v}).

2067 Trache: *Thracius* in Higden's Latin version. The form stems from Trevisa's translation (Babington and Lumby (eds. 1865–1886: I, 56–57)).

2084–2115 Ysidorus, libro xiiij^{o}… salt ful good: *Poly* I, 21 (xxiiij^{v}–xxv^{r}).

2117–2139 Auctours tellen þat… Elladia and Boecia: *Poly* I, 22 (xxv^{r}–xxv^{v}).

2141–2183 Ysidorus, libro iiij^{o}… Rome heyghte Lombardia: *Poly* I, 23 (xxvij^{v}–

xxviij^{v}), with an addition from *Poly* I, 24 (xxix^{r}) in ll. 2146–2148.

2180–2181 Atte laste vnder þe yere of grace v^{C} and xlviij^{ti}: The punctuation in *Poly* I, 23 would suggest that this phrase belongs to the preceding sentence rather than the following one, as the year is followed by a paraph. However, the syntax suggests otherwise, and indeed the scribe of *T* follows the syntax and assigns this phrase to the following sentence by placing the paraph in front of it.

2184–2230 Auctours wryten… thou were sounde: *Poly* I, 24 (xxix^{r}–xxix^{v}).

2231–2256 There were many palayces… ij^{C} lx foote : *Poly* I, 25 (xxix^{v}–xxx^{r}).

2234 moost famus palays: *Poly* I, 25 has 'moost palays'. The scribe of *T* corrects this error and inserts an adjective, as required by the syntax.

2257–2368 De quibusdam Romanorum… prince more mylde: *Poly* I, 25 (xxxij^{v}–xxxiiij^{r}), with sections within this chapter rearranged.

2325 wherby they shulde: Likely a scribal omission. *Poly* I, 26 has 'they shold lyue' (xxxiij^{v}).

2370–2471 Ysidorus saith þat… to good byleue: *Poly* I, 26 (xxxiiij^{r}–xxxv^{v}).

2472–2511 Dacia, þat is Denmarke… Irlond and Brytayn: *Poly* I, 31 (xlj^{v}–xlij^{r}), with order of sections rearranged, and some explanations added.

2512–2692 De Gallia… fel of wytte: *Poly* I, 27 (xxxv^{v}–xxxviij^{v}), with some omissions.

2693–2719 Aquitania, þat is Guyan… emong hem alway: *Poly* I, 28 (xxxviij^{v}–xxxix^{r}).

2722–2747 This Brytayn is… Yarmouthe in Norfolke: *Poly*, I, 40 (lij^{v}).

2748–2763 First this londe… of anoþer worlde: *Poly* I, 39 (lij^{v}).

2763–2804 As Fraunce passeth… metal of this londe: *Poly* I, 41 (liij^{r}–liij^{v}).

2765 lengthe: *Poly* I, 41 (liij^{r}) has 'helthe' instead.

2794–2795 Also Englond is beauteuous of londe, floure, fruytis and greynes of his

owne: *Poly* I, 41 (liij^{v}) has ‘Also Englond is beauteuous of lond, floure of londes al aboute; that londe is ful payd with fruyte & good of his owne’ instead.

2805–2857 Alfrede sayth… day of dome: *Poly* I, 42 (liij^{v}–liiij^{v}), with order of sections rearranged. The section on the miraculous pond near St Albans and Dunstable in ll. 2836–2844 has been inserted into the chapter from the *Poly*chronicon, and no source has been found for this section, which is likely to be the compiler’s own addition.

2859–2901 They despysen her owne… dyuersitees of clothyng: *Poly* I, 60 (lxx^{r}–lxx^{v}).

2902–2909 Beda, libro 2… he aryued fyrst: *Poly* I, 44 (lvj^{r}).

2910–2963 Hyt is a comyn sawe… amonge abbayes: *Poly* I, 37 (xlvij^{v}–xlviij^{v}), with several sections omitted.

2959 þe relyques of Seint Andrew, that is hede of alle þe chirches: *Poly* I, 37 (xlviij^{v}) has ‘the relyques of Seynt Andrew. There is founded a chirche in worship of Seynt Andrew that is hede of alle the chirches’, a section which is likely to have been omitted due to eye-skip, as the second mention of Seint Andrew occurs directly underneath the first one on the page in the print.

2964–2975 Plenius, libro ij^{o}… out of Brytayn: A section from *Poly* I, 31 (xlj^{v}).

2976–3027 De Hybernia….to scape aweye: *Poly* I, 32 (xlij^{r}–xliij^{r}), with order rearranged and sections omitted.

3028–3073 Gyraldus sayeth… regned xxx yere: *Poly* I, 33 (xliij^{v}–xliiij^{r}).

3074–3106 Solinus, capitulo 34… stele her mylke: *Poly* I, 34 (xliiij^{v}–xlv^{v}), with some sections omitted.

3107–3185 Many men tellen…oþer vij yere: *Poly* I, 35 (xlv^{v}–xlvij^{r}), with some omissions and order of sections rearranged.

3186–3198 Giraldus seith… out of Irlond: Some sections from *Poly* I, 36 (xlvij^{r}–

xlvij^{v}).

3199–3219 De Hispania… countreys of Spayne: *Poly* I, 29 (xxxix^{r}– xxxix^{v}).

3221–3330 De insulis maris... out of oþer londes: *Poly* I, 30 (xxxix^{v}–xlj^{r}), with some omissions.

3331–3334 Lo thus is… began in þe worlde: No source found, summary is likely to be by the compiler. The division of world between the three sons of Noah is a wide-spread idea in the Middle Ages; for an account of its complex development, see Braude (1997).

3335–3346 Augustinus, De ciuitate dei… we shal wryte: *Poly* II, 7 (lxxx^{v}).

3347–3452 That kyngdom of Shytes… first kyng was Cicrops: *Poly* II, 8 (lxxx^{v}–lxxxij^{r}), with additions from *Poly* I, 22 (xxvj^{v}).

3365 dynastias: *Poly* II, 8 has 'diascenes' (lxxxj^{v}).

3453–3483 Augustinus, De ciuitate… londe highte Cycrops: *Poly* I, 22 (xxvij^{r}–xxvij^{v}), with some additions, presumably by the compiler.

3485–3500 Lacedemones… Artarentum: *Poly* I, 22 (xxvj^{r}).

3500–3509 These Grekys… prouynce of al Europa: Beginning of *Poly* I, 23 (xxvij^{v}–xxviij^{r}), with some explanatory additions, presumably by the compiler.

3510–3516 Ysidorus, libro 15… namly ycrowned: *Poly* I, 22 (xxv^{v}).

3517–3611 I fynde how…. and his fraunchyse: Based on *CA* II, 3188–3483.

3611–3617 And to þe foundacioun… chyrche of God: *Poly* IV, 26. The source of this section is not Caxton's print, but the compiler's own English translation of the Latin *Polychronicon* in *L* (which is markedly different from Caxton's translation on ccxij^{v}). The text here agrees with the one found in *L*, f. 21^{v}, in all but a few small details (cf. pp. 180–181).

3618–3622 Be this narracioun… vpon þe crosse: Based on *Parson's Tale,* 807, 810, and possibly 808 (Harris (1998: 176)).

3622–3700 Than this emperour… ben called Thebyte: *Poly* I, 22 (xxv^{v}–xxvij^{v}), with order of sentences rearranged, and different sections omitted.

3701–3739 Regum Romanum… alone at Constantinople: *Poly* I, 23 (lxxxij^{r}–lxxxij^{v}), with an added section on Philip from *Poly* 4, 21 (ccvj^{v}–ccvij^{v}).

3741–3775 Augustinus, De ciuitate dei… Ypocras tyme: *Poly* II, 9 (lxxxij^{v}–lxxxiij^{r}).

3778–3779 For þere was… choyse a god: Based on *CA* V, 1624–1626.

3780–3816 For Plato seith… for he helpeth: *Poly* II, 9 (lxxxiij^{r}–lxxxiij^{v}), with an addition based on *CA* V, 1548–1553 (ll. 3797–3799, made a ryche… sacrifise and truage).

3817–3829 Also in Caldea…. shul be rewardyd: Based on *CA* V, 750–784.

