CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN MEDIEVAL TEXTS AND DIGITAL EDITIONS:

THE REMEDIATION OF HARLEY 4205

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ABSTRACT

While the knightly and kingly images of the British Library's MS Harley 4205 are visually intriguing, there has been little research dedicated to this manuscript. These figures and their textual counterparts reveal a tension central to this manuscript between its repetitious features and identifying markers. While there are many repetitious elements of Harley 4205, these features do not indicate a static work; rather, the features of Harley 4205 display a dialogue with other materials and its audience. Harley 4205 will be approached as a case study, to explore the relationship between manuscript presentation, content, and form in the communication of information to its reader. Further, Harley 4205's remediation as a digital facsimile increases accessibility to the book. Considerations of how digitization both benefits and limits interacting with this manuscript will bring digital and medieval understanding of text into dialogue, a potentially beneficial relationship for both. An appreciation of the effects of digital remediation on medieval texts can be significant, for digital editions make medieval works that would otherwise be difficult, if not impossible, to access increasingly available to a wider audience.

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CHAPTER 1:

THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH ON HARLEY 4205

Medieval manuscripts are a diverse and rich field of study, made particularly complex by the variety of historical, cultural, and technical elements they display. A manuscript codex that has received little scholarly attention is British Library MS Harley 4205, produced in the late medieval period. Yet it is a book worth studious consideration as it highlights the intricacies of the relationships between producer, reader, community, and history. Central to this book is repetition, as is seen in the production methods and heraldic elements. The repetition of images and verses is a notable aspect that could make this book seem static, as though it is merely a recycling of past information without offering anything new to the reader. However, there are other elements that hint at interactions with the book's original audience and with viewers through remediated forms. Thus, the book is dynamic, in that there is an interaction and exchange of information between the audience and the texts. This study considers in detail the features of Harley 4205 that illuminate aspects of manuscript production, heraldry, and digital remediation. Further, this study contemplates the conflict of the static and dynamic elements within this book and how the repetitive elements reveal some uncommon features of Harley 4205.

Harley 4205 measures 390 x 290 mm and consists of 112 folios, with 10 non-foliated flyleaves. It was produced on paper, the chain lines visible even in the digital facsimile. The red leather binding is modern. The book shows sign of wear, with fols. i-g.r through 1v being particularly damaged around the outside edges. Harley 4205 is mainly comprised of three sections. The parts are versions of different sources with images of kings or knights: Part I is a copy of a Middle English poem, "At Westminster William I-crowned was;" Part II is likely a partial copy of a heraldic visitation record; and Part III is a copy of the "Great Roll." The figures of knights and kings in Harley 4205 indicate social status and position, as royalty or having knighthood, as opposed to individualizing their subjects. The identity of these figures is illustrated through text and emblazonment. The sections were separately produced, then bound together at a later date.

The first part of Harley 4205, fols. 1r to 8r, contains a series of kings with verses. The figures are very similar, standing on the righthand side of the page, beside a frame that contains a stanza about a specific king (see *Fig. 1.1* below). Their faces point down, looking at the verses. The verses identify the kings beside them and are in chronological order: William I (fol. 1r), William II (fol. 1v), Henry I (fol. 2r), Stephen (fol. 2v), Henry II (fol. 3r), Richard I (fol. 3v), John (fol. 4r), Henry III (fol. 4v), Edward I (fol. 5r), Edward II (fol. 5v), Edward III (fol. 6r), Richard II (fol. 6v), Henry IV (fol. 7r), Henry V (fol.7v), and Henry VI (fol. 8r). The figures are wearing armour with spurs, over which they wear a tabard, emblazoned with the royal arms: *gules two lions passant gardant in pale or*. Notably, the illustrator acknowledged the change in the royal arms by increasing the number of lions to three, starting on fol. 3r. Another change occurs on fol. 6r: *quarterly, 1 and 4, azure three fleurs de lys or; 2 and 3, gules three lions*

Fig. 1.1: King Stephen stands beside his verse: (c) British Library Board London. British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. 2v.

passant gardant in pale or. The figures carry swords, held upright in their right hands, coming out from behind the frames. Empty sheaths are seen on their left hips, and undrawn swords hang from their right. In their left hands, the kings hold sceptres, adorned with birds, all very similarly designed except for fol. 1r, which differs only slightly. Crowns, ringed with crosses, rest on their heads. Whereas the bodies are drawn in the same basic shape, the faces are individualized, with varying expressions and facial hair. The tabards are fully coloured and there is some colour in the faces, but elsewhere there is only a little colour, inconsistently added, or shading. Starting at fol. 4v, shields displaying the kings' coats of arms are added above the verses. Half of each shield is impaled with the kings' maternal lineage, although some are left blank. These inconsistences suggest that the illustrator was not completely informed in regards to the maternal arms. Some of the pages have a few lines written outside the frame or the king's name above his head. Numerous leaves are damaged, resulting in some missing text (e.g. fol. 1r) and some attempts to repair are visible.

Part II, from fol. 9r to 40v, of Harley 4205 contains numerous knights on horseback (see *Fig. 1.2* below). The knights are drawn with spurs, full armour and weapons. There are four knights per page, arranged so that they are jousting in pairs. One pair on each page hold crossed jousting lances and shields. The other pair features one knight with a sword, raised above his head, and his opponent is holding a sword, positioned behind him, so that it runs along his back. In the opponent's other hand, there is a club or nothing; these hands are often erased and redrawn on the neck of the horse after fol. 13r. Signs of attempted erasures are clear, as there is usually a black ink smudge with the outline of the hand just visible. The helmets are largely the same, with some being slightly more round and others more pointed, and are adorned with torses. The visors on their helmets are closed and the designs are very similar, although some of the visors extend farther than the others. The basic features of the knights are very similar, as are the horses they ride. They are warhorses, illustrated in partial bard with a trapper, spiked shaffron, reins, and saddle.

The basic outline of the knights illustrates their status but not their identity, a task performed by heraldry and text. These knights are all wearing helmets with their visors down. The knights are highly coloured in a variety of inks. One knight (fol. 34v) is only half coloured and a number do not have their shields coloured in (e.g. fols. 17v, 24r, and 37r). Symbols are added according to the knight's armorials. The knights' tabards and the horses' trappers display

the same coat of arms, used to individualize and identify the knights. Unlike the tabards and trappers, which are illustrated with standard heraldic colours and patterns, the other parts of the figures are filled in with other colours and shading. There is grey, used mostly on the armour,

Fig. 1.2: Knights jousting in pairs: (c) British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. 11r.

created by shading, which is also used to add depth to the images. While their outlines remain largely the same, the horses come in a variety of colours: white, dappled (dark and light), brown, grey, and black. The horses' small features, such as eyes, ears, and tails, seem to be individually drawn, as there is much more variation in these. While the emblazoning of the knights makes each distinct and identifiable, they are also labelled. The name of the knight is added, usually above his head or below his horse. There are a few errors in the spelling, which have been crossed out and corrected (fols. 12r, 30v, and 34r). Further, the knights are categorized into counties: Suffolk (fols. 9r-17v), Essex (fols. 18r-29v), Kent (fols. 30r-36v), and Yorkshire (fols. 37r-40v). Fol. 23 is an inserted leaf, with one knight and a crest filled in with blue. The knight is labelled "Willen cope of essex gentil man." Although the design of this knight is visibly different

from the others, it is clear that he has been styled after the other knights of Part II. This suggests that the added knight was not reproduced with the same method as the others, with a method of reproduction. This insertion was added later, by an unknown person and illustrator, and is notably on parchment, instead of paper.

Part III of Harley 4205, fol. 41r to fol. 112r, contains knights holding standards and is the final section (see *Fig. 1.3* below). Like the kings of Part I, these are single knights per page, with a sword on their left hips, flag pole in their right hands, and standing facing to the left. As well, the visors of their helmets are open, and their faces are individually drawn. The visors vary slightly in design. The tops of their helmets differ as well, with some just being simply rounded and others having a stylish adornment. Their armour is generally like that of the knights in Part II, although these knights show more variation. They are also individually emblazoned, as the

Fig. 1.3: Knight with banner: (c) British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. 54v.

previous knights were. Their names are written at the bottom or top of the pages. Near the end of Harley 4205 some of the pages lack the illustrations, although they have the names at the bottom. The faint outline of a shield is just visible in the corner of some of the leaves, more noticeable on

the folios without illustrations. The names and shields indicate that there was a plan to illustrate more knights. Further, it suggests that either the illustrator or someone helping with production sketched this information onto the pages before the illustrations were added. This indicates an orderly process to the production, as well as suggesting the possibility of collaboration.

Harley 4205 contains some extra leaves with designs or text that are not directly related to the main three sections. These leaves contain material that may offer important insight into the codex itself. There are 10 non-foliated flyleaves from i to iv. Prior to the main components of Harley 4205, there are seven of these leaves, from fol. ia-r to fol. ig-v. On fol. ie-r, there is a date, "27 May 1720," which was written when the book was sold to Robert Harley. The other leaves contain a few notes, mostly relating to further information or sales. On the opposite side of the last leaf of the final section, fol. 112v, is an interesting assortment of heraldic symbols, including a flower, bull, boar, a knot, bird's foot, black bird, a staff with a cross in its centre and three lions (two white and one gold). At the bottom of the page, lightly sketched in pencil, there is a star, a bird, and another knot. As the other designs were drawn in such detail, these images could have been sketched by the same hand as the others, with the intention of filling them in with more detail. It seems unlikely that these images are simple doodles, as they were rendered with an attention to detail and filled in with colour. These were likely unplanned, as a name can be seen at the bottom of the page, indicating that a knight was originally planned for this page. Thus, the designs were probably drawn later than the knights of Part III and are evidence of continued interaction with the pages. Possibly, these were meant to render some of the symbols seen on the knights larger and in more detail. On the leaf opposite the designs, fol. ii-r, is a small note, which includes a count of the "112 fols." and shows possible water damage, with the symbols from the previous page impressed in the reddish tinge. On fols. ig-v and 1r, there are also some small hourglass illustrations, reportedly an addition made under the direction of a later owner, Thomas Benolt.

A complicating factor of the history of Harley 4205 is the fact that the three parts of the manuscript were originally separate entities that were later put together. Part I has been dated to 1431-1460. Kathleen L. Scott notes that the *terminus post quem* is given because of the mention of Henry VI's coronation in this year in one of the verses (244). The *terminus ante quem* is given because of this section's association with Roger Legh, Clarenceux King of Arms 1435-1460, who died in this year (244). Scott suggests that the period can be likely narrowed down to 1445-1450

because of "stylistic association with the Aldermen of London" (244), in reference to the figures found in "The Guildhall Leaves," a collection of leaves with stylistic and historical connections to Harley 4205. Part II is definitely dated prior to 1448, likely before 1446, as Sir Richard Wydville on fol. 30r is not referred to as "'Earl Rivers,'" a title granted to him in this year (244). Part III is the latest section to have been made, likely from 1482-94 or the early sixteenth century (244). The first time frame is possible because this section could have been added under the direction of Sir Thomas Holme. The second time frame is suggested because of the connection between these knights and "the figures in Writhe's Garter Book" (244). All three parts were produced in England and very likely in London (244). While the sections were all created at different times, Scott notes that the paper of Part III "is probably from the same moulds as the rest of the book" (244), as indicated by the watermarks. Given the heraldic content, it is possible that the paper was bought at one time by someone within the College of Arms, the organizational body of heralds, and used at various times.

Throughout this study, I refer to Harley 4205 as a manuscript rather than a collection of manuscripts. However, it is also accurate to call it a collection of three manuscripts, as each part of Harley 4205 has its own source material and production details. Nevertheless, Harley 4205 is currently bound as one collection and it is beneficial at times to consider the manuscript codex as a single document. This is particularly true for discussions concerning the overall effect of the sections being bound together, as this joining affects interpretation of the codex as it is now. As sections of this discussion are centred on understanding Harley 4205 in its current state, it is necessary at times to consider it as a multifaceted but unified document.

Harley 4205, Additional 45133, and "The Guildhall Leaves" are collectively called "Sir Thomas Holme's Book." Anthony R. Wagner, considering the three collections and their relations to each other, notes that "There is no certainty that the three collections ... were at any one time all bound between two covers or possessed by one owner" (*Catalogue* 92). However, he does contend that sections of Harley 4205 and Additional 45133 were included in the same manuscript at one point, as were Additional 45133 and "The Guildhall Leaves." He details the commonalities amongst them, including similar hands and ownership. Wagner suggests a series of connections between the manuscripts. Parts of the three works considered as "Sir Thomas Holme's Book" "have associations with the office of Clarenceux" (92) and may have been passed down from each Clarenceux King of Arms to the next. It is Wagner who states most clearly why

the collections have been grouped under one title. While he admits that the issue of the collection's history and grouping will never be fully understood, Wagner asserts that "the connexions between the different sections are so close that they are most easily considered as parts of one book" (92). Considerations of the connections between Harley 4205, Additional 45133, and "The Guildhall Leaves" offer significant information concerning the manuscripts.

