

THE LIFE OF A BOOK:
BRITISH LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT ADDITIONAL 35157
IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

by

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FOR THE WIFE

*That she so fair was, and so yong thereto,
For joye he hente hire in his armes two.*

Chaucer

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authorities enabled me to access a wide range of important manuscripts, and helped to refine my knowledge of paleography and codicology.

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Carl James Grindley
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SUMMARY

This dissertation is an investigation into the social history of British Library Manuscript Additional 35157 (hereafter Add.35157), which is a late fourteenth-century copy of William Langland's alliterative poem Piers Plowman.

Part one contains the text of the dissertation. In chapter 1 a general outline of the dissertation is provided and some bibliographical issues relating to the identification of Add.35157 are discussed.

Chapter 2 proposes that the knowledge of a manuscript's provenance is itself a legitimate goal of research. Chapter 2 also provides a sample exercise in manuscript research using a copy of John Lydgate's poem Life of Our Lady from the University of Glasgow's Hunterian Collection.

Chapter 3 forwards a classification system for manuscript marginalia and explains how some of the classifications arose. Chapter 4 discusses issues related to the codicology of Add.35157, suggests a new date for the manuscript's construction, discusses the work of its scribes and provides several new catalogue descriptions of the manuscript. Chapters 5 through 8 analyse the contributions and detail the biographies of four of Add.35157's owners or commentators. Chapter 9 concludes that there is much to be learned from the continued study of the social history of medieval manuscripts. Part two comprises fourteen appendices, includes an edition of Add.35157's marginal supply, surveys of its dialect, transcriptions of its text and reproductions of selected folios.

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PART ONE: TEXT

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTORY MATERIALS

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In a conu desent when soft was ye come
 I choep me in to shoywdes as y a shep were
 yn habite as an heunte ynholy beifce
 wente forth in ye wylde wondres to here
 and dait many cellies + celtony thinges
 In on amay moynng on malune hulle
 ye bifel forto clepe for weimes of walke
 And yn a launde as y say leued y + slepte
 And unuelonstich me mette. as y may you telle
 Al ye welthe of this world a ye wo bothe
 wynnng as hit were, wetylich y say hit
 Of tpeche, a of tpechepe, tpedun, a tpele
 Al y say slepyng as chal you telle
 Swyde y biheld after ye conne
 and y say atouf as y thowt tpeche was y nme
 Westward y wartyed a in a while after
 and say a dep sale. eeth as y leue
 woued in ye wones a wickete spites
 A fair feld ful of folk foud y y byttbene
 of alle man of men ye mene t ye pore
 Worchng t wachng as thio world askes
 come potton hem to ye plough plevdon ful celd
 yn setyng t odbyng sibonken ful sore
 And woune yat ye chastoes wiy aforonve best rovet
 And come potten hem to pryde appariledon to wast
 yn continuance of clothing in many bynne gize
 yn prayes a penauces putten hem man ye
 and love of ony lord kynon ful hard
 in hope to have agood ende a heveniche blisse
 Do Anceies a heunte pat holdon hem in her cellies
 coueytyr not in conties to karyon aboute
 for uoligorous hifode her sibam to please

Plate 1 British Library Manuscript Additional 35157 f.7r

(hands A and I)

I: INTRODUCTION

This is an investigation into the social history of one manuscript, and over the next eight chapters almost every aspect of its construction and use will be analysed. But although the manuscript in question is an important one, this study's results also concern not only the understanding of types of literacy in the late Middle Ages, but also the reception of vernacular poetry and the position of the book as object over the last four hundred years. It is hoped that the methodologies used in this study can be applied to the majority of medieval manuscripts.

British Library Manuscript Additional 35157 (hereafter Add.35157) is a late fourteenth-century copy of the third recension or C-text of William Langland's Middle English alliterative poem Piers Plowman. From a purely textual perspective, Add.35157 is a member of the most authoritative family of C-text manuscripts, the I-family. Add.35157 is so highly placed on the I-family stemma and boasts such a level of textual authority, that its text can only be favourably compared to one other manuscript, the Henry E. Huntington Library's manuscript HM 143 (hereafter HM 143). The other two important members of the I-family are either too badly damaged to be useful, as in the case of University of London V.S.L.88 (hereafter Ilchester), or too corrupt to be worth consulting, as in the case of the Hiberno-English manuscript Bodleian Douce 104 (hereafter Douce 104).

While the merits of Add.35157's text versus that of HM 143 are still a matter of keen textual debate, Add.35157 does have one distinct advantage over its competitor; it presents a nearly complete history of the reception of Piers Plowman. Whereas HM 143 contains excellent contemporary medieval responses to its text, Add.35157 holds a veritable

history of reaction on its folios and includes a marginal text which reaches from the date of its creation right to its entry into the British Library's permanent collection.

Manuscript Add.35157 boasts a complex and thoughtful multi-stage ordinatio, systematic annotations in at least eight hands and a unique compilatio-inspired introduction. After considerable research it has been possible to identify almost every owner of the manuscript from its creation to the present day, make some basic assumptions regarding transmission of the manuscript and compile detailed treatments, not only of its owners' contributions to the manuscript, but also of their biographies. Since many of the resulting discoveries have broad applications for other manuscripts, it is necessary to describe the procedures behind them.

II: METHODOLOGY

The complexity and range of this study has necessitated its division into three unequal-sized sections. Since these three sections may seem disparate, a word of explanation is required.

The first section of this study comprises a three-chapter comprehensive examination of the practical methodologies useful in determining the social patterns and historical relevancy of manuscript ownership and in the classification and interpretation of manuscript marginalia. Without the creation of recognisable systems for collecting and evaluating provenancial records and secondary biographical sources, or for analysing marginalia, the research contained in the latter parts of this study would be difficult to reproduce and would have fewer general applications. As it is, the overall aim of this study is to

encourage the replication of its procedures as they pertain to the study of other Middle English manuscripts.

Although many of the suggestions made regarding the possible avenues of provenancial research are now clearly documented in David Pearson's recent book on the subject,¹ the chapter on manuscript provenance, chapter 2, also provides some theoretical arguments regarding the position and reception of the individual manuscript owner and his or her place in society. Chapter 2 also discusses the goals of provenance research and presents a significant case-study in order to document the procedure.

As regards the classification of manuscript marginalia in chapter 3, the proposed system agrees, to some degree, with the work of Martin Irvine on early medieval theory of Ars Grammatica.² The classification system in chapter 3 also attempts to incorporate Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres' unpublished work on manuscript annotations into an earlier system suggested by the author of this study.³ Kerby-Fulton and Despres based their work on Douce 104 and were able to identify a number of annotations based on the medieval theory of textual modes.⁴ In turn, their classification work had been based on my study of HM 143's marginal supply.⁵

This first three-chapter section proposes several theories which apply to this study in its whole and which are central to the interpretation of the raw data gleaned from Add.35157.

The second part of this study is entirely self-contained in the world of Add.35157. It takes the form of a single chapter, chapter 4, and is concerned with the more readily quantifiable codicological and paleographical aspects of Add.35157's composition. Chapter 4 suggests a precise date and place of origin for Add.35157, describes its scribes, and documents and analyses their working practices. In order to correct

deficiencies now realised in the original British Library catalogue, chapter 4 also proposes several new bibliographic descriptions of the manuscript and utilises the most up-to-date cataloguing techniques available. As part of the process of cataloguing, the relative merits of competing cataloguing systems are presented and discussed, with the aim of encouraging the adoption of a two-tier process of describing archive materials, one which would be both computer-friendly but which would still contain all of the information required by researchers.

The third part of this study applies the theories forwarded in the first part to Add.35157 as it is described in the second part and attempts to document the general historical reception of the manuscript across four centuries. The third part comprises chapters 5 to 8, provides an analysis of the contributions of four of Add.35157's owners and details some of the social aspects of Tudor, Elizabethan and eighteenth-century manuscript ownership.

The conclusion of this study, chapter 9, argues that the methodologies developed and the observations reached should be applied to the study of other manuscripts, manuscript owners and systems of annotation. Chapter 9 argues that Add.35157's bibliographical history is probably far from atypical and that the in-depth study of book provenance and marginalia leads to a greater understanding of medieval texts and their readers.

The appendices provided include a full transcription of Add.35157's marginalia, a selection of material from a variety of its owners, dialect analyses from its text and transcriptions of several sections of the manuscript.

III: ADD.35157 VS U

Throughout this study, British Library Manuscript Additional 35157 is referred to as Add.35157 and is not generally identified by its Piers Plowman C-text siglum, U. There are several reasons for this policy. First, the majority of work conducted in this study relates not to the Piers Plowman text contained within Add.35157, but to the manuscript itself. Second, Add.35157's marginal supply is not part of the text itself and so cannot be known as U. Third, and as is documented in chapters 4 and 5, some parts of the text have been mis-identified. For example, copied fragments from earlier traditions, scribal inventions and late additions have been inadvertently adopted as being parts of the U C-text. Last, there are so few occasions in this study when the U C-text is discussed, that, for the sake of convenience, Add.35157 has been adopted as standard.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

- 1 David Pearson, Provenance Research in Book History (London: British Library, 1994).
- 2 Martin Irvine, The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory 350-1100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 3 The author acknowledges the intellectual debt owed to unpublished work on Douce 104 by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres and thanks them for allowing their findings to be incorporated into chapter 3.
- 4 Carl James Grindley, From Creation to Desecration: The Marginal Annotations of Piers Plowman C Text HM 143 (unpublished master's thesis, University of Victoria, 1992).
- 5 Grindley, pp.22-75.

CHAPTER 2**THE ISSUE OF OWNERSHIP**

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Here endeth the Coluſion of the Trinite
 And by the unctiō the ſu-ſtatute of Croſſe.

Here endeth the Coluſion of the Trinite

Whenne alle was quyt & was in ſilence
 And in thyſe comys ye longe ſterry nyght
 Was waſte half & freyſſhe of apparece
 Luynt ſchon on hend fayre & bryght
 Thy woode. o. lorde yat is moost of myght
 Whiche ty abydeti & ptyth not fro the
 Cent and diſſendd from thy ryalle ſce.

That ſodeynly vpon alle the ertze
 ſhadde his byght for owre ſalnacyon
 As I ſchalle ſynge or mayes day the ferte
 If ze byſte here of humble affectyon
 Now in the zeer by computacyon
 forty zeer and two of Octobryan
 fertofermore after the wealde by gnn.

ffye thouſand as Bede byſte to dyffyne
 And an hundred ſothly this is no lees
 And ther with alle nynty zeer and nyne
 When alle the world in reeſte was & pees
 With owre weye and of Olympiades
 In the hundryd nynty zeer and thre
 And by arowete eke as ze may ſee.



I: INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts have always been precious possessions and even at the close of the sixteenth century, when the printed book began to surmount their popularity, manuscripts remained objects to be cherished and preserved. Indeed, early Renaissance libraries made no distinction, at least from the evidence of catalogues or shelving arrangements, between printed books and manuscripts.¹ However, after the advent of printing manuscripts began to take on an increasing air of historical and political interest. It was at this time that the first great private manuscript libraries were established.² Some manuscripts even began to be used as makeshift commonplace books. It is not unknown to see on their pages not only several generations of ownership marks, but also accounts of marriages, births and other personal records.³ Judging from the University of Glasgow's Hunterian manuscript collection (hereafter the Hunterian collection), an average fifteenth-century manuscript is one which shows three or four hundred years of continuous readership and use.

Sometimes the histories of individual manuscripts lead toward information about the collections in which they were originally housed. The identification of historical libraries and ownership patterns can be useful in answering the much larger questions of collection practice:⁴

The study of provenance allows us to assess the size and contents of particular libraries, and to compare them with other collections of their time. It allows us to build up wider pictures of the patterns of book ownership through the centuries, and to see how those patterns change in terms of size, composition, language, subject, or origin. These observations lead on to yield information about the history

of the book trade, and about the importance of books in society.

Consider, for example, the records of the Hunterian collection.⁵ Dr William Hunter, the University of Glasgow's greatest eighteenth-century benefactor and physician to Queen Caroline, was an industrious book-collector. Hunter kept detailed records of his purchases, including sale dates, prices and notes on previous provenance. Although his great interest was in the preservation of medical texts, particularly those in written in Middle English, Latin and Arabic, Hunter's collection spanned many genres. It is self-evident that the more information that researchers are able to ascertain about the collection practices and lives of patrons like Hunter, the more they are able to find out about the collections themselves.

Various discoveries may be made regarding the establishment of early libraries and in the case of many seventeenth-century book-collectors, these stories are well-known. Samuel Pepys, for example, had an ambition to own books in as many languages and on as many subjects as possible:⁶

A work on navigation rubs shoulders with a classical author, a French historian reposes beside an English poet, a collection of contemporary pamphlets adjoins a law manual. The extraordinary balance and complexity of that deceptively clear mind can here be apprehended through sight and touch.

And as Pepys' collection has been described as 'preserv[ing][...] perfectly the impress of its maker,'⁷ it is not surprising that some of his habits were odd. For example, Pepys went to elaborate means in order to bind his books in an orderly manner. He even went as far as ensuring the uniform height of his collection by using leather-covered blocks.⁸ So despite Pepys' 'clear mind' and his collection's

'extraordinary balance,' he was also keenly aware of the physical appearance of his collection and carried its presentation almost to the point of vanity. Sometimes it seems that Pepys' final demand that his library stay untouched and undivided, was more to provide future generations with an opportunity posthumously to congratulate its creator, than for any logical or bibliographical purpose. Obviously, the more knowledge we have of Pepys influences our reception and understanding of his library.

In many instances there are ideological motivations behind book collections. Some modern collections illustrate this point quite clearly. In the early twentieth century, for example, Eric Blair⁹ established a formidable collection of British political pamphlets. Blair published numerous articles and essays on his collection and co-wrote a book on the general topic.¹⁰ He was eager that these small publications should be preserved and studied. Blair, of course, wrote under the pen-name George Orwell, and it is possible to see how his reading and collecting of political pamphlets influenced the development of his ideas and his own style of journalism and fiction.¹¹

So by coming to an understanding of Blair's book collection, some light is shed on his character and his growth as a writer. At the same time, the more that is known about Blair's political inclinations, the more knowledge is gained of the motivations for his collections. The same general theory holds true for medieval and Renaissance collectors:¹²

The study of an individual private library shows up the interests and tastes of the owner, and the texts which may have influenced his thinking. If he annotated his books, his comments may be valuable as evidence of contemporary reaction to the ideas they contain.

So by conducting basic research on the lives of manuscript owners, it is possible to recontextualise their collections and in doing so answer several basic questions: who were the owners; where did they live; how were they educated; what were their professions; what social milieus did they exist within; and what other books did they own? After considering these points, one can then analyse how a certain book was used and how it was viewed by its readership.

As previously stated, this study takes the questions of provenance and personal history and applies the resulting inferences to Add.35157. The process can be cumbersome and it is useful to provide a case-study in order to establish a complete methodology.

Consider, for example, the Hunterian collection's manuscript 232 (hereafter MS 232). The manuscript is a fifteenth-century copy of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady. During Tudor and Elizabethan times it was once in the possession of the Golding family of Essex. Several generations of Golding owned and used MS 232 and the volume contains the names of at least seventeen people. Although approximately four were members of the Golding family, most of them were probably either apprentices working for the Goldings' business or friends of the family.

MS 232, at least from a conservator's point of view, was, as the catalogue suggests, 'vilely abused, cut, mutilated and scribbled over.'¹³ Foliated initials have been cut from the text and entire stanzas of poetry and doggerel verse have been added. Nearly every folio bears witness to pen-trials and scribbles. Some pages were even used to write sample indentures. It appears as if MS 232 was used as the fifteenth-century equivalent of scrap paper.

From a social historian's point of view, however, MS 232's past treatment was not 'vile'. Each mark made on its folios is a valuable

testament and the manuscript itself is an infinitely interesting document, full of the sort of details which help to reconstruct its owners' lives.

The Goldings were servants to the Earls of Essex and Oxford. In all likelihood they were the equivalent of professional estate agents. Therefore, this manuscript represents a glimpse into the lives of those on the periphery of political and economic power. By examining the various ways that the Golding family used MS 232, it is possible to construct a picture of how middle class readers in Tudor and Elizabethan times used a literary text.

Such research into manuscript provenance is better conducted than ignored, but the research does present some challenges. The process of obtaining enough data regarding manuscript ownership is often laborious. Although guides to genealogical issues are easily available, the level of detail required for the recontextualisation of the entire history of a codex generally falls beyond the scope of the amateur genealogist. Luckily, the very nature of manuscripts aids research. Since manuscripts were relatively expensive objects in the middle ages, their owners tended not only to preserve them, but also to be the sort of people who left ample secondary documentary evidence behind.

Biographical documentary evidence can take many forms. There are birth records, post-mortem inquests, marriage records, matriculation records, court records, visitation records and the like. As in the case of MS 232's Golding family, many manuscript owners were involved in the operation of the governments of their day, or lurked on the fringes of power. By using only a few tools in addition to those favoured by the amateur genealogist, it is possible to research and describe the life of a manuscript owner, even when the starting point is as unassuming as a single signature scribbled on a flyleaf. Indeed, some reference library

catalogues already contain some details of manuscript provenance. Although these notations are usually limited to a book's original patron, place of manufacture and details of final library purchase, they make a good jumping off point for a more in-depth study.

Unfortunately, the documents identified by the study of secondary sources and the details discovered regarding manuscript provenance do present a few theoretical challenges. The information is sometimes difficult to place into historical context and there are several competing academic disciplines and theoretical schools involved.

II: THE PROBLEM OF HISTORY

This study does not present its findings in order to argue for a unified theory of manuscript ownership and use, which would offer interpretation across all genres of medieval writing and all language traditions, but instead focusses entirely on the responses that a small group of individuals made on a single manuscript. The reasons for this approach are both theoretically and pragmatically driven.

First, from the perspective of theory, it is easy enough to concede that neither historical documents nor the scholars who work with them can ever be completely divorced from their respective ideologies and prejudices:¹⁴

While wanting to do justice to the otherness of a distant past, the historian is unavoidably conditioned by his own historical situation; while concerned to incorporate and understand as much of the material relevant to his chosen problem as he can, he is also aware that the material is never raw data but rather produced by elaborate processes

of interpretation--many of which are so much second nature as to be unrecognizable as interpretations at all; and while attentive to the particularity and detail in which the significance of the past resides, he also knows that for detail to be significant at all it must be located within a larger totalising context.

Rather than to attempt to argue around such a seemingly unassailable position, or to simply agree with it and use the research process to address the larger issues of conflicting political consciousnesses, the evidence discovered and cited in this study was taken at as close to face value as possible and was used to declaim the continuous existence of a reclaimable historical personal subjectivity:¹⁵

[T]he objection that we are making an unwarranted assumption in thinking that the human mind was essentially the same over centuries of changing culture is counsel of utter despair. If the deep structure of human experience could change so rapidly and profoundly, altered by the comings and goings of institutions and beliefs, then there could be no discipline of history at all, and our endowment of memory[...] would be a cruel deception. As it is, every historian brings some notion of psychology to the understanding of persons encountered through evidence.