3830–3843 Also in Grece… hym deus uentorum: Based on the Latin notes to *CA* V, 870–1277 (Peck (ed. 2000–2004: III, 393–399)), with an addition on Mohammed from *Poly* V, 14 (ccxlviij^{r}).

3844–3870 Also þere is… ony thyng ellys: *MTDV* ch. 15 (p. 72, l. 28 – p. 74, l. 4).

3872–3878 Ierome spekyth vpon… they make sorwe: *Poly* II, 9 (lxxxiiij^{v}).

3878–3977 Also in Rome… Crist was born: *Poly* I, 25 (xxix^{v}–xxxij^{r}), with order of sections rearranged and some omissions and additions.

3979–3991 Also whan Apys… wey of beleue: Based on *CA* V, 1560–1590.

3991–3997 For Dyndymus…. þe feythe began: Based on *CA* V, 1453–1459. The concluding sentence borrows from *CA* V, 1591–1593.

3999–4023 Trogus, libro primo… kyng Sardanapalis tyme: *Poly* II, 9 (lxxxiij^{v}–lxxxv^{r}), with some additions from *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxv^{r}). Harris (1993: 72) sees in ll. 4019–4020 (and vsed wommens occupacioun… of sylke werke) an echo of *CA* VII, ll. 4332–4334.

4024–4035 This Sardanapalys…. and hoole kyngis: *Poly* II, 31 (Cvj^{v}–Cvij^{r}), with

order of sections rearranged.

4036–4083 For we rede… vengeaunce from them: Based on Jonah 1–3.

4084–4087 This cyte of Nynyue… rede in Genesis: Likely to be the compiler's own summary.

4088–4131 Genesis. Thare… Madianytes also: *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxv^{v}–lxxxv^{v}), with additions from the *Genealogia* (Ba, membrane 1) in ll. 4107–4122 (This patryarke Abraham… Madan and Madian). This section on Abraham's line is likely to be based on the schematic illustration of the family tree in the *Genealogia*.

4131–4146 Cedar is a londe... aftyr Heraclyus tyme: *Poly* I, 15 (xix^{v}).

4148–4160 And þere is þe mounte… yt ryght precyus: *MTDV* ch. 6 (p. 25, ll. 2–17).

4161–4171 Oure Lorde yaf… Remygyus lyfe: *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxiiij^{v}–lxxxv^{r}).

4172–4182 Also Abraham forbad… not be nombred: Based on *CA* V, 1628–1653, much condensed.

4184–4193 Agar þat was… chapiter of Genesis: Based on *BGM* I, 1 (184^{v}), with alterations.

4194–4199 Moralite… reame of God: No direct source could be found for this section, although similar ideas occur in some common medieval commentaries (e.g. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL*, CXIII, col. 122A, which interprets Sarah as a symbol of the New Testament, giving birth to the Christian people).

4200–4207 This patriarke Abraham… into his house: *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxv^{r}–lxxxv^{v}), with additions from *MTDV* ch. 6 (p. 24, ll. 11–18).

4207–4212 Also Abraham dwellyd…. to oure Lorde: Possibly based on *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 41, ll. 13–20), with additions from *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 29, ll. 10–20) in ll. 4210–4212 (Also on þe… to oure Lorde).

4213–4227 Also Abraham had… of alle þe world: Based on Gen 22:1–18.

4228–4247 This Abraham was ful ryche… to God aboue: Loosely based on Gen 14:1–20, with additions from *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxiiij^{r}, misnamed as lxxxv in the print) in ll. 4228–4238 (This Abraham was… hym home ageyne).

4250–4269 Ieronimus in epistola… sterrys and planettys: *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxiiij^{v}, misnamed as lxxxv in the print).

4270–4276 Genesis… alle there woo: Loosely based on *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 42, ll. 3–5), and *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxv^{r}). Rhyming couplet in ll. 4275–4276, the source of which is unclear.

4277–4369 Ysidorus, libro xiij^{o}… lay be his douhtyrs: Based on Gen 19, sometimes translating quite closely, in other places summarising. Additions from *Poly* I, 14 (xviij^{r}–xviij^{v}) and from *Poly* II, 10 (lxxxv^{r}). Further additions from unidentified sources in ll. 4313–4320 with details on the devil preaching in the five cities (a detail which is not biblical), and in ll. 4350–4355, describing the extent of God's vengeance.

4370–4396 Ysidorus, libro xv^{o}… capitulo xxiiij^{o}: *Poly* I, 14 (xviij^{r}–xviij^{v}), with additions from *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 41, ll. 25–26; p. 42, ll. 8–10). The section in ll. 4378–4382 is copied a second time in ll. 1352–1358.

4397–4402 Ysidorus, libro nono…. Pentapolis yn Affryca: *Poly* I, 14 (xviij^{v}), with additions based on *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 42, ll. 10–13) in ll. 4398–4401 (And some men… prayour of Loth).

4403–4425 And aftyr this, his wyfe... an houndred yer: *Poly* II, 11 (lxxxv^{r}–lxxxv^{v}).

4426–4449 And in þe tyme… þe cytees were destroyed: Based on Gen 18:20–33.

4450–4481 Than aftyr Abraham reynyd… his fadyr Ysaac: Based on Gen 25:21–34.

4481–4486 This herytage… of his blessyng: No direct source found. This is the first of several passages without an obvious source which are concerned with the offering of the first fruit (see also ll. 5181–5198 and 6013–6037), perhaps indicating that this was an

area of special interest to the compiler. Other references to the offering of the first fruit occur, for instance, in *Speculum Christiani* (Holmstedt (ed. 1933: 220)).

4487–4550 We rede in Genesis… be thy blessyng: Gen 27:5–39.

4551–4563 Than ye shul vndirston… with his vnkyl Laban: *Poly* II, 11 (lxxxv^{v}–lxxxvj^{r}), with additions based on Gen 27:42–45.

4564–4572 And as he yede… for þat nyht: Based on Gen 28:10–22.

4573–4577 And so on þat place… wyst it nat: Based on *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 34, l. 29 – p. 35, l. 3).

4577–4585 And whan he… callyd hym Israel: Based on Gen 32:22–32. *T* condenses several biblical episodes into one here, and is unlikely to be based directly on the biblical text. In the Bible, Jacob wrestles with God after leaving Laban, not before.

4586–4594 Than aftyr this, Iacob… Rebecca his modyr: Based on Gen 28:1–5.

4595–4608 Isaac an houndred… þe youngest douhtyr: Based on Gen 35:28–29 and 29:16–30.

4608–4620 And whan þe xiiij yer… fyghte ayenst kynde: *Poly* II, 11 (lxxxvj^{r}).

4622–4629 Also notith welle… keruer þat was: No direct source found.

4630–4676 And whan Iacob… childeryn and meyne: Based on Gen 29:31–30:24, Gen 35:16–26, and Gen 38. In ll. 4651–4668 appears an ekphrastic description of the genealogical family tree of Christ in the *Genealogia*. Some of the corrections and marginal additions in this section are due to initial misreadings of Peter of Poitiers's diagram by the compiler (see above, pp. 138–140). No direct source could be found for the marginal addition on Benjamin's name (4648–4650). The marginal addition on Laban (4671–4674) is a very brief summary of the material in Gen 30–31.

4676–4689 And whan Iacob was come ayene… of god Heliopoles: *Poly* II, 11 (lxxxvj^{r}).

4690–4708 It is fyguryd… childe aperyth nat: Based on Gen 37.

4709–4721 Also þere is a cytte… wey and of goyng: *Poly* I, 15 (xix^{r}).

4722–4750 And also Iacob… cast yt awaye: Based on Gen 49.

4751–4770 Than aftyr this… Effraym before Manasses: Based on Gen 48:1–20.

4770–4778 And whan this Iacob… thrytty dayes enoynted: *Poly* II, 12 (lxxxvj^{v}–lxxxvij^{r}).

4779–4791 Aftyr Iacob reyned… inordynat lechery et cetera: Possibly based on the family tree in the Genealogia (*Ba*, membranes 1–2), with an addition from *Poly* II, 13 (lxxxvij^{v}) in ll. 4776–4778 (Aftyrward they kepte… thrytty dayes enoynted).