"The Guildhall Leaves" are specifically significant to consider in relation to Harley 4205, for they reveal a likely method of production. These leaves display a series of fifteenth-century aldermen, with their left hands resting on plaques and the right holding shields with helmets. The plaques contain space for twelve shields, although most are not filled in. The names of the Aldermen are in a scroll design, next to their heads. There are fourteen leaves, with a double folio containing trial drawings (Scott 245). The figures in "The Guildhall Leaves" are reminiscent of the Harley 4205 kings:

> The Aldermen, Mayor, and, with slight variation, the Prior were made by two artists after a single model and virtually after one scheme of colouring … All are full-length, standing figures (28-29 cm. in height), dressed in a split, floor-length gown usually of blue or green edged in brown, which is held at the waist by a belt with a long drop. A cloak, usually in a rosy pink, is thrown over the left shoulder and drops straight from the extended right arm to reveal a grey lining marked in brown in large squares like a plaid; this lining may have been part of the livery of aldermen. The sole variant in costume is the head-gear, which may be a puffed hat with a rolled brim or a chaperon. (246)

The reproduction using a single model with slight alterations, the colouring, the figures' stance and their faces are features like those of the kings. While the figures are obviously different in the specific features used to categorize them as aldermen, these features indicate one or more of the same illustrators worked on both. Scott describes one of the illustrators of "The Guildhall Leaves," whom she terms Hand A, as one who "usually worked in a black ink with a pale grey tone for facial shading and used the pen with nervous, rather scratchy movements. Facial colouring is pale and used sparingly" (246). This description is reminiscent of the hand that drew Part I of Harley 4205 and Scott asserts that they are the same (246). The similarities between the aldermen of "The Guildhall Leaves" is also noted by Derek Keene, who states that the aldermen have been credited to Legh and that the method of production was pouncing (268-269). Pouncing was a method by which a sheet with a dotted outline and a pouch of charcoal dust could be used

to produce the same outline on a surface below the sheet. This method allows for a figure to be produced repeatedly. Scott's note that the illustrator made the aldermen "using a single model for all" (244) supports a method like pouncing for the production of the figures in Harley 4205. Keene states that the use of reproduction is a strong indication "that these were not portraits but primarily models for the heraldry" (269). The association of Harley 4205 with Additional 45133 and "The Guildhall Leaves" supports the heraldic origin of Harley 4205, while "The Guildhall Leaves" also offer insight into the probable method of reproduction and the illustrator of Part I.

Roger Legh is a significant figure in the creation of Harley 4205, although his exact role is uncertain. He was Clarenceux King of Arms, 1435-1460, and has been identified as the first owner of the manuscript (Scott 244). Part III was made after Legh's death, in 1460, but Parts I and II were certainly made while he lived. It is possible that these sections of Harley 4205 were made for or by Legh. Harley 4205 is listed in Thomas Benolt's 1534 inventory as having been "made by Roger Ligh" (Wagner, *Catalogue* 92). The ascription to Legh "would probably rest on [Benolt's] knowledge" (Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry* 111), instead of any physical indication in the manuscript itself. Further, Wagner argues that "one would be tempted to suggest the identification of the series of aldermen as Roger Leigh's [*sic*] Visitation of London and of the equestrian figures as Hawkeslowe's 'Visitation of many shires … painted with men of armys'" (114), since the description of two items in Benolt's inventory seem to refer to "The Guildhall Leaves" and Part II of Harley 4205. However, the manuscript's association with Wriothesley makes it difficult to be sure, as a conflict between Wriothesley and Benolt makes it unlikely for these manuscripts to have been included in Benolt's inventory. These individuals and their connections with Harley 4205 will be explained in more detail later. Thus, Legh cannot be absolutely identified as the illustrator, as there exists little strong evidence to support his direct contribution.

The provenance of Harley 4205 is incomplete, but there is enough evidence to trace a general history of the manuscript from heraldic institutions to its digitization. It is unknown who the original owner was. However, the dates given for the earliest section suggest Legh or another high-ranking herald was the first owner of Part I. The fact that the manuscript was passed along among heralds supports the notion that each section was originally owned by and possibly created under the direction of a herald. William Hawkeslowe, Clarenceux King of Arms 1461-1476, likely inherited the manuscript (Scott 244), although there is no direct evidence that he

possessed it. It is some time after this that Part III was added. Harley 4205 passed to Sir Thomas Holme, Clarenceux King of Arms 1476-85 and 1487-94, who was made a member of the Order of the Garter in 1482. His arms appear on fol. ig-r, within a garter, which suggests that this addition was made after his induction into the order. Holme's name gave the title "Sir Thomas Holme's Book of Arms" to Harley 4205, as well as the three-piece collection the manuscript is a part of. It is possible that the three sections of Harley 4205 were combined during his ownership of the material.

While Holme bequeathed his book collection to his Clarenceux successors (Godfrey 78), it is still unclear who owned the manuscripts after Holme's death in 1494. Harley 4205 should have gone to Roger Machado, Clarenceux King of Arms 1494-1510. Holme was godfather to Sir Thomas Wrythe, also called Wriothesley (78), who was made Garter King of Arms in 1505 (Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry* 83). Wagner terms Machado "a sleeping partner" (86), as he was content to let Wriothesley use the powers granted by both offices. However, when Thomas Benolt became Clarenceux King of Arms in 1511, a power struggle ensued. This ended in the spring of 1530, when the right of visitations was given "once and for all to the provincial kings" (99), making Benolt the victor. However, Wagner notes that Benolt claimed "Wriothesley had embezzled the office books" (114-115), supported by the fact that Additional 45133 has "additions in Wriothesley's own hand" (115). The hourglass-shaped marks, found on fols. ig-v and 1r, have been attributed to Benolt (Scott 244-245; Wright 70). The mark could have been added to Harley 4205 when Benolt took inventory in 1534 and the manuscript has been suggested as a match to one of the descriptions of the inventory: "Item a booke of Visitation of many shires wt. Lond. and princes painted wt. men of armes made by Roger Legh als. Clarencieux king of armes" (Scott 244). However, Wagner asserts that "if these collections belonged to Wriothesley it is a little difficult to suppose that they passed to Benolt in time to be included in the inventory of 1534" (114). It is possible that the mark is not Benolt's or that it was added later; "The question whether or not these are parts of the books referred to in Benolt's inventory must therefore for the present remain open" (115). Further, it is possible that Benolt received the manuscript from Wriothesley, after his victory in 1530, or that Part I was not taken by Wriothesley when he took Additional 45133.

After this uncertainty, Harley 4205 likely continued to be passed down the line of Clarenceux Kings of Arms until the seventeenth century. In its description of the ownership of

Harley 4205, the British Library ("Harley MS 4205") notes that the "Added coloured drawings of heraldic motifs," found on fol. 112v, were from the sixteenth century. There is no evidence to indicate ownership of the manuscript at this time and it is not possible to determine the illustrator. The next known owner was Christopher Bateman, a "bookseller and book auctioneer in London" (Wright 66). Bateman sold the manuscript to Robert Harley on May 27th, 1720. A note of this sale date is found on fol. ie-r. Robert (1661-1724) and his son, Edward Harley (1689-1741), created the Harley collection (British Library, "History of the Harley Library"). The collection was bequeathed to Edward's wife, Henrietta Cavendish (1694-1755), then to their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (1715-1755). Henrietta and Margaret sold a collection of Harley manuscripts to the nation, for the British Museum, in 1753, for £10,000, a sum the British Library considers to have been "a fraction of their contemporary value" ("Harley 4205"). The Harley Collection joined with other significant contributions "to form part of the Museum's foundation collections" (Wright xxxiv). In 1972, the British Library Act was passed, combining the library departments of the British Museum with several other British libraries to form the British Library (British Library, "History of the British Library"). To provide greater accessibility to its manuscript collections, the British Library's *Digitised Manuscripts*, an ongoing effort driven by numerous smaller projects, makes digital facsimiles of a wide variety of manuscripts available to the general online public.

Scholarly and critical analysis of Harley 4205 has been sparse. Scott offers the most comprehensive review of this manuscript, discussing the material and its history in great detail. The knights of Part II have been noted by Robin Flower, who suggests that they "are drawn with great spirit and the heraldic devices are displayed in very effective colouring" (83). The style of these knights contrasts with that of the kings, who Scott states are reminiscent of "paper dolls" (244). The textual elements of Harley 4205 have been discussed in relation to a series of manuscripts that contain the same text. Linne R. Mooney offers an excellent exploration of the poem found in Harley 4205, which she titles the anonymous "Kings of England," through considerations of its variant versions. The poem, also identified as "At Westminster William I-crowned was" by *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (DIMEV 727, IMEV/ NIMEV 444), has been found in sixteen manuscripts but the original author and source are unknown. Mooney argues that the verses serve as propaganda, to assure the reader of the king's right to rule (271, 276). Regarding the nobility from the sixteenth century, Mooney states that the verses "remind

the nobility again of Henry's right to the English throne and of the inherited power of the Crown" (276). E. A. Jones notes that discussions of the text rarely appreciate the significance of the images; "The 'imagetext' that results is arguably more persuasive than the text alone in achieving its undoubted aim: presenting the Lancastrian dynasty as the latest in an orderly succession of legitimate rulers of England" (194). Thus, the verses and the king figures work together to reinforce the notion of the Lancastrian kings' inherited right to the throne.

Heraldic literature is an often overlooked area of study. G. A. Lester argues that heraldic literature is nevertheless significant. He notes that heralds were "important agents in the production and dissemination of English writings at the end of the Middle English period" (*Literary Activity* 222) and suggests that their "descriptive narratives form a significant body of literature" (224) worthy of serious consideration. It is likely that heraldic literature is understudied because of the high expense of reproducing these works, which were usually illustrated with colour by necessity of the heraldic subject matter. As a heraldic manuscript, Harley 4205 seems to have generally succumbed to this underappreciation. Much of the work that references the manuscript directly offers a vague and short description. Wagner discusses the manuscript in relation to heraldry, although his contribution focuses more on heraldic history rather than literary value. Indeed, the poem in Harley 4205 is not of particularly high literary merit; it is repetitive and offers little critique of its subject matter. However, the digitization of heraldic literature offers access to more scholars and may result in a better appreciation for the material.

Harley 4205 is significant to study for the intriguing production and reproduction used by its creators. The use of repetition is not static in this manuscript. Instead, copying from other works and the repetitive figures represent interaction between this manuscript and the sources and its audience. Copying material from other sources but in a different style indicates that an exact reproduction of the information is not the intention of the creators. Instead, this manuscript is offering an interpretation of the work. The reproduction of images highlights the purpose of these images: identification. The basic outlines indicate that the figure is a king or a knight and the text and emblazonment is added to individualize the figures. Further, the combination of these copied materials affects interpretation of the information.

The heraldic elements of Harley 4205 speak to the manuscript's origin and content, while also revealing the necessity of reproducibility that simultaneously individualizes. Heraldry

impacts the materiality of the manuscript, seen in the social, military, political, and historical connections. The formulaic verses on the kings and the repetitive figures are aspects of the manuscript that show an intent by the producers of Harley 4205 to reproduce text and images. Heraldry depends on repetition and uniformity; it is necessary to use standard colours and forms. Further, the emblazoned designs must be reproducible to function as effective identification. However, there are also aspects of individualization, seen in the naming and, most importantly, the emblazonment of the knights. Heraldry requires repetition to accurately indicate an identity and yet individualization is a core function. This dynamic between replication and individualization impacts the information conveyed. Further, heraldry is a coded system, relying on its own language and blazon. Thus, the information must be properly coded, by one knowledgeable in the specialized field, and then decoded by the viewer. While there are textual elements, the primacy of visual information and the use of full figures contribute to the visual appeal of the manuscript.

Having a digitized facsimile places Harley 4205 in dialogue with the digital age. The new environment offers a medium wherein normally understudied material can be examined. The digital form echoes the replication/ individualization dynamic seen in Harley 4205. As the manuscript includes remediated copies of other material, so too does the digital facsimile of Harley 4205 affect communication of information in ways that can be both beneficial and limiting. Digital facsimiles make manuscripts more readily available and malleable, while also supporting collaborative research. However, the loss of experiential data is a potentially restrictive feature of the digital. Manuscripts also offer significant contributions to the considerations of digital facsimiles by offering a different understanding of text than that informed by print; manuscripts emphasize plurality and can create a dialogue with the material rather than being a strict recreation of the source material. Thus, the relationship between manuscripts and their digital facsimiles is a continuation of this dialogue. The digitization of Harley 4205 affects modern readers' interpretation of the manuscript; this process grants not direct access to the work but to a remediated digital facsimile.

CHAPTER 2:

MEDIEVAL PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION

Harley 4205 offers insight into manuscript production by drawing attention to its own creation. It emphasizes significant aspects common to general manuscript production in the basic elements while its unique features also highlight the intention of its creators. Rowan Watson notes that "Medieval manuscripts rarely provide many obvious clues as to how they were made" (62). Harley 4205 is an exception to this statement, for its design and flaws call attention to the act of its production. Harley 4205 is made up of three distinct sections: the kings and their verses; the jousting knights; and the knights with banners. Created at different times, each section contains repetitive figures which are individualized through colour and text. There are many differences between the sections, yet Harley 4205 is not a completely irregular work. The heraldic subject matter necessitates a striking use of colour and an emphasis on visual information. The repetitive figures and verses also support the heraldic focus of the manuscript; these act as models for identifying markers to be added. Thus, the repetition, while a stable element, acts as a foundation for the features of Harley 4205 that identify the figures. Presentation of this information is significant; it reveals a communication between audience, creators, and sources. This codex does not act as a passive conduit of the information; rather, the creators added interpretation and purpose to the work which is then engaged with by the audience. Harley 4205 reveals the impact of production method choices on the audience's interpretation of the document.