The belief in some sort of transcendental subjectivity, no matter how loosely applied, has been under attack from a variety of theoretical schools for a great number of years. However, for the purposes of this study, it is deemed an essential truth. In my opinion, there is a form of what can only be described in the most pragmatic circumstances as unchanging subjectivity, but it is one whose parameters are redeveloped and redefined with every emerging consciousness. Although it is easy enough to affirm that subjectivity is under constant revision, its

overall essence is stable. The notion that the date of its description somehow influenced its development is absurd.¹⁶

Therefore, and as retrograde as it may seem, this study is based on a mild form of positivism, which was seen as the only practical methodology for the acquisition of perceived fact, and on an unshakable belief in transcendental subjectivity. Of course, the biases of the researcher are readily acknowledged, as are the biases of the items of documentary evidence and their respective authors.

In defence of the process used for compiling and analysing the evidence cited in later chapters, it must be acknowledged that the majority of sources have immediate connection only with the minutiae of medieval, Tudor and Elizabethan life. For the most part, these sources are so banal as to be both entirely believable and impossible to verify. As Patterson suggests, positivism, by necessity, lurks in the shadow of the recontextualised subjective existence.¹⁷

For example, MS 232 contains a sample indenture in the name of William Golding on f.68r. There seems to be no point in denying its veracity, nor in discovering the overall socio-political implications of Elizabethan business practices. For the sake of individual recontextualisation, William Cecil's economic policies have no bearing on whether or not the evidence of this minor indenture represents the truth of the matter. On the other hand, a sample indenture in the name of William Golding provides some information on Golding himself. The more documentary evidence of Golding's life that is discovered, the clearer his life becomes.

Indeed, much of what is found in the documentary evidence of minor lives is so subjective as to be irrefutable. If, for example, a certain book owner describes one of his relatives as being a usurious man, 'bitelbrowed and baburlippied, with two blered eyes,'¹⁸ it is virtually

impossible to check his opinion. Although such comments might aid research into the socio-historical perceptions of Elizabethan business practices, the converse demands too many preconditions.

Second, the historical issues encountered in a study such as this, whose time-frame spans nearly five centuries, are oftentimes too large or too complex to encourage the development of any sort of expertise beyond that of basic familiarity. Occasionally, however, some specialist issues are unavoidable. In chapter 7, for example, the politics of the reform of the English church are discussed in some detail, and in chapter 8, the goals and ambitions of eighteenth-century 'polite' scholarship are encountered. In these situations, it was necessary to obtain an understanding of the subject material which transcended any sort of lay-understanding. Unfortunately, there were many issues within the scope of this study which, for reasons of the conservation of space and the demands of time, could not be subjected to similar in-depth treatment.

Since most of the larger historical issues relating to this study are entirely English or Scottish and comprise a period of some five hundred or so years, generalist works were those most often consulted. Wherever possible, specialist books and other publications were utilised. For example, the contents of chapters 6 and 7 share a general interest in a variety of issues concerning late Tudor, Elizabethan and early Stuart times. For the basic concepts involved, the standard texts on Tudor, Elizabethan and Stuart history were consulted; for the political practices of William Cecil, biographies of Cecil were used; for the relationship of Cecil to Sir Michael Hicks, Alan G. R. Smith's account of Hicks' life was used;¹⁹ and for Hicks' relationship to Francis Ayscough, Ayscough's own words were the only source. Clearly and despite the best intentions and practices of current scholarship,

Ayscough's accounts have been subject to the least amount of interpretation and alteration, and therefore represent the strongest link in the chain of documentary evidence which leads back to the late sixteenth century.

III: THE STUDY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

It may be assumed that the majority of manuscript owners simply signed their possessions and refrained from including any detailed accounts of their lives. In some situations, loaned manuscripts often returned with additional marks. Although it seems bad practice to do so, in the majority of cases it is probably best to assume that any given signature or printed name, providing that it is in a unique hand, represents someone who possessed the book long enough to read it. As Alston notes: 'Before scholars had access to research libraries it was common for generous collectors to allow their books to be borrowed and used. As often as not, the books would be written in.'²⁰

Although some manuscripts were part of royal collections, most extant books from the late middle ages show humbler origins. For example, of the one hundred and twenty or so Middle English manuscripts in the Hunterian collection, only a few were clearly presentation copies; the vast majority either belonged to upwardly mobile families, or have obscure origins. Therefore, it may be assumed that most manuscript owners, although of a certain upwardly-mobile social class, were relatively unimportant people, and it is best to expect very little data to come from traditional avenues of secondary scholarship. Indeed, most current works concerned with the issues raised by manuscript ownership are flawed.

As by way of example, consider again MS 232. As it is, very little work in the twentieth century has been conducted on this important manuscript. Until this year, MS 232 has only been the subject of two secondary research efforts. It was used, without much success, in the production of a critical edition of Lydgate's Life of Our Lady,²¹ and it was described in the University of Glasgow's Hunterian catalogue.²²

Although the manifest failures of the editorial use of MS 232 are interesting,²³ it is the catalogue's description of the manuscript which is of chief concern. Indeed, the poor state of many existing catalogues is a major source of worry and possible solutions to the problem appear in chapter 4.

The first experience of working with a manuscript will frequently reveal a vast number of factual errors regarding its construction and provenance in its accompanying catalogue entry. In defence of special collections departments worldwide, it is admitted that a large number of such catalogues were nineteenth-century creations. If the almost continuous production of the British Library's catalogues of its Additional Manuscripts was typical of other catalogues, then nineteenth-century catalogues must have been terribly hurried affairs, compiled by generalist librarians instead of trained paleographers or codicologists.²⁴

The Glasgow University Hunterian Collection manuscript catalogue is guilty of many faults and is riddled with numerous factual errors and insupportable facts. For example, as far as MS 232 is concerned, the collation is incomplete, there is no indication of original place of manufacture and the manuscript is dated only to within a hundred years. Since the publication of the catalogue, MS 232 has been re-backed and

its quires separated by guard slips. Obviously, none of the resulting information is transmitted in the catalogue's text.²⁵

Often, notations of manuscript ownership or the presence of marginalia increase the frequency of catalogue error and, as is discussed in chapter 4, the current systems of cataloguing used for describing both ownership marks and marginalia are insufficient. Therefore, the best way to approach the issue of manuscript ownership is to work directly with the primary source.

The starting point of an ownership research project is usually a single signed name, so it is worthwhile to cross-check any name found in a manuscript with the records of those found in the collections of other libraries. Although the British Museum's latest index contains references for most ownership marks,²⁶ most libraries do not have comprehensive, easily-accessible indices of manuscript provenance in either printed or electronic formats.

The next step is to take the manuscript's recorded names and amass as much information as possible about the accompanying lives. The sources used should encompass the standard tools of the amateur genealogist. Although these sources are for the most part well-known assets to any bibliographic search, it is worthwhile outlining the relative merits of several.

First, there are a great many genealogical bibliographies, which contain a large number of different types of materials; these include: parish registers, electoral registers, poll books, census returns, heraldic visitation records, court records, records of the privy council, records of the privy seal, other governmental bodies and so on.

Of the above types of records, visitation reports and probate records are particularly useful because they can indicate possible routes of manuscript transmission.

In addition, books of family names, directories of place names, and the various books of peerage come in useful. Even generalist works such as Debretts',²⁷ and the Dictionary of National Biography²⁸ have their uses. Often, the value of such generalist publications cannot be over-emphasised. For example, the Dictionary of National Biography proved an essential tool during this study's research cycle and several seemingly obscure manuscript owners were located through its entries.

Once an owner's family is isolated, the search will probably widen to include information from other sources. The Historical Manuscripts Commission's publications are very well indexed. They can be used to find letters and other documents either written by or directly concerning research subjects.

For details other than simple identification of names, university records and government records prove useful. The records of the ancient universities of the United Kingdom are well-edited and most contain excellent indices.

Fortunately, the field of investigating manuscript provenance was greatly invigorated last year with the publication of David Pearson's Provenance Research in Book History,²⁹ which functions almost as a bibliography of bibliographies and lists nearly every single possible avenue of provenance inquiry. Pearson's book contains not only all those sources listed above, but includes a large number of additional suggestions.

Since the case of MS 232 is representative example of this type of work, what follows is a limited documentation of the process of compiling a simple ownership biography. The following section also includes a cursory profile of MS 232's socio-historical function.

IV: PRACTICE METHODOLOGY AND DISCOVERY

1. A BOOK IN THE HUNTERIAN COLLECTION

What follows is an updated description of MS 232:³⁰

Glasgow, Hunterian Library

MS 232.

s.XV²

SACRED POEMS

CONTENTS

1. f.1 John Lydgate, Life of Our Lady (with 'Magnicat'). Begins: O
thowhtful hert plunged in distresse|With slombre of slowthe þis
long winters nyght; ends imperfectly at Book 6:308, on f.112: And
how this feest fyrst tooke his name|So as I can to ȝow I wole
attaine.

IMEV 1867. Critical edition with variant readings from this
manuscript: A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's 'Life of Our
Lady,' by J.A. Lauritis, R.A. Klines-Elter and V.F. Gallagher,
(Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961).

COLLATION

Membrane (evenly trimmed), ff.ii (modern hand-made paper) + 104 +
ii (modern hand-made paper). 285 x 190 (165 x 115) mm. i², 1⁸-
13⁸, ii².

MATERIALS AND CONDITION

Membrane is middle-grade, velvety in texture, and, where
distinguishable, arranged with hair to hair and flesh to flesh.
Considerable fading and damage to all leaves. Excessive damage to
first folio indicates that the manuscript probably lay sewn but
unbound for some time.

CATCHWORDS AND SIGNATURES

Catchwords in ink in lower right margins of end leaf of each quire; all quires signed in ink on first four folios of each quire and are numbered a-n (om. 'J') i-iv in Latin letters and Roman numerals.

FOLIATION

Modern foliation in pencil on the upper right recto of each folio.

PRESENTATION

Folios prepared with red single bounding lines and red interior ruling (pricking at 5 mm intervals 10 mm from outside edges of each folio). Thirty-one lines of single-column text per page divided into four seven-line stanzas with three blank lines. Main text written in dark brown ink in a single hand, which is a highly professional and fluid anglicana formata with occasional secretary features. Text-based rubrics in semi-quadrata. No colophon.

DECORATION

The text's main divisions are indicated by six 4-6 line blue lombardic capitals with red pen flourishing (ff.1r, 17r, 47r, 79v, 86v and 99v). Minor divisions highlighted by 2-line blue lombardic capitals with minimal red pen flourishing. No paraph marks. Some marginal rubrics in Latin in Book 6 of the text.

BINDING

Prior to 1952 the manuscript had an eighteenth-century 5-cord binding in crimson grained Russia with gilt-tooled sides. Rebound in March 1952 by D.C. and Son of Glasgow. Hermitage calf on original boards, with the eighteenth-century leather covers retained. Cuts and tears repaired, re-sewn onto five cords, new silk head bands. Gold-tooled spine reads: Sacred|Poems|Ms. The eighteenth-century spine label is preserved on the inside cover and reads: Sacred|Poems in gold letters on black leather. Additional details of rebinding process on the inside back cover. William Hunter's bookplate and original shelf-marks are preserved on the inside cover (Q.2.7, Q.2.26, D2 1253, <RR...>[recovery of

this mark was impossible even following examination under ultra-violet light]).

DAMAGE AND REPAIR

Manuscript has suffered tremendous damage due to over-enthusiastic use, including many cuts and tears. Most of this damage probably occurred during the sixteenth century. Details of modern repairs on inside back cover.

MARGINALIA

Several hundred context-free marginal notes in a variety of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands. Included in this supply are several notario marks, numerous pen-trials, signatures, duplications of text, grotesques, copied lombards and flourished initials, fragmentary indentures, doodles, lines of doggerel verse, and conflated quotations from a variety of English bibles. A slip of paper between the inside cover and the first flyleaf contains, in an eighteenth-century hand: A m.s. of Sacred Poetry|viz.|1. The Nativite of owre Lady|2. The Cownsel of the Trynyte|3. The Nativite of Cryste|4. The Circumcision|5. The offerynge of the Thre|Kyngs| [another eighteenth-century hand (possibly the Rev. Joseph Stevenson S.J.) has added in pencil:] 6. The purification of the Virgin Mary.

HISTORY

Owned by the Golding family of Berking, Essex in the fifteenth century. In possession of Dr William Hunter in the eighteenth century. Acquired by the University of Glasgow at Hunter's death in 1783.

OWNERSHIP NAMES	LOCATION
Gone [John] Daniell	74r
Peter Debytt	26v
Peter Debet	43r
Tomas Emery	104v
William Gammon	93v
Francis Goldynge	102v
John Goldynge	21r
Tomas Goldyng	68r
William Goldynge	5v, 15v, 21r, 37v, 48v, 49r, 53v, 59v, etc.
John Gosse	28v
Jeohn [John] Haytholl	93v
John James	43r
John Jones	17r
John Marshe	32v, 33r, 72r
John Pierson	55r
Roger Slow	49r
John Williamson	55r
John Wood	55r
Thomas	67r

SECUNDO FOLIO: and the lykowre

2. THE GOLDING FAMILY RECORDS

At least four different Goldings are mentioned on the folios of MS 232: William Golding, Thomas Golding, John Golding and Francis Golding. With the ready repetition of personal names in individual families, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of people described.³¹ The Hunterian catalogue, typically silent in this case, offers no clues to MS 232's provenance, though it does identify the family as hailing from Berking, Essex. Hunter's sale records are likewise mute and although it is safe to suggest that Hunter purchased the manuscript sometime in the mid-eighteenth century, it is impossible to determine who he purchased it from, and for what sort of price.

Visitation records from the 1552 and 1558 surveys of Essex, however, clearly identify the Golding family. With the adoption of William Golding as the focus of the research, it is possible to begin to identify other members of the Golding family with some degree of certainty.³²

William Golding's father, John, was married twice and fathered six sons and at least five daughters. At least four children came from his first marriage, of whom William was the second son and, presumably, second child. Sometime following the birth of his fourth child, John Golding remarried. Of the children of this second marriage, the Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter DNB) carries a biography of an Arthur Golding. Arthur was presumably the second-born child of John's second marriage. The DNB suggests probable dates of 1536-1605 for Arthur, which agrees with his dates from Jesus College, Cambridge.³³ Therefore, William Golding's date of birth must have occurred in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Marriage license allegations issued by the Bishop of London³⁴ detail a Mary Golding, daughter of the late William Golding of Essex, being married on December 18, 1593, so it is therefore possible to narrow William Golding's life to an approximate 1525-1593.

Other records of the Golding family are equally easy to locate. For example, thirty-four Goldings attended the various colleges of Cambridge up to the year 1751.³⁵ Two of these are quite clearly identified as being part of the specific branch of the Golding family in question and there are two likely candidates for William Golding himself. Records from Oxford show that an additional five Goldings attended various colleges from 1500-1714, although none had William as a Christian name.³⁶

The index catalogue for the British Library's manuscript collection lists over twenty-five manuscripts containing information on the Golding family, including William's brother's common-place book.³⁷ Likewise, the Historical Manuscript Commission's index for 1911-1957 lists twenty collections which contain Golding material, while the 1870-1911 index lists nine collections which contain material.³⁸

There are many other sources which would have added additional material to anyone interested in researching the Golding family of Essex. Such material would naturally include the various publications of the Public Record Office and those unpublished records themselves. Of particular interest would be the state collections for the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I. The Essex Records' Office would probably contain many other sources of information, as would the Essex Historical Society.

Although all of these avenues of research would probably be very much rewarding, MS 232's history is only intended to be an indication of the level of detail found later in this study. Since this introductory section is only intended as an example of what is possible, the interpretation which follows is based merely on the information already discovered.

In a general summary, however, the accumulated data shows that the Golding family were members of the emerging middle classes and lived in a time of great political and social change. They were a well-educated Protestant family.³⁹ With success in marriage and business, they climbed from a position of near obscurity to near nobility.⁴⁰ The years following the death of Henry VIII were crucial times for the Goldings and some of the details from their biographies reflect the situations in which they often found themselves.

William Golding's elder brother, Thomas, was knighted and served as the sheriff of Essex in 1561 and again in 1569.⁴¹ It is unclear where Thomas' sympathies were placed. There is evidence from various litigations served through the Privy Council, that he often acted in accordance with his family's ties to the local aristocracy, even when such actions conflicted with direct legal intervention from Parliament.⁴² There is also some evidence that suggests that Thomas played a key part in raising troops to defend the legitimacy of Edward VI and was successful in his activities in this matter.⁴³

Arthur, William Golding's half-brother, became well-known for his literary translations. His translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses was the only published English translation prior to Sandys' 1632 attempt.⁴⁴ His oeuvre, although partially lost, also includes a translation of Seneca's De Beneficiis and translations from Calvin and Theodore Beza.⁴⁵ Arthur Golding was also a member of Archbishop Parker's Society of Antiquaries, and a close friend of Sir Philip Sidney.⁴⁶

William's youngest sister, Margery, married John de Veere,⁴⁷ the Earl of Essex, who, at one point, had Arthur and Sir Phillip Sidney as semi-permanent house-guests.⁴⁸ William's half-brother Henry worked for the Earl of Essex, and while it is quite clear that the Golding family performed valuable services for their employers, they were not considered to be their social equals. No doubt careful study would reveal much more of their daily lives.

3. THE USE AND ABUSE OF MS HUNTER 232

As already noted, MS 232 contains many interesting features. The Goldings avidly used MS 232 as a tool for attaining some form of practical literacy. In From Memory to Written Record, Michael Clanchy lists some of the avenues of practical literacy in the twelfth to

fourteenth centuries.⁴⁹ Clanchy lists a vast number of document types that a literate man might encounter, including: charters, chirographs, certificates, letters, writs, financial accounts, memoranda, surveys, legal records, yearbooks, chronicles, cartularies, registers, literary works, learned works and the like.⁵⁰ Clanchy also suggests that a reasonably educated person might include many diverse types of writing in one volume: a treatise on husbandry, a poem in aid of learning French, a moral poem, some proverbs, a brief encyclopaedia and other works.⁵¹

MS 232, while not containing as many types of writing as Clanchy's example, does contain fragments of indentures, quotations from the Psalms, records of rents, samples of notary marks and extracts from what were presumably popular poems. Thus, the Goldings filled MS 232 with a variety of different types of writing, all of which would have been important in their day-to-day activities. While MS 232 does not contain any complete records, it provides a good indication of the Goldings' overall aims for their literacy and provides some clues as to how they might have or refined gained their literacy. As such, the types of documents that the Goldings used fit Clanchy's model for practical literacy well and MS 232 shows many signs of their reading and writing habits.