4788 thyrde age: The Augustinian scheme defines the third age of the world as lasting from Abraham to the reign of David, and this is the view which is taken in ll. 7594–7596. The third age is here defined as the time from Abraham to Moses instead, an idea which goes back to Philippus de Harveng (*De Somnio Regis Nabuchodonosor*, *PL*, CCIII, col 5866A–B; see also Trompf (1979: 215)).

4793–4822 Ysodorus, libro 5… ete ther flesshe: Two sections from the beginning and end of *Poly* II, 12 (lxxxvj^{v}–lxxxvij^{v}), in inverted order.

4822 And thus yede… in tho dayes: Based on *CA* V, 1558.

4823–4908 Iohannes, libro ijo… londe of Trogodytes: *Poly* II, 13 (lxxxvij^{v}–lxxxviij^{v}).

4909–4920 Also we shul vndirstond… and þe Holigost: No direct source found, but the idea of the three ages (before the law, under the law, under the grace of Christ) is a commonplace, based on St Paul (Rom 5:13–20, Gal 3:17–29).

4921–4926 In þe tyme… nor knowe God: Loosely based on *CA* 1681–1682, 1653, 1726.

4927–4937 Augustinus, libro 18… fable of Feton: *Poly* II, 13 (lxxxviij^{v}–lxxxix^{r}).

4938–4963 Than furthermore we rede… and beleuyd yt: Based on Ex 4:2–18 and

4:27–31, translated relatively closely.

4964–4970 Than whan Moyses… oþer many moo: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{r}).

4971–4974 Prima rubes unda… necat ultima prolem: The Latin poem on the ten Plagues of Egypt also appears, amongst others, in Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (marked as an addition in *PL*, CXCVIII, col. 1149D–1150A) and John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* (*PL*, CXCIX, col. 797C). Walther and Hilka (1969: no. 14595) note 76 manuscripts.

4975–5000 Augustinus, libro octodecimo… noon of these plagis: Loosely based on Ex 7:14–11:10. The reference to Augustine is somewhat unclear: Book 16, Chapter 43 of the *City of God* mentions the number of the Egyptian Plagues, but does not elaborate upon them in further detail (*PL*, XLI, col. 521).

5000–5014 That tyme þat God… in bloode lettyng: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{r}).

5015–5029 Than whan Pharao… of þat passyng: Loosely based on Ex 12:1–28.

5029–5034 Seint Ambrose… ignoraunce to wysdam: St Ambrose writes on the Passover in Letter XXIII (Beyenka (transl. 1954: 189–200)), but no directly corresponding passage was found.

5035–5040 Moyses, beyng of age… Lande of Beheste: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{r}– lxxxix^{v}).

5040–5064 And thus Moyses… sayde of beforn: No direct source found.

5065–5121 Whan þat þe pepyl… into þe desert: No source found for majority of this section; minor additions from *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{v}) and an echo of *CA* V, 1661–1663 at ll. 5079–5081.

5121–5150 This Reede See… Caleph and Iosue: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{v}–lxxxx^{r}), with additions on Mount Horeb from *Poly* I, 13 (xvj^{v}) and on Mount Sinai from Ex 3:1–4:17 and, perhaps, from *IPHL* (ej^{r}) (ll. 5141-5142).

5150–5157 but þat was… watyr of baptym: Based on Num 13:1–24, much

condensed. No direct source found for the moral interpretation at the end of this passage.

5158–5171 We haue figurid… and dyuers other: Based on Num 10:29–32, much condensed. No direct source found for the moral interpretation at the end of this passage.

5172–5180 Than aftyr þat… alle oþer disesys: Loosely based on Num 21:4–9.

5181–5198 Figura hereof we… God ther behestis: No direct source found. The reference to St Paul is to Heb 11:1–2. Similarly to ll. 4481–4486 and 6013–6037, this passage shows an interest in offerings.

5198–5206 Than we rede… aftyr his ponyshement: Based on Num 21:8–9**.** No direct source found for the moral interpretation at the end of this passage.

5206–5212 Also in þe boke… þat deseruyd yt: Loosely based on Num 12:10–16.

5213–5238 We rede in… comaundment of God: Loosely based on Num 16.

5242–5273 O falce envye… nor in þe oþer: *BGM* I, 14 (203^{r}–204^{v}), with omissions.

5276–5302 And also for… his xiij chapiter: *BGM* I, 17 ($208^{r–v}$). The marginal addition in 5285–5289 does not seem to be drawn from *BGM*, but directly from the biblical account in 1 Sam 8.

5303–5328 Catoun seith to… vs a drede: *BGM* I, 18 (210^{r}–211^{v}), with omissions. Concluding sentence likely by the compiler.

5329–5335 Now I wyl… custome of the lawe: Based on Num 3:2–4.

5335–5355 And notith welle… erthe closyd ayen: Based on Num 16.

5356–5390 Loo, what comyth… chapiter of the Gospel: *BGM* I, 1 (184^{v}–185^{v}), with omissions.

5391–5411 Moreouer we rede… in þe vx chapiter: *BGM* I, 2 (186^{v}–187^{r}), with omissions.

5411–5414 And Seint Ierom… mowthe he deyde: *BGM* I, 4 (190^{v}).

5415–5430 Than wolde I… to be prowde: *BGM* I, 4 (190$^{r–v}$).

5431–5472 And þerfor who… chapiter of Iudith: *BGM* I, 3 (188^{r}–189^{r}), with omissions.

5473–5487 And as me semyth…. be amonge shrewys: No exact source text found. The section from the book of Numbers summarises Num 16:24–26.

5488–5505 And so this worthy… ye shul here: Based on Num 33:1–49. The list of Israel's dwelling places is likely to be based on the illustration in the *Genealogia* (*Ba*, membrane 2).

5505–5509 For whanne þe… aftyr his apetyte: Based on *CA* V, 1667–1668 and 1671–1675.

5509–5523 But they myht… watyr þerof plentyfully: Loosely based on Ex 15–16, much condensed. No direct source found for typological interpretation attached to the Old Testament event.

5523–5524 Yet þat place… by Moyses hande: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{v}).

5524–5526 Moralite. This stone… on þe crosse: No direct source found.

5527–5528 Than aftyrwarde… lawe to Moyses: Loosely based on *CA* V, 1681–1682.

5528–5529 For iij monthes… and xl nyhtis: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxix^{v}).

5530–5545 And þere Moyses… fulfylle and keepe: Loosely based on Ex 20.

5546–5565 And whan Moyses… for þe pepyll: Loosely based on Ex 32.

5566–5584 But nowe aftyr... generacioun of Aaron: Based on the family tree in the Genealogia (*Ba*, membranes 2–3)

5585–5648 And fourthermore to speke… Thare, Abrahams fadyr: No direct source found.

5649–5658 thus oure Lorde… his iiij chapiter: Excerpts from *BGM* IV, 2 (227^{v}–

228^{r}).

5659–5669 Rede we nat… dyuers good examples: Excerpts from *BGM* I, 7 (195$^{r–v}$).

5670–5677 Than furthermore we… he set them: Continuation of the Holy Cross legend material. This version is more condensed than typical versions of *PPA*. For instance, *PPA* recounts the sweet smell of the three rods, and how Moses uses them to heal various illnesses. These narrative elements are missing here, although the soteriological aspect is mentioned later, in the section on David (ll. 7880–7890).

5674–5676 Aftyr þat þe aungil… þe water wax rede: This detail is not found in *PPA*. Other traditions of the legend (though not *PPA*) mention that Moses uses the three rods to sweeten the bitter water which he has drawn out of the rock at Mara. On this, see especially the Latin 'rood-tree' legend (Fallon 2009: 239–62), the version contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343 (Napier (ed. 1894: 4, ll. 6–16)). Perhaps this connection is here hinted at by mentioning that Moses put the branches in water.

5678–5699 And as be figure… of oþer men: Based on Num 25. The Latin quotation (ll. 5685–5686 Et iniciati… mortuorum) is Psalm 105:28.