The materials used to construct Harley 4205 are significant components that reveal important information about the manuscript. Medieval manuscripts were most commonly made of parchment. Paper was another common medium from which codices were created, a support that "led to lower production costs and increased production" (Buringh & Van Zanden 440) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, paper was not embraced during the medieval period as a cost-efficient, albeit inferior-quality, alternative to parchment. Paper was resisted because the material was viewed as lacking the inherent qualities of parchment (Clemens &

Graham 6-7). Paper was perceived as lacking the inherent authority of parchment, as emphasized by Emperor Frederick II's decision to forbid "the use of paper for documents having legal authority" (6) in the thirteenth century. This anxiety concerning the use of paper is illustrated by Johannes Tritheim (1462-1516), a German Benedictine abbot, who laments in *De laude scriptorum*: "If writing is put on parchment it may last for a thousand years, but how long is it going to last if it is printed on such a thing as paper?" (7). This perception of paper's lower quality continued into the late Middle Ages, evidenced by "the decision of many wealthy collectors to have printed books copied onto parchment" (7). Thus, the type of surface chosen for the manuscript can aid in determining the purpose of the work. Harley 4205 was created using paper, not parchment, suggesting a work of lesser status and of no particular legal authority. This does not seem to indicate a depreciation of the information; rather, it might suggest an appreciation of what the information represents and a focus on how it is presented, rather than the surface.

The time frames that the three parts of Harley 4205 were produced in are significant to consider because of the introduction of print to fifteenth-century England. While the parts were made at various times, the earliest was likely produced 1445-1450, possibly even as early as 1431 (Scott 243). Notable about Part I being produced mid-fifteenth century is the dawn of printed objects. Buringh and van Zanden chart fluctuations of manuscript production in a chronological and regional context. For Europe at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century, they show the production of handwritten material decreasing, becoming less common in comparison to the rise in printed objects:

> The sharp decline in manuscript production after 1470 … reflects the invention of printing and can be found everywhere in Europe. But it is clear that production of textual output per capita continued to grow during the century and a half following the Black Death … it probably accelerated after 1370, and again after 1470 as a result of the invention of the printing press. The number of incunabula (printed books produced during the second half of the fifteenth century) was already 150 percent higher than manuscript production during the entire fifteenth century (418-419)

The data collected by Buringh and Van Zanden does not suggest that manuscripts had become obsolete. Instead, manuscripts lingered after the invention of print, even retaining a status as prestigious objects. Manuscripts influenced the visible appearance of printed books, as printed

products "were not vastly different in appearance from what the manuscript book trade had produced" (Watson 72). However, it was not just the appearance of the books that manuscripts influenced but also how to use visual elements to comment on copied material. The method of reproducing the figures in the three sections can be paralleled to mechanized production—a move towards recreating the same image in an efficient manner. Even if print did not directly influence the creation of the sections of Harley 4205, it seems that an emerging or similar understanding of reproduction methods did. As print technologies evolved, the concept of mechanized copying would become more exact and aim to recreate full works. However, the production method of Harley 4205 emphasizes the transitions occurring during this time. Harley 4205 displays a conceptualization of mechanical reproduction, seen in a hand-production setting. Each section of Harley 4205 displays the mechanisms needed to recreate a basic figure repeatedly, while utilizing the individualization of hand production methods. These methods will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Harley 4205 does not possess the striking beauty of most illuminated manuscripts, yet its range of colours is significant to consider. During the medieval period, black ink was the most common and basic colour, usually used for the main text. Red ink was utilized to draw attention to certain words or passages, a process called rubrication. The presence of only some common colours suggests a lower-status manuscript whereas a plethora of colours indicates a costlier manuscript (Clemens & Graham 30). However, the figures of Harley 4205 are illustrated with more colours, as befits a heraldic manuscript. The standard heraldic colours—gules (red), azure (blue), vert (green), and sable (black)—are used throughout the manuscript. The heraldic colour purpure (purple) is the only one noticeably absent. However, there is no indication that this colour was purposefully avoided, as it is a rarer colour (Dennys 28). The furs, ermine and vair, are indicated through their standard patterns, as is the variation ermines. The metals, or and argent, are indicated in Harley 4205 by yellow and white space. Some manuscripts (but not Haley 4205) use gold and, very rarely, silver leaf to indicate the heraldic metals (Fox-Davies 70). Illuminating a manuscript with metal leaf was an expensive, laborious activity and its presence indicates a more extravagant manuscript. The more elaborate, costly materials would be used for manuscripts of particular worth, made for those that could afford the luxury. Further, the use of various inks indicates a manuscript's purpose. Thus, a manuscript with large, brightly coloured illustrations would be visually enjoyed, whereas a manuscript with large blocks of text would

need to be read to be appreciated. The extensive use of colour, while also a necessity for a heraldic manuscript, makes Harley 4205 a visually appealing manuscript codex. Further, the accurate use of heraldic colours, furs, and metals with the detailed emblazonment suggests that the artist(s) had an intimate knowledge of heraldic convention.

Like the visual cues that identify the figures as kings in Part I, the verses serve to assert each king's ability and right to rule. The text also individualizes the kings beside it. The kings displayed in Part I are listed in chronological order, from William I to Henry VI. This list is impressive, but it also serves to establish a line of inherited rulership. In Harley 4205, the verses are written in Middle English and the added text outside of the frames in Latin. The Latin texts was likely added at a later time, as the ink and hand do not match the verses. Mooney argues that these verses serve as propaganda, to assure and remind the reader of the king's right to rule (276). This is emphasized by the images beside them, which highlight the royal status and lineage. However, the images dominate the page and surround the text itself, reinforcing the focus on visual information seen throughout each section.

While the verses aid in identifying the kings, they echo the repetitiveness of the images beside them. Similar lines are used in each verse, slightly varied to reflect information on each king. Most of the verses begin with "After him regned" and end with where the king was buried. Another manuscript containing this poem is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole Rolls 21, for which Mooney provides a transcription. There are a few differences between the text as found in Harley 4205 and Ashmole 21. Largely, these variations are not substantial and are simply alternate spellings. The greatest variations can be found in the verses concerning Henry V (fol. 7v) and Henry VI (fol. 8r). The information added in Harley 4205 on Henry V just adds a little about his queen, Catherine. The added lines in Ashmole 21 on Henry VI relate to the king's marriage to Margaret of Anjou. Ashmole 21 also has kingly images. These figures are much smaller, contained within roundels, and appear less skillfully drawn than the kings in Harley 4205. From each of the roundels, lines indicate the succession. In Ashmole 21, the figures obviously serve to reinforce the line of descent. Similarly, the repetition of the kings in Harley 4205 achieves this purpose. While the faces of the figures are different, they are obviously not meant to be accurate portrayals of a certain king but suggest the equal status of each figure. The difference between the roll and codex forms is also significant with respect to the styles of portraying the kings. While the layout used in Harley 4205 could have been used in Ashmole 21,

a series of repeated figures would have been less effective at showing the progression of the kings. Even more so, the effect of the roundels and connecting lines would not have been supported in a codex like Harley 4205. The leaves would actually break the succession, undermining the lineage that the layout intends to support. Thus, format supports layout as much as it compels one design choice over the other.

While the emblazonment in Harley 4205 was correctly reproduced, the figures seem to have been made by a less competent hand. Scott's detailed description of the kings suggests that the illustrator was not an overly skilled artist, even if she does commend the faces; "While the bodies have no more substance than paper dolls, the faces, drawn in dark brown ink with scratchy pen-lines and tinted with flesh and brown colouring on the lower part of the face, are more naturally realized, with a sense of the bone structure and a pensive expression" (244). Harley 4205 is less intricate than some obviously elaborate manuscripts, like books of hours. Of course, this can be partly attributed to the method of production, as the kings and knights were likely created by reproducing the basic figure, leaving the bodies with the "paper doll" appearance noted by Scott. The method of reproduction resulted in a dull outline, whereas the hand production of the faces and emblazonment allowed for more embellishment.

The production is particularly noticeable in Part II, where the duplication of the figures and the erasures most clearly suggest production methods. Scott's description of the knights illustrates the repetitiousness of Harley 4205: "The horsemen are colourful but monotonous in that they were drawn from two sets of models, alternating between one pair tilting and the other pair in sword-combat" (244). Access to Harley 4205's digital facsimile allows for manipulation of the figures, providing useful information regarding production. Using the GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP) to decolourize and layer a partially transparent knight over another allows a direct comparison between the two outlines. Notably, the figures follow one of several patterns too closely to be considered the work of an artist carefully drawing freehand. This manipulation provides evidence that a method of copying using some kind of template was being utilized. When closely examined, the size, the length of the lines and position are too consistent to attribute to a freehand drawing or copying, however skilled. This evidence suggests that a basic outline was copied repeatedly.

Reproduction was common in medieval manuscript production. Even original works utilized a form of copying by the creation of a rough draft (Clemens & Graham 22). In relation to

images, it was fairly common practice to repurpose one image, by altering elements, to utilize it in another context (Nash 17). However, using a reproduction method that creates more exact copies was not as common; "Not enough [is known] about how this copying was done, and nothing about why it was done" (de Hamel 51). Illustrators were skilled enough to reproduce images like the kings of Part I, raising the question of what benefits were offered by using copying methods such as pouncing. In Harley 4205, restyling the same figure with identifying coat of arms is repeated in each part of the manuscript. The figures in the document did not necessitate individualization through their outline. Instead, the colours and design applied to the basic outline supplied the identifying features needed. Using a reproduction method allows an artist without the ability to produce so many of the same figure to accurately recreate the outlines. Further, given the number of outlines of knights, a reproduction method may have made the process of reproducing the figures more efficient, allowing for more time to be spent on the detail-oriented task of emblazoning the knights.

Two methods of copying, tracing and pouncing, are likely candidates for Harley 4205. Tracing was achieved with the use of a transparent paper, which would be used to transfer the image onto the intended surface. Pouncing made use of one sheet, with a dotted outline, being placed over the desired surface. Using a bag of some dust-like material to dab the first sheet, the artist could create a replica outline on the surface below it. Harley 4205's connections with "The Guildhall Leaves" are significant to consider here, as they provide evidence for pouncing. The reproduction using a single model with slight alterations, the colouring, and the stance of the aldermen in "The Guildhall Leaves" are similar to the reproduction method and style of the kings in Harley 4205. This association in style and the connection between "The Guildhall Leaves" and Harley 4205 suggest that the same method, pouncing (Keene 269), was used to produce both.

The inserted leaf, fol. 23, featuring one knight, contrasts with the other knights of Part II (see *Fig. 2.1* below). The knight is labelled "Willen cope of essex gentil man." This knight was drawn with intent to imitate the style of the other knights, yet it is obvious that it was not reproduced in the same way as the others. This insertion was added later, by an unknown illustrator, and is notably on parchment instead of paper. This knight is William Cope, 1450-1513, cofferer to Henry VII, as the emblazoned figure reveals: "*Argent, on a chevron Azure between three roses Gules, stalked and leaved Vert, as many fleurs-de-lis Or*" (Harvey & Vincent 15). There is no obvious familial connection to the College of Arms and no indication of why

Cope was added. This insertion is strange in the context of the other knights having been copied from another source. As the work was likely still owned by a herald during this time, it is possible that the insertion was created to acknowledge the event of Cope's becoming Henry VII's

Fig. 2.1: William Cope on the inserted leaf; detail view: (c) British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. 23r.

cofferer. This suggests that it was in the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century. The difference between the Cope figure and the other knights is emphasized by the variation in text. Whereas identity is the only information provided by the text, Cope's figure also includes a comment on his status. This puts the insertion in dialogue with the rest of Part II. There is a clear attempt to copy the style of the other knights and aesthetic appeal is also an aspect of the insertion, yet the context and details reveal that the knightly figure was used for praising the individual in this particular instance.

The erasures are another significant feature that reveal production skill and methods (see *Fig. 2.2* below). It is clear that some of the hands of the mounted figures underwent an attempted erasure. The erasure of ink with *spongia deletilis* was a relatively simple and effective process, as the ink "was easily wiped off, particularly when fresh" (Bologna 22). As a wet sponge is the most likely erasure tool, the fact that black watery stains remain suggest either that the mistakes were noticed too late to be properly erased or that the erasing was attempted by an unskilled hand.