In particular the Goldings seemed focused on the acquisition of various earlier decorative hands. For example, in the first two or three gatherings of MS 232, there are dozens of practice lombardic capitals, grotesque figures, flourished initials, duplications of manuscript text, pen trials and marks associated with notary usage. Some of the practice lombardic capitals and notary marks must have either been spectacularly successful or spectacularly unsuccessful, since they have been carefully cut out with a pen knife.

Some text appears to be the work of a child, for example on f.32r someone has written: 'in mye moste hartye manor I recomend me unto yow dere father & mother.' Other texts appear to be the sort found in Elizabethan copy books, such as: 'the best theynge that ever I wyst ys to be dellegent,' which may be found on f.102v.

Marginal comment, in the form of a sample indenture, also suggests that William Golding became apprenticed to his brother Thomas (f.68r):

This indenture wyttnesythe that I Wylliam Goldyng of Berkyng in the countye of Essyxe hathe bound hymselfe a prentys with Thomas.

Another sample indenture appears on f.65r and helps to date the comments to the late 1540s:

This indenture made the xth daye of marche In the thyrd yere of the reyn of our sovereygne lord King Edward the vi Bye the grace of god kyng

The Goldings also used the manuscript to preserve some material associated with common-place books of the time, including doggerel verse and quotations from various Protestant translations of the Bible. One of the more interesting biblical quotations, John 3:16, is found repeated throughout the manuscript: 'sooe god lvyd the worlde that he gave hyt hys onlye begotten sonne to the intente that all that beleve in hym shuld nott peryshe but have ever lastyng lyfe.'⁵² This version of John is not to be found in any of the available printed copies of the Bible in English during the sixteenth century and appears to be a conflation of Archbishop Parker's translation and the 1534 edition of Tyndale's Bible. Whether this suggests that the family owned both

Bibles or merely that both were used by nearby clergy is impossible to determine.

Interestingly enough, no part of MS 232's marginal supply indicates that any of its owners actually bothered to read the accompanying Lydgate text. Although there are several duplicated stanzas, they were most likely re-copied in the aid of someone attempting to learn anglicana formata. Why anyone at such a late date would want to learn this hand is a mystery. Other manuscript features were copied, including decorated ascenders and catch-words. Some rubrics, particularly those incipits and explicitis appearing in semi-quadrata, were also copied.

From a political point of view, the Goldings' complete and utter disregard for the content of Lydgate's text is probably not an antecedent for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Lydgate criticism,³³ most of which transcends the mere scathing and propels itself to ludicrous heights of scurrilous invective:³⁴

[A] voluminous, prosaick, and driveling monk[....]
 But, in truth, and fact, [his] stupid and fatigueing productions, which by no means deserve the name of poetry, and their stil more stupid and disgusting author, who disgraces the name and patronage of his master Chaucer, are neither worth collecting (unless it be as typographical curiositys, or on account of the beutyful illuminations in some of his presentation-copys), nor even worthy of preservation.

Instead, the Goldings' use of the document probably relates directly to its subject matter: the life of the Virgin Mary. The Goldings were obviously Protestant and were not interested in the works of Lydgate.

4. MAKING SENSE OF THE GOLDINGS

With only a basic understanding of the Golding family situation, it is possible to make a few assumptions regarding the reasons behind their apparently odd use of MS 232. They were a well-educated Protestant family, whose importance steadily increased during the sixteenth century. Literacy was crucial to their social position, but, discounting Arthur Golding's latter accomplishments, they were not interested in literacy for its own sake.

MS 232 displays its owners' attempts to come to grips with several difficult ornamental hands and the concepts of basic manuscript ordinatio and mise-en-page. They attempted elaborate decorated initials of the type used to begin indentures and practiced writing the indentures themselves. They respected the manuscript enough not to destroy it completely, but it is clear that its importance centered around its mechanical components, not its text. MS 232 served to augment commercial training and prepare several different Goldings for entry into the family business: that of managing other families' businesses.

V: CONCLUSIONS

Through a variety of relatively simple procedures, it is possible to gather a large number of facts and secondary sources relating to an individual's life and book collection. These sources can then be applied to give some indication of the uses of a book or collection in relation to its owner's life.

Although the possible interpretations of the data are numerous, this study offers only rudimentary social interpretation at this juncture. The procedures outlined and applied to MS 232 exist more as an impetus for future and further research.

Although MS 232 provided a good example of the sort of work and the quality and quantity of data that basic provenance research provides, it is not the main concern of this study, nor was its execution anything other than abbreviated. However, following chapter 3's discussion of manuscript marginalia, a complete paleographical and codicological study of Add.35157 will be presented.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

- 1 N.F. Blake, 'Manuscript to Print', in Book Production and Publishing in Britain: 1375-1475, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.404 (pp.403-419).
- 2 N.R. Ker, Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon, 1985), p.459.
- 3 R.C. Alston, Books with Manuscript (London: British Library, 1994), p.vii.
- 4 Pearson, p.2.
- 5 N.R. Ker, William Hunter as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts (Glasgow: Glasgow, [1983]).
- 6 Richard Ollard, Pepys: A Biography (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), p.319.
- 7 Ollard, p.319.
- 8 Ollard, p.319.
- 9 George Orwell, The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, ed. by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), III, pp.74, 87, 316, 329-330, 406, IV, p.112 n. Orwell's political pamphlets are now in the British Library's collection.
- 10 British Pamphleteers, ed. by George Orwell and Reginald Reynolds, 2v (London: Wingate, 1948).
- 11 Lynette Hunter, Geogre Orwell: The Search for a Voice (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1984), pp.133-160.
- 12 Pearson, p.2.
- 13 John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow: Glasgow, 1908), p.183.

- 14 Lee Patterson, Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp.ix-x.
- 15 Nancy F. Partner, 'Reading The Book of Margery Kempe', Exemplaria, 3.1 (1991), 62 (29-66).
- 16 Patterson, p.33.
- 17 Patterson, p.44.
- 18 See discussion in chapter 7.
- 19 Alan G.R. Smith, Servant of the Cecils: the life of Sir Michael Hicks, 1543-1612 (London: Johnathon Cape, 1977).
- 20 Alston, p.vii.
- 21 A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady,' by J.A. Lauritis, R.A. Klines-Elter and V.F. Gallagher, (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961).
- 22 Young and Aitken, pp.183-185.
- 23 According to unpublished research by John Ford.
- 24 Between the years 1843 and 1901, ten volumes of British Library Additional catalogues were produced. This gives a rate of one catalogue every five years. On the other hand, the manuscripts acquired from 1951 to 1955 (the last major acquisition of material) took thirty to catalogue and the resulting volume was not published until 1982.
- 25 These details are preserved on a sheet tipped in on the inside back cover of the manuscript.
- 26 Index of Manuscripts in the British Library (hereafter IMBL), 10 vols (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1984-1986).
- 27 Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage: With Her Majesty's Royal Warrant Holders (London: Debrett's Peerage, 1976).
- 28 Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter DNB), ed. by Sidney Lee, LXIII vols (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885-1900).

- 29 Pearson. Pearson's book, unluckily, was not available during the research for this study, but his suggested areas of inquiry mirror those suggested in this chapter. Rather than needlessly repeating Pearson's already-published practices, I have deferred to his work and modified the number of suggestions made in this section of this study.
- 30 Young and Aitken, pp. 183-185.
- 31 The manuscript contains the following names: John Goldynge, Tomas Goldyng, Francis Goldynge, William Goldynge, John Daniell, Peter Debytt, Tomas Emery, William Gammon, John Gosse, John Haytholl, John James, John Jones, John Marshe, John Pierson, Roger Slow and John Williamson.
- 32 The Visitation of Essex, Harleian Society, 13 (London: Harleian Book Society, 1878), pp.8-9, 55. Miscellaneous Essex Pedigrees, Harleian Society, 25 (London: Harleian Book Socceity, 1887), p.580.
- 33 DNB, 22, pp.75-77.
- 34 Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London: 1520-1610, ex. by Joseph Lemuel Chester, ed. by Geogre J. Armytage, Harleian Society, 25 (London: Harleian Society, 1887), p.211.
- 35 John Venn and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, 4 vols (Cambrige: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1927), I, p.229.
- 36 Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 4 vols (London: Parker, 1887-1892), I, p.579.
- 37 IMBL, IV, pp.474-477.
- 38 Guide to the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 1870-1911: Part Two-Index of Persons, ed. by Francis Bickley, 2 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1935), I, p.305. Guide to the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 1911-1957: Part Two-Index of Persons, ed. by A.C.S. Hall, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), II, p.687.

- 39 Ownership or knowledge of at least two different protestant translations of the Bible indicates their faith and attendance at Oxford and Cambridge indicates their general level of education.
- 40 Successful marriage into the Earl of Oxford's family. DNB, XXII, pp.75-77.
- 41 Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to 1837, intro by H.C. Maxwell, comp. by A. Hughes, Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, 9 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), p.45.
- 42 Calendar of State Papers of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-1580, Domestic Series, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1856), pp.356, 369, 380 and 611.
- 43 Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, Domestic Series, ed. by C.S. Knighton, revised edn. (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1992), p.138.
- 44 Arthur Golding, XV Bookes of Ouids Metamorphosis Translated out of Latine into Englishe meeter by Arthur Golding Gentleman (London: William Seves, 1567), and G.S. [George Sandys], Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished, mythologized, and represented in Figures. An Essay to a Translation of Vergil's Eneis (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632). The first mention of Golding's translation may be seen in A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, ed. by Edward Arber, 4 vols (London: [NP], 1875-77), vol.5 (Birmingham, [NP], 1894), V, p.lvii.
- 45 Golding's STC entries are from 18955-18962. Sandys are from 18963.3-18968. See Pollard, Alfred W. and G.R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640, 2nd edn, ed. by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986), III, p.202.
- 46 DNB, XXII, pp.75-77.
- 47 DNB, XXII, pp.75-77.

- 48 DNB, XXII, pp.75-77.
- 49 Michael T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 - 1307, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp.81-113.
- 50 Clanchy, pp.81-113.
- 51 Clanchy, p.83.
- 52 For example, see MS 232 f.48r.
- 53 Walter Schirmer, John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the Fifteenth Century, trans. by Ann E. Keep (London: Methuen, 1961).
- 54 Joseph Ritson, Bibliographica Poetica: A Catalogue of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centurys Engleish Poets with a short account of their works (London: Roworth, 1802), pp.87-88.

CHAPTER 3

A GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPT MARGINALIA

CONTENTS

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I: INTRODUCTION

Until the last quarter of this century the study of marginalia was disorganised at best. The majority of research in the field was conducted in eighteenth and nineteenth century studies. In particular, marginal texts penned by writers such as Blake and Coleridge were those most frequently studied.¹ Until the late 1960s, as far as the Late Middle English period is concerned, only the annotations to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales received more than passing interest.²

In recent years, however, the study of marginalia has become a growth industry in academia. Robin C. Alston's recent guide to annotated printed books in the British Library's collection is a good example of the type of work now being conducted.³ Alston entered the field from Coleridge studies. Although his catalogue provides researchers with information on over twenty-five thousand books, it refrains from documenting anything above the most basic indication of the density of marginalia.⁴

In relation to late medieval literatures, however, the study of manuscript marginalia is still in its beginning stages. Unfortunately, it is often carried out without regard to the establishment of a standard descriptive theory. This shortcoming, of course, is partly the fault of the historical treatment of marginalia in library catalogues.⁵ In the words of Alston, the field has been unduly 'impeded by the failure of librarians to appreciate the relevance of an important aspect of the post-publication history of books and the readers with whom they have formed the basis for intimate dialogue.'⁶

The lack of a standard descriptive terminology for marginalia is a serious problem and is one which can lead to further cataloguing errors. For example, many interesting annotations are often dismissed in

collection catalogues as being merely 'marginal rubrics.' These sorts of minor confusions do not indicate an inherent academic sloppiness, but rather the newness of the field in toto and the age of the field in its minutiae. Therefore, there needs to be some sort of standard nomenclature for marginalia.

What follows is a system for describing different standard types of marginalia. For the purposes of this study, no distinction is made between marginalia created at the time of a manuscript's construction and marginalia created centuries later.

II: SYSTEM PARAMETERS

The development of the following system for classifying marginalia was based on several fields of study. In short, there are seven major considerations and influences central to the construction of this system. They can be summarised as:

- 1) standard paleographical assumptions and standards of presentation;
- 2) the careful limitation of the overall subject area to manuscripts written in Middle and Early Modern English;
- 3) the deliberate choice of a descriptive not prescriptive system for nomenclature;
- 4) a pre-existing system for classifying marginalia;
- 5) comparison of suggested types of marginalia with medieval theories of textual reception and text modes;

- 6) the development of an earlier system for classifying marginalia by Kerby-Fulton and Despres; and,
- 7) comparison of suggested types of marginalia found in Piers Plowman C-text manuscripts with those found in the holdings of the Hunterian collection.

First, the paleographical ground-rules used in the transcription of manuscript marginalia were adapted from the various writings of Malcolm Parkes. In particular Parkes' English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500 proved very useful.⁷ Parkes' guidelines call for a consistent approach to paleography and although some of the criteria used in this study do not completely agree with his, those that do are applied with rigour. These modified paleographical guidelines are as follows:⁸

- for reasons of preserving dialectological evidence, the manuscript spacing of syllables and words has been preserved;
- capital letters are used only where they occur;
- Latin abbreviations have been silently expanded;
- expansions of Middle English and Early Modern English abbreviations have been underlined including superscripts;
- spellings supplied in expansions relate to the standard expansion of the breviograph, even where such expansions contradict the scribe's usual unabbreviated usage elsewhere in the same text;⁹
- the distinction between 'u' and 'v' has been preserved;

- the double 's' ligature has not been preserved; and,
- the double 'f' ligature has been standardized as 'F'.

The following symbols, modified from Parkes, have been used:¹⁰

- [] enclose words and letters which have been deleted by the scribe by means of crossing out, erasure, or expunctuation.
- <> enclose letters which have been supplied in the transcription where the manuscript is deficient through damage, or where letters have been hidden by the binding. Where traces of the letter are still visible in the manuscript, the supplied letter has been printed in roman type. Where no traces of the letter remain, the supplied letter has been printed in italics. Where it is not possible to determine the nature of the missing letters from the context, dots have been supplied to indicate the number of letters which would fit into the space available. Underlines have been used to indicate either the expansion of partially recoverable abbreviation, or, when used with dots, an unrecoverable abbreviation.
- _||_ enclose letters which have been added by a different hand.
- () enclose letters which have been supplied either where the scribe has omitted them by mistake, or where he has omitted them on purpose but has failed to use the appropriate mark of abbreviation. They also enclose insertions of my own.

Second, research has been confined to manuscripts from the British isles where the main text was written in Middle or Early Modern English and where vernacular comment was supplied sometime between the years 1300 and 1600. All manner of texts have been consulted: medical texts,

dialogues, grammars, chronicles and legal documents. Foreign language texts, manuscripts with Latin marginalia and manuscripts of dubious origin in Middle or Early Modern English were excluded. Therefore, it is pointless at this juncture to speculate whether or not the resulting theories and observations hold true for other language traditions.¹¹

Third, no claim is made for any prescriptive pattern of annotation used either by scribes or book owners. Although it is noted that certain annotation types relate to accepted tenets of medieval literary theory, it is unclear whether scribes or owners deliberately applied coherent theories to their marginalia, randomly or accidentally, or if the resultant similarities are entirely coincidental. It is suspected that most marginal comment is an echo of general medieval literary culture, a product of a particular understanding of texts, which was so common as to be nearly sub-conscious in its application.¹² Therefore, this classification system exists merely to provide a useful yardstick for the general organisation and interpretation of marginalia.

Fourth, much of the data and many of the examples found in this chapter were taken from this author's earlier work on HM 143.¹³ Although the classification system presented in the earlier work has been subject to much revision, many of the original sub-types of marginalia remain unchanged.

Although many other manuscripts were consulted during the process of refining the descriptions of the different types of marginalia, for the sake of convenience, all of the main text examples provided were taken from Douce 104, HM 143 and Add.35157.

Fifth, evidence exists to support an urge existing in the late middle ages to reproduce the same basic types of annotation. The likely ancestors of almost all of the proposed types and sub-types of manuscript marginalia may be found in two basic areas of medieval

literary theory: the ars grammaticae,¹⁴ and in the late medieval understanding of scriptural modes. Of these two areas, the first is perhaps of greater importance, and is worth briefly describing.

The ars grammaticae, whose early medieval history has been documented recently by Martin Irvine in The Making of Textual Culture, may serve as an anchoring point for clues toward the reconstruction of the medieval understanding of texts. These grammatical arts refer not only to grammar itself, but, as Irvine points out:¹⁵

Grammatica was responsible for some of the important features of manuscript format. For example, grammatical lectio, the rules for reading a text aloud and establishing the primary level of intelligibility, was linking methodologically to the physical and visual format of the manuscript page[....] Similarly, grammatical enarratio is methodologically connected to the development of the text and gloss format of literary and grammatical manuscripts in which the pages of a book were designed to include a gloss or commentary transcribed in the margins simultaneously with the main text.

As will be demonstrated, many of the most important sub-types of what is called Type III marginalia function directly as a manifestation of enarratio.

A.J. Minnis' Medieval Theory of Authorship¹⁶ provided much useful information on the general understanding of scriptural modes as it existed in the late middle ages. Minnis' discussion and commentary on sources such as Alexander of Hales directly influenced the unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Depres on Piers Plowman marginalia.¹⁷

Sixth, regarding the unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Depres, it must be noted that an entire sub-type of marginalia has been adopted

Sixth, regarding the unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres, it must be noted that an entire sub-type of marginalia has been adopted from their research (Type III:Ethical Deictics).¹⁸ Kerby-Fulton and Despres's work was in turn based on this author's earlier work on the marginalia HM 143 and comprises an in-depth examination of Douce 104, which, like Add.35157, is a C-text of Piers Plowman. Kerby-Fulton and Despres were both consulted during the refinement of this classification system for manuscript marginalia.¹⁹

Seventh, for the sake of convenience and excluding the three base texts used for the development of this system, that is Add.35157, HM 143 and Douce 104, most first-hand manuscript examination was confined to manuscripts housed in the Hunterian collection. There were a number of exceptions to this rule. Other literary manuscripts from the British Library were consulted, along with several genealogical works and additional copies of Piers Plowman.