5699–5755 For Seint Ierom… to suche folkys: *BGM* I, 12 (200^{r}–201^{v}), with omissions.

5756–5761 Lecchery is enemy… doctor to Iacob: *BGM* I, 13 (201^{v}).

5761–5777 þat he had… apperyth in Genesis: Based on Gen 34.

5778–5794 Rede we not… accorded to þe same: *BGM* I, 13 (201^{v}–202^{r}).

5794–5800 And to this purpos… of euyl suspessyoun: *BGM* II, 2 (213^{r}), with omissions.

5800–5826 And Seint Ambrose… they kept virgynyte: *BGM* IV, 7 (234^{v}–235^{r}), with omissions.

5827–5849 Than furthermore we… peple of Israell: Based on Num 27:12–23, much

condensed.

5849–5860 Than whan Moyses… outgoyng of Egipt: *Poly* II, 14 (lxxxx^{r}), with some additions based on Deut 32:1 and 34.

5860–5886 And in this wyse… on a crosse: Based on *CA* V 1684–1722, with a section from an unidentified source inserted in ll. 5866–5875 (For they consydred… they faylyd alle).

5886–5888 whiche was made… in þe Scripture: Passing reference to the Holy Cross legend, probably introduced by the compiler. The apocryphal nature of the legend is here, for the first and only time, pointed out explicitly.

5888–5895 And yet aftyr þat God… Bible makyth mencyoun: No direct source found.

5896–5914 Iosue. Thanne aftyr… before in deserte: Based on *Poly* II, 15 (lxxxx^{v}), with some additions whose source is unclear.

5915–5940 Figura. It is figuryd… God commaundyd hym: Based on Josh. 7, much condensed.

5841–5949 Be this Scripture… shulde amende hemself: No direct source found.

5950–5978 And in this same tyme, þe doughtir… cursyngis of þe lawe: Based on Josh. 8–9.

5978–5980 And also Iosue… xl yere in deserte: *Poly* II, 15 (lxxxx^{v}).

5981–6008 Also this Iosue… lynnages of Israell: Loosely based on Josh. 10–14.

6009–6012 And also notyth wel… xlvj^{ti} myle of þat londe: *Poly* I, 14 (xvij^{r}).

6013–6037 And holy wrytte… renewyd þere circomsisioun: No direct source found. This passage summarises material which has been discussed beforehand, and is likely to be by the compiler. Again, this passage reveals a marked interest in the offerings of the first fruits (see above, ll. 4481–4486 and 5181–5198). The section on the paschal lamb

is reminiscent of ll. 5026–5027.

6038–6049 Also we reede how Iosue… and so were taken: No direct source found. The vague nature of this section, without any details of place names, may indicate that the compiler was recalling this biblical episode imperfectly from memory.

6050–6061 Petrus seith þat… in mynde of couenauntes: *Poly* II, 16 (lxxxxj^{r}–lxxxxj^{v}).

6061–6076 Aftyr Iosues dethe… douȝtir of Ealeth: Based on Judges 2:11–15 and 3:7–11, with additions from *Poly* II, 16 (lxxxxj^{v}–lxxxxij^{r}).

6077–6093 Aioth… fables were founden: *Poly* II, 17 and 18 (lxxxxij^{r}; lxxxxiij^{v}), with additions based on Judges 3:12–30.

6094–6103 Delbora. Aminadab…a iuge vij yere: *Poly* II, 19 (lxxxxv^{v}), with additions based on Judges 4–5.

6105–6108 Aftyr þe dethe of Delbora… Madyanytes and Amalechytes: *Poly* II, 20 (lxxxxv^{v}).

6108–6113 And in þe tyme of this Gedion… CC and xl yer: No direct source found. This passage recounts the well-known myth of Mercury fashioning the lyre out of a tortoise shell (see the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, ll. 40–50 (Evelyn-White (ed. 1914)). The word 'alamason' here must refer to this shell, but its etymology is unclear. For another Middle English text which calls the instrument a harp (rather than a lyre), see Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, Book I, l. 5790 (Bergen (ed. 1924)).

6113–6121 Also it is figurid… Zeb, Zebe, and Salmana: Based on Judges 6–8, much condensed.

6121–6175 That þere were sondry… vppon þe chase: Based on *CA* VII 3629–3781.

6178–6231 And to this resoun… a lytyl durynge: *BGM* III, 9 (225^{v}–226^{v}).

6231–6287 And þerfor, as I sayde beforn… susteyne of weles or vertues: No direct

source found. This passage adopts a similar tone to the passages from *BGM*, but seems to be the compiler's own addition, based on biblical material. The biblical references are to 1 Sam 13–14 (ll. 6236–6242), Jdt 7–13 (ll. 6242–6248), 1 Macc 2:49–68 (ll. 6249–6261). A similar reading of Judas Maccabeus as a figure of Christ (ll. 6262–6270) is found, for instance, in Jerome's *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam* (*PL*, XXV, cols. 569A–570C).

6289–6293 Aftyr þe dethe of Gedeon… one callyd Ionatha: *Poly* II, 21 (lxxxxvj^{v}).

6293–6303 Sichem is a lytyl londe… fruyte and corne: *Poly* I, 15 (xix^{r}).

6304–6309 And aftyrward, this… chapiter of Iudith: Based on Judges 9:53–54.

6309–6350 God is þe uery… a dredful dethe: *BGM* V, 2 (242^{v}–243^{v}), with omissions and some additions from an unidentified source, or perhaps by the compiler himself. The order of chapters differs here between MS Harley 149 and the print. Caxton's print places this chapter in Book IV, chapter 10.

6352–6365 Aftyr þe dethe of Abymalech… made Asya trybutarij: *Poly* II, 21 (lxxxxvj^{v}).

6365–6382 And they chasy Daryus… wreche of þere enemyes: *Poly* I, 17 (xx^{v}).The section on the Amazons in ll. 6374–6435 occurs in a very similar form in ll. 1712–1775.

6382–6419 Than in þe meanetyme… be callyd Monstyrs: *Poly* II, 21 (lxxxxvij^{r}), with additions from *Poly* I, 18 (xxij^{r}–xxij^{v}).

6420–6435 And though Ysodorus… her owen peple: *Poly* I, 18 (xxij^{v}), with additions from *The Tale of Melibee*, 2671–2674 in ll. 6429–6431 (And þerfor it… as he myhte). A very similar passage about the Amazons appears in ll. 1712–1775.

6436–6455 Howe a prince… haue no gouernaunce: *BGM* III, 1 (217$^{r–v}$).

6455–6526 And to this purpos… wolde haue hymself: *BGM* I, 8 (195^{v}–197^{r}), with order of material rearranged.

6526–6532 We rede how… mercyful and pytuous: *BGM* III, 1 (218^{r}).

6534–6560 Iayr… kygnis of Latyns: Based on *Poly* II, 22 (lxxxxvij^{v}), with additions from *Poly* II, 20 (lxxxxv^{v}) and other expansions for which no direct source could be found.

6562–6576 Aftyr þe dethe of Iayr… and hyr virgynyte: *Poly* II, 23 (lxxxxvij^{v}), with additions from Judges 11.

6577–6635 Abought thys tyme… for to regne: *Poly* II, 23 (lxxxxvij^{v}–lxxxxviij^{v}), with some omissions.

6636–6722 Abessa… Elenus was ij^{M}: *Poly* II, 24 (lxxxxviij^{v}–lxxxxix^{v}), with some explanatory additions.

6724–6729 Aylon… and foure score: Based on *Poly* II, 25 (lxxxix^{v}–cj^{r}).

6730–6768 Labdon… kyngdom of Italye: *Poly* II, 26 (cj^{v}–cij^{r}).

6770–6773 Sampson… born longe tyme: *Poly* II, 26 (cij^{r}).

6773–6781 And we shul vndirstonde… þe deuelys power: No direct source found, but the interpretation of Samson as figura Christi is a commonplace (cf. *PL*, XVII, col. 774D).

6782–6821 It is redde… and hymself bothe: Based on Judges 15–16.

6823–6824 Hyderto þe booke… vndyr xij iuges: *Poly* II, 26 (cij^{r}–cij^{v}).