However, how these erasures were achieved does not indicate why they were deemed necessary. Scott explains the extra hand as "A hazard of repetitious copying from models … where two models for knights with swords were conflated, with the result that the figures were given a total of *three* arms" (244). It is difficult to determine how the two figures were conflated. With the

Fig. 2.2: Erasure of knight's hand; detail view: (c) British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. 14r.

assumption that either tracing or pouncing was used as the method of copying, it is possible that the outline was difficult to see at times or even brushed off, resulting in a second figure being placed over top where an outline already existed. When the knights were traced out in ink, the extra hand would have been more apparent. Given that the hands are shown in various positions, it is also possible that the outline used had three arms, allowing the option for variation in the arm position. Evidence for this is seen in some of the knights (e.g. fol. 22r), where the original ink can be seen under the darker ink used for the correction, indicating that a hand was drawn on the horses' back as well as in the other two positions. While creating the outlines, the extra arm may not have been noticed and all three drawn on the figure until the mistake was found. The fact that this is an issue throughout Part II suggests that it was not spotted until later in the process, possibly not until after all the knight outlines were completed. This provides some support for pouncing, as it is unlikely that someone who etched the lines and then traced the same outlines in ink would fail to notice the extra arms.

While it is difficult to determine the exact reason the erasures were implemented, they reveal that Harley 4205 was likely done without a rough draft and emphasizes that the parts were

produced without one cohesive concept. In their discussion of manuscript production, Clemens and Graham state that original compositions were "The only time an exemplar was not necessary … but even then, authors would generally not proceed immediately to a fair copy; they would first prepare a draft on wax tablets or scrap parchment" (22). In the case of Harley 4205, however, the sections show signs that there was no rough draft. Obvious are the erasures, whose numerous appearances could possibly have been corrected when copying from a rough draft.

Numerous scribes and artists contributed to Harley 4205, as evidenced by the stylistic differences between the sections. Scott distinguishes two or three scribal hands in Harley 4205, with another two possible hands. Illustrator A is the artist hand of Part I, as well as being responsible for the frontispiece illustration of the landing ship. Illustrator A's hand shows little artistic design in the bodies of the human figures, whereas the faces are executed well. Of Illustrator B, the main hand of Part II, Scott notes that the knights are "colourful but monotonous" (244). Scott identifies a possible third artist in this section; "the colouring on some pages, e.g. f. 36, may indicate the less brilliant palette of a third (assisting) artist, B[1]" (244). Scott notes that Part III is certainly distinct in style from Illustrator A and contrasts the first and last hands; "The pen-line is harder, firmer, less nervous than A's, and even flatter and less animated. Here the motive is undeniably to record heraldic information, not to offer any extraneous (i.e. poetic) material or to impress with colours" (244). Scott does not note whether this hand is particularly distinct from Illustrator B. However, the difference in time frame and ownership suggest that the two sections were not done by the same artist. Further, the style seems substantially different, seen in the change from horseback to standing knights, and the helmet and armour design. Thus, it is likely that the main components of Harley 4205 were produced by four hands. The contribution of many individuals to this codex is an important aspect of general manuscript culture.

A major aspect of production is the collaborative nature of manuscript creation. Manuscripts can be intricate works, necessitating various skills from talented individuals. Manuscripts themselves vary greatly. They can be tomes overflowing with text or elaborate illustrations or a combination of words and images in variable degrees. In size, they range from minuscule marvels to colossal giants. This grand variation in manuscript form necessitated the development of specialized skills. It was common for two or more scribes to work as a team because "copying a text was generally lengthy, laborious work" (Clemens & Graham 22). The

time needed for completion could vary greatly; it depended on factors such as skill level, type of manuscript, and number of illustrations. As manuscript culture grew, book production became a highly-specialized process, creating specific jobs, such as rubricator, for the completion of certain aspects of the manuscript. Thus, a great variety and number of people would have been involved in producing manuscripts. The amount of energy and labour necessary to produce a manuscript made collaboration a significant benefit. Collaboration was the norm in the later Middle Ages and "was facilitated by the fact that the manuscript was still unbound and so could be distributed for different artists to work on the same time" (Alexander 49).

The incomplete nature of the sections also suggests collaboration. Harley 4205 is not a finished manuscript; some kings lack full colouring and, in Part III, there are leaves and crests that are not accompanied by a knightly figure. These unfinished elements stand as evidence of the stages of production, where one scribe or artist is performing a task and misses or never returns to complete part of a manuscript. The names and shields of the knights on blank leaves are likely notes of the desired figures to be placed on the page, instructing an artist to fill in the images at a later time.

Harley 4205 is a by-product of merging the materials after their production, and Part I particularly differs from the later sections. However, the manuscript still functions conceptually as a whole and seems to possess a sense of interconnectedness between the parts, namely the repetition and heraldic focus. The individual who put these works together may have been trying to impose order onto material that was not originally related. Thus, the manuscript codex may have been put together simply for its related subject matter. There is no clear indication that the parts were meant to comment on each other. Given Harley 4205's fragmented history, it is difficult to determine who was the intended audience for each section and for the eventual manuscript codex. Likely, the sections were meant to be appreciated by other heralds, as the content of Harley 4205 exemplifies and honours heraldic duty. Possibly, any interpretation of the manuscript codex as a whole is imposed by the viewer, allowing for dialogue between materials that were never intended to have a cohesive meaning.

Manuscript production was an ordered series of events that "broke down into a clearly defined series of stages" (Clemens & Graham 20). It would usually begin with the scribe, who would leave spaces for the illustrations and initials. While the illustrator could make use of whatever space was given, and there is evidence in manuscripts of cramming where the space is

not large enough, there is at least an appreciation for space allocation. However, in Harley 4205 the order of production is reversed, as the visual elements are given primacy. The images were created first, with the text added in after. This is particularly well illustrated in Part II, where some of the names were written around the knights (e.g. fol. 9v). The images are the primary method of conveying information, and the text adds secondary information. Even in Part I, where most of the text of the book appears, the images dominate the page, conveying to the viewer that the focus of the page is a king and illustrating the succession. The text then elaborates on the information given by the image. Yet, as in text-dominated manuscripts, the layering of tasks could have benefited the production of Harley 4205. Emblazoning the figures would have required specialized knowledge, whereas reproducing the outlines only necessitates a copying method, like pouncing. Thus, an amateur could have created the outlines to be later emblazoned by or under the direction of a heraldic specialist.

Details of Harley 4205, the material, repetition, erasures, numerous illustrators, and images, all display common features of manuscript production. In some features, the manuscript is typical, but others are specifically linked to heraldry. Harley 4205 is an image-dominated manuscript. The materials and production methods of Harley 4205 are evidence that the manuscript is not meant to be a high-status or informative work. The production of a manuscript is a structured and thoughtful process which is reflected in Harley 4205's focus on visual elements with textual support.

CHAPTER 3:

HERALDIC EMBLAZONMENT AND PROPAGANDA

Heraldry as a subject is broad and variable, combining elements from the fields of history, genealogy, art, and military activity. Heraldry is intriguing and complex, having even developed its own code, called blazon, which is visual and linguistic. Heraldic manuscripts show evidence of the social, political, and military aspects of heraldry. Because heraldry is such an ordered and ruled discipline, it is noteworthy when heraldic manuscripts deviate from the normal customs. In Harley 4205, the use of full figured knights displaying coats of arms is one way in which this manuscript is distinctive. Unlike many rolls of arms, this manuscript is also in codex form, not a roll. There are several possible explanations for these features, and, while unusual, they are not found only in this manuscript. Harley 4205 was produced during the Wars of the Roses, the unrest and insecurity of which clearly influenced the production of the manuscript.

Heraldry is a multi-layered institution, with various members given power and duties as befits their rank. Because heraldry developed in its early stages in a martial context, it is reasonable that the head of the institution in England was the Earl Marshal, a representative of the king's authority in military matters. Directly under the Earl Marshal were the Kings of Arms; the highest ranked of these were the Garter and Principal Kings of Arms, whose position provided them with authority and duties:

> Garter generally, and the other Kings of Arms in their own provinces, are to endeavour to have knowledge of all noble and gentle men dwelling therein, and especially those who ought to bear coats in the service of the king, his lieutenant, or commissaries, and to register their names, arms, and issue with proper difference … No herald is to give arms without the licence and seal of the first King of Arms or the King of Arms of the Province, nor are arms to be given to any vile or dishonest person. (Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry* 60-61)

These high-ranking heralds were not only to know and give heraldic titles but to govern the other heralds. The Garter King of Arms had the whole of the realm under his jurisdiction. There have

been numerous Kings of Arms, historically. However, the two most historically significant and consistent, known as the Provincial King of Arms, are Clarenceux and Norroy. Their areas are divided by the river Trent, with Clarenceux presiding over the south and Norroy in the north. Between these three, there was over a century of incidences regarding authority to grant arms (Dennys 137-138). Aside from governing the heralds, the Kings of Arms possess the authority to grant arms, a power which varied in degree over time. A significant duty of the King of Arms was that of visitations, trips taken to affirm the rightfulness of claimed arms, grant arms if needed, and take away those unlawfully held. Under Kings of Arms were heralds, whose duties changed more variably than those of their seniors. Finally, the Pursuivants of Arms were the lowest rank, who would perform many of the same duties as the heralds, while also attending their seniors (Fox-Davies 38). Heralds and pursuivants could be personally enlisted by the king and the high nobility (39). While low-ranked heralds may not have possessed the power to grant arms, there is a history of heralds forging information or of the heralds themselves being duped (Day 95-96). Thus, the field of heraldry was vulnerable to corruption. Because heraldry was a significant aspect of English society, as a means of identification and indicator of status, the authority of the Kings of Arms to assess the validity of individual arms, as well as their management of the lesser heralds, was an important duty.

The leaf just prior to Part I is highly illustrated and the recto shows a connection to Sir Thomas Holme, Clarenceux King of Arms. He is significant to the history of Harley 4205, yet was unlikely the creator or even the individual for whom the manuscript was originally created. On fol. ig-r, Holme's arms are illustrated, surrounded by a garter. The garter itself is in reference to the Order of the Garter, to which Holme was admitted in 1482, an organization which "occupied a practical political role in the English monarch's relations with his nobility" (Collins 20). The Order's motto, *hony soit qui mal y pense*, appears in the garter. Translated from French, the motto in full reads "shamed be he who thinks evil of it." Notably, the full motto is not visible, as the last word is missing. When studied closely, the blue on this leaf seems to have been redone, with a darker blue over a lighter blue. The lighter colouration is still in evidence around the letters. Likely, "pense" was originally on the garter, as evidenced by the word spacing, and the darker blue covers the last word. This indicates that the artist that retouched the blue did not know the motto or was not competent in French, as without "pense" ("thinks") the motto is nonsensical and grammatically incomplete. Further, the "q" of "qui" is missing its descender,

likely also covered by the dark blue. Holme's arms themselves have also received this treatment, although the darker blue has not obscured any details. The arms are, *quarterly, 1 and 4, barry of eight, azure and or, on a quarter argent a chaplet gules; 2 and 3, argent, on a chevron azure a crescent or, within a bordure engrailed sable*. Although the hand that drew and the hand that retouched Holme's arms were not particularly skilled, the arms are illustrated accurately.

Heralds were involved with literary production, an area they are not well known for. Roger Legh's exact contribution to the production of Harley 4205 is unknown. However, he is a possible source for the heraldic information and could be the hand that illustrated the emblazonment. The duties of heralds included creating records related to heraldry. One of the earliest requirements of heralds was the ability to identify armorial bearings and their responsibilities were focused on jousting and tourneys. As experts on armorials, heralds began creating records of such knowledge (Lester, "Literary Activity" 222). Further, they would take note of events they considered important (224). It is difficult to discern if heralds penned individual manuscripts. However, there are indications of heralds having an active role in the production and spreading of text; Lester asserts that there is evidence "plenty enough to justify the term 'heraldic literature'" (229). Yet this is a generally understudied area of literature. Heraldic works, such as Harley 4205, offer intriguing case studies in a little-known area.

Rolls of arms are a genre of heraldic literature, acting as armorial records (Wagner, *Catalogue* xi). Despite the term, rolls of arms are not necessarily rolls; they also exist in codex form. The shield is "the most important and the only indispensable part of a coat of arms" (von Volborth 31). Thus, rolls of arms were most commonly illustrated with shields, instead of a whole achievement, although figures of knights and kings would sometimes be used. The arms themselves are particularly significant as an indicator of status and necessary for the other elements of a full achievement; "One may be entitled to arms alone … but one cannot have a crest, supporters or badge without arms" (Dennys 3). Further, the arms could easily be reproduced on a knight's tabard, his horse's trappers, and on a flag, making the arms excellent identifiers and expressions of status.

Harley 4205 contains rolls of arms with full figures of knights, brightly coloured and detailed. Part I has quartered arms of the kings' lineage, and the figures of the kings are emblazoned with the royal arms. Parts II and III are copied from other sources. Other versions of "The Great Roll" display shields, common for rolls of arms, whereas Parts II and III of Harley

4205 use emblazoned knights. It is interesting that these knights are illustrated with such detail, as they take much more time and resources to render than shields. The use of shields in rolls of arms serves practical purposes; they are easily drawn and take up relatively little space. On the other hand, the full knight images are visually more appealing. Of course, visual information is significant to heraldry and accuracy of detail is necessary. However, the difference between using the figures and the shields to convey the same information illustrates the focus of Harley 4205 on visual enjoyment as well as communicating information.