The Hunterian collection proved adequate to the task of double-checking the classification scheme for marginalia. A full list of the Hunterian manuscripts which were consulted may be found in the bibliography. The manuscripts analysed in the Hunterian collection were all subjected to equal and rigorous treatment.²⁰ Ultra-violet light was utilised on most manuscripts which were repeatedly examined. Manuscripts from the Hunterian collection are cited in the notes to this section in order to provide a listing of works which contain given types of marginalia. Although many manuscripts from outside the Hunterian collection were consulted in microfilm, in particular manuscripts reproduced in the British Library's microfilm series and in the Cambridge University Library's microfilm series, in order to streamline this introductory chapter on marginalia, no data have been reproduced from these sources.²¹

III: A WORD OF WARNING

The remainder of this chapter proposes a system wherein different types of manuscript marginalia are described and subjected to classification. This system is still under development and it is expected that the scheme will continue to be enlarged and modified with further research.

Since this system was designed to explain the various types of marginal comment found in Piers Plowman manuscripts, some degree of care should be exercised when applying this proposed classification system to other types of texts. In addition, the classification of marginalia is subjective. Different researchers will invariably interpret comments in a variety of ways. For example, a comment that I might identify as a reading aid might be identified differently by another reader. However, the primary use of this system of classification is internal to a work, and at this point, it is not intended to allow for the comparison of marginal texts between manuscripts.

IV: THE CLASSIFICATION OF MARGINALIA

At least within the sphere of insular Middle English and Early Modern English manuscripts, there are three basic types of marginal supply:

- TYPE I, which comprises marginal supply that is without any identifiable context;

- TYPE II, which comprises supply that exists within a context associated with that of the manuscript itself; and
- TYPE III, which comprises supply directly associated with the various texts that the manuscript contains.

A list of the three classifications and their accompanying sub-classifications follows. The system is presented as a series of brief descriptions, most are accompanied by brief examples which illustrate the various types of marginalia. On the whole, the majority of proposed classifications are of more or less self-evident types. Where some confusion might arise (as with the complex series of what are known as Type III Narrative Reading Aids), more in-depth illustrations taken from Piers Plowman manuscripts HM 143, Douce 104 and Add.35157 have been provided. In addition, each type of marginal comment is given its own unique suggested abbreviation.

1. TYPE I MARGINALIA

The simplest type of marginal supply, Type I marginalia, may be further divided into four basic sub-types:

- i) OWNERSHIP MARKS (I-OM);
- ii) DOODLES (I-DO);
- iii) PEN TRIALS (I-PT); and
- iv) SAMPLE TEXTS (I-ST).

i) Ownership Marks (I-OM) usually take the form of genealogical details or names written on the flyleaves or on the main folios of a manuscript. Such marks were often arranged to show some respect for the contents of the manuscript, although it is not rare for owners' names or

the records of family births and deaths to be written directly over the manuscript's texts, or on interior folios, rather than on its flyleaves. Ownership marks frequently obscure previous ownership marks. They include booksellers' marks, price codes and historical and contemporary shelf-marks.

ii) Doodles (I-DO) are defined as simple drawings which are clearly the work of non-professional artists who in turn were uninspired by any reading or supposed reading of a manuscript's text or texts. All professionally-created illustrations, even if they lack any conceivable textual relevance, may be considered to have a manuscript-oriented context, that is decoration for decoration's sake. Such works would qualify for membership in the Type II family of marginalia. All non-professional or professionally-created illustrations with direct textual relevance are considered to be members of the family of Type III marginalia.

iii) Pen Trials (I-PT) are perhaps the most common example of TYPE I marginalia, although it is important to spot the difference between a pen test and an attempt to duplicate the manuscript's various scripts. While an Elizabethan late secretary hand appearing in a pen-trial in a fourteenth-century document written in anglicana formata is an example of Type I marginalia, an Elizabethan attempt at duplicating an anglicana formata alphabet may be seen as an example of TYPE II marginalia, since it obviously relates to the manuscript within which it appears.

iv) Sample Texts (I-ST), are the most difficult sub-category of Type I marginalia to classify and require careful analysis before final demarcation. Sample Texts are defined as being short works, in either poetry or prose, which were added in an unplanned if not haphazard manner to a non-related existing text.

For example, whereas medical receipts in a seventeenth-century hand found on the flyleaves of a fourteenth-century literary text might be considered Type I Sample Texts, the same receipts when found in a fifteenth-century medical text might be said to be examples of Type II Additional Text (II-AT) marginalia.

The same general context rule may hold true for more complex examples. In MS 232, several folios contain the same lines of doggerel verse.²² On three occasions, the verse is limited to a single couplet. Since it is quite clear that the verse was copied, not to preserve it, but to aid in the teaching of a type of secretary script, it would be classified as having no context to the manuscript itself, even though MS 232 is a collection of poetry. If, however, the verse was systematically preserved, then it would be Type II Additional Text (II-AT). At the other end of the scale, if MS 232's doggerel verses somehow related to either Lydgate's religious vocation or to the text of Life of Our Lady, and were systematically copied, they would be classified as examples of Type III Polemic Response (III-PR).

2. TYPE II MARGINALIA

Type II marginalia are much more sophisticated than Type II marginalia, and consist of a far more complex range of sub-types. There are eight sub-types:

- i) COPIED LETTERFORMS (II-CL);
- ii) COPIED ILLUMINATIONS (II-CI);
- iii) COPIED PASSAGES (II-CP);
- iv) ADDITIONAL TEXTS (II-AT);
- v) MARKS OF ATTRIBUTION (II-MA);

- vi) TABLES OF CONTENT (II-TC);
- vii) INTRODUCTORY MATERIALS (II-IM); and
- viii) CONSTRUCTION MARKS (II-CM).

i) It is not unusual to find Copied Letterforms (II-CL) or scripts in some manuscripts. MS 232, contains, for example, many sixteenth-century attempts at re-creating fifteenth-century lombardic capitals and other floriated initials. While these sometimes primitive efforts do not seem to have any textual basis, their creation would have been impossible without the models readily at hand. In many cases much-damaged manuscripts not only contain re-creations of various decorated initials, but are missing the original patterns.²³ It seems likely that some non-professional scribes learnt some elements of their art from manuscripts which were used as combination copy and note books.

ii) Copied Illuminations (II-CI) are significantly more rare than copied letterforms or initials and usually take the form of pen outlines of existing illuminations, or, more frequently, added pen tracings made directly on existing illuminations. More common than full copied illuminations are other forms of copied decoration, such as small sections of copied acanthus leaf borders, or copies of the grotesques found in the floriation and vine-work of decorated initials.

iii) Copied Passages (II-CP) are quite common. In MS 232, for example, the bottom-most stanza on each folio was often duplicated in the manuscript's bottom margin, and, more often than not, was written in a script quite similar to the manuscript's own.

iv) Additional Texts (II-AT) often appear quite similar to the Type I Sample Texts (I-ST). The examples cited above include seventeenth-century medical receipts found in a fifteenth-century medical text and can range to include the expansiveness of a commonplace

book's collection of interesting titbits. To further complicate matters, added texts may go beyond having a common thread of interest with a text and may actually offer complex comment. For example, any prayer for salvation found at the end of a Piers Plowman manuscript can be seen to have an obvious relationship with the general subject matter of the poem and must be considered as an example of Type II marginalia. On the other hand, it might be argued that a Wycliffite sermon added to a manuscript of Piers Plowman is a precise comment on the text, and therefore must be classified as a Type III Polemic Response (III-PR). Additional texts must be identifiable as being symptomatic of an overall pattern, as seen in the apparent randomness of some commonplace books. Other patterns might include the thematic divisions within a collection of vernacular political prophecy, or the records of a town's important families.

v) Marks of Attribution (II-MA), whether seemingly correct or blatantly false, are very interesting and reveal an annotator's need not only to preserve his or her own understanding of a manuscript's origins, but also to show some concern for future readers or for future owners. Some examples of attribution will include those that are patently false, for example, the Elizabethan scribe who copies an original introduction to a text, even though it is obviously in error.²⁴

vi) Tables of Content (II-TC) start to become common added features in late Tudor times. Many tables of content make for interesting reading, some divide unitary works into numerous subsections, others relate divergent works under a single section. For example, MS 232 contains a written note, now inserted into the manuscript's bindings, that divides Life of Our Lady into six distinct works.

vii) Introductory Materials (II-IM) are the most interesting and complex type of Type II marginalia. One of the most elaborate examples, written by Maurice Johnson for Add.35157, will be described in chapter 8. Unlike Johnson's multi-page introduction to Add.35157, Introductory Materials will usually take the form of suggested titles for the entire manuscript, or a brief note describing the main theme or subject of a work.

viii) Construction Marks (II-CM) are those marks which persist from the manuscript's initial period of construction, and can be said to include limner's marks and the like. Although such marks do not offer any direct comment on a manuscript, they are useful tools in comparing the goals of the production of a manuscript to the work actually carried out by its scribes.

Kathleen Scott has recently published a short guide to some of the marks associated with the manufacture of manuscripts. Scott provides excellent samples of the major types of limner's marks, many with accompanying illustrations.²⁵

3. TYPE III MARGINALIA

By definition, the presence of Type III manuscript marginalia implies a coherent reader response to a particular text, since all annotations and miscellaneous marks which lack conceivable textual context have already been accounted for in Type I and Type II. The proposed division of Type III marginalia, therefore, delineates the most common systems of reading texts and has been designed to help organise basic concepts and answer four simple questions: what was a particular reader interested in; how did a particular reader organise a text; what reactions did readers make to particular passages; and were the comments made along any general themes?

Although the classification of Type III marginalia was developed primarily with Piers Plowman C-texts in mind, it is now quite clear that all the identified sub-types exist in other Middle English or Early Modern English annotations. This is not to say that every insular manuscript contains all the various sub-types; many manuscripts contain no annotations at all, or only a bare minimum of basic aids.

This classification system does not imply that scribes or owners consciously planned how to annotate any given text, although a strong argument may be made that certain systems of marginalia were deliberate parts of a text's intended ordinatio. Clearly some scribes were aware that their annotations fell into broad categories, for example, the annotator of HM 143 used two different types of brackets, one type for identifying plot summaries, and one type for direct addresses to his intended readership.²⁶ As it is, however, unless a scribe is known to have been contracted to produce such a system, or such a system is actually acknowledged within a text, it can be supposed that there was no conscious application of any methodology at work. The question of 'be-spoke' annotations, that is texts added to aid a patron's reading of a difficult vernacular text, will have to remain unanswered, although, after the examination of a great many manuscripts, it is felt that the case for tailor-made reading aids is a strong one. Additional research is most certainly required on this topic.

Although this study is confined to the period and type of manuscript discussed above, it should be noted that in the early days of printing, it was not unheard of for scribes to copy printed annotations and vice versa. From the examination of obvious stylistic affinities, some printed texts seem to have 'collected' marginalia from many different manuscripts. Indeed, this phenomenon will be discussed at greater length in chapter 5, which is on Thomas Thrynbeke, a scribe who

collected several annotations from Robert Crowley's printed edition of Piers Plowman for use in Add.35157.

There are five sub-types of Type III marginalia:

- i) NARRATIVE READING AIDS (III-NRA);
- ii) ETHICAL DEICTICS (III-ED);
- iii) POLEMICAL REPOSSES (III-PR);
- iv) LITERARY RESPONSES (III-LR); and
- v) GRAPHICAL RESPONSES (III-GR).

i) Narrative Reading Aids (III-NRA) comprise most written elements of a manuscript's ordinatio, whether they be original features of the work or later additions to it. Later additions to a manuscript's ordinatio often arise when the original elements--for example embedded rubrics, running heads, foliation and the like--did not represent a fine enough division of a text to enable a cursory reader to navigate through its content at will. In other cases, perhaps due to excessive trimming or poor copying, a text loses its intended ordinatio or picks up a misleading or incorrect one. Obviously scribes and their readers reacted to a need for further textual demarcation by creating more and more elaborate reading aids which were designed to enhance narrative ease. Thus, Narrative Reading Aids not only comprise the most common sub-type of Type III marginalia, but contain a significant number of categories and sub-categories. In fact, there are presently eight categories and four sub-categories of Narrative Reading Aids. They are:

- TOPIC (III-NRA-T);
- SOURCE (III-NRA-S);

- CITATION (III-NRA-C);
- DRAMATIS PERSONAE (III-NRA-DP);
- RHETORICAL DEVICE (III-NRA-RD);
- ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (III-NRA-AI);
- TRANSLATION (III-NRA-TR); and
- SUMMATION,
 - TEXTUALLY-GLEANED MARGINAL RUBRICS (III-NRA-SM-TGMR),
 - PARAPHRASED MARGINAL RUBRICS (III-NRA-SM-PMR),
 - CONDENSED OVERVIEWS (III-NRA-SM-CO),
 - TEXTUAL EXTRAPOLATIONS (III-NRA-SM-TE).

Since the various categories and sub-categories of Narrative Reading Aids have been described before in great detail, it was not thought necessary to provide more than a cursory discussion of this typology. Therefore, the following description of the Narrative Reading Aids sub-type of Type III manuscript marginalia has been adapted from this author's earlier work on HM 143. Examples have been taken not only from HM 143's marginal supply, but also from Add.35157 and other manuscripts.

Narrative Reading Aids probably found their origins in the scholastic world of the early middle ages.²⁷ According to Irvine, the science of interpreting, scientia interpretandi, was divided into four distinct areas: the science of reading, lectio; the science of interpretation, enarratio; the science of correction, emendatio; and the science of criticism, iudicium.²⁸ This model was in place during the early middle ages from approximately 350 to 1100 AD,²⁹ but, as Irvine suggests, it influenced literature until the late middle ages:³⁰

The expectations for literacy and the basic principles of literary theory continued to be directed by grammatica in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. In English literature, the works of Chaucer, Langland, and Gower continually reflect on the assumptions and values of grammatical culture.

Of the four branches of the scientia interpretandi, enarratio is most easily applied to the study of late medieval marginalia. Enarratio comprised set of rules for interpretation. Irvine lists 'tropes, topics of commentary, myth, syntactic and semantic classification,'³¹ and includes with these, 'marginal glosses; treatises on figures and tropes; running commentary.'³² As will become obvious, a certain number of Narrative Reading Aids clearly deal in these very areas of interest.

Narrative Reading Aids are very common elements of any medieval manuscript's marginal supply. For example, out of the 208 non-graphical marginal notes in HM 143, over fifty per cent are Narrative Reading Aids. In general terms, Narrative Reading Aids comprise the set of annotations that mark specific topics, cite authorities, identify sources, label the appearances of the poem's various dramatis personae, delineate formal arguments, provide useful additions to the text, translate the text, or act as textual anchors, bookmarks, as it were, which make direct reference, not only to the poem's personae, but also to their actions, and sometimes also to the motivations behind and causes of those actions.

The first category is the Topic annotation, which merely indicates general themes, and does not summarise a text's plot or the words of its characters.³³ Consider the annotation in Add.35157 at passus I:197 (f.13v):

Love & truth And þat is þe lok of loue and vnloseth grace
 That conforteth all carefole accombred with synne
 So loue is lecche of lyf and lysse of all payne
 And þe graffe of grace and graþest way to heuene
 Forthi y may seye as y saide eer by siht of this textes
 Whenne alle tresores ben tried treuthe is þe beste
 Loue hit quod that lady let may y no lengore
 To lere the what loue is and leue at me she lauhte

In this situation, Add.35157's hand G has identified love and truth as being the topic of this section of the poem's text.

The second category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is the Source annotations.³⁴ Source annotations are relatively uncommon in both HM 143 and ADD.35157. However, one such annotation can be found in HM 143 at passus XI:150 (f.50v):

Austyn Austyn þe olde herof made bokes
 Ho was his autor and hym of god tauhte
 Patriarkes and prophetes / apostles and angelis
 And þe trewe trinite / to Austyn apperede

As Pearsall points out in a footnote to this section of the text,³⁵ Langland did not seem to have in mind any particular quote from St Augustine's writings, but this lack of direct context did not have any impact on HM 143's scribe B, whose annotations never identify particular passages, but merely serve to flag the presence of individual authorities.

The third category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is an extension of the Source annotations and are called Citation annotations. Such notes transcend simple source identification and provide direct quotations from authorities or other texts.³⁶ This category does not appear in HM 143 and only occurs in Add.35157 in two copied annotations by hand F,³⁷ but is readily found in other vernacular texts, like

Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Prologue and Peter Lombard's commentaries on the scriptures. Several of the annotations to the manuscripts of the Wife of Bath's Prologue have been published by Graham Caie.³⁸

According to Susan Schibanoff, the annotations to Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Prologue take three basic forms: they cite the title of an analogue or source; quote the analogue or source without providing any indication of title; or provide both the title and text of an analogue or source.³⁹ Caie suggests that these annotations were designed to control and temper interpretation of the Wife's logic and use of language,⁴⁰ while Pearsall argues that they were simply citations of well-known authorities.⁴¹

The fourth category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is the *Dramatis Personae* annotations, which serve to identify the various characters within a work.⁴² This sort of annotation is very common in Middle English poetry, and, for example, comprises the majority of the annotations to Chaucer's Troilus.⁴³ As far as Piers Plowman is concerned, a typical example of this category of annotation can be found in HM 143 at passus VI:91 (f.24v):

Repentance þus redily quod repentaunce / and thow be ryht sory
 For thy synnes souereynly / and biseke god of mercy

Here, although it is spelled differently, Repentance's name has simply been pulled from the main text, with the annotation placed directly beside its immediate context.

The fifth category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is the Rhetorical Device annotations, which outline grammatical or logical processes.⁴⁴ These annotations differ from the Literary Responses subtype in that they merely show what rhetorical device is present, and

refrain from entering debate with the text. They are quite rare in HM 143, occurring only three times in the text. Interestingly, however, this sub-category of Narrative Reading Aids annotation is very common in Skeat's base C-text, HM 137. Although the ordinatio of HM 137 has not been investigated by scholars, a cursory review of that manuscript suggests that a great many of its annotations easily fit into this category. Like the Citation category, Rhetorical Device annotations bear some resemblance to Peter Lombard's marginal annotations to the Sentences. Parkes has described Lombard's annotations:⁴⁵

Rubrics at the beginning of each chapter define the topic under discussion, but in this early copy there are also other rubrics placed in the margin at certain points, sub-headings like 'prima causa', 'secunda', 'tercia', 'obiectio', 'responsio', which serve to identify stages in the argument within the chapter.

An example of this category of annotation can be found in HM 143 at passus XIII:193 (f.59v):

Responcio	And resoun aresonnede me / and sayde rethe þe neuere Why y soffre or nat soffre certes he sayde Vch a segge for hym sulue salamon vs techeth de re que te non molestat noli te certare
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This annotation is clearly interpretive, and shows HM 143's scribe B making a deliberate attempt to delineate the process of argument from a scholarly perspective. Although the text presented scribe B with other opportunities to highlight logical progressions, such as in Will's 'contra' reply to the friars in passus X:20, there are only two other examples of this type of annotation in HM 143.