6825–6830 Hely…of Moab felle: Based on *Poly* II, 27 (cij^{v}).

6831–6880 Also we rede… stylle in Israel: 1 Sam 1:1–4:11.

6881–6893 This Arka Dei… to oure Lorde: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 34, ll. 16–18), with some errors due to eye-skip, with additional information from 1 Sam 4.

6893–6901 But it is redde… peple were destroyed: Based on 1 Sam 5:1–4. No direct source found for typological interpretation at the end of this passage.

6904–6907 The Chirche is… alle þe worlde: *BGM* III, 1 (212^{r}).

6907–6918 And þerfor Seint Ierom… her owne profyte: *BGM* III, 2 (213$^{r–v}$), with minor omissions.

6918–6922 Iob seith in his… was euyl getyn: *BGM* III, 3 (220^{v}).

6922–6926 And Seint Iame… suffysaunce in his herte: *BGM* IV, 2 (227^{v}).

6926–6932 Also a wyse… dethe by iustyce: *BGM* IV, 1 (227^{v}).

6933–6942 And to þe same… alle þere subiectys: *BGM* III, 2 (218^{v}–219^{r}).

6946–6957 haue a regarde…. is vttyrly lost: *BGM* I, 8 (202$^{r–v}$).

6957–6959 For as to me… wyse or cheualrous: Likely the compiler's own addition.

6959–6983 For we rede… his good name: *BGM* I, 8 (202$^{r–v}$).

6983–6987 And þerfor Valere… yt is shewyd before: *BGM* I, 8 (202^{v}).

6989–7009 Samuel… putte for boundys: Based on 1 Sam 7:3–17, with introductory additions from *Poly* II, 27 (ciij^{r}). The reference to Samuel's mother's praying is from 1 Sam 1:12–14.

7010–7024 In þe iij^{de} yere… his cyte ageyne: Based on 1 Sam 8, much condensed.

7025–7031 Lo, these peple… as they were: No direct source found, likely the compiler's own addition.

7032–7035 And þerfor to this… pride and synne: *BGM* I, 6 (193^{r}).

7035–7067 But generally alle… þe xv chapiter: *BGM* I, 6 (193^{v}–194^{v}).

7071–7086 Than at þe requeste… to his house: Based on 1 Sam 9–10, much condensed.

7088–7099 Than aftyr this… kyng shal perysshe: Based on 1 Sam 11–12, much condensed.

7100–7107 Than aftyr þat this… vj^{C} men abydyng: Based on 1 Sam 13:1–6.

7108–7120 Than Ionathas… boke of Nombres: Based on 1 Sam 14, much condensed.

7121–7162 And for to haue… Lorde sendys hem: *BGM* I, 6 (192^{v}–193^{v}), with some

sections rearranged in different order. The erroneous attribution of a NT event to the OT in ll. 7152–7153 (Also oure Lorde… þe ij^{de} chapiter) stems from *BGM*.

7163–7177 Than aftyr this… into his house: Based on 1 Sam 15.

7179–7243 Obedience is more… epistle of Ionas: *BGM* I, 5 (191^{r}–192^{v}).

7249–7267 Throuh couetyse men… is wordly ryches: *BGM* I, 17 (207^{v}–208^{v}).

7267–7271 And to this purpos… no more to a man: *BGM* I, 18 (210^{r}).

7271–7273 Rede we not… was chosyn emperoure: *BGM* I, 4 (190^{r}).

7273–7292 And to this purpos… þe olde fadrys: *BGM* I, 18 (209^{v}–210^{r}).

7293–7307 And to this purpos Valere… his lyfe sauyd: *BGM* I, 17 (208^{v}–209^{r}).

7397–7315 Also Valere rehersith… haue redde here: *BGM* I, 18 (211^{r}).

7317–7319 Epygramaton… his coveytyse dishordenatly: *BGM* I, 18 (211^{v}).

7320–7340 Thanne for this disobedyence… þe lesser grevaunce: Based on 1 Sam 16.

7341–7357 Than aftyr þat… chase et cetera: Based on 1 Sam 17.

7358–7369 And whan Dauid… to Kyng Saul: Based on 1 Sam 18.

7369–7399 And than Saul… þe cyte ayen: Based on 1 Sam 19–20.

7400–7410 And aftyr þat… lete hym goo: Based on 1 Sam 21.

7410–7425 And than Dauid.. hym holy brede: Based on 1 Sam 20.

7426–7437 And for to speke… to almyhty God: *BGM* III, 2 (f. 219^{r}).

7437–7442 And to this purpos… destroye þere subiectys: *BGM* III, 3 (f. 220^{v}).

7443–7466 Than aftyr this… into a surer place: Based on 1 Sam 23–24.

7467–7487 Than aftyr this… to seke Dauid: Based on 1 Sam 25–26.

7488–7565 Loo, Scripture seith… purchaseth oure dethe: *BGM* I, 14 (ff. 204^{v}–206^{v}).

The section on David and Saul in ll. 7560–7563 (as Dauid dyd… haue slayn Dauid) is not in *BGM* and is likely to have been added by the compiler to create a connection between the biblical narrative and the exempla in *BGM*.

7566–7593 Now wyl I returne… louyd her owne childe: Based on 1 Sam 27–31, much condensed.

7594–7601 And thus endyth… regned xx yere: *Poly* II, 28 (ciij^{v}).

7602–7661 And it is to note… þe stori witnessyth: Likely to be based on the genealogical illustrations in the *Genealogia* (membranes 1–3), with additional reference to Luke 3:23–28.

7668–7670 Dauid of þe lygnage... vpon alle Israell: *Poly* II, 29 (ciij^{v}).

7670–7711 Dauid than, throuh… fylle doune dede: Based on 2 Sam 2:1–6:7, much condensed.

7713–7776 dedly synne makyth… is rehersyd before: *BGM* V, 3 (243^{v}–245^{r}), with order of sections rearranged.

7776–7872 be þe seyde Osa… ayen into Ierusalem: Based on 2 Sam 6–12.

7873–7899 Also we rede… be put therto: Continuation of the Holy Cross legend. Compared to *PPA*, this section of the legend is much condensed.

7884 Bexillas: The man who is healed by the touch of the branches does not appear in *PPA*, but in 'rood-tree' versions of the legend, and is usually named Roxilus (cf. Napier (ed. 1894: 14); Fallon (2009: 245)).

7885 iij men of Ethiop: The Ethiopians being turned white by the touch of the rods is a typical narrative element found in the 'rood-tree' tradition (cf. Napier (ed. 1894: 16); Fallon (2009: 246)).

7889–7893 And alle þe … these ȝerdys synyfy: Residual rhyme, corresponding to *Ad*:

> and alle the seke men*e* in the waye
> this sange than þane þay synge *and* saye
> hele nowe and hele we fynde
> This day es gyuen*e* to alle mankynde
> than the p*ro*phete kynge dauid
> thay sy*n*gnyfy bothe pese *and* grythe
> Thay sy*n*gnyfy to the trynyte
> Mercy pese and charyte
> Prophetes hafe said here by forne

that goddes sone sall*e* be borne
and on þe croyse he sall*e* dye
that thies redis sygnyfy (*Ad*, f. 43$^{va–b}$; Foster I, 159, ll. 373–384)

7900–7927 Than aftyr this, we rede… kyng of Iessur: Based on 2 Sam 13.

7928–7936 Fyrst it is… she was corrupte: *Parson's Tale* 865–866, 868–872.

7938–7969 For a clerke seythe… to be vsed: Compounded from *CA* VII, 4459–4463; I, 47; VII 5372–5380; V 7386–7388; VI 1261, 1266–1284; VII 4270, 4269, 4270–4291, 4297–4309.

7969–7974 But yet þe worlde… delyght of hym also: Based on 1 John 2:15–17.

7975–8016 Than whan Absolon… myht dey for þe: Based on 2 Sam 14–18.

8017–8025 Lo what comyth… in þe xiij chapiter: *BGM* I, 2 (186^{v}–187^{r}).

8025–8034 We rede also… synne of pride: Excerpts from *BGM* I, 8 (197^{v}); I, 1 (185^{r}); and I, 4 (190^{r}).