Part II is likely a partial copy of a visitation, a duty and privilege granted to the King of Arms. Visitations were trips to counties, with the intention of validating claims to arms and uncovering those illegally held. They indicate the authority, expertise, and social significance of heralds. Further, the visitations indicate a transition in heraldry "from a romantic, amateur concern with genealogy to the first phase of modern genealogical scholarship" (Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* 40). The reaction to this responsibility varied; some heralds allowed others to take over visitations in their regions while others fiercely defended them as their exclusive right. Visitations indicated a social consciousness of heraldry and of its importance, a mindset that would result in an increase in the printing of "books dealing with coats of arms" (Day 96) in Tudor and Stuart England. Visitations reflect the growing social importance of heraldry and the monarchy's desire to more closely control markers of status.

Wagner notes that Thomas Benolt made his record books in advance by drawing blank shields on the pages (*Heralds and Ancestors* 33). This is an interesting possibility to consider in light of the knights copied into Part II of Harley 4205. The outlines of the knights could have been pre-drawn by an individual unskilled in heraldry, as these outlines do not require heraldic knowledge. If the figures were pre-made by an unskilled hand, utilizing a copying method, such as pouncing, would have been practical and offers an explanation for the mistakes and poorly executed erasures. Further, heraldic expertise was only needed for the arms, not for the tedious task of reproducing the outlines of the figures. Harley 4205 may therefore show that the concept of pre-drawing the outlines to be later emblazoned was a method that a herald might use.

Oddly, however, the knights from the counties visited (Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and Yorkshire) all end exactly on the verso of the last page of the county list, with four knights per page. This means that the number of knights represented in each county is exactly divisible by eight. The only exception is the one knight on fol. 23, which was added later. The exactness of

this is suspicious, as it is improbable that in four counties the number of knights was a multiple of eight. This fact suggests that Part II was not created as a complete record of a visitation or even a full reproduction of another source. Another curious feature is that Yorkshire is one of the sections. This county is north of the Trent River and should have been under the authority of the Norroy King of Arms, not Clarenceux, as the others are. It is unlikely that the counties were randomly chosen. Possibly, the four locations were significant in some way to the individual for whom the manuscript was produced. If so, the information may have come from several sources before being compiled into Part II. A more likely explanation is that Clarenceux's visitation included this county even though it was technically outside his area. As the controversy of 1530 demonstrated, the authority of one King of Arms was sometimes overreached or shared. The original Norroy King of Arms may have allowed Clarenceux to perform this visitation, potentially even asking the other to perform this task.

Part III is stylistically similar to Part II in that it presents a series of knightly figures. These sections were "apparently intended as a record-book of arms" (Scott 243). Like Part II, Part III is, more accurately, a partial copy of a record book. The significance of the distinction of Harley 4205 as a partial copy of a record book is that the information regarding who was confirmed as a knight during the visitation is incomplete. While the original sources that Parts II and III were copied from were possibly records of visitations, Harley 4205 is not itself a direct record of a visitation. This brings up the question of the purpose of such a work. It is obvious that the work was meant to be visually enjoyed. Yet it is also a heraldically accurate and detailed manuscript. If it belonged in the collection of a high-ranking herald, it may have been meant as a representation of heraldic duty. This manuscript may have been an addition to a larger heraldic library, but it may also have been meant to bolster the authority of the heralds by visually expressing the importance of their duty. Instead of being a record book used for identifying the knights, Harley 4205 is more a decorative display of heraldic knowledge.

Heraldry is a more complex system than simply a means of identification and a record of history; it was also a significant social construct. While these are important functions, heraldry had the ability to do more than identify and record. Day states that "it was the iconography of honor, the recognition (if not technically the creation) of gentility" (93). In a sense, Day's mild suggestion that heraldry was the creation of gentility is correct. As heralds began to identify who was noble, they conversely determined who was not. Further, heraldry was a method of codifying

the power of lineage and social status (Crouch 161). Wagner notes that the connection between heraldry and the military elite was originally very close; "the use of arms by others than knights, as for example ladies, bishops, abbeys, boroughs or merchants, could be taken as an assertion of a status equivalent to that of lords or knights" (*English Ancestry* 48-49). This became problematic, an issue that would be addressed but not fully resolved in the fifteenth century, and would help redefine the role of heraldry. Wagner gives examples of queries about the notion of nobility:

> A bishop or a great abbot was no doubt equal to a baron, but at what point did a merchant become the equal of a knight? A still harder question, coming to the fore in the fifteenth century was at what point a 'poor man', distinguished in the wars or grown rich and prominent in the country-side, ought to be accepted as a gentleman. (*English Ancestry* 49)

This problem highlights the growing distance between the notion of nobility and personal history, as lineage was not the defining characteristic of nobility. Genealogy is a significant aspect of heraldry, sometimes considered essential; "National and personal devices without the element of inheritance are, therefore, not heraldry" (Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry* 12). However, there is an element of fluidity in the system of nobility. English nobility was a sort of open caste system, meaning that status was not guaranteed. Heraldry was important to the nobility, as it acted as a means of identifying them as members of the social elite. However, heraldry also gave power to the king and heralds since the nobility at any given time "were never able to become a closed caste or to prevent outsiders entering their ranks" (Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* 11). The bearing of arms is a symbolic act, an outward indication of status (Wagner *English Ancestry* 48). Indeed, the significance of reputation in English society differed from that of other countries at the time. As Wagner discusses, England's system of nobility was less a legal matter, although it had legal dimensions, and much more of a social one, as indicated through the emphasis placed on outward indicators of status (*English Ancestry* 49). Wagner notes that reputation contributed to an individual's noble status and allowed the monarchy to keep the "knights in much greater subordination to the crown" (*Heralds and Ancestors* 11). The relative fluidity of the English social system created a deeper reliance on reputation and its markers, a setting in which heraldry flourished. The ability to display such markers of status was significant to medieval English society, and specifically to the nobility. Confirming who could legally wear such indicators became important for identifying and defining who belonged to the social elite. Heralds were particularly important to a social system where status and reputation were so crucial.

Heraldry developed in tourney and jousting, a context with strong military connections. Wagner outlines the connection between heraldry and military elements well:

> Where the heralds came from is obscure but what bore them up seems certain. It was the sudden vogue of the tournament as a training for war and an outlet for martial spirit. The heralds were criers at tournaments. They proclaimed them beforehand. They announced the entry of those taking part in them and so had to know them. And before long we see them keeping the score and playing a major part in the whole conduct of these events. Their performance of similar functions in actual war is well attested also from an early date but at first seems secondary and perhaps to grow as warfare itself adopted usages developed in the tournament. (*Heralds and Ancestors* 9)

It was through jousts and tournaments that heraldry strengthened its link with the military system. The exact use of heraldry in a martial context is, however, debated. Cannan argues that coats of arms were not useful on the medieval battlefield, because battles were too large and coats of arms were too numerous for them to be an effective method of identification. While heraldry may not have been particularly effective during large battles, it would have been effectual in other martial settings. As Wagner discusses, coats of arms may have been used in battles, but their uses further developed, being used in public spaces and as indicators of ownership (*English Ancestry* 48). However, there is a definite historical connection between heraldry and combat, as seen in Harley 4205. The fully armoured and weapon-wielding figures of Parts II and III reinforce the military connection. This is further emphasized by the battling and jousting poses in Part II.

The historical aspect of heraldry emphasized by the picture of William I on fol. ig-v (see *Fig. 3.1* below). It displays William the Conqueror's ship, with two knights. One knight stands on the shore, while a second, likely William I, passes the standard off to the first (Scott 243). Scott suggests that this image "may intend to depict the regnal succession of England from William to his second son, William" (244). Further, the figure of William I disembarking from the ship may be a reminder of the Norman Conquest. It may serve to legitimize the Norman Conquest, as well as the ruling class that followed this historical event. There is a fair amount of colour used in this picture: the second knight and flags show heavy colouring; the first knight, water, and grass show little colouring; and the ship is largely illustrated with shading. Two flags, at the stern of the ship,

Fig. 3.1: William I disembarks from his ship: (c) British Library Board London. British Library, MS Harley 4205, fol. ig-v.

are emblazoned with the royal arms. Another sits atop the ship's mast and is red with a centred white cross. The inclusion of this flag suggests a significant historical connection:

> The imperial war flag of the Holy Roman Empire (from 800 onwards) displayed a white cross on red, symbolising the holy cause in which the battle was fought … The Crusader flag, displaying a white cross on red, was originally used by Christians against European 'pagans' and was later employed by the Holy Roman Empire in battle. (Elgenius 19)

The flag's history and significance, which would have been well known to the heralds that influenced the manuscript's creation, is likely being utilized to give prestige to the figure. Further, the flag reinforces the political and religious legitimacy of the Norman Conquest. Similarly, this leaf was likely included to emphasize the legitimacy and status of the kings that follow by appealing to their historical connection.

Heraldry was intricately tied to politics. Abuse of heraldic powers was a serious offence because of the close ties between heraldry and the state. It was a serious matter, of which "ignorance ... could be dangerous" (Day 98), because of heraldry's close connection to and

regulation by the political body. Because of the power of the heralds and the importance of heraldry in general, it was also understood as a moral matter to utilize this authority appropriately (93). However, abuse of power did occur (Day 95-96). There were arguments that issues regarding heraldry should be sorted out between the invested individuals and that arms should be "considered the business of the individual, just as a signature is today" (Cannan 207). However, the College of Arms eventually secured the right to oversee and settle heraldic disputes (Wagner, *English Ancestry* 48) and heraldry became a significant element of fifteenth-century English society. Exactly how much power heralds had is uncertain, but during this period they began to develop their own source of authority. Later in the fifteenth century, the king allowed the Kings of Arms the right to grant arms to those "who were in their opinion worthy to be received into the ranks of the gentry" (50). Intriguingly, heralds would sometimes grant arms without referring to the Crown, suggesting a sense of authority beyond that which the monarch had offered them (Armstrong 19). Heralds may have had some authority of their own, but their link with the monarchy and the political system was still a strong influence in the development of heraldry. In Harley 4205, this is reflected in the opening image of William I, the political tone of the poem that follows, and the line of kings in Part I.

Heralds were aware of their political climate, as their manuscripts indicate. Significant events that shaped the socio-political climate of Harley 4205 were Henry VI's declining power and a battle for the throne in England. The causes of this conflict are various and complex. A contributing factor to the Wars of the Roses is that King Henry VI lacked leadership and assertiveness; "The comments of Henry VI's contemporaries appeared to provide a firm basis for views of this kind: chroniclers wrote of 'simplicity', pliability, even idiocy; subjects called the king 'a sheep', 'a natural fool', a 'lunatic' and commented on his childlike appearance for years into his adulthood" (Watts 103). Opponents of Henry VI attacked his rule, claiming that he was not the legitimate heir of Richard II. Henry VI's failings were not the direct cause of the Wars but his being a weak ruler did nothing to help quell the situation:

Had Henry VI, when he came of age, been a king of the same calibre as his father, the drift to anarchy would have been checked. It was a national disaster that for forty years the throne was occupied by a king without the capacity to rule. Henry's failings were entirely negative. Because of his personal deficiencies, the monarchy virtually fell into abeyance. Not only did he lack the force of character necessary to earn the respect of the lords and so persuade them,

as need arose, to submit their private disputes to the judgment of his council; he let the council

itself fall into the grasp of a small baronial faction and thus, probably without his knowledge,

the crown itself became a party in these quarrels. (Storey 27)

While the weaknesses of Henry VI were likely exaggerated, the negative views would have held

some truth. If Henry VI had some traits of the strong king needed during the time, he may have

had the ability to gain some necessary support.

Harley 4205 shows evidence of this historical uprising, especially in Part I. Henry VI's

lack of leadership qualities and timid personality did nothing to endear himself to the nobles. Part

I of Harley 4205 evidences a clear political strategy to target nobles and attempt to gain their

much-needed support. The verses emphasize the importance and grandeur of the kings beside

them by detailing their lives and virtues. They illustrate a line of succession, beginning with

William I, accentuating Henry VI's right to rule. The political undertone and historical context of

the manuscript indicate a noble audience and an intended message. Part I works as propaganda

for Henry VI, suggesting an inherited right to the throne and encouraging the idea of the rightful

king. The use of Part I for this political purpose is intriguing, particularly with the choice of a

codex over a roll. As illustrated by Ashmole 21, rolls have the benefit of creating an image of

direct links between kings whereas the codex breaks the succession into pages. Possibly, the

natural page divides of the codex offered easily defined spaces in which to fill with one king and

related verse, whereas spaces must be more carefully laid out onto rolls. As well, the separate

pages create a progressively revealed succession, as opposed to the whole picture being given at

once. The unbroken line of figures highlights continuation and suggests succession without

problems. While Ashmole 21 creates a more cohesive image of a line of succession, the codex

form of Harley 4205 benefits the poem in Part I by keeping the individual verses separate.

The knights of the later sections of Harley 4205 are intriguing to connect with Part I. The

three sections were possibly put together to conform to a common format, since beginning a roll

of arms with the royal arms was not unusual. There may have been no message intended in the

combination of the parts and yet this grouping may still effect interpretation by the manuscript's

viewers. Parts II and III simultaneously reinforce and are supported by the political message of

Part I. Even though these parts were made after the first, their likely dates make it possible that

they were made during or shortly after the Wars of the Roses. Certainly, they were produced

while the Wars of the Roses and the issues surrounding this event still had currency in sixteenth-

century English society. The knights following the kings support the power of the rightful ruler, as suggested simply through being bound in the same manuscript. The knights seem to add credibility to the power of the kings, as they are followed by the nobility. The images of the kings then legitimize the status of the knights, as their nobility stems from that of the king. Whether or not it was a conscious message, the sections seem to invoke a sense of duty, to support the rightful king as the status of the knights stems from the king. The heraldry of this manuscript emphasizes the political overtones, as the authority and power of the kings is illustrated in the possible connections between the sections that might be read into the manuscript.