The scarcity of Rhetorical Device annotations in the Piers Plowman manuscripts and Hunterian Collection manuscripts that were examined for this study has left the sub-type relatively undeveloped. A study of a larger number of manuscripts would probably identify a more complete array of annotations which would encompass the range of Rhetorical Devices open to a medieval audience.

The sixth category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is the Additional Information annotations, which comprise any annotations which purport to provide additional information, but which do not come from recognised authorities, and instead are purely the work of their originators.⁴⁶ In Add.35157, for example, at passus III:241 (f.21v), hand I has mis-interpreted Langland's allusion to the French campaigns of the mid-fourteenth century, and at the bottom of the folio has written: 'kinge|henri the 6 was a simpell Religious man, which was the loose of his fathers heritage in Fraunce.'

The seventh category of Narrative Reading Aids annotations is the Translation annotations, which comprise translations from any language into any other language.⁴⁷ A good example occurs in Add.35157, when at passus VII:104 (f.40r), hand I has written:

	For thi y rede ꝥou riche · reueles when ꝥe make
	Forto solace ꝥour soules suche mynstrals to haue
foulbage ar	þe pore _ may _ for a foulsage _ piper · _ sittinge at þi table
babpype	

In this situation Add.35157's scribe B decided to 'correct' the text, and transformed 'foulsage' into 'piper'. Hand I, seeing the remnants of scribe A's sigma-shaped 's', thought it was a 'b', and therefore quite confidently defined 'foulbage' as 'babpype'.

The eighth category of Narrative Reading Aids, the Summation annotation, is itself divided into four sub-categories which comprise: Textually-Gleaned Marginal Rubrics, Paraphrased Marginal Rubrics, Condensed Overviews and Textual Extrapolations.⁴⁸

Summation annotations differ from other Narrative Reading Aid annotations in their derivation and purpose. Other Narrative Reading Aids hold some affinity to the scholarly world of Peter Lombard's scriptural commentaries, and treat their base texts in very formal ways, dividing the text into logical stages and providing citations of authorities. Conversely, whereas those categories delineated formal process, Summation annotations reveal purpose and content. They are less concerned with matters of academic formalities and logical structures and are more concerned with the overall plot of the poem.

In general, Summation annotations function as extra-linear non-authorial rubrics. In this regard, they can be seen to bear some resemblance to the sort of comments Lucy Freeman Sandler identified with James le Palmer's work in the fourteenth-century compilation, the Omne bonum:⁴⁹

The rubrics themselves vary in the quantity and kind of information they provide, as well as in their physical format. The most elaborate and detailed tend to be written across the full measure of the text column. They name the topic, give some hint of the range of contents, the method or conclusions, and refer to the main and subsidiary sources.

While very few Summation annotations embody all of the qualities that Sandler observed in Palmer's compendium, two of the sub-categories of Summation annotation, the Textually-Gleaned and the Paraphrased Marginal Rubrics, usually display at least two of her description's

attributes, that of citing a passage's general topic and listing its contents in summarized form. The difference between these two forms is that a Textually-Gleaned Marginal Rubric quotes the text directly, while a Paraphrased Marginal Rubric paraphrases it.

A typical Textually-Gleaned Marginal Rubrication Summation annotation can be found in HM 143 at passus VI:350 (f.28r):

Now bygynneth gloton / for to go to shryfte	Glotomyge goþ
And kayres hym to kyrkeward / his coupte to shewe	to schryfte

HM 143's scribe B has taken this annotation almost directly from the poem's text, but has made one small change: he has shifted Langland's dramatic allegory of Glutton the character to the more abstract personification of gluttony the sin.

Paraphrased Marginal Rubrics are identified by their use of paraphrase, which usually takes the form of an inter or intra-linear contraction. The annotation at in HM 143 at passus VIII:205 (f.37r): is an excellent example:

Tho hadde [Peres] pitee vppon alle pore peple	hyer [pers] bad
And bade <u>hunger</u> in haste / hye hym out of contraye	<u>hunger</u> go aȝen
Hoem to his owene ȝerd / and halde hym þere euere	

HM 143's scribe B simply condensed the action across two lines, and in the process, lost the sense of the passage. The marginal comment makes no mention that Hunger is to leave permanently, only that Hunger is to go away.

The third sub-category of Summation Narrative Reading Aid annotations is slightly harder to define and is, perhaps, simply a broader, more ambitious form of Paraphrased Marginal Rubrication. This sub-category is the Condensed Overview. To distinguish it from both

species of Marginal Rubrication, an arbitrary limit has been placed on its reach. If an annotation condenses more than two but less than five lines of text, it can be considered a Condensed Overview. For example, consider the annotation in HM 143 which accompanies passus II:217-221 (f.10r):

Drede stod at þe dore / and þe dene herde	
What was þe kynges wille / and wyghtliche wente	
And bad falsnesse to fle / and his feres alle	for drede falsnesse
Falsnesse for fere tho / fleyh to þe freres	fleyȝ to þe frers
and gyle doth hym to gone / agaste for to deye	

HM 143's scribe B incorporated elements from several lines to create this annotation, thereby drawing attention to the cause and outcome of the action.

The final sub-category of Narrative Reading Aid Summation annotation is the Textual Extrapolation Summation annotation. One occurs in HM 143 at passus XIV:72 (f.60v):

astronomyȝe Kynde wittede men han a clergie by hem sulue
 Of cloudes and of costumes / they contreude mony thynges
 And markede hit in here manere and mused þer on to knowe
 And of the selcouthes þat þei sye / here sones þer of þei tauhte
 For they helden hit for an hey science here sotiltees to knowe
 Ac thorw here science sothly / was neuere soule ysaued
 Ne brouhte by here bokes / to blisse ne to ioye

The only difference between Extrapolated and Condensed Summation annotations is that Extrapolated Summations have been defined as those Summations carried over five lines of text.

ii) The Ethical Deictics sub-type may be seen as direct demonstrations of ethical positions, as based on the medieval

classification of literary modes, and may be divided into the following categories:

- PRECEPTIVE POINTS (III-ED-PP);
- EXEMPLIFICATIONS (III-ED-EXP),
- EXHORTATIONS (III-ED-EXH);
- REVELATORY MODE (III-ED-REV),
- ORATIVE MODE (III-ED-OR).

The following examples of Ethical Deictic annotations were adapted from Kerby-Fulton and Depres' unpublished work on Douce 104, which, as previously noted, is a manuscript of the C-text of Piers Plowman, and is believed to be closely related to Add.35157.⁵⁰

Taking their lead from A.J. Minnis,⁵¹ Kerby-Fulton and Depres state that the medieval reader not only gained an understanding of textual modes from the Bible, but applied the resulting knowledge to literary texts.⁵² Kerby-Fulton and Depres attribute their five categories of Ethical Deictics to: the Pentateuch (modus praeceptivus); the Historical books (modus historicus and exemplificativus); the Sapiential books (modus exhortivus); the Prophetic books (modus revelativus); and the Psalter (modus orativus).⁵³

A Preceptive Point may be seen in Douce 104 on f.88r at passus XIX:96, where the annotating scribe has written: 'nota to low god abow al þynges & þi neightbour.'⁵⁴

An Exemplification may be seen in Douce 104 on f.15v at passus III:323, where the annotating scribe has written: 'houu god ꝯaw Salamon grace & tok hit from hym ayayn.'⁵⁵

An Exhortation may be seen in Douce 104 on f.67v at passus XV:78, where the annotating scribe has written: 'be war of fals freris.'⁵⁶

A Revelatory Mode annotation appears in HM 143 on f.17r at passus III:454, when the annotating scribe writes: 'lo how iewe schull conuerte for ioye.'⁵⁷

An Orative Mode annotation appears in HM 143 on f.52r at passus IX:249, when the annotating scribe writes: 'Culorum'.⁵⁸

iii) Polemical Responses relate to commentary anchored to interpretations of social and or political situations raised in the text, may be directed to the situations described in the text or applied to situations contemporary with the commentator, and are divided into the following three categories:

- SOCIAL COMMENT (III-PR-SC);
- ECCLESIASTICAL COMMENT (III-PR-EC); and
- POLITICAL COMMENT (III-PR-PC).

These three sub-types are fairly common. As is shown in chapters 6 and 7, they make up a large proportion of Add.35157's marginal supply. Polemical Responses comprise all marginal notes which identify some sort of social, ecclesiastical or political concern and offer comment.

An example of a Social Comment occurs in Add.35157 at passus VIII:33 (f.48v), where hand I writes: 'the poore|are gluttons|in harvest|tyme.' Hand I's comment is somewhat misguided, considering that at this point in the text, Piers is promising the knight that he will work hard to produce food.

An example of an Ecclesiastical Comment occurs in Add.35157 at passus V:65 (f.30r), where hand I writes: 'basterds fitt for slauerye.'

In this situation, hand I's comment was motivated by Langland's discussion of the proper attributes for members of the clergy.

An example of a Political Comment occurs in Add.35157 at passus III:381 (f.23v), where hand I writes: 'hipocreticall|pueritans|are| Indirecte.' At this point in Piers Plowman, Langland was discussing the self-serving nature of the typical person.

iv) Literary Responses may be divided into the following three categories:

- READER PARTICIPATION (III-LR-RP);
- HUMOUR AND IRONY (III-LR-HI); and
- ALLEGORY AND IMAGERY (III-LR-AI).

Like the Rhetorical Device annotations found in the general category of Narrative Reading Aid annotations, the final range of Reader Participation annotations has not been established. In addition, although certain types of Reader Participation annotations may seem to resemble Rhetorical Device annotations, they differ in one important way. While Rhetorical Device annotations merely identify a Rhetorical Device, Reader Participation annotations are comments on various aspects of rhetoric. A Humour and Irony annotation would not read 'Irony' beside a certain line of text, but would comment on the use or success of the ironic text.

In general, Reader Participation annotations are defined as any annotation where the annotator enters into dialogue with the text. One appears in Add.35157 on f.91v at passus XVII:276, when hand G writes: 'an Vnsownd|opynion.' Humour and Irony annotations are those which comment on humorous or ironical passages, and Allegory and Imagery annotations are those which comment on allegorical, metaphorical or

'poetic' elements of the text. For example, Add.35157's hand G often comments on metaphors. One such example occurs on f.99r at passus XIX:117, where he writes: 'A symilitude of|ye trenytie & ye hande.'

After exposure to the manuscripts of the Hunterian collection, it seems, that at least in terms of relative frequency, Literary Response annotations are relatively rare in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and become more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Comparing the contents of Add.35157, Douce 104 and HM 143, Literary Responses only appear with any regularity in Add.35157. For some examples see chapter 6.

v) Graphical Responses are common to the point of being self-evident. They generally fall into six categories:

- ILLUMINATIONS (III-GR-ILM);
- INITIALS (III-GR-INT);
- MANACULES (III-GR-MAN);
- PUNCTUATION (III-GR-PUN);
- ICONOGRAPHY (III-GR-ICON); and
- ILLUSTRATION (III-GR-ILS).

Of these six categories, perhaps a brief word is required regarding Manacules, Punctuation and Iconography.

As far as Manacules are concerned, the term refers to any marginal pointing hands, and distinctions are not made between mode of dress or length of digits.⁵⁹ They can take the form of an entire arm or merely the hand itself. Heads used in the same function are also regarded as Manacules, unless they are only used in certain circumstances.⁶⁰

Punctuation as a Graphic Response usually refers to placement of paraph marks and the like, but other marks are also important. In

chapter 4, a situation is discussed where it appears that a scribe's use of commata was due to extra-textual motivations.

The term Iconography is used here to refer to any systemised form of graphic shorthand. In HM 143, for example, the manuscript's scribes used a simple crown to indicate prophecy.

V: CONCLUSIONS

The above system for the classification of insular marginalia should be useful in achieving an overall reading of a manuscript's marginal supply. The relative densities of each type of marginal note should work in providing clues to an annotator's objectives. Such situations are discussed in chapters 4-7 of this study.

As previously mentioned, it should be stressed that this system is still in development and more work is most certainly required. It is hoped other researchers will continue to work with this system and that new categories and sub-types will be added. It is expected that the number of categories will increase to include as many different types of annotation as possible.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

- 1 An electronic search of the MLA bibliography revealed that there have been seventeen recorded articles and dissertations on Coleridge marginalia since 1969, and three articles on Blake's marginalia since 1977.
- 2 The annotations were imperfectly printed in John Matthews Manly and Edith Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales, 8 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940). Almost no scholarly interest was shown in the annotations for many years, probably due to the Manly and Rickert's comment that the annotations were written by 'an intelligent person who was certainly not Chaucer.' Manly and Rickert, I, p.150.
- 3 Alston.
- 4 Alston, pp.vi-vii.
- 5 See chapter 4.
- 6 Alston, p.xiii.
- 7 M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands: 1250-1500 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).
- 8 Parkes, pp.28-30.
- 9 I believe that breviographic habits could well be learned regional variations. Therefore, it is important to document the individual practices of scribes for future research.
- 10 Parkes, pp.28-30.
- 11 It is hoped that Irvine's promised follow-up volume to The Making of a Textual Culture will address many of these issues across the entire range of late medieval European culture. See Irvine, p.466.
- 12 Addressing similar issues in the early middle ages, Irvine suggests that the 'special literacy' created at this time is still experienced in the present day Western societies. See Irvine, pp.xiii-xiv.
- 13 Grindley.

- 14 For information on the ars grammaticae, see Irvine.
- 15 Irvine, p.17.
- 16 Alastair Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages (London: Scolar Press, 1984).
- 17 Minnis, pp.124-125.
- 18 Kerby-Fulton and Depres.
- 19 Professor Kerby-Fulton was also kind enough to read a late draft of this study.
- 20 The staff of the Hunterian collection, especially David Weston, were particularly accommodating.
- 21 British Literary Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library (Brighton: Harvester, 1984), and British Literary Manuscripts from the British Library, London (Brighton: Harvester, 1984).
- 22 For a transcription, see: Young and Aitken, p.185.
- 23 MS 232 provides several excellent examples of this phenomenon.
- 24 MS 466, which is a scribal copy of William Maister's 1555 translation of Pseudo-Plutarch's Life of Scipio, carries such a copied introduction.
- 25 Kathleen Scott, 'Limning and Book-Producing Terms and Signs In Situ in Late-Medieval English Manuscripts: A First Listing', in New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle, ed. by Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995), pp.142-188.
- 26 Grindley, pp.24-40.
- 27 For a discussion of the early medieval system of reading texts, see Irvine.
- 28 Irvine, p.69.
- 29 Irvine, p.69.
- 30 Irvine, p.466.
- 31 Irvine, p.6.

- 32 Irvine, p.6.
- 33 Topic annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 5 (shelfmark S.1.5). MS 5 is a fine copy of Lydgate's Fall of Princes. Such annotations occur in many of the Hunterian collection's medical manuscripts including MS 328 (shelfmark U.7.22), which is a book on urine, and MS 513 (shelfmark V.8.16), which is a collection of medical recipes.
- 34 Source annotations occur in two of the Hunterian collection's manuscripts of the Pore Caitif, MSS 496 and 520 (shelfmarks V.7.23 and V.8.23 respectively).
- 35 Derek Pearsall, Piers Plowman: An Edition of the C-text (Berkeley: University of California Press), p.200.
- 36 Citation annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 520 (shelfmark V.8.23). MS 520 is one of collection's two copies of the Pore Caitif (see note 34 above).
- 37 See chapter 5.
- 38 Graham Caie, 'The Significance of the Early Chaucer Manuscript Glosses (with Special Reference to the Wife of Bath's Prologue)' Chaucer Review, 10 (1975-6), 350-360
- 39 Susan Schibanoff, 'The New Reader and Female Textuality in Two Early Commentaries on Chaucer', Studies in the Age of Chaucer, 10 (1988), 73 (71-91).
- 40 Caie, pp.350-360.
- 41 Derek Pearsall, 'Gower's Latin in the Confessio Amantis', in Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts, ed. by A.J. Minnis and D.S. Brewer, York Manuscripts Conferences, proceedings series, 1 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp.13-15 (pp.13-25).
- 42 Dramatis Personae annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 5 (shelfmark S.1.5). MS 5 is a fine copy of Lydgate's Fall of Princes.

- 43 C. David Benson and Barry A. Windeatt, 'The Manuscript Glosses to Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde', The Chaucer Review, 25.1 (1990) 33-53.
- 44 None of the Hunterian collection's Middle or Early Modern English manuscripts contained any Rhetorical Devices annotations.
- 45 M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt, ed. by J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp.116-117 (pp.115-144).
- 46 Additional information annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 400 (shelfmark V.2.20). MS 400 is an early copy of Hardyng's metrical chronicle. The annotations to MS 400 were clearly the work of the manuscript's main scribe and appear to be a planned part of the manuscript's mise-en-page.
- 47 Translation annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 367 (shelfmark V.1.4). MS 367 is a copy of Trevisa's translation of Hidgen's Polychronicon. This manuscript also contains a contemporary table of contents, many manacles, a variety of other Narrative Reading Aids and a few sporadic Polemical responses.
- 48 Summation annotations appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 5 (shelfmark S.1.5). MS 5 is a fine copy of Lydgate's Fall of Princes.
- 49 Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'Omne bonum: Compilatio and Ordinatio in an English Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Fourteenth Century', in Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence, ed. by Linda Brownrigg (New York: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), p.184.
- 50 See chapter 4.
- 51 Minnis, pp.124-125.
- 52 Unpublished research by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 53 Unpublished research by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 54 This example was suggested by unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.

- 55 This example was suggested by unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 56 This example was suggested by unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 57 This example was suggested by unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 58 This example was suggested by unpublished work by Kerby-Fulton and Despres.
- 59 Manacules appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 117 (shelfmark T.5.19). MS 117 is an anonymous late fourteenth-century collection of medical recipes.
- 60 Heads as manacules appear in the Hunterian collection's MS 270 (shelfmark U.5.10). MS 270 is a fifteenth-century manuscript of Henry Parker's Dives et Pauper.