8035–8048 And lykewise… a man doun: *BGM* I, 1 (185^{v}), with an addition from *BGM* I, 3 (189^{r}).

8049–8099 Than whan Kyng Dauid… þe plage sesyd: Based on 2 Sam 19–24, much condensed.

8100–8120 Than aftyr þat… aftyr thy wysdam: Based on 1 Kings 1:1–2:9, much condensed.

8121–8127 Kyng Dauid deyed… C pounde and xx^{ti}: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij^{r}).

8127–8128 And Kyng Dauid… Ietram vel Nathan: Based on the family tree in the *Genealogia* (*Ba*, membrane 3). The use of the Latin *vel* rather than *or* may indicate that the compiler is using a Latin exemplar.

8130–8135 Than whan Kyng Dauid… put to dethe: Based on 1 Kings 2:10–35.

8135–8145 Ierom in epistola… peple and craftismen: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij$^{r–v}$).

8146–8176 Than aftyr þat…do reuerence þereto: Continuation of the Holy Cross

legend. *Poly* II, 29 includes an extremely short mention of Holy Cross material here, but *T* is much more elaborate. *PPA* and *Poly* differ in the number of years which they give for the building of the temple (32 years in *PPA*, 7 years in *Poly*). *T* follows the version in *PPA* with regard to this and other details.

8150–8152 Hugo de Ar. … ix foote longe: *Poly* II, 5. This piece of information seems to have been of particular interest to the compiler, as he copies it a second time in *T*, in an account of the building of Noah's ark in ll. 682–686.

8160–8161 Sybylle … Maxymylla: In some 'rood-tree' versions of the legend, the woman who first prophecies the destiny of the wood is called Sibilla or Sabilla, while *PPA* calls her Maximilla (Fallon (2009: 253)). In *PPA*, the second woman is called Queen Sibilla, while *T* calls her the Queen of Saba (l. 8168). The names Sybilla, Saba, and Maximilla are frequently confused in different versions of the legend (Murdoch (1997: 30)).

8166 made þe holy tre to be leyde ouyr a dyche: In *PPA*, after Maximilla's prophecy the Jews first cast the wood into the *probatica piscina* and afterwards pull it out again, only to use it as a bridge over the river Siloe, which the Queen of the South refuses to tread on. The order of these two episodes is reversed here.

8166–8167 þe whiche is in þe myddys of þe vale of Iosaphat, which is callyd torrens Cedron: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 39, ll. 22–24). In *PPA* the river over which the holy wood is used as a bridge is not identified as the brook of Cedron, but as the brook of Siloe.

8173–8174 þat Crist shulde dey þereon: The queen's prophecy in *PPA* is more cryptic: 'Judicij signum tellus sudore madescit'. The change in *T* may be a result of an effort by the compiler to explain the content of the prophecy more clearly.

8177–8180 yt was halwyd… torrens Cedron: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij^{v}).

8181–8185 This temple was… helpe of God: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 35, ll. 20-24).

8186–8192 And this Temple… was with relikis: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 34, ll. 7–13).

8194–8204 And on þat roche… in þe shethe: *MTDV* ch. 7 (pp. 34–35, ll. 29–24).

8204–8209 And þere prayde…. Salomon, his sonne: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 35, ll. 15–20).

8209–8210 And in þat roche… into þe temple: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 35, ll. 4–6).

8210–8215 And in þat roche… was to come: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 35, ll. 7–14), with some omissions.

8216–8220 And this temple… dygnyte and worship: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 34, ll. 3–6).

8220–8223 And this temple… brent þe temple: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 33, ll. 2–6).

8223–8225 And in this… callyd torrens Cedron: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij^{v}).

8226–8229 And withoute þe dore… bishope of Ierusalem: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 35, ll. 24–28).

8229–8246 Also we rede… delyueryd his byrde: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij^{v}).

8246–8249 Also Salamons mete… of 30 busshels: *Poly* II, 29 (ciiij^{v}).

8250–8271 Also we reede… þat is Ierusalem: Based on 1 Kings 11.

8273–8311 Than aftyr þe dethe…. heyre be discent: Based on *CA* VII, 4027–4129.

8214–8351 Roboas, Salomons sonne… in her stede: Based on *Poly* II, 30 (cv$^{r–v}$).

8351–8369 Also þe seyde tre… Crist dyed on: Continuation of the Holy Cross legend.

8359–8368 an aungel cam thedyr… Probatica piscina: *MTDV* ch. 7 (p. 36, lines 16–21), with slight alterations. The Defective Version has ‘Tolle grabatum tuum et uade’ instead of ‘ambula’. The Vulgate uses both ‘ambula’ and ‘uade’ in close proximity to each other in Mark 2:9–11, and the parallel passages have both ‘uade’ (Matt 9:6 and Luke 5:24) and ‘ambula’ (John 5:8), so that both versions would have been current in the medieval mind. Although *MTDV* offers an English translation of the Latin phrase ‘Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula’, there is no translation contained in *T*. This is particularly striking since Latin phrases are generally translated into English in *T*.

8364–8365 þe gospel tellyth ful welle: The *probatica piscina* (*Bethesda* in Hebrew) is mentioned in John 5:2–9. There is no reference in that specific passage to Naaman the Leper, who appears, however, in 4 Kings 5:1–14. Naaman is cured of his leprosy by washing in the river Jordan; there is no connection with the *probatica piscina* in the Bible, nor in *MTDV*.

8369 Crist dyed on: *PPA* includes an account of how the wood was cut into pieces and used as a Cross at the Crucifixion of Christ, which is not contained in *T*, as the text breaks off incompletely before this time period. However, there are indications that the compiler did originally intend to include this account in his narrative (cf. pp. 216-217).

8370–8390 Abya… wyfe hyte Iesabel: *Poly* II, 30 (cv^{v}–cvj^{r}) with some omissions.

8390–8398 This queen, whan… to his modyr: Based on 1 Kings 17.

8399–8409 Also we rede… nat ete þerof: Based on 2 Kings 6–7.

8410–8416 Also we rede… to destroye them: Based on 2 Kings 2:23–24.

8417–8423 We rede in þe… ageyne to lyfe: Based on 2 Kings 4:18–37.

8424–8429 Iosaphath… Michias and Abdyas: *Poly* II, 30 (cvj^{r}).

8424–8446 We rede… fyrste of alle: Based on 1 Kings 22.

8447–8450 Ochosias… had no sonne: *Poly* II, 30 (cvj^{r}).

8450–8454 And he lyuyd vycyusly… God at nowhte: Based on 1 Kings 22:51–53.

8454–8472 And aftyr hym reynyd… had þe victory: Based on 2 Kings 3.

8473–8479 Ioram… rauesshid into Paradise: *Poly* II, 30 (cvj^{r}).

8479–8483 as we rede… currus eius Israel: Based on 2 Kings 2:1–12.

8484–8507 Ochosias, oþerwise callyd Asarias…renewed þe temple: *Poly* II, 30 (cvj^{r}), with omissions and some additions on Athaliah from 2 Kings 11:1–2.

8496 Athalia: This name is executed in red to indicate that Athaliah is a woman, as opposed to male rulers of Israel, whose names are given in black. The same practice of

visually differentiating between men (in black) and women (in red) can be found in several copies of the *Genealogia* (e.g. *Ba*, and London, British Library, MS Additional 30509).

8508–8519 Ioachas… owne blessyd sonne: *Poly* II, 30 (cvj^{v}).

8520–8534 Ioas, þe sone… Paralypomenon, capitulo xxiiij^{o}: Based on 2 Kings 11:21–12:21 and 2 Chronicles 24.

8535–8553 Amasyas… vpoon his gardyns: *Poly* II, 31 (cvj^{v}).

8554–8562 Zacharias… redy tales: *Poly* II, 31 (cviij^{r}).

8563 Phaceas… regned ij yere: *Poly* II, 31 (cviij^{v}).

8564–8573 Arbaces slewe… with moche rychesse: *Poly* II, 31 (cvj^{v}–cvij^{r}).

8575–8580 And in thes days… þe strenger children: *Poly* II, 31 (cviij$^{r–v}$).