The heraldic aspects of Harley 4205 emphasize the social, military, political, and historical connections of the manuscript. The context of the manuscript's production is evidenced in numerous features. In fifteenth-century England, social status was an important element, one which required outward indicators. The armorial bearings reproduced in the manuscript emphasize the complex yet orderly system of heraldic markings. Heraldry flourished in a military context, such as tourneys and jousts. This strong connection is emphasized by the knights, whose status as nobility is illustrated by the armorial designs. In a political context, heraldry was an important means for determining the legitimacy of arms. History is evident in Harley 4205; the Wars of the Roses clearly impacted the tone and message of Part I. As a whole, the manuscript still achieves a conceptual cohesiveness, for Parts I, II, and III can be seen in dialogue with their historical context. Heraldry is a complex, multi-faceted field and Harley 4205 exemplifies many of its significant elements.

CHAPTER 4:

DIGITAL REMEDIATION

In an age where new digital technologies are constantly emerging and many possess the contents of a library in their pockets, the ways in which people engage and interact with texts are changing. Studying and conceptualizing these changes is becoming increasingly significant as digital environments have altered the relationship between reader and text. Many digital tools have a print counterpart, something that performs the same function, often less effectively. Elements of digital environments are conceptualized through analogies to everyday and physical realities. Relatively simple terms such as "desktop," "the Cloud," and "file folders" are modeled and named after physical things, to improve interactions between humans and computers. While these practices aid in usability, they are also a limiting feature. The digital environment allows information to be stored, linked, and engaged with in a style that print technologies cannot achieve so effectively and, in some cases, not at all. The habits of print affect both the digitization of manuscripts and the conceptualization of born-digital texts. However, a medieval understanding of text can aid in expanding the potential of texts in the digital environment. Further, many aspects of the digital environment allow for engagement with facsimiles of medieval manuscripts that is enhanced by digital tools, although understanding the limitations of digital facsimiles is significant for evaluating the impact of digital environments.

This study focuses on a digital facsimile and, in considerations of this process, "digitizing" will refer to the creation of a digital facsimile. Facsimiles attempt to faithfully reproduce a work. Physicality and visual information, particularly for medieval manuscripts, can be important to see in the most accurate reproduction, a task that photo-facsimiles achieve best. Digital facsimiles can be photographic images that are simply online versions of their printed counterparts. However, remediating a work into digital media can accomplish more than putting physical objects into a new form; tools and features unique to the digital environment can enhance a reader's experience of a facsimile. Borrowing the definition from Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin, "remediation" is being used within this study to refer to "the way in which one

medium is seen by our culture as reforming or improving upon another" (59). In the case of Harley 4205, I focus on how the digital medium affects the presentation of information and specifically how the digitization process both benefits and limits communication.

Harley 4205 is an amalgamation and recreation of previous works. As discussed, each section is likely a partial copy of another work. However, these differ from other versions of their source material. This illustrates the focus of late medieval copying, that is, not necessarily to be exact but to represent an interpretation of the work; "Whereas in an earlier century it had been the careful and legible copying of texts that was held up as a virtue to be admired and emulated, we find in the fifteenth century that the correction and emendation of existing texts has been elevated to the same high esteem" (Rouse & Rouse 429). Thus, it may be less important for those producing the manuscript to recreate the original and more significant to remind the reader of certain information, such as the rank or status of a figure. Any variations between versions of a poem are not necessarily mistakes but can represent differences in time, region, and purpose among the scribes. Similarly, the full knightly figures in Harley 4205 are a stylistic choice used to present information, yet they still accurately convey the same heraldic information of other versions. The kingly and knightly figures have been reproduced with a method that supports a more exact copying than free-hand drawing, but have individualizing details added by hand. Print supports the ability to produce a more exact copy, but medieval production does not require exactness. It is the ability to convey information, not to perfectly reproduce, that is the focus of a manuscript's producers and, thus, the presentation of the manuscript is relatively variable.

Print and manuscript cultures offer different concepts of copying. In medieval manuscripts, textual variants often result from copying methods, such as several scribes working on an individual copy and different sets of scribes working on various manuscripts. Exemplars were used by scribes to reproduce a text repeatedly. Poor lighting, long hours, and the repetitive nature of manuscript production resulted in less than ideal conditions for reproducing text. Thus, mistakes were common, even for highly skilled individuals. If noticed, they could be dealt with in a number of ways, although evidence of the error often remains in the form of corrections and erasures. Corrections could be indicated by added to the text, either by crossing out the error or noting the mistake. The error could also be erased by scraping or sponging the ink off the leaf. In Harley 4205's Part II, these attempts at correction still leave traces of the extra hand error. Manuscripts are hand produced, creating unique objects even when they were copied from an

exemplar. Similarly, printing in its early development did not reproduce texts exactly and mistakes in the text still occurred. However, print would contribute to a focus on creating identical copies of a text repeatedly, in contrast to medieval manuscript production. Printing technology and methods have generally informed a production of text that necessitates the decision to create an edition. However, print editions cannot reasonably offer an exploration of all aspects of a text or manuscript, as "no single book or manageable set of books can incorporate for analysis all of the relevant documents" (McGann 12-13). It is this understanding that conceptualizes a text version as an exactly repeatable product.

This difference in the conceptualization of copying also reflects a difference in the use of space. In medieval manuscripts, the margins could be utilized for a variety of purposes. Marginal annotations were an important aspect of medieval manuscripts, affecting interactions with and understandings of the text. Margins were sometimes populated by designs, illustrations, and bizarre figures called grotesques. These made the nearby text memorable, aiding information recall and retrieval; the medieval text was "intimately linked with the memory" (Innes 10). However, the images need not be symbolically connected with the text; "Rationalizing the symbol … may help to reinforce the image, but it is not essential. Effective symbols are memorable regardless of whether they make sense of the subject matter which the mind associates with them" (Clanchy 177). Instead, the effectiveness of the image arises from its strangeness to the viewer. This indicates that a relationship between the document and viewer, where interacting with a manuscript creates a memorable moment, affecting interpretation. The margins of manuscripts reveal an understanding of the text different from print and the function of the text. Medieval manuscripts represent more than the text, making visual information highly important, and are objects that are unique in more ways than most printed books.

The digital environment offers unique advantages for the study of medieval manuscripts. Inherent in this medium are new methods and technologies that allow for advantages over print technology, as well as improvements to the features of print. The digitization of a manuscript allows researchers to manipulate a facsimile instead of timeworn and often fragile materials. Further, certain tasks, such as cutting, copying, and pasting, would not be allowed on the original for fear of damaging its material form. Altering images can allow a manuscript to be viewed in various styles or different features of a manuscript to be focused on, offering more information related to production. Other audio and visual elements can be included in digital versions.

Hyperlinks can create information networks, connecting both secondary information to the text and sections to each other within one work. The use of other media and hyperlinks are features that can be produced in material form or have a printed equivalent, such as appendices and footnotes. However, the digital format allows for these additions to be included directly into the manuscript facsimile. The significance of this direct linking is the impact it has on how the reader interacts with a work. Information about the manuscript, such as the material of the support, can be paired directly with the sections of a text where it is relevant. Further, any outside but pertinent information can be added in necessary locations, such as information regarding the garter on fol. ig-r. This is beneficial for it allows the image of the manuscript page to remain whole and uninterrupted by this information, presenting the viewer with a clean manuscript facsimile, but the information can be made immediately accessible. The digital environment can externalize the information from human memory onto the digital medium, creating a network of interrelated pages that can be made accessible when needed.

The ability to manipulate a digital facsimile of Harley 4205 demonstrates the benefits of access to digital copies. Simple viewing of the manuscript is more effectively performed in a digital environment. Zooming in on Harley 4205 allows more detailed considerations of intriguing features, such as the hand erasures. While there are methods or tools, like a magnifying glass, that perform similar functions with printed copies, well-implemented digitized copies offer an effective and more interactive experience. A printed picture is static, whereas a digital image can possibly be altered to suit the user's needs. This potential for alterability is an important feature that supports user interactions with digital facsimiles. Depending on its interface, digital facsimiles can also allow an easy transition from whole page to focused feature viewing. However, there are benefits to interactions with manuscripts that go beyond simply viewing the manuscript. In my analysis of Harley 4205, using GIMP to manipulate the figures provides evidence that the outlines were reproduced using a copying method like pouncing, as opposed to free-hand copying. The ability to interact with the digitized images of Harley 4205 introduces more methods of analyzing the manuscript.

Digital copies make works accessible on a scale impossible for print media to achieve. Digitized works, when made freely available, allow simultaneous and repeated viewings by a great number of individuals, a feat that multiple printed copies could not perform so effectively at the same scale. Thanks to the efforts of digitization projects, such as those funded and supported

by the British Library, online facsimiles of medieval manuscripts are increasingly becoming freely available. Currently, the focus of many digitization projects is to make accessible the manuscripts deemed interesting or valuable enough to justify the effort and cost. Often, they are manuscripts that are richly illustrated or are considered historically significant. This, of course, can give a limited view of artefacts that are themselves already limited by the fragile nature of the material object. In the case of the "At Westminster William I-crowned was," only two of the sixteen manuscripts in which these verses exist have been digitized. Thus, just accessing "At Westminster William I-crowned was" is narrowed to a small fraction of the total manuscripts with these verses. There are three versions available in print: Mooney's transcription of Ashmole 21; a version of London, College of Arms MS Arundel LVIII transcribed by Thomas Hearne; and a version of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional E. 7 transcribed by Henry MacCracken (Mooney 279). Notably, the transcription of Arundel LVIII is itself quite old (1724) and has a digitized facsimile in the Eighteenth Century Collections Online. These are all transcriptions of the text, not facsimiles of the original manuscript; thus, there are no images included. There is some attention paid to the original layout of the text, yet any information related to illustrations is unavailable. This emphasizes that the focus of these printed transcripts is on the text. The digitized facsimiles, however, make both the text and illustrations available to the viewer. Further, the print transcriptions are all a part of a larger work or added as an appendix; the transcriptions are not the sole focus of the books or articles in which they appear. To print photo-facsimiles would likely take up a large portion of a book, and space is an expense for printed material. While space can also be an issue for digital facsimiles, print is limited by material and weight. This is less of a problem when a printed book is focused on one manuscript or a few smaller manuscripts. However, the digital environment can offer access to more manuscripts without taking up more physical space. While digital environments are certainly not without limits, they have fewer space restrictions than print.

To study a manuscript without digital facsimiles, one could attempt to access the manuscript itself or a reproduction or one would need to depend on secondary sources. In print, a highly-detailed photo-facsimile is expensive and often difficult to access. Relying on the descriptions and analysis performed by others can also be problematic. Scott suggests that the erasures in Part II of Harley 4205 are due to the process of copying and that two outlines were conflated into one (244). However, it is also possible that the outlines used to create the figures

had three arms, to allow for variety. The erasures, after fol. 27r, become less obvious. However, they are still visible in the digital facsimile, when viewed closely (e.g. fol. 28v). Given the regularity with which this error occurs throughout Part II, it seems unlikely that it resulted from the conflation of two models performed steadily throughout this section. While Scott offers a detailed and scholarly description and interpretation of Harley 4205, descriptions cannot replace the manuscript or a quality facsimile for focused study of this manuscript.

The unique features of a manuscript can be displayed in a print copy. However, photo-facsimiles of manuscripts for research purposes need to be of high quality, a costly process. Further, while there are printed reproductions of manuscripts, these are usually only from manuscripts determined to be worth the investment. Printed books that reproduce images of manuscripts will often only display leaves or features deemed important. In many instances, authors discuss manuscripts in general so the pictures come from numerous sources, as opposed to a facsmile focused on one source. A selection reflects the interests of the author or editor of the printed edition. Harley 4205, for example, needs to be considered as a whole. The similarity of the figures is striking when viewing all the leaves of the manuscript but may not be as noticeable if viewing a limited number of leaves. Digital facsimiles, however, can more easily reproduce a manuscript in its entirety. Digitization is costly as well, being a lengthy process with specialized equipment and knowledge. However, a digital copy can be accessed by more people. While printing creates a physical copy, the object itself is needed if the reader is to interact with the text. Digital copies in comparison to printed copies can be accessed through any device capable of an internet connection and proper access, such as a subscription or membership. Access to a facsimile is not restricted to the material object (e.g. a particular book) but a plurality of devices provide access to a plurality of digital facsimiles. One can access images of Harley 4205 without needing physical access to the British Library or a specific book. Instead, the digital facsimile can be accessed in a variety of locales.