CHAPTER 4

BRITISH LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT ADDITIONAL 35157

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And since ydolatrie. is doon in sundry places manye.
 And barres ben y set forth yboundon wher yon
 do vnder take. ye tol of vntrewe sacrifice
 in menyng of myracle. myche way hangen ye
 al ye world doeth wel hit myght not be helpe
 and for hit. p. meth. zom in to purp. ye states doffon
 pat ledded men in myshylene. bynon + syon
 ylene by oure lord for wne of zome conuente.
 pat al ye world be ye world. as holy writ telleth
T what ches + mechaunce to ye childron of ysael fel
 in hem pat ye. theye p. q. th. p. l. p. t. e. o.
 for o. p. n. y. s. o. n. e. + p. m. e. e. s. h. i. o. b. o. r. t. h. y.
 p. e. y. w. e. n. d. i. s. t. o. n. i. s. t. i. n. b. a. t. a. i. l. e. + l. o. s. t. o. n. a. r. c. h. a. d. u. i.
 And for the. o. g. y. hem. o. y. n. e. + c. o. s. s. i. e. s. b. e. d. o. v. l. l. e.
 And chasped hem not for + holden not rebuke hem
 Anwen as hit was told him pat ye childron of ysael
 w. e. n. d. i. s. t. o. n. i. s. t. i. n. b. a. t. a. i. l. e. + a. r. c. h. a. d. u. i. s. o. r. n.
 And his. o. r. e. s. s. l. a. c. k. e. v. e. h. e. d. s. a. u. e. n. f. i. o. h. i. s. c. h. a. i. e. r. v. e. h. e. o. a. t.
 And. d. i. a. b. l. e. h. i. s. n. e. c. k. e. a. n. t. i. b. e. y. e. n. d. e. H. e. n. i. e. s. p. u. n. i. s. h. m. e. n. t.
 And al was for vengeance he beet not his childron
 And for ye. w. e. y. e. p. t. e. o. + m. e. n. o. f. h. o. l. y. c. h. u. r. c. h. e.
 God was wel ye. w. i. s. y. o. f. + t. o. o. k. v. e. j. a. t. h. y. v. e. n. e. a. n. c. e.
 For in y. s. a. y. e. z. o. n. p. t. e. o. + m. e. n. o. f. h. o. l. y. c. h. u. r. c. h. e.
 pat doffon men do sacrifice + worshippe manye metes
 and ye. o. t. h. a. l. d. o. n. b. e. n. h. e. y. d. a. d. i. e. s. + t. e. r. b. e. n. h. e. m. b. e. t. t. e.
 God shal take vengeance on alle suche p. t. e. o.
 wel hardore + mettore on suche shelded. s. a. d. p. e. o.
 ven ene. h. e. d. i. d. e. a. n. o. f. f. i. n. y. + p. y. n. e. e. s. + h. o. l. y. p. a. y. f. a. d. y. o.
 for zome. o. t. h. e. r. e. s. o. f. f. a. m. i. l. e. + z. o. n. o. l. d. n. e. s. y. l. l. e.
 z. o. n. m. a. t. r. y. e. + z. o. n. m. a. t. y. n. e. s. + m. a. n. y. o. f. z. o. n. h. o. u. s. e. s.
 in. d. o. n. v. n. d. e. b. o. u. n. t. l. i. s. h. d. i. e. d. h. i. t. i. s. a. t. v. e. l. a. s. t. e.
 s. e. t. o. u. t. t. h. i. s. c. o. n. s. t. a. n. c. e. a. w. a. r. e. o. f. h. e. m. m. a. n. y. e.

Eynst plat
 vestes

Samuel. i. cap. 4

for Volatris
 God will take
 vengeance on
 p. t. e. o. chiefly

And synen forth her dancs evch oren yowr same dame duncas
cokes & her knaves chedon hore pice hore

gode gees & his galbe
rainers to hem tolde ye
Whit wyne of o reye + w
Of ye joule & of ye
Al vis y can cteyma
A lhis pūns de vi

Janie
zeid wyne of g
gett ye zoft to
fenny stzhol

Izno gawo
yfoyy
deffe
moy
yman

What ye modutayn
and ye feld ful of folk y chas zon faine chelbe

A lonely lady of lore yn hymen clothid
cam dolbn from ye castrell & cald me by name

And oarde wille ctepeft vob cett vob vis peple
Gott be ye ven a boure ye mase

The most people
desire his

ye moeste party of this peple pat passeth on vis ethe
haddon ye shorship in this world ye willeth noen bette

Of ethy heven yeu here holde ye no tale
y was afeyd of hy face yough the fay were

And oarde my ma dame what may ye be to mene
the toky vyson ye tote ad the tuithe is y yme

And wolde pat ye woughton as his word techit
for he is fady of feith & firmour of att

to be faiful to him zaf you fyne witees
for to shorship him y willeth whil ze lynon here

whye fore he het ye elementis to helpe zon at alle tymes
and bunge bylline bore lynon + wallon

and in mesure hadde muche wys to make you at ese
and comandid of his curthse in combe ye thing

in noen in desouse but yo ye & newyne hem y thite
and ukene hem by selbe sebest hem wher ze like

the fuste is fode & vesture ye seconde
and dinke pat ye goed doth & dink not owt of tyme

foot yn his lyne yough likerous dmyke

most first
wanted
of wces
genius

Plate 4 Add.35157 f.10v
(hands A, B, E, G and I)

And ope y lofid on pe see + co forth on o'ies
 many oeltones y oay ain not to oagge north
 pe what on plomes on field and of her fay coldes
 and hors out of a jent + of gras gles as many heres
 and some come + some o'wete oeltonth me poughste
 of here fynde + here colof to oape hit were to longe
 And pat moest mened me + my moed chaimged

no
 Refon always
 ruleth in best
 out not in man

Whio pat y oay jefom oelken alle bestes
 o'au man + mankynde many tymes me poughste
 + som inled hem not nothir uche ne paze
 ome y a'pomed jefom + night til hyn yceide
 y hane wonder in my wit so whio as p' ait holden
 o'her paze + whio as whide as p' regnest

for man
 in Meate dymke
 in women a'pael
 and in wordes

pat poth no inledit jathir jentes. pen o'her bestes
 y oee neen co o'fon o'ufeton. o'p'lyco mankynde
 yn mete out of mefue and many tymes in d'quile
 y whymen yn o'bedes + in o'wides bothe
 per o'udon hit day + nyght. + co d'wh nat of bestes
 per inle hem al by jefom and jentes ful f'olbe
 and p'p'e. nincileth for man. is most lik pe of o'ut + of
 whio he ne loneth in loze + linceth as p' techit.

And jefom a'pomed me toande jetho pe neuo
 whio y o'p'ie q' not o'p'ie deo be o'nde
 vith a o'ega for hyn o'el' o'alamon yo techeth
De se que te non molestati noli stare

no
 Suffraunce

Whio o'p'ietz moze pen god q' he ne goem ad ylene
 he nyghte amende in a myte whiole al p'amp'o f'ader
 and he o'p'ietz co en'amp'le p' the o'hoide o'p'ie all
 yo no o'ru so fary ne of value ne p'it
 o'yo o'p'iaunce o'neuly co hit be for god's loue
 and whio ne'p'it' o'ise + whio'p'it' pe'p'ent'

Beie v'ue est suffraunce male dice et petit vegeuice
En die + lu o'p'ier. pat lu o'p'iable abn vemy'

Plate 5 Add.35157 f.71v
 (hands A, B, D and G)

I: INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the implications of manuscript marginalia and ownership--that is in more than a general sense--it is necessary to examine at least one specific book in detail. Whereas the short examples cited in the previous two chapters of this study might have been sufficient to outline the basic theories involved, the full potential of this type of research only becomes obvious through the close examination of a single manuscript. After all, the aim of this study is the complete documentation of a single work, and the aim of this exercise is to enable the acquisition and contextualisation of individual objects. Any broader sociopolitical or historical claims regarding medieval or renaissance literacy must be preceded by this process.

The most critical stage in researching the marginalia and ownership of a manuscript is that of attempting a careful physical survey of the book in question. This survey is best conducted along the familiar lines of traditional paleographical and codicological inquiry. At the very least, such a study will show if there are any marks of provenance, which elements of the manuscript's marginal apparatus are contemporary with its creation, and which have been added centuries later. At best, the information obtained will provide the means with which to separate and date the various hands responsible for its construction and its marginalia, to identify the manuscript's patron and its owners, and to classify the types of uses the manuscript has had since its creation.

Therefore, in this chapter, the first step is to examine one manuscript's construction and physical condition. Then its paleographical and codicological history can be studied. As noted in

chapter 1, the manuscript in question is Add.35157, which is a late fourteenth-century copy of the C-text of William Langland's alliterative dream vision, Piers Plowman.

There are three major points of discussion in this chapter: the problems with manuscript catalogues; the issues concerned with achieving a detailed description of a manuscript; and Add.35157's paleographical and codicological analysis.

II: MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUES

The most readily-accessible source of information concerning manuscripts are the catalogues of the collections in which they are housed. In order to illustrate the inadequacy of historic manuscript catalogues--in particular the majority of the early British Library catalogues--the original entry is reproduced below:¹

1. ORIGINAL DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE ENTRY

35,157. THE VISION of William concerning Piers the Plowman, together with Dowell, Dobet and Dobest. The latest version, called the "C" text by Skeat, Early English Text Society ed., 1873. Begins: "In a somer sesonn when soft was þe sonne | I shoep me in to shrowdes as y a shep were." Piers Plowman ends at f. 54 b, "Explicit visio Willelmi W. de Petro le ploughman. Et hic incipit visio eiusdem de dowel." Dobet begins at f. 87 b without heading, and ends at f. 110, "Explicit dobet et incipit dobest." At the end of Dobest (f. 124), "Explicit liber vocatus Pers ploghman"; followed by the name (of the scribe?) "Preston" in red. The MS. is not mentioned by Skeat. It closely resembles Lord Ilchester's MS. (Skeat's I, see his edition, pp. xxxiii.-xxxviii., and footnotes, passim); agreeing with it in the colophon to Piers Plowman, in the titles to the several

"passus," and in a large proportion of the variations from the standard text adopted by Skeat. The following dialectical characteristics may be noted:— (a) the pronoun I is almost invariably written y, not Ic or Ich; (b) she is generally so written, not hue or heo; (c) the past participle usually has the prefix y-.

On a blank page at the end (f. 124 b) are two medical recipes, "contra stipacionem venris que vocatur grind," and "to dissolve the hernia carnososa," inserted in the 16th cent.

Vellum; ff. 125. End of xivth cent. Initials in red and blue; the Latin passages underlined in red. A few lines lost by the mutilation of f. 9, and a few words on ff. 10 and 11; but the missing passages supplied, circ. 1500. Marginal notes in various hands of the 16th and 17th centt. The following names, presumably of former owners, occur: Arthur Surteys (f. 124); Thomas Thyrnbeke, "clarke" (f. 124 b, 16th cent.); Francis Aiscoughe, of Cottam [co. Notts] (ff. 1, 124, 124b, 16-17th cent.); and Maurice Johnson, of Ayscoughfee Hall in Spalding, whose bookplate of arms, 1735, is at f. 2 b, and who has prefixed some notes on the poem (ff. 3-5), stating that he had the volume re-bound in 1728. The binding is of the Harleian pattern, crimson morocco, tooled. 9 x 6 in.

The British Library's description of Add.35157 is flawed in a number of ways.² First, although this problem could not possibly have been foreseen by the British Library's staff, the condition of the manuscript has deteriorated considerably since 1901. Its binding has become severely faded and damaged, and the book is now kept in a special fitted box. Many of Add.35157's annotations, quire marks, flyleaf text and the like are now lost. Even some relatively commonplace material is invisible barring lengthy examinations under ultra-violet light.³

A useful physical benchmark would have been provided if the British Library had carefully documented Add.35157's physical condition on its accession.⁴ Realistically, there is no other way to chart slow

wear to a manuscript and properly gauge the issues of access and exposure to light.

Second, the description contains no mention of the manuscript's collation nor the size of its text fields. Neither does the catalogue document the school, the quality, or the number of Add.35157's decorations. Nor does the catalogue make any attempt to provide even a rudimentary description of the various hands contained within the manuscript. Although these small observations are themselves sometimes unimportant, they contribute to the dating of a manuscript. As will be discussed later in this chapter, all of the above aspects of Add.35157's construction aid in establishing a more firm date for its creation. As it stands, the 1901 catalogue has correctly dated Add.35157 to the late fourteenth century. But without any mention of paleographical features like hands, or decoration, it is as if Add.35157 has been dated without any evidence whatsoever.

Third, the catalogue contains at least one manifest error, that of the size of the repairs to Add.35157 and the date when they were carried out. This is a most serious error and is one which perhaps inadvertently contributed to editorial mistakes in Pearsall's and Schmidt's editions of the Piers Plowman C-text.⁵ This error also relates to the problems noted in the second point. If the catalogue can be fifty years out of date regarding the repairs to Add.35157, the correct date given for the manuscript's creation appears to become more inspired guess-work and less rational observation.

Fourth, new information concerning the textual heritage of Add.35157 has arisen.⁶ Although the catalogue was correct in asserting that Add.35157 was somehow related to Ilchester, recent scholarship has placed its text more precisely.⁷ The text of Add.35157 has been given

the siglum U and is considered one of the two best texts of the Piers Plowman C-text.⁸

Fifth, there are now a large number of major resources available for the creation of the uniform catalogue descriptions. For example, since the publication of the original British Library catalogue, guides on the classification and nomenclature of bookplates, watermarks and binding stamps have been published, as have guidebooks on auction records, booksellers' marks and general manuscript provenance.⁹ Obviously, the British Library's staff in 1901 cannot be held responsible for these failings, but since the information on these areas now exists, it is only right that it should be documented.

Last, there have been several basic changes to the field of manuscript description, most notably the arrival of the metric system and the advent of machine-readable book description codes.

Most of the shortcomings of the British Library's catalogue are simply due to its age and the great haste with which it must have been prepared.¹⁰ Certainly, the operational philosophy behind the British Library's catalogues could not have been particularly helpful. For example, the rules for describing manuscripts, which were adopted in the nineteenth century and followed well into the twentieth century, allowed for only three classes of marginalia (MS.NOTES, FEW MS.NOTES or COPIOUS MS.NOTES)¹¹. As Pearson points out, the cataloguing rules contained 'no provision for noting the names of owners who do not add adversaria; the interest is considered to be justified only if the copy-specific additions have a relevance to the study of the text as a text.'¹² By adversaria, Pearson clearly means marginal comments of any type.

Therefore, an updated catalogue description of Add.35157 is required. Unfortunately, not only is there no universal standard for describing manuscripts, but the two most important systems are mutually

exclusive. The first is a computer-based system designed especially for manuscripts, personal papers and archive materials, and the second is the traditional descriptive manuscript catalogue, but one which has been informed by all of the recent developments in paleography and codicology.¹³

At this point, a word about computer cataloguing systems is required. Although traditional manuscript catalogues have simply organically evolved with modern scholarship, computer-based systems have been speedily created and are still being refined.

A variety of computer cataloguing systems have been developed since the 1960s. The first recognisable standard was a set of rules known as the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules (hereafter AACR). There have been a number of successors to AACR, including its immediate descendant Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules 2 (hereafter AACR2).

AACR2 has itself spawned several sets of data standards, such as the International Standard Description of Older Books (Antiquarian) (hereafter ISBD(A)) and the Machine-Readable Cataloguing system (hereafter MARC). Of these, the most useful is MARC, which now has a sub-type designed for the cataloguing of Archives, Personal Papers and Manuscripts (hereafter MARC-APPM). MARC-APPM can be further refined and for this study, the Archives and Manuscripts Control format (hereafter AMC) was used.¹⁴

The MARC-AMC-APPM standards function by ensuring that specific numbered fields always contain certain types of data. For example, there are specified fields for authors, titles and collations. Unfortunately, MARC-AMC-APPM entries are usually very terse. They produce the sort of description which would suit a hand-list type of catalogue used primarily on-site, or would function as a remote access overview catalogue. The simplicity and rigidity of MARC-based systems

not only standardise the field of manuscript description, but unfortunately limit it. Hope Mayo has observed:¹⁵

Most fundamentally [...] MARC format cataloguing [...] will not accommodate all the fine points of information and detailed discussion of evidence that one expects to find in the best traditional manuscript descriptions. It may be therefore that if MARC-based descriptions of medieval manuscripts reside in general databases they will always have to be regarded as summary or census records.

Another important problem with MARC-based systems is that medieval books only rarely present unitary texts.¹⁶ As Warren Van Egmond noted:¹⁷

[M]ost manuscripts contain multiple texts on diverse subjects, with more than one work copied or bound into a single volume, whereas the MARC format, like most book cataloguing systems, assumes that a printed book will contain only one work or a collection of works dealing with a single theme. There seems to be no efficient way to list such texts individually in the MARC system.

Therefore, MARC-AMC-APPM catalogues will probably never completely replace traditional descriptive catalogues, but will serve to augment them. On one hand we have physical paper catalogues, which Mayo described as being 'completely portable and can be consulted virtually anywhere and under any conditions,'¹⁸ and on the other hand we have the speed and ease-of-use of a computer-based catalogue.

Perhaps there is room for even more forms of cataloguing. Both traditional descriptive catalogues and MARC-AMC-APPM lack enough graphic aids. Traditional descriptive catalogues are already costly to produce, and the inclusion of a great many colour illustrations would make printing prohibitively expensive.¹⁹ It is only in recent years that

computer systems have become cheap enough and powerful enough to handle vast numbers of high resolution images.

Understandably, the field of graphics-based catalogues is relatively new, but there are some systems available. J.P. Gumbert's Illustrated Inventory of Medieval Manuscripts (hereafter IIMM) is one such system.²⁰ The IIMM project is especially interesting in that it provides a short entry framework which presents graphic examples of scripts and decoration.

The ideal manuscript catalogue would be one which presents the same level of description as seen in the best traditional catalogues in a format which can be readily stored and searched via computer, and which would include many full-colour indexed and searchable illustrations.

The British Library should, when it finally re-catalogues its Additional collection, opt for a coordinated strategy and provide both a MARC-AMC-APPM catalogue and an improved descriptive catalogue, thereby ensuring that every one of its manuscripts receives the fullest possible treatment.²¹ As it stands, many of the nineteenth-century descriptions of the British Library's manuscript material are useless, often no more than mere lists of incipits. Such catalogues are of limited use to scholars based far from the library itself.

The easiest possible solution to the problems of computerising descriptive manuscript catalogues is simply to digitise existing catalogues and supplement the resulting product with illustrations. While such texts would not be in any way standardised, their contents would still be available for keyword or other types of electronic searches.

With the faults of historic manuscript catalogues in mind, the following two descriptions of Add.35157 are designed to be as complete

as possible, and function as an example of the strengths and weaknesses of each type of system. The untagged MARC-AMC-APPM record is presented below:²²

2. NEW UNTAGGED MARC-AMC-APPM RECORD

Langland, William.

Piers Plowman, C-text-[1390-1400].

125 leaves (1 column, 32 lines), bound; parchment: 28 cm.

In English.

Includes: Introduction (ff.3r-5v)-Piers Plowman (ff.7r-124r).

Written in a bastard anglicana hand.

Illuminated initial on f.7r: 23-2-3 line initials for division of passus in blue with red flourishing, with red and blue paragraph marks.

Collation: 1⁴, 2-10⁸, 11¹⁰ (-4, 6, after ff.81 and 82), 12-15⁸, 16⁸ (-8).

Catchwords in inner right corner; leaves signed in Arabic numbers and Roman letters; frame ruling in dry point.

Eighteenth-century foliation 1-125.