8584–8613 The fyftenth of Latyns… with her mylke: *Poly* II, 31 (cvij^{v}–cviij^{r}), with material rearranged.

8615–8638 Ioathan… were ofter vsed: *Poly* II, 32 (cviij^{v}), with additions on Jotham from 2 Chronicles 27.

8619 besontis: The Vulgate has *talenta* here.

8640–8659 Phacea… in þe temple: *Poly* II, 32 (cviij^{v}–cix^{r}).

8660–8671 Achas… xxj day of Apryll: *Poly* II, 33 (cix^{r}), with additions on Ahaz from 2 Chronicles 28.

8672–8685 Osee… of þe flesshe: *Poly* II, 35 (cxij^{v}), with additions on Hoshea from 1 Kings 17.

8686–8714 Ezechias… not her maumetrye: *Poly* II, 34 (cx^{v}–cxj^{r}).

8715–8777 Manasses… brent Baruchis bookys: *Poly* II, 35 (cxj^{v}–cxij^{v}), with omissions, and additions on Amon from 2 Kings 21:19–26 and and Esth 3–7.

8778–8837 The grete Nabugodonosor… prisonners and bondage: *Poly* II, 36 (cxiij$^{r–}$

^{v}).

8838–8856 And thus in þat… were wont to doo: Based on 2 Kings 25 and Dan 1.

8857–8910 Sedechias… wrytyth þe Hebreyes: *Poly* II, 36 (cxiij^{v}–cxiiij^{v}), with additions.

8911–8960 Now here yt… and nat destroye: *BGM* II, 1 (212^{r}–212^{v}).

8963–8977 But notyth wel... othir thyngis dyuers: Based on the family tree in the *Genealogia* (*Ba*, membrane 6).

8978–9008 Here is now… nativite of Criste: Based on the family tree in the *Genealogia* (*Ba*, membranes 1–6), and Matt 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38.

9009–9014 The fourthe age… be xvj generaciouns: *Poly* II, 26 (cxiiij^{v}).

9015–9040 Petrus, 154… ful soore afeerde: *Poly* III, 1 (cxv$^{r–v}$).

9042–9565 The world stant… God may steere: *CA* Prologue, 567–1088. The Latin verse and translation in ll. 9046–9052 is not noted in Peck's edition of *CA*, and may be a unique addition by the compiler.

9568–9574 Than þe secounde… at was iseen: *Poly* III, 1 (cxv^{v}).

9574–9597 He then as tellith… declaryd þe dreme: Based on Dan 4.

9598–9620 Than yt folwyth… or smellyd in them: Based on Dan 3.

9621–9630 And than yt folweth… yeven hym ayene: Based on Dan 4:28–33.

9630–9637 And thus for his grete pride… counsel of Danyel: *Poly* III, 1 (cxv^{v}).

9637–9641 And tylle he… Mysaak, and Abdenago: Based on Dan 4:34–37.

9642–9644 Than aftyr this… to þat science: Likely the compiler's own addition.

9645–9651 Ezeciel, þe prophete… renewyng of þe temple: *Poly* III, 1 (cxvj^{r}).

9652–9680 Nabugodonosor ij^{do}… was Susanna accused: *Poly* II, 2 (cxvj$^{r–v}$).

9663 Enylmerodach: Caxton substitutes an 'n' for a 'v' in *Poly* here, thus 'Enylmerodach' rather than 'Evylmerodach.' The same practice is known from other

prints by Caxton, e.g. *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, translated from Jacobus de Cessolis (*STC* 4920; see 'Enilmerodach', ch. 1, 3^{r}). *T* takes over this spelling variant from *Poly*.

9665 Iechonias oþerwise callyd Ioachym: *T* consistently adds this second name for Ioachym where *Poly* only has Ioachym.

9681–9776 Balthasar… yere of Cyrus: *Poly* III, 3 (cxvj^{v}–cxviij^{r}), with omissions.

9777–9860 Cirus… yere of Cyrus: *Poly* III, 4 (cxviij^{r}– cxix^{r}).

9860–9915 Than Daniel prayde… and his wyfe: *Poly* III, 5 (cxix^{v}–cxx^{r}).

9916–9953 In this tyme regned… Tarquinus Collatinus: *Poly* III, 6 (cxx^{r}–cxxj^{r}), with omissions.

9954–9979 Lucrecias husbande… dyd greete deedys: *Poly* III, 7 (cxxj$^{r–v}$).

9980–9995 Cambyses… of his empyre: *Poly* III, 8 (cxxj^{v}).

9995–10032 We rede in þe boke… neuer faylyd yow: Based on Jth 3:13 and 7–13.

10034–10059 Moralite. Lo, Iudith… muste be contynued: No direct source found.

10060–10073 Also this Kynge… shalt thow haue: *Poly* III, 8 (cxxij^{r}). This section does not follow Caxton's version, and may have been translated directly from Higden's Latin version by the compiler, as suggested by the inclusion of the Latin verse in ll. 10067–10069 (which does not appear in Caxton's print). For a list of other manuscripts which contain the Latin verse, see Walther and Hilka (1969: no. 17466). *L* includes the same Latin verse on f. 69^{v}.

10073–10075 And this Cambyses… of his kyngdom: *Poly* III, 8 (cxxj^{v}).

10076–10100 Hermeydes… regned xxxvj^{ti} yere: *Poly* III, 9 (cxxij^{r}–cxxij^{v}).

10101–10156 Darius… were prophetis deyd: *Poly* III, 9 (cxxij^{v}–cxxiij^{v}), with additions from *Poly* III, 10 (cxxiij^{v}).

10150–10173 Orocius, libro ij… his sonnes alyue: *Poly* III, 13 (cxxvij$^{r–v}$).

10174–10179 Artaxerses… into þe Iewry: *Poly* III, 14 (cxxvij^{v}).

10179–10183 and withdrewe þe peple… in þat name: Based on Ezra 7–10, much condensed.

10184–10210 Trogus saithe, one… for to fyght: *Poly* III, 14 (cxxvij^{v}–cxxviij^{r}).

10213–10243 In þat fyghtynge… gyle and tresoun: *Poly* III, 14 (cxxxviij$^{r–v}$).

10244–10266 Artaxerses…. þe lyfte syde: *Poly* III, 15 (cxxix$^{r–v}$), with omission of some material concerning Britain.

10267–10312 Petrus, 186… bookes of Machabeis: *Poly* III, 16 (cxxx$^{r–v}$), with additions describing Jerusalem according to the illustration (cf. pp. 32–33), which is taken from the *Genealogia*.

10313–10316 Aftyr this Artaxerses… regned xix yere: *Poly* III, 17 (cxxx^{v}–cxxxj^{r}).

10316–10324 Ypocras in this tyme… alowed and appreued: *Poly* III, 16 (cxxx^{v}).

10325–10338 In thes dayes… þe grete Pompeus: *Poly* III, 16 (cxxix^{v}).

10340–10365 Artaxerses… greuyd hym soore: *Poly* III, 18 (cxxxj$^{r–v}$).

10367–10381 Also in thes dayes…. a sharp swerde: *Poly* III, 19 (cxxxiij^{v}–cxxxiiij^{v}).

10383–10396 Denys þe tyraunt… of with fyre: *Poly* III, 21 (cxxxvj$^{r–v}$).

10399–10407 Othus, oþerwise callyd…. þe chlyf closed: *Poly* III, 22 (cxxxvij^{r}–cxxxviij^{r}), with omissions.

10409–10434 The Romaynes ordeyned… to þe dethe: *Poly* III, 23 (cxlj^{v}–cxlij^{r}).

10435–10439 Arsanius othirwyse callyd… of one Pausanya: *Poly* III, 26 (cxlij^{v}).

10442–10530 The grete kynge… to a kyng: *Poly* III, 27 (cxliij^{v}–cxliiij^{v}).

10532–10710 The xiiij kynge… vyctory of wymmen: *Poly* III, 28 (cxlv^{r}–cxlvij^{v}), with some omissions. Compare ll. 1712–1775 and 6374–6435 for similar material on Amazonia.