Printed works as physical objects are subject to decay; digital objects are not permanent either, even if there is an illusion of permanence. They are also finite and rely on being maintained. Steady changes to digital technologies mean that older websites and digital versions cannot always migrate to new digital platforms and risk becoming obsolete. Thus, digital copies can become inaccessible over time. As print relies on its physical form, digital copies rely on devices capable of accessing them. Further, digital environments rely on an intricate

infrastructure to support this accessibility, necessitating a readily available source of electricity and an internet connection. Digital environments privilege those with internet and electricity. However, printed reproductions can also be limiting as they can be expensive and necessitate accessing the physical book. Thus, digital texts are exponentially more accessible than print when the energy and internet needs are met. While printed books may travel where digital facsimiles cannot, printed books are still limited in that they need to physically be moved. The materiality of print limits, whereas digital versions are more accessible by being available to many people in various locations.

Collaboration is a significant element of both manuscript studies and the digital field. There is an inherent interdisciplinary quality to the study of medieval manuscripts, as it requires information from history, art, literature and more, depending on the manuscript itself. Digitization adds a need for specialized knowledge and skills relating to computers. The digital humanities combines new digital technologies with the more traditional studies of the humanities. Collaboration is necessary in this discipline, as the specialized skills come from the numerous fields and technologies related to a variety of scholars. Literature-focused digital humanities is not simply about placing old texts in a new context but also about appreciating the effect of the digital environments on the readerly experience. How the new environment affects interactions with the text is a significant concern. It is important to consider not only how digital technologies improve the experience of the text but in which ways they are a detriment. A variety of perspectives becomes very important for a fuller appreciation of how a text is affected by its new context. Significantly, digital interfaces support collaboration by supporting communication between various scholars. They allow the integration of various media. In certain cases, audio or video can be utilized to improve interactions with the text. While studying a text, it can be useful to hear the words properly spoken to appreciate the oral origin or connection of certain texts. Similarly, video can be utilized to enhance the usability of the dynamic elements of certain texts, such as manuscripts that contain volvelles. Further, the access offered by digital environments supports collaborative work. Digital tools offer the ability to share ideas and resources quickly and over long distances. The digital environment allows the externalization of not one but numerous individuals' knowledge and can amalgamate sources into a more cohesive resource.

While digitization projects offer a variety of significant advantages, there are a few limitations that need to be acknowledged as well. Accompanying some digital facsimiles are

detailed descriptions of the manuscripts, including background information and highlights of important features. In direct relation to the object, rarely do the writers detail information that is not visual. This is likely a by-product of print, but it is an issue that has continued into digital environments as it has resulted in facsimiles that rarely acknowledge non-visual information. Thus, much of the experiential information of the manuscript as an object is lost. There are certain features of a manuscript that can only be appreciated by being in physical contact with the work. This includes the impressiveness of its size, spatial data and tactile and olfactory sensations. Much of the visual information can be transmitted into the digital environment, but size is rarely truly appreciated on screen, even though this information is almost always noted in detailed descriptions. Tactile and olfactory information is not usually noted. While these sensations may not even be acknowledged while in the presence of the manuscript, this information can be of potential use in analyzing a work and is often absent in facsimiles.

Certain physical features and impressions that result from them are lost in the digitization of manuscripts. Thus, if a manuscript is particularly distinctive due to its size, this information is difficult to translate into a digital facsimile. A manuscript could be a massive tome that creates an impression of grandeur when seen in person. Another could be a miniscule wonder, so intricate that it is awe-inspiring for its minute detail. However, regardless of the true size of a manuscript, all digital manuscripts are the size of the screen used to view them. When the largest known manuscript, *Codex Gigas*, which measures 890mm X 490mm, is seen on screen, its size does not appear to differ significantly from other manuscripts. In comparison, Harley 4205 measures 390mm X 290mm, less than half the height of *Codex Gigas*. While the difference in proportion between the two may be noticed, the difference in height is not truly appreciated in their digital form. This loss of information can be significant, for size can indicate the purpose of a text. Whereas *Codex Gigas* is obviously meant to be distinguishable for its size, Harley 4205 is a standard folio size. Its size suggests that Harley 4205 was not meant to be atypical for its dimensions. Instead, it acts as a good support for the information upon it and was not specially made for the task of awing its audience.

Aside from size, other important aspects of the manuscript could be lost. Rolls are a good example of this, as they must either be digitally represented in page view, imposing page boundaries onto an object that does not necessarily have these restrictions, or that must be scrolled down, with the limitations being imposed by the computer screen itself. Whereas a line

of succession in a codex, like the one in Harley 4205, is not affected, a line of succession in a roll is interrupted. The University of Victoria's MS Brown Latin 1 is a genealogical roll containing columns of events that that emphasize the importance of the lineage of the kings. The roll consists of nine membranes, glued together, and in total measures 432mm X 7560mm. When fully unrolled, this roll is clearly meant to impress its viewer with its length. However, reproductions of this manuscript would be difficult, due to its dimensions. Any attempts to digitize it would need to take this into account and, as with *Codex Gigas*, would likely fail to recreate the striking physicality of the original. A similarly sized manuscript is British Library MS Additional 48976, "The English Rous Roll," which measures 335mm X 7000mm. In this manuscript, the images and text are written in columns along the height of the manuscript, whereas the columns of Brown Latin 1 were written along the length. Thus, the columns of Additional 48976 offer more natural breaks, allowing an easier transition into a digital format. The page view of the digital format of Brown Latin 1 by contrast would interrupt the lineage created on the roll. Even a scrolling page would fail to appreciate the impressive feat of this manuscript. It is difficult to represent this visual information in a way that will offer the reader a similar experience as the manuscript itself. While some digital images contain a ruler to indicate height and the websites provide the dimensions, this cannot recreate the impression of being in the presence of the original work. This is one aspect of a manuscript that is difficult to reproduce in a digital facsimile.

A digital environment creates a different experience of a text and leaves out much of the sensory information. The focus of most digital facsimiles is obviously the transmission of visual information. Jonas Carlquist's discussion of significant features of a functional digital facsimile reveals an emphasis on visual data. For Carlquist, it is imperative that digitized editions have features, such as high-quality colour images and zooming capabilities, which support a reader's ability to closely study the text and images (115). Further, he asserts the necessity of a link to a transcription of the text, one that can be easily printed so that scholars may interact with it "in the old pen and paper context" (115). Carlquis emphasizes the necessity of properly implemented technology to support visual information. He discusses a second important aspect of digital formatting, links to other resources, and it is here that other sensory information could be acknowledged. However, these types of information are rarely noted. In the British Library's online digital facsimile of Harley 4205, there is no evidence to suggest that there is experiential

information missing. However, this lack does not mean that something significant does not exist. Indeed, the case of Harley 4205 emphasizes the need to acknowledge this information, as it is unclear if there is or is not pertinent information of other types. For example, the information offered about Harley 4205 by Scott and the British Library ("Harley MS 4205") reveals a bias towards visual information, like the manuscript's dimensions. This visual information is significant to analysis and discussion of the work as an object. However, other sensory information can be useful to appreciate in the context of the object. The tactile information given by an object can offer significant clues. In the study of manuscripts, the ability to discern raised or etched lines can determine the difference between an applied paste and ink. Further, varying depths of the quill or pen strokes can possibly help to differentiate scribes or illustrators. Scott differentiates two or three main hands in Harley 4205 based on the hesitancy of the lines. In some cases, line depth could potentially offer another method of defining an individual's hand. This can be of particular importance when several hands collaborate on a manuscript, since it may offer a clue in distinguishing the hands.

Another important but undervalued sense is smell. Hans J. Rindishbacher notes that the olfactory information of books remains an area of less focused study (9). Therefore, "scientific and linguistic models" (10) have not been as developed for olfactory perception as they have for other senses. This results in "a linguistic detour through the metaphoric" (15), which, Rindishbacher suggests, contributes to the connection between smell and memory. While the smell of a book does not usually impact the text itself, when considering an individual object this information can be significant to analyzing the object and its history. Smell is closely linked to memory (14-15). In *The Social Life of Information*, Paul Duguid recounts an experience of working in an archive where a medical historian used the smell of vinegar on the paper, a means of disinfection, to find letters that would indicate the outbreak of cholera in certain towns (173-174). For Harley 4205, while there is no mention of smell in any detailed descriptions, the odour from the book may affect interpretation or offer important information regarding the manuscript's history, such as the vinegar did for the letters. Not having this information available at all can be a potential issue, as it is useful for certain studies and approaches to the material. Experiential information such as this becomes significant in light of the increase of manuscript digitization. As more manuscripts are digitized and digitization becomes an easily accessible means of interacting with a work, other sensory information can easily be lost.

While medieval and digital texts seem conceptually and functionally at odds, they actually do share features. A digital environment is a medium in which the unique features of a medieval textual object can be appreciated. Like medieval manuscripts, born-digital works are fluid objects and the details of their creation are not always known or knowable. Digital works can require collaboration or the use of previously developed structures. Thus, a programmer can become part of a work's production, influencing how it appears. Similarly, an author using a computer program must learn and adapt to the peculiarities of the software. This presents less of an issue for texts that have been digitized, as opposed to born-digital literature. For born-digital literature, where presentation is integral to the work, this is a much larger problem. Whenever non-textual information affects interaction with the text, it becomes a part of the reading experience. Software may be acknowledged but is not always appreciated in analyzing born-digital works. Similarly, a scribe may not have created a text, but decisions, such as adding extra annotations, or idiosyncrasies, like an individual scribe's handwriting, can affect a reader's analysis of a text by adding information. In Part I of Harley 4205, surrounding the text with images draws attention to the visual elements and informs the reader of the subject matter before the verses are read. Both medieval and digital works should be considered as fluid and multifaceted to appreciate the plurality of the content.

The plurality and multifaceted existence of the copied content of medieval manuscripts can be appreciated well in a digital facsimile. In contrast, printed versions cannot evolve after their production to replicate the fluidity of a work and its surrounding paratext; to include new information or to refine a source to a study (i.e., to provide detailed information on the heraldic elements of Harley 4205 and related secondary information), "one has to duplicate the entire productive process" (McGann 12). With digital facsimiles, however, adding new information or curtailing what is available is an important possibility. The ability to appreciate more than one digital facsimile side-by-side could aid in exploring and understanding a work. For example, the ability to access and directly compare Harley 4205's copy of "At Westminster William I-crowned was" with Ashmole 21's could be beneficial to the study of both versions, as how information is presented is significant for interpreting the work. Further, a non-linear approach to works can be supported in digital facsimiles to appreciate their complexity. The non-linearity of some medieval texts emphasizes an important way in which the manuscript can be used. The heraldic elements of Harley 4205 are associated with a plethora of information that is indicated by each figure, such

as geographical location, rank, and identity. Thus, a network of explicit and implicit information is attached to each figure. This non-linear style of reading is supported by a digital environment because the ability to link, through digital tools like hyperlinks and hashtags, recreates a network of related information. While the annotations and footnotes of a printed edition allow for the externalization (from memory to page) of the same information, this presentation can be less effective than some styles offered by digital versions. Being able to apply the information to where it is directly relevant without the interference of other information could be very beneficial to a work like Harley 4205. The differences in production and history between the three parts indicates that information related to one section may not apply to the other two. However, given that the three parts have been bound together and share some important features, there is also some information that applies to each section. Further, features like "hover and click" could apply the information directly where applicable on the page. More information could be important to certain locations of Harley 4205, such as the erasures of the hands, and could positively impact analysis of this aspect of the text. How information is applied to a work in digital facsimiles can impact a reader's interpretation and understanding of the work.

With developing potential, the digitization of manuscripts creates a version of the content in which medieval works can be accessed and transformed. It is necessary to consider how the digitization of manuscripts benefits but also limits interactions with the text to appreciate what can be accomplished and how to improve the experience. Stereotypical ideas of print conceptualize it as creating stable but singular versions of texts. However, both medieval and digital texts can be fluid and can be better described as "not an occasion but a process" (Kiss et al. 29). The medieval text represents historical experiences with the text but is also an ongoing experience for the reader to interact with. The medieval and digital have the potential for a mutually beneficial relationship. Digital facsimiles can more accurately and effectively create a medieval experience of the text than most print editions can. The bringing together of medieval and digital conceptualizations of text expands the ways in which we use and understand both versions of text.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The complexity of medieval manuscripts can be appreciated in Harley 4205. The work contains some repetitious elements, such as the copying of verses and the kingly and knightly figures, which highlight the method of pouncing that was likely used to produced this manuscript. Repetition is also central to Harley 4205's heraldic origin and content. The various forms of repetition in Harley 4205 challenge the sense of uniqueness implied by the fact that the object was hand-produced. However, the repetition does not diminish the distinctiveness of the work but highlights an approach to and expression of the sources. Harley 4205 indicates an interpretation of the sources and this dialogue with the material is continued through its digital facsimile.