Copious marginalia and nota marks by various readers of the 14th to 18th centuries.

Bound in red morocco, 1728.

Written in London.

Belonged to the Surtees family (15th century); the Askew family (16th to 17th century); and the Johnson family (18th to 19th century).

Acquired from the Johnson family by the British Museum 1898.

References: IMEV 1459; D. Pearsall, ed., Piers Plowman by William Langland: An Edition of the C-text (London 1978), with variant readings from this manuscript.

Described in: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1894-1899, ed. E.J. Scott (London: British Museum, 1901).

Cite as: British Library MS Additional 35157.

Access: restricted to British Library Department of Manuscripts, Students' Room.

Subjects: 1. Middle English Literature.

Names and titles: 1. Langland, William. Piers Plowman. 2. Preston, scribe. 3. Thomas Thyrnbeke, scribe. 4. Arthur Surtees, former owner. 5. Robert Machill, former owner? 7. Francis Ayscough. 8. Maurice Johnson, former owner.

Physical characteristics: 1. Hard bindings. 2. Red Morocco

The problems with the MARC-based description are obvious. At the very least, there is a distinct lack of information, particularly regarding the manuscript's component materials and techniques of manufacture. There is no category for explanatory footnotes, or for references to other associated manuscripts. There is also no category under MARC-AMC-APPM to document the text's stemmatic affiliations. Some of MARC-AMC-APPM's basic fields are themselves sometimes impossible to implement. The field reserved for manuscript collations, for example, utilises superscript characters, which some library computers do not support.²³

Perhaps the major fault of MARC is its brevity. However, MARC-AMC-APPM does not completely prevent the entries for each of its variable data fields from being greatly expanded. If the data fields were expanded, they could accommodate a clearer picture of Add.35157's construction and history.

Regardless of the finer points of implementing MARC-AMC-APPM, the resulting records are quite easily accessed and searched. A catalogue constructed along such lines would allow a manuscript to be easily found

from practically any remote site. Unfortunately, the standard MARC-AMC-APPM record does not contain information which would greatly aid a serious scholar. If, for example, the Add.35157 record was on-line, it might be expected that any scholar accessing its file would already be aware of its existence and attributes.

In order to carry a description of Add.35157 further than is possible in any of the MARC-based contexts, an updated traditional description is required.

A new catalogue description of Add.35157 is as follows:²⁴

3. NEW CATALOGUE DESCRIPTION

London, British Library

MS. Additional 35157

England, s.XIV^{ex}

PIERS PLOWMAN

CONTENTS

1. f.3 Maurice Johnson (1687-1755), an introduction to the C-text of William Langland, Piers Plowman. Holograph c.1728. Begins: 'PERS PLOGHMAN|An auntient English Poem, very Satyrical;' ends: f.5v: 'Of Piers Plowman, from a MS in 1631 in the Library of|Sir Robert Cotten Baronett.'
2. f.6 Picture of a young man: an oval-shaped miniature in paint with border of liquid gold, depicting a dark-haired young man, who faces left in full profile, and is dressed in pseudo-Greek attire. Technically naive, and clearly the work of Johnson, it is perhaps a self-portrait, or a portrait of William Langland.
3. f.7 William Langland, Piers Plowman the C-text. Begins: 'In a somer sesoun when soft was þe sonne|I shoep me in to shrowdes as y a shep were;' ends f.124: '*Explicit liber vocatus Pers ploghman*|Preston.'

IMEV 1459; C text, I group, siglum U; D. Pearsall, ed., Piers Plowman by William Langland: An Edition of the C-text (London 1978), with variant readings from this manuscript.

COLLATION

Membrane (unevenly trimmed), ff. iv (early modern paper, watermark arms of city of London and Crown of George I, Heawood 477 positively dated to 1722) + 4 (modern parchment) + 121 + iv (early modern paper, no visible watermarks). 230 x 155 (170 x 112) mm. 1^o, 2-10^o, 11^o (-4, 6, after ff.81 and 82), 12-15^o, 16^o (-8). Original vellum flyleaves are missing with the exception of one fragment (approx. 30 x 80 mm) which is now pasted to the second early modern paper flyleaf.

MATERIALS AND CONDITION

Original membrane is middle to low grade, thick, dark, velvety in texture, and arranged skin to hair throughout. Considerable fading and damage to first and last leaves of the quires, and in particular to the first leaf of the first quire and the last leaf of the last quire, suggests that the gatherings lay loose for some time, and also that the entire manuscript lay sewn together but unbound for some time. Modern parchment is of the finest quality.

CATCHWORDS AND SIGNATURES

Catchwords in ink in lower right margins of end leaf of each quire (except quires 1, 9, 12-14, 16); quires 4-8 signed in lead at the bottom of the first four leaves in early Arabic numbers (format 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, signed 3-7, and omitting 4.1, 6.3, 6.4, 7.1, 7.2); quires 11-13 and 15 signed in lead in the right hand margin of the first four leaves in Latin letters and early Arabic numbers (signed quires a-c i-iv and e i-iv respectively, omitting c.2, c.3, c.4).

FOLIATION

Modern foliation in ink on the upper right recto of each folio, numbers the final modern paper flyleaf, the four modern parchment leaves, and the original membranous leaves from 2-125. Presumably the work of Johnson after 1728.

PRESENTATION

Quire 1: variously 17-32 lines of prose per page. First folio shows two sets of double bounding lines in red which frame 17 lines of unruled prose. The verso of the first folio and all remaining folios are unruled. Text in a variety of hands, some anachronistic, written and rubricated by Johnson after 1728.

Quires 2-16: 30-33 lines of text per page, dry-point framing rules (no visible pricking or interior ruling). Main text written in a light brown ink in a highly professional yet understated bastard anglicana, with Latin phrases in textualis rotunda with some anglicana influences. Main hand is consistent throughout text. The scribe signs himself 'Preston' on f.124. Possibly the same Preston who wrote the Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton in 1386 (Westminster Abbey Library No.37).

SCRIBES

There are eight hands roughly contemporary to the manuscript's construction. They are:

- Hand 1: illumination
- Hand 2: initials and pen decorations
- Hand A: main text
- Hand B1: red pen underlining ff.7r-25v
- Hand B2: red pen underlining from ff.26r-124r
- Hand B: interlinear corrections and annotations
- Hand C: interlinear corrections and annotations
- Hand D: annotations

The appearance of some of hand B's annotations in the rubrication ink suggests that hands B1, B2 and B were the work of same scribe. Scribe B was possibly the A-scribe of Trinity Cambridge MS R.3.2.¹¹

DECORATION

Opening initial on f.7r: a 4-line subdued East Anglian initial 'I', in gold with minimal ivy and vine decoration, now badly blackened. There are twenty-three competent 2-3-line lombardic capitals in blue with red flourishing, and a fair number of alternating red and blue paraph marks which become infrequent in the latter quires. Latin quotations and passus incipit are underlined in red.

BINDING

Re-bound on June 4, 1728 by Johnson in the Harleian pattern, in gold-tooled crimson morocco, 230 x 155 mm., on five cords, with marbled end papers. Tooling on spine reads: 'MSs|ENGL:|SATYR'. Affixed black leather gold-stamped labels on the spine read 'Piers|Plowman' and 'Brit. Mus.|ADD.|35,157'. These labels possibly obscure Johnson's name and his reference number (on f.3r given as xxxix; see Johnson's manuscript MS. Add. 35167). The binding is now very badly faded. The bookplate of Maurice Johnson (Franks 16555, dated 1735) is on f.2v.

DAMAGE AND REPAIR

Manuscript suffered damage to first quire (possible rodent damage) and was repaired s.XVI¹⁻³. Repairs by Thomas Thyrnbeke who signs name on f.124v. Two patches appear covering holes on ff.10, 11, and the top part of f.9 has been completely replaced. The missing text re-supplied from either the second or third of Robert Crowley's 1550 editions of Piers Plowman.

MARGINALIA

More than a thousand marginal notes in at least nine hands (six non-contemporary with the manuscript's construction) ranging from the fourteenth century to the twentieth century.

HISTORY

Owned by the Surtees family of County Durham until the mid-sixteenth century. Owned by the Ayscough family of Cottam, Lincolnshire, until the mid-seventeenth century. In the possession of the Johnson family of Spalding, Lincolnshire, until January 7, 1898 when it entered the British Museum (see note on third paper flyleaf).

OWNERSHIP NAMES

Francis Ayscough (flyleaf, f.124, f.124v, s.XVII^{1a})

Maurice Johnson (f.3, s.XVIII¹⁻³)

William Ayscough (f.124 s.XVI¹⁻³)

Arthur Surtees (f.124, s.XV¹⁻³)

Suetrus (f.124v, s.XV¹)

Thomas Thyrnbeke (f.124v, s.XVI¹⁻³)

Robert Machell (f.125v, s.XV)

Secundo folio: Inter libros

Although the preceding catalogue description is some three times longer than the British Library original, it is still incomplete. Catalogue descriptions like it and the example given in chapter 2 do not contain very many detailed arguments regarding their findings. What is needed, therefore, is an expansion of the above description, one which incorporates the evidence of Add.35157's creation and the circumstances of its early use, and which argues through each of its observations. Whereas it is possible to make pronouncements in a catalogue, in an extended examination of a manuscript such interpretations must be backed up by observations and concrete data. It is not, for example, enough to state that hands B1, B2 and B are probably the work of the same scribe; all three hands should be described and the reasons for believing that they were the work of one scribe should be explained.

Such details as the ones which follow, obviously, could not be accommodated in a standard printed manuscript catalogue. The cost of

book production would not allow for even a ten-page description of each manuscript within a collection spanning many hundreds of volumes. However, and dismissing the problems raised by MARC's inclination toward brevity, the move toward the computerisation of library catalogues frees the bibliographer from the relative terseness also demanded by print. Electronic catalogues, even primitive ones which might simply reproduce the digitised images of a printed book, do not require paper or bindings, and the cost of computer storage is relatively inexpensive. Therefore, the only factor which should now decide the density of information contained within a catalogue should be the overall time required for the completion of the project.³⁶

In any event, what is required for the purposes of this dissertation is just such work, a traditional in-depth codicological examination of Add.35157.³⁷

III: CODICOLOGICAL AND PALEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

1. IMPORTANCE

The codex Add.35157 contains copy U of Piers Plowman, which comprises an extremely early copy of the C-text or third version of the poem. Quite possibly Add.35157 is the only fourteenth-century copy of the C-text and is perhaps the only extant manuscript of the poem copied during Langland's lifetime. Add.35157 is a representative of the best textual family of the C-recension, the I-family, and the dialect of its main scribe concurs with that of Langland. Add.35157 presents a significant text. The only comparable manuscript of the C-text is HM 143.³⁸ While HM 143 was used as the basetext of the long-awaited

critical edition of the C-text," Add.35157 was used where the text of HM 143 was deficient."

2. ADD.35157 IN THE PIERS PLOWMAN C-TEXT STEMMA

Although the genetic relationships within the Piers Plowman C-text family are fairly complex, and barring A.V.C. Schmidt's recent work," they have been well-documented since work conducted by B.F. Allen, R.W. Chambers and F.A.R. Carney prior to the second world war."

Before placing the C-texts into genetic groups, it is useful to list the relevant manuscripts:"

British Library

H2	Harley 6041
L	Add.10574
M	Cotton Vespasian B.xvi
N	Harley 2376
O	Cotton Caligula A.xi
P2	Add.34779
R	Royal 18 B xvii
U	Add.35157

Cambridge

Ca Caius College 646
 F C.U.L. Ff.5.35
 G C.U.L. Dd.3.13
 S Corpus Christi College 293
 T Trinity College R.3.14
 Q C.U.L. Add.4325

Huntington Library

P HM 137
 X HM 143

National Library of Wales

M2 733B

Oxford

B2 Bod. Bodley 814
 D Bod. Douce 104
 D2 Bod. Digby 145
 E Bod. Laud Misc.656
 K Bod. Digby 171
 Y Bod. Digby 102
 Z Bod. Bodley 851

Trinity College Dublin

V 212 (D.4.1)

University of Liverpool

Ch F.4.8

University of London

A S.L.V.17
 I S.L.V.88

Private Collections

H Holloway fragment
 W (olim.) Duke of Westminster

Following the work of Allen, the Piers Plowman C-text is traditionally divided into three families: the T-family, the I-family and the P-family. The families take their names from their first or best identified member, and the divisions are based on two criteria, a) the completeness of the text and b) the genetic resemblances they share. The division is as follows:

T	T, H2, Ch, Z
I	X, U, H, D, Y, I, D2, B2, O, L
P	P, E, A, V, R, M, Q, S, F, K, G, N, W, N2, P2

Of these three basic families, the I-family is the most important. The T-family is comprised of copies where the text only follows the C-tradition from passus XI. The P-family bears close resemblance to manuscript P, which was Skeat's copy text for his edition of the C-text. The I-family is broken down into 'pure' C-texts, X, U, H, D, Y and I, and 'mixed' texts, D2, B2, O and L, which are C-texts only until passus II:128. Of the I-family 'pure' C-texts, I is badly damaged, H is fragmentary and D was written in Hiberno-English, which leaves only X, U and Y. Of these three texts, X and U are considered to be the best manuscripts.³⁴

In a greatly simplified stemma, and as suggested by Schmidt's and Hanna's recent work, the relationships between X, H, D, U and I would appear as:

α
 / \
 β γ
 / \
 δ ε U D
 | / \
 I H X

3. ORIGINAL CONTENTS

Codicological evidence suggests that Add.35157 contained only its Piers Plowman C-text." The quiring (see below) shows that Piers Plowman originally began the manuscript. While there is no way of knowing how many quires might have come after f.125, Maurice Johnson (who caused the manuscript to be re-bound on June 4, 1728 and who describes the re-binding on f.3r) did not mention any other work bound in the same volume. Johnson also asserted that when he re-bound the manuscript he saved a note from one of the original paste-downs."

The text itself asserts its title and attributes its authorship through rubrics on f.54v 'Explicit visio Willelmi W. de Petro le ploughman,' and on f.124r, 'Explicit liber vocatus Pers ploughman.' The first of these two rubrics is common to all other I-family C-text manuscripts, while the second is shared only by Add.35157's genetic twin, Douce 104."

4. MATERIALS AND CONDITIONS

The membrane used for Add.35157 is very uniform, quite thick and of middling to low quality. Probably sheep rather than calf, it exhibits a matt velvety texture and is relatively free from defects. Where the hair and flesh sides can be ascertained, it appears as if they

were placed facing each other and were not arranged, as one would have expected, with the flesh sides facing the flesh sides and the hair sides facing the hair sides." The general appearance and quality of the membrane indicates an origin in the British isles."

The approximate size of each folio is now 230 x 155 mm, which suggests that the original unfolded untrimmed leaves must have measured at least 240 x 330 mm. This observation is based on the trimmed remnants of scribal marginalia at ff.37r and 46r. Several minor original manufacturing defects appear randomly throughout the book. For example, f.70r has a small hole in the right margin and f.113r has a hole mid-folio. These imperfections were obviously original defects, since the scribes avoided the affected areas. There are no signs that any repairs to the membrane were carried out at the time of the manuscript's manufacture.

Since the completion of the manuscript, however, Add.35157 has suffered quite extensive damage. Some of the damage is relatively minor for such a well-used book. For example, all folios show signs of thumb marks; all folios at the beginning and end of the quires are badly faded, dirty and stained. More specific minor damage includes: f.17r is badly folded at its upper right corner; ff.55r-61v are stained on the outer margins of each folio; f.107r has been excessively cropped but did not lose any text; f.109r is very badly spattered with some form of dried dark fluid; and f.125r is ripped, spindled, stained and exhibits some signs of rodent damage.

Other damage to Add.35157, however, was not so trivial. FF. 9r-11v were so badly damaged by the middle of the sixteenth century (perhaps by rodents) that an early owner caused the manuscript to be patched and missing text re-supplied. These repairs were probably conducted by Thomas Thyrnbeke, s.XVI¹⁻², who signed his name on f.124v.

The patch on f.9r and 9v is made of high-quality thin membrane. It measures 62 x 155 (49 x 125) mm, and was sewn onto f.9v clumsily with light-brown rough silk cord, allowing for 3 mm space at the bottom of the patch, and 3-10 mm of space at the right side of the patch. The patch was probably scrap membrane or material taken from another manuscript's flyleaves. The supplied text was irregularly written in a sloping, inconsistent and semi-professional early Court Hand s.XVIth, or late Set Hand, with eight lines on the patch's recto and ten on its verso.⁴⁰ The patch's recto side preserves the original membrane's inner margin (approximately 15 mm) and one blue paraph mark. The re-supplied text on the verso side includes an annotation copied from marginalia associated with the copy text. Repairs to the recto side were taken from one of Robert Crowley's editions of Piers Plowman and cover the C-text Prologue lines 128-34. Repairs to the verso side were perhaps reconstructed from the original damaged text or re-assembled from portions of Crowley, and cover the Prologue lines 161-70. The copied text is accurate and precise, despite its appearance.

The patch on f.10r and 10v is made from mid-quality thin membrane, 35 x 44 mm. It was clumsily sewn onto f.10v with rough light-brown silk cord, which allows 5 mm space between edge of membrane and sewing. It shows prior ruling (10 mm from left side, running vertically), and prior pricking (at 5 mm intervals, running horizontally on the top). The patch was probably taken from a ruled but unused leaf from a different manuscript. There are no margins or decoration. The text comprises three lines on the recto side and four lines on the verso side. The text is in the same hand as the text on the previous patch and was also taken from Robert Crowley's third impression of Piers Plowman. The repair covers the Prologue lines 198-200 and 228-32.

The patch on f.11f and 11v is made of thin membrane, 30 x 38 mm. It was clumsily sewn onto f.11v with rough light brown silk cord, which allows for a 5 mm space between edge of membrane and the sewing. The patch was probably scrap membrane. It has no margins or decoration and contains three lines on the recto side and four lines on the verso side. The text is in the same hand as the previous patch. Once again the repairs were taken from Crowley and comprise Piers Plowman C-text Passus I:30-32 and I:60-63.

Other than the above-detailed damage and repairs, Add.35157 has not had any torn corners replaced, nor has it been cleaned, and, with the exception of a small leather label (see binding section below) has not been repaired, re-backed or re-bound in any way since the turn of the eighteenth century.

5. RULINGS

There are no visible signs of pricking, but whether this is due to the manuscript being trimmed prior to the original binding, or trimmed prior to re-binding in 1728, or entirely absent from Add.35157's construction is impossible to determine. The manuscript shows blind single bounding lines, or to use N.R. Ker's term, 'frame rulings', which were probably achieved by the use of a dry point on both sides of each leaf. It is possible that the frame rules were originally inscribed in lead and that the lead has worn away leaving only what appears to be dry point lines. Still, the use of dry point frame rules on this quality of membrane does not seem out of the ordinary for the latter part of the fourteenth century. Julian Brown wrote that such a method for ruling a page was 'done in England and elsewhere in the later Middle Ages, and it was a very practical thing for a small informal book.'¹¹ The frame rules are still relatively easy to see.