10711–10758 Aftyr this… hele his woundys: *Poly* III, 20 (cxlviij^{r}–cxlix^{v}), with some

omissions.

10758–10759 Than whan Alisaunder… þe ilond Bragmans: *Poly* III, 30 (cxlix^{v}), with major omissions.

10762–10827 Aftyr this, Alisaunder… and Tholomei Sother: *Poly* III, 31 (clij^{r}–cliij^{v}), with some omissions.

10828–10843 Than Tholomeus… bishope of Iewes: *Poly* III, 32 (cliij^{v}–cliiij^{v}), with major omissions.

10844–10909 Tholomeus Philadelphus… Antyochus of Siria: *Poly* III, chapter entitled 'Iud cassibelanus and nemius' (clv^{r}–clvj^{v}), with major omissions.

10910–10930 Tholomeus Energetes… were hanged euerychone: *Poly* III, 33 (clvj^{v}–clvij^{r}), with major omissions.

10933–10951 The Romayns dyd… Than the Carta: *Poly* III, Chapter entitled 'Iud cassibelanus and nemius' (clv^{v}–clvj^{r}).

T: A reappraisal

It has become abundantly clear that the compiler of *T*, *L*, and *H* must have been a deeply learned, highly intelligent, and widely read individual who had knowledge of and access to a remarkably large number of books and prints. His techniques of compiling disparate sources, connections between which may initially have been merely associative, and integrating them into a new textual whole reveals his interests in biblical translation and exegesis, historical chronologies and developments, moral instruction, travel literature, and genealogical matters. Even though the choice of sources and excerpts is evidently selective, the selected passages are brought together in a manner that is cleverly integrative. The material, chosen from a wide variety of sources which at first glance do not have any close connections, is presented as a unified whole with a single perspective. This strong desire for unification and inclusiveness is accompanied by deep thinking about the features of the source texts. All the various aspects discussed above, textual as well as palaeographical, point toward the compiler's compendious attitude and his desire to present a unified and logically as well as palaeographically consistent text. *T* was a well thought-out project which would have required not only a considerable amount of time but also careful and thorough planning of the text.

Obviously, such a careful revision of the source texts can be seen as an act of interpretation by a later reader; as 'medieval criticism'.[573] It is thus of use in reconstructing a reception history for the various source texts. This is valuable because, as Derek Pearsall has pointed out, 'the canons of taste according to which an author was received are an important part of our understanding of that author'.[574] The compiler of

[573] (Harris 1983, 28)
[574] Pearsall (1984: 128)

the manuscript is both reader and writer, which means that the way in which he edits his sources provides insight into how the excerpted texts were read and how they could be adapted to different discourses and frameworks. At the same time, the manuscript can be of use in reconstructing a part of the history of reading itself, as it reveals contemporary reading and writing habits at the historically significant intersection between print and manuscript culture. *T*, together with its sister manuscripts *L* and *H*, clearly demonstrates the close interplay between manuscript and print at the close of the Middle Ages.[575] All three manuscripts contain texts copied from both manuscript and printed sources, and as such provide evidence as to the relationship between both media. As has been recognised in recent scholarship, there was a great deal of continuity between the two media in spite of their technological differences, and early readers do not seem to have perceived them as radically different from each other, as suggested by examples of hybrid forms, such as bound volumes which include both manuscript and print quires.[576] The biggest difference between the two media was one of audience: whilst manuscripts could be intended for a single individual, or small groups, printed books addressed a large audience to make their production worthwhile in economic terms.[577] In a way, the compiler of *T* counteracts this development in taking the printed works back to a potentially smaller and more specialised audience. The *Polychronicon* is copied by hand from Caxton's print, put into a new context, and enriched with additions from other texts which give *T* a new direction. Whilst *T* does seem to envisage a mixed audience, it is likely to have been an audience whose interests were more specific, and perhaps more learned in religious matters than the intended audience of Caxton's print. A similar specialisation and narrowing down of the intended audience is arguably the case for *H* and *L*, and accounts for their respective foci on christological

[575] For further background on this interplay, see Boffey (2012).
[576] See, for instance, Boffey (2009).
[577] Varila (2016: 3).

themes and contemporary history. It is striking that in *L*, the printed version of the *Polychronicon* seems to have been regarded as more authoritative than the compiler's own translation on the whole, as the print prompted some large-scale revision of the earlier draft. In his subsequent copy of the *Polychronicon* in *T*, the compiler used almost exclusively Caxton's print, and only goes back to his own translation in very isolated instances (cf. pp. 180-181). In the context of contemporary culture, such copying from and addition to the later books of the *Polychronicon* and the *Brut*, both from manuscript and print sources, is not at all unusual – as Julia Boffey observes, '[a]fter 1480, a complex web of textual relationships between copies of the *Brut* and the *Polychronicon* grew from a variety of forms of transmission in which it is virtually impossible to disentangle separate strands of manuscript and print.'[578] The close relationship between manuscript and print can thus be seen perhaps most clearly in historiographical works, and the evidence of previously neglected manuscripts such as *T*, *H*, and *L* can make significant additions to our as yet incomplete view of this crucial point of transition at the close of the Middle Ages.

Considering *T* within the framework of medieval universal history has proved to be a fruitful context within which to situate this text. This genre has, perhaps, not been considered in scholarship to the extent which reflects its full significance in the Middle Ages, partly due to the lack of available critical editions of many of these texts.[579] In relation to monastic universal history writing, *T* is one of the last texts of its kind, a text which still invokes the models of viewing history as a holistic, interconnected whole, rather than the more fragmented, localised, and politicised examples of history writing which are more prominent at the end of the fifteenth century. There are very few notable examples of similar approaches to universal history writing in England after *T*. A

[578] Boffey (2012: 63).
[579] Campopiano (2017: 15).

somewhat curious and unique heir to this tradition is the sixteenth-century Welsh *Cronicl* by soldier Elis Gruffudd, completed in Calais in 1552. The *Cronicl* is a history of the world spanning nearly 2500 pages, with the first part covering the period from Adam up to 1066, and the second part from 1066 to 1552.[580] The chronicle bears witness to Gruffudd's extraordinarily wide reading in Welsh, English, French, and Latin.[581] The *Polychronicon*, probably in Trevisa's translation, has been named as one of Gruffudd's possible sources in terms of structure,[582] bearing witness to the fact that this tradition of universal history still found the occasional compiler in the sixteenth century. The creative process behind this chronicle is in some regards comparable to that of *T*, although it includes entirely different sources and is written in a different language:

> Not only was it necessary for the author to select, arrange and splice together this disparate material, he had also to impose some kind of literary unity upon his work […]. […] Elis Gruffydd succeeded in this task, mainly through the consistency of his approach and above all by imposing his own idiosyncratic style […] over the whole massive text.[583]

Similar claims could be made about the compiler of *T*. The *Chronicl* represents perhaps the last attempt at universal history in the tradition of Higden, written in Welsh at the close of the Middle Ages, just as *T* is one of the last texts of this type in Middle English.

Although she played a crucial role in renewing critical interest *T*, Kate Harris also depreciatingly described *T* as an example of a compiler 'working at the end, but also at the nadir, of the proud tradition of monastic history writing'.[584] Contrary to this point of view, the present study has uncovered the intricacy of the compiler's use of sources, composition, and compilatory techniques. Far from being a simplistic text

[580] Morgan (1971: 16). The chronicle is discussed in further detail in Hunter (2004) and Lloyd-Morgan (2005).
[581] For a more detailed identification of sources, see Jones (1960).
[582] Jones (1960: 6) and Morgan (1971: 18).
[583] Lloyd-Morgan (2005: 85).
[584] Harris (1993: 75).

produced at the nadir of a proud tradition, *T* is one of the last texts to show the medieval desire for system, order, and universal thinking – a text in which we can see the vestiges of what C. S. Lewis called 'the tranquil, indefatigable, exultant energy of passionately systematic minds bringing huge masses of heterogeneous material into unity'.[585] Oxford, Trinity College, MS 29 contains a final attempt at looking at the world and its history from a holistic, harmonious, all-inclusive perspective – a perspective which was on the verge of disappearing irrevocably.

[585] Lewis (1964: 10).

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