Queries concerning manuscript production that emerge from study of Harley 4205 illuminate a seeming contradiction at the core of this manuscript: that of an unique object filled with repetition. Manuscripts are individually produced objects that can vary greatly in size, execution of skills, and visual appeal. These were laborious productions; even relatively simple manuscripts required time to create and often necessitated the collaboration of variously skilled people. At odds with the individuality expected of hand-produced materials, repetition is central to the methods and content of Harley 4205. The figures were reproduced within each section and a method for more precise reproduction was used during the creation of Part II. Further, Parts II and III are partial copies, one of a visitation and the other of "The Great Roll." The repetition of text echoes the repetition of the figures themselves. The poem of Part I is a copy of the "At Westminster William I-crowned was" but the verses themselves are also highly repetitive. While the textual elements in Parts II and III do identify the figures, it is clear that the visual elements have a greater impact as individualizing features and more focus was given to the application of colours than names. Instead of making Harley 4205 a simple reproduction, the repetition of the figures and copying from other sources serve to illuminate some unique aspects of this work. The slight variation of the verses compared to other sources, the selection of individuals to be reproduced, and the combination of the parts into one codex show a dialogue between the

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creators of Harley 4205 and other manuscripts and audience. Other physical indicators of interaction, such as notes and ownership marks, indicate that interactions with Harley 4205 continued after the creation of its component parts.

Heraldry is a multifaceted field and understanding its presence in Harley 4205 is significant to understanding the origin and content of each section. Harley 4205 is an interesting example of heraldic literature; the visual focus of the pages illustrates the heraldic connection. The use of text is minimal, yet the poem emphasizes the political and historical context of the work. The combination of text and images in Part I indicates the lineage of the kings, illustrating a succession of authority. This reinforces the creators' awareness of context. Central to the manuscript is the use of reproduced figures, identified through text or emblazoning. However, even in this individualization through armorials, there is an element of reproduction. Because the knightly figures are meant to represent specific persons, they must accurately reproduce the armorial of each individual. This illustrates a core concept of heraldry: to individualize through reproducible armorials. However, the representation of the knights in such a manner differentiates Harley 4205 from most other heraldic manuscripts. Rolls of arms commonly include shields or crests displaying the heraldic patterns, but the full knightly figure is seen less often. Other than the emblazoning, the identity of the knights in Part II is indicated by the minimal amount of text that names and categorizes them by county. However, the armorial bearings, with the attention to detail and extensive use of colour, are the focus of Parts II and III. The information being imparted to the reader is largely communicated by the images. Harley 4205 is a remediation of other works, as seen in the use of full kingly and knightly figures instead of medallions and shields. Further, the creation of a codex, as opposed to the more usual roll form, for the arms indicates a different function than other versions. This is illustrated by the fact that Parts II and III are only partial copies of other works, suggesting they were copied to appreciate heraldic duty, for visual enjoyment, and to convey a political message, rather than being informative and an accurate reproduction.

Harley 4205 in a digital environment is important to consider, as the medium alters interactions with the work. The digital environment changes the way in which readers interact with works, offering benefits as well as disadvantages. As a distinctive object, the digitization of Harley 4205 makes the work accessible for many individuals, makes manipulations that would be damaging to its material form possible, and supports collaboration that can appreciate the

multifaceted nature of Harley 4205. Print has had a lasting impact on the conception of text, an understanding that is noticeable in digital editions that present the text in a singular existence. In print, a work can be repeatedly produced, in a near-perfect reproduction, and the text is presented in a relatively stable form. While copying was common in medieval manuscripts, the hand-production of manuscripts makes them unique items. As exemplified by Harley 4205, even when a manuscript copies from other sources and reproduces images, the manuscript codex is a distinct work. Thus, one text exists in a plurality of versions, a state that is easier to recreate in digital form than in print. While manuscripts may share a source, the different presentation of the material affects the reader's interaction with it. Digital facsimiles are a form where the uniqueness of medieval manuscripts can be appreciated, while connections to other sources can be accessed. Medieval manuscripts offer potential benefits to understanding digitization by re-evaluating the conceptualization and presentation of text. Medieval understanding includes the plurality of textual existence and an interconnectedness between parts of a book as well as other sources. While the creation of digital facsimiles offers benefits to the study of medieval manuscripts, this state also draws attention to possible negative effects of this environment. The digitization of manuscripts allows access to a facsimile that focuses on visual information, with little appreciation for other sensory information. Further, certain physical features, such as size, are difficult to appreciate in this form. As digital technologies continue to develop, it is necessary to consider how the digitization of manuscripts alters the viewing and reading experience. Further, this is useful for considerations of how the presentation and inclusion of paratextual elements could be changed to better support interactions between readers and works.

This study explores significant aspects of manuscript production, heraldry, and the digitization of manuscripts in relation to Harley 4205. However, this research is centred on one manuscript codex. While some of the information can be useful to the consideration of other manuscripts, the generalization to other digitized medieval manuscripts is limited. Expanding the number of manuscripts considered would enable a deeper exploration of the relationship between digital facsimiles and manuscripts. Future research could compare digital facsimiles directly with the original manuscripts. This would create a more thorough consideration of the effect of digitizing, how it benefits as well as limits interactions between manuscripts and their readers.

Harley 4205 offers a rich environment in which to consider manuscript production and heraldry and to reflect on the effect of digitization on medieval manuscripts. The digitization of

manuscripts offers a method of keeping fragile materials accessible and relevant to scholars. As digital technologies continue to develop and alter more fully the ways in which people interact with the information provided in manuscripts, it becomes imperative to understand exactly how this change affects readerly experience and interpretation of a work. Recognizing the effects of digitizing manuscripts is important in the preservation of historically significant objects. There is a tension at the centre of Harley 4205 between the repetitious and individualizing elements; the production methods and content of this manuscript codex reflect these elements, illustrating the significance of this conflict to the document.

Notes on the transcription: This transcription of "At Westminster William I-crowned was" was created using the British Library's digital facsimile of MS Harley 4205. It includes fol. 1r to fol. 8r. Damage to fol. 1v has resulted in some missing text. This gap was filled in using Linne R. Mooney's transcription of Ashmole 21. These inclusions from Mooney are indicated by square brackets, unless otherwise noted.

Fol. 1r: William I

At westm' William jcrowned was

the first day of christymasse

A grete thing after he dede thanne

made þe kyng of Scottl' his liegeman

also of eu'y hide of lond by and by

In Englond he toke vj & trewly

he regned here xxj yere

Be yonde the see he lythe there

In Normandie he died ate hame

and is beried in the towne of Caen

he yaf his Eldest son Normandye

and to his second Englond trewly

and to the thirde his godes mouabyll

This was holde ferme and stabyll

Fol. 1v: William II

Whan regned William his second sonne

a ful sterne lokyng Gome

he yaf his eldest brother for his part

Eu'y yere iij thowsand marke

He wa[s] [l]ether and vnrest

[ffor-thy in] the new forest

[ffyghty mod]er chirches he drewe downe

[And made] wilde there as was towne

[He dude his] soule litil note

[ffor after ther-]eryn he was shotte

[Water Tere]ll the arowe drowghe

[And ther-wy]th the kyng he slough

[He reigned he]re euen xviij yere

[And to Wynch]estre men him bere

[He died witho]ute issue trewely

[Thenne reigned his] brother harry

Fol. 2r: Henry I

After William regned a nother

harry the first his owne brother

he made statute with gode rede

þat thowes þurgh hangyn shold be dede

A nother he made than anoon right

That mony makers sholde lese her syȝt

he toke to wife as he wolde

the kyngys doughter of Scotland Mold

Of whome come two dought's trewly

Molde the empresse & her sist^r Marye

He regned here more thanne xxxu . yere

And to Redyng men him bere

Fol. 2v: Stephen

After kyng harry evyn

Than regned kyng Stevyn

The Erlys son of Bloys trewly

He wedded Mold þe dought^r of Mary

A gode man . he was be dene

J trewe kyng harry was his Eme

he regned here xviij yeere

And to ffeu'sham men him bere

He dyed withoute yssue trywly

Than regned his cosyn harry

Fol. 3r: Henry II

Than regned harry not ful wise

the son of Molde the Emp'isse

In his tyme than saynte Thomas

At Caunt^{r}bury martird was

he held Rosamound the Shene

Grete sorowe it was for the queen

At wodestoke for hir he made a towre

That is called Rosamoundes bowre

By his wife he had sonnys two

Richard the first and John also

And after þat he dyed anoone

And was beried at Waltham

                    Regnaint

                    xxxv yeeres

Fol. 3v: Richard I

And sithen regned his son Richard

A man that was never aferde

he werryed ofte tyme ywys

worthily vppon goddys ennemyes

Sithen he was shoten allas

At castell Gaylard there he was

At founte everard he lythe there

Jssue than had he None

Therfor regned his brother John

Fol. 4r: John

Jn Johnys tyme as J . undrestonde

Was enterdited al Englond[1]

he was ful wroth and grymme

for prestys wolde not sing before him

In his tyme as hit is saide

seynt hugh of lyncolne deyde

In his tyme was lond trewly

Of gascoygne bretaiyne & of Normandie

Jn his tyme was grete derthe

xij d. and a halpeny lofe was worthe

Than he made a parlement

and swore in Angyr verrayment

That he wolde make suche a sawte

to fede al Englond w^t a spawde

and eke w^t a white loffe

Therfor he was to god lothe

a monke anon therof herde

and for Englond was sore a ferde

a poyson than he ordeyned anoon

So was he poysond and dyed right sone

he regned here xix yere

and to worcestre men him bere

---

[1] There is a note in the margin here: "vij yer."

Fol. 4v: Henry III

After him regned the thirde harry

A good man and eke an holy

Jn his tyme werrys were full stronge

And eke moche stryfe in Englond

the Battalle of lewys was thanne

And also the Battaille of Eveshamme

And that tyme also there was

the translacion of saynte Thomas

In his tyme as J . vunderstonde

came ffreris Carmys in to þis land

he regned kyng . lvj yere

And to Westmynstre men him bere

Fol. 5r: Edward I

Edward the first regned thanne trewly

the son he was of kyng harry

he conquered al than Scotland

and toke Jrlond in to his hand

and was called that tyme conqueroure

god yeue his sonle moche honoure

in his tyme he made subiecte

al walys and put vnder yokke

he behedyd that same tyme

the prince of walys thewelyn

ffor he wold not come to parlement

whanne that he was after sent

Inwys that tyme withoute dowte

Of this lond were clene putte owte

at westmynstre he had his burying

xxxv yere he regned kyng

Fol. 5v: Edward II

After him regned than his sonne
the second E[d][2]ward as was to done
Jborn was at Carnarvan
Trewly he was a holy man
Grete velany suffred he in his tyme
Thurgh his wyfe the Queen
ffor her love his lyfe loste he
In the castell of Barkeleye
w^t an hote Iron Spete verament
that was put in to his fundement
he regned almoost xx . yere
and to Glowcestre men him bere

Fol. 6r: Edward III
After him regned his son ful right
the thirde Edward the dowty knyght
.v. sonnys he had trewly here
that to him were leve and dere
furst the kyng and a grete maistrye
At Scluse he brennyd a grete manye
At Cresse he faught agayne
the kyng of Beme there was slayne
And thay of ffraunce putte to fflyght
A siege at Caleis he layde before
that lasted xij monthe and more
And or he thens wolde goo
he wanne Caleys and townys moo
Atte bataille of Petours by ordennce

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[2] This "d" was inserted.

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was taken John the kyng of ffraunce

Atte Westm' . he lythe there

he regned almoost lij . yeere

Before him deyde Prince Edward

which had a son that hight Richard

Fol. 6v: Richard II

This Richard than regned sone

After his Belsire as was to done

At x yere age crowned was he

he was a man of grete Bewte

In his tyme the comynte of kente

vp arisyn and to London wente

And Savoy thay brent þ^t ilke place

which the duke of Lancasters was

thurgh Jvell conceill was slayn ful fuel

the Duke of Gloucestre þe Erle of Arunndel

he regned xxij yere and more

And to Langlay was he bore

But in the .v. kyng . harryes tyme

he was leid at westm' by Anne the queen

Fol. 7r: Henry IV

After him regned thane

Þe iiij^{te}. Harry a dowty man

Atte westm' crowned he was

Wherof al Englond made solace

In his tyme was a blasing sterre

Þat al men myght se right ferre

walys was rebell tho not for thy

Ewayn Glendore was cause trewly

A dowty man he was and wyse

In eu'y bataille he had the price

At bataille of Shrewsbery trewly

Of his ennemyes he had the victorye

he regned here almoost xiiij yeere

And to Caunterbury men him bere

Fol. 7v: Henry V

After him regned his son thanne

Þe v^{te} harry trewly a gracious man

At his begynnyng verayment

he stroyed lollardes and yshent

After he made religious at Shene thanne

Syon Jers'm and eke Bedleme

the thirde yere he went trewly

And gate herflete in Normande

At Agyncourte he had a bataille I. wys

H[a]mewardes and had the price

he toke there the Duke of Orlyance

the Duke of Burbone & many of ffraunce

And after þat he wanne Cane towne

Rone and Normandye as was to done

Also he wanne parys worshipfully

w^t many mo townes w^t meny in bry

there he toke thanne to his quene

Kat'yne þe kyngs Doughter shene

of ffraunce his Eme trewly

was made Regent there sekyrly

he had a son of here ybore

That is callid harry of Wyndesore

In france he died godely thurgh galles sonde

And was brought into Englond

Fol. 8r: Henry VI

After him regned his son ful right

the .vj^{te}. harry that yong knyght

the duke of Bedford w^t gode entente

was his vncle & of ffrance Regent

the duke of Gloucestre his vncle alsoo

of Englond was p'tecto~. thoo

In his tyme the viij^e yere

he was crowned atte westm'

And the x^e. yere by and by

At parys was crownyd trewly

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