The frame comprised by the bounding lines is 170 x 112 mm, and contains between 29-33 lines, although the majority of folios contain 32 lines." There seems to be no correspondence between the number of lines on respective recto and verso sides across a bifolium, which indicates that each side and division of each leaf was prepared independently. The quality of Add.35157 is such that its scribes probably did not feel that excessive planning and ruling was required for the project.

6. COLLATION

The manuscript now consists of four unnumbered early modern paper flyleaves, and 125 numbered membrane leaves, which are themselves followed by four unnumbered paper flyleaves. The first quire of four early modern paper flyleaves comprises two bifoliated sheets, as does the last quire of early modern paper flyleaves.

Inside the manuscript proper, there are 16 membranous quires, mostly in gatherings of eight leaves. The collation may be summarised as: 1^r, 2-10^v, 11^{vv} (-4, 6, after ff.81 and 82), 12-15^v, 16^v (-8).

The first quire is of modern parchment, comprises four sheets numbered 3-6 (rectos only), and was added by Johnson in order to accommodate his introduction to Add.35157's text. Of the remaining fifteen quires, quires 2-10 are in eights, 11 was originally ten sheets (now wanting leaves 4 and 6 after folios 81 and 81 respectively), 12-15 are in eights, and 16 was originally eight sheets but now wants leaf 8. The construction of quire 11 was original to the manuscript's creation, the two wanting leaves are present as tabs approximately 10 mm wide, and there is no lost text.

7. PAGINATION

The pagination was probably completed by Maurice Johnson sometime before his death in 1755. It accounts for the last early modern paper flyleaf, which is numbered 2, and all of the membranous leaves, which are numbered 3-125. With the exception of the first membranous quire, pagination occurs on the upper right hand side of each recto. The numbers are Arabic and are usually written approximately 13 mm from the top of the page and 25 mm from the right hand edge of the page. They are placed just slightly higher than the first line of text and are written in what appears to be dark pen ink. Johnson scrupulously avoided obscuring any of Add.35157's marginalia and adjusted his pagination to 7 mm from the top of the page where necessary. On f.14r the page number occurs beneath an annotation and is approximately 30 mm from the top of the page. F.3r is numbered inside Johnson's red double bounding lines, 5 mm from the top and 30 mm from the right hand side of the page. FF.4r-6r are numbered 10 mm from the top and 15 mm from the right-hand side of the page.

8. WATERMARKS

Of the two quires of paper flyleaves, which were presumably added when Add.35157 was rebound by Johnson, the first displays watermark arms of City of London and the Crown of George I. These marks are to be found across the same bifoliated sheet, and have been identified as examples of Heawood 477, which are positively dated to 1722.⁴³ The terminal flyleaves do not show any watermarks.

9. QUIRING AND CATCHWORDS

Additional 35157's catchwords usually appear in ink in the lower right margins of the end leaf of each quire. Some have been trimmed away (quires 9, 12-14, 16). Of those that remain, most show signs of damage or extreme fading. No catchword was decorated or emphasised and most comprise three words. Quire 1, being Johnson's addition, does not display a terminal catchword.

At the time of its creation, all of Add.35157's signatures would have been signed. Today, however, only quires 4-8 and 11-13 still show traces of their original marks. Quires 4-8 are signed in lead at the bottom of their first four leaves in early Arabic numbers (format 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4), which run from 3-7, and omit 4.1, 6.3, 6.4, 7.1 and 7.2. Quires 11-13 and 15 are signed in lead in the right hand margin of the first four leaves in Latin letters and early Arabic numbers (signed a-c from 1-4 and e 1-4 respectively, omitting c.2, c.3 and c.4).

10. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PIERS PLOWMAN C-TEXT

The large internal divisions of the poem, which separate the text into the general categories of 'Visio', 'Do-Well', 'Do-Bet' and 'Do-Best' are asserted by a series of rubrics. The end of the 'Visio' and the start of 'Do-well' is signalled on f.54v by: 'Explicit visio Willelmi W. de Petro le ploughman/Et hic incipit visio eiusdem de dowel.' The end of 'Do-well' is signaled on f.87v by: 'Passus septimus de dowell & explicit.' The end of 'Do-bet' and the start of 'Do-best' is signalled on f.110r by: 'Explicit dobet et incipit dobest.' Studies of passus rubrication across the full spectrum of the three recensions of Piers Plowman show that these rubrics suggest a common genetic ancestor for most of the extant copies. It is conceivable that the rubrics may have been authorial."

The passus of the poem are marked with the following rubrics:

f.10v	Passus <u>primus</u> de <u>visione</u>
f.13v	Passus secundus de visione vbi <u>prius</u>
f.17v	Passus <u>tercius</u> de visione vt prius
f.25v	Passus quartus de visione vt prius
f.28v	Passus quintus de visione vbi prius
f.32	Passus sextus de visione & c.
f.38v	Passus septimus de visione & c.
f.43v	Passus octauus vt <u>prius</u> & c.
f.49	Passus nonus vt prius
f.54v	Explicit visio Willelmi W. de Petro le ploughman Et hic incipit visio eiusdem de dowel
f.59v	Passus <u>primus</u> de visione de dowell
f.64v	Passus secundus <u> de </u> dowell
f.68v	Passus <u>tercius</u> de dowell
f.72v	Passus quartus de dowell
f.76	Passus quintus de visione ut supra
f.81	Passus sextus de dowell
f.87v	Passus septimus de dowell & explicit
f.92v	Passus primus de dobet
f.97	Passus secundus de dobet & c.
f.102v	Passus <u>tercius</u> de dobet
f.110	Explicit dobet & incipit dobest
f.117v	Passus secundus de dobest

These rubrics are also reliable and are similar to those displayed by the other manuscripts of the C-text. In particular, they resemble rubrics found in the other major manuscripts of the I-family, manuscripts X, I, D and Y." The rubrics were considered important by Add.35157's scribe B, who corrected the rubric to passus XII by inserting a 'de'. It is unclear in this situation whether the interlinear correction was made before or after the red underlining.

11. THE SCRIBES

There are eight hands roughly contemporary to the manuscript's construction. They are:

Hand 1: illumination

Hand 2: initials and pen decorations

Hand A: main text

Hand B1: red pen underlining ff.7r-25v.

Hand B2: red pen underlining from ff.26r-124r

Hand B: interlinear corrections and annotations

Hand C: interlinear corrections and annotations

Hand D: annotations

The appearance of some of hand B's annotations in the rubrication ink suggests that hands B1, B2 and B were the work of same scribe (all hands are described below).

12. COPYING

The text was probably copied quire by quire, but due to the arrangement, placement and condition of certain elements of the ordinatio (see Material and Condition above, and Paraphs, Decoration, Correction below) it seems unlikely that any other aspect of the manuscript's construction was carried out in the same way. The process was probably completed in six basic steps which were as follows:

1. the sheets of membrane were prepared
2. the main text was written and punctuated by scribe A
the Latin passages were underlined by scribe B
the manuscript was corrected and annotated by scribe B
the manuscript was corrected and annotated by scribe C

- the quires were signed and catchwords added
3. the manuscript was partially bound
 4. the illumination was added
the initials were added
 5. the paraph marks were added
 6. the manuscript was annotated by scribe D
 7. the manuscript was bound

Of these seven stages, it is impossible to tell in which order sub-stages were conducted.⁴⁶

The main text is well-copied and complete. No quires are misplaced. With the exception of several mislineations apparently common to other I-family members, Add.35157 is consistent with other C-texts. Although scribe A rigorously kept to the margins of his pages, as evidenced by interlinear additions at the extreme right hand sides of long lines, his text slopes upwards. The sloping nature of the hand suggests that the manuscript never contained interior rulings.⁴⁷

13. HAND A

For Add.35157, scribe A used anglicana formata hybrida media. This hand is best described as being a bastard anglicana which combined the features of anglicana formata with some of the features of littera minuscula gothica textualis rotunda libraria media.⁴⁸ The resulting script was in keeping with the general quality of Add.35157, and was a popular choice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for 'lower to middle grade books.'⁴⁹ The use of frame rulings probably influenced scribe A's choice of hand. The lack of interior ruling would have rendered the use of a more formal anglicana formata, or even the use of a full text hand for the Latin passages, unwise and probably impossible.

Scribe A's choice of hand seems the most professional solution for the production of a small, relatively unadorned, inexpensive manuscript.⁵⁰

The hand A appears in a light brown ink. Sometimes the writing appears darker and fuller and is presumably due to scribe A refreshing his pen. Hand A is almost entirely free from problems with dittography, and seldom contains any expunctuated or otherwise reconsidered text.

The hand flows freely and professionally and does not appear forced. There is some variety in the size and shape of his letter-forms, but not at the expense of either readability or the appearance of uniformity. There is nothing about scribe A's hand that would suggest that Add.35157 was anything but a fairly expedient project.

With the exception of using '&' for 'and', which is normal for a late fourteenth-century manuscript, scribe A's use of abbreviation is extremely light and consistent. Although his abbreviations were regular, he did have some breviographic idiosyncrasies. For example, scribe A often used the 'pre-' abbreviation with a thorn and an 'e' to form 'þere' for 'there'. Other times scribe A omitted the first 'e' to make 'þre' for 'there'. Indeed, approximately 90 per cent of the time scribe A used the '-re' in positions where an '-er' would have been expected. For example, he continually wrote 'mercy' as 'mrecy'. However, since the '-er' abbreviation does make rare appearances in scribe A's work, it is clear that he knew the form but simply chose to use the '-re' most of the time. This usage has been preserved in the transcriptions found in the appendices since there is a chance that such breviographic usage might represent a local feature.

Scribe A also used an '-ur' abbreviation with some frequency, and preferred to end some '-er' words in '-our' instead. For example, scribe A frequently wrote 'bettour' for 'better'.

NOTES ON SOME OF SCRIBE A'S ORDINARY LETTER-FORMS

It is most likely that scribe A was originally trained sometime near the middle of the fourteenth century. Towards the end of the century, he must have worked to adopt some of the newer letter-forms as they were introduced. The shapes of several of his letter-forms were useful in reaching this conclusion.³¹

Two forms of 'b' appear: a looped form with a thin connecting stroke; and a hooked form, where the hook is markedly clubbed. 'B' also appears in two forms: the first is an early fourteenth-century form, with distinct 'L' and 'H' components, distinguished by a markedly angular back-facing encircling flourish (see f.58r); and the second is a more typical mid-to-late fourteenth-century single-stroke two-compartment form which shows a gently-rounded back stroke.

Scribe A does not usually dot his 'i's, but does so on f.7r.

'L' appears as a typical floreated early to mid-century 'l', whereas 'l' itself appears in a gentle looped form with a hooked minim.

There are four forms of 'r': a 2-shaped 'r' that was only used after 'o'; a long-tailed 'r' with a wedge-shaped down stroke that was used medially; a short hooked 'r' used terminally; and a mid-length straight 'r' used initially. There is one form of 'R' which was used either as a capital, or initially. It appears as a two compartment form with a trailing back stroke.

There are three forms of 's': the typical long medially-used 's' of the mid-fourteenth century, with a wedge-shaped down stroke; a late fourteenth-century sigma form used both terminally and initially; and an earlier short two-compartment 's', which mostly appears initially. 'S' only appears in a mid-century uncrossed form.

'W' and 'w' are not distinguished and both appear as similarly-sized letters of the normal anglicana form with a final 3-shaped stroke.

There is only one form of 'y', which is carefully distinguished from 'þ'. The letter 'y' takes the form of a two-stroke right-slanting letter with a right-facing tail which terminates directly under the first stroke. Such a form is typical of an early fourteenth-century usage.

SCRIBE A'S SECONDARY HAND

For Langland's Latin quotations and passages, scribe A chose to use a textualis rotunda which has an x-height nearly double that of his ordinary hand. The passages were written in the same light brown ink as the rest of the text and were later underlined in red. Scribe A's letter-forms are quite typical for late fourteenth-century usage, showing such trademarks as a regularity in the shaping of minims, a long-tailed 'x', and 'an impression of lateral compression.'⁵² The two hands also differ in that scribe A's Latin hand uses separate strokes for all minims, whereas his ordinary hand does not. The form of 'etc.' used is very much one that was current in the mid-fourteenth century.⁵³

SCRIBE A'S DIALECT

Before scribe A's dialect can be discussed, a few general comments are required concerning the dialect of William Langland.

Although George Kane once doubted that Langland's dialect was recoverable,⁵⁴ the task was completed soon after the publication of The Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (hereafter LALME).⁵⁵ M.L. Samuels, one of LALME's authors, defined Langland's dialect, basing his observations on the following different types of evidence:

1. Forms determined by rhyme and alliteration
2. Textual homogeneity, especially of relict forms
3. Internal autobiographical evidence
4. External biographical evidence
5. Dialect of surviving texts showing regional distribution

It is worth summarising Samuels' discussion of his first point in some detail.⁵⁶ Regarding Langland's dialect, Samuels found that there were four particularly critical grammatical and phonological observations.

First, Langland's alliterative mode demanded the form <heo> for the word <she> and he was unlikely to use either <sche> or <scheo>. This trait is geographically restricted to Western and Southern dialects, but excludes east Essex, SE Suffolk and London.

Second, Langland alliterated on <ar(e)n> for the word ARE and frequently used forms such as <beþ>, <beoþ>, <buþ> and <ben>. This usage excludes all regions except the West Midlands.

Third, Piers Plowman with its consistent f/v-alliteration is from an area that shows voicing from <f> to <v>. The only areas which satisfy this observation and the preceding two are Herefordshire and SW Worcestershire.

Fourth, Langland's alliteration of <h> with initial vowels excluded a Herefordshire provenance and limited Langland's dialect to SW Worcestershire.

Samuels argued that when all the linguistic features of Langland's use of rhyme and alliteration are considered, 'Langland's dialect, as evidenced by his alliterative practice, can be assigned to SW Worcestershire and nowhere else' (Samuels' italics).⁵⁷

Samuels then stated that the evidence from the textual homogeneity of the surviving manuscripts, the well-documented internal and external biographical information regarding Langland and the dialect of the extant manuscripts, agreed with his dialectal argument. Samuels concluded that, 'Langland's unusual alliterative practices are confirmed as dialectically conditioned, and [...] Malvern is confirmed as the place of both his upbringing and his dialect.'⁵⁸

There are certain features that when taken together are diagnostic of SW Worcestershire usage. Again, according to Samuels, they are:⁵⁹

1. the spelling of <oe> for ME \bar{o} , as in <goed> for GOOD, <noet> for KNOWS NOT;
2. <heo> for SHE and <a> for either HE or SHE;
3. <noyther> for NEITHER and <no> or NOR;
4. <ar> (conjunction) for ERE or BEFORE;
5. <ȝut> for YET;
6. <u> and <uy> for OE \bar{y} , as in <huyre> for HIRE, or <pruyde> for PRIDE.

At the same time Samuels analysed Langland's dialect he considered the individual dialects of the various manuscripts of Piers Plowman. Samuels localised them by their scribal dialects and any remaining relicts. Of Add.35157's scribe A, Samuels stated that the manuscript was written by a scribe in or from NW Worcestershire.⁶⁰ Although Samuels based his views on scribe A's dialect on the appearance of forms such as <siche> for SUCH, <thorgh> for THROUGH and the large number of <-on> endings, other forms such as <oe> for ME \bar{o} , <ȝut> for YET and <uy> for OE \bar{y} also appear in the text and support a SWM provenance.

The survey conducted for this study covered three passus of Add.35157's text, but a cursory scan of the entire manuscript was not conducted.⁶¹ While the data collected confirmed Samuels' suggested

provenance, it was possible to offer some more in-depth interpretation of the dialect survey. Samuels' article did not aim to offer interpretation of the dialect survey results, but was intended to offer general comments on a large number of Piers Plowman manuscripts. In this respect, Add.35157 received less discussion than I, X, or Y, the other three main members of the I-family.⁶² In addition, Add.35157 was not one of the manuscripts used for the compilation of LALME.⁶³

First, although the three passus analysed did not contain the <siche> form of SUCH, and instead offered the more widely distributed <suchē> form, it is possible that the <siche> form can be found elsewhere in the manuscript. The absence of the <siche> form for SUCH in the three passus studied can be seen as the first example of the muted nature of scribe A's Midlands' dialect. Even if Samuels did find evidence of <siche> usage, it is clear that scribe A preferred to use a less provincial form most of the time.

Second, although Add.35157 exhibits a large number of the features identified as being diagnostic of Worcestershire usage (see above), there are some forms which do not appear. For example, <heo> for SHE does not appear at all in the survey for the indicated passus. Instead, scribe A used <she> and sometimes <sho> for SHE. The forms used by scribe A for SHE are much more widely distributed than <heo> and, like the use of scribe A's form for SUCH, also shows that he seemed to refrain from using some of the more distinctly SW Midlands' forms.

Third, scribe A's survey is not strongly focussed on the more grossly provincial Worcestershire forms, and instead offers a large number of forms which were very widely distributed across most of the Midlands. These forms include: <þene> for THEN, <nouthe> for NOT, <þo> and <tho> for THOUGH, <when̄> for WHEN, <oþir> for OTHER, <to-gidres> for TOGETHER, <worchipe> for WORSHIP, <saie> for SAY, <whedir> for WHETHER,

and <a-nopre> for ANOTHER.⁶⁴ Although the majority of these forms were common to most of the central Midlands at the start of the fifteenth century,⁶⁵ there is nothing which points to a more specific location. In fact, by the early fifteenth century few of the above forms were unique to any one county, and all were acceptable in London.⁶⁶ This has the effect of making scribe A's dialect appear 'colourless'.⁶⁷

According to LALME, a 'colourless regional standard' comes about:⁶⁸

when a writer replaces some or all of his distinctively local forms by equivalents which, although still native to the local or neighbouring dialects, are common currency over a wide area. The result is not a series of well-defined, regional standards [...], but a continuum in which the local element is muted, and one type shifts almost imperceptibly into another.

J.J. Smith writing on the language of the scribes of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere Chaucer manuscripts noted:⁶⁹

Thus it is not surprising that, during the late fourteenth century, a number of incipient 'standard' written languages appear to have emerged[....] [Some were] marked by standardization of orthography and grammatical usage, were practiced more widely and were employed for the transmission of major literary texts.

In a forthcoming book, Smith suggests that the development of 'colourless' forms of regional dialects meant that 'grosser provincialisms [...] were discarded and those of wider currency were allowed to remain.'⁷⁰ Smith suggests that such usage would make a text readily comprehensible to any experienced reader of Middle English.

It seems likely that scribe A's muted dialect had the effect of making Langland's text appeal to a wide audience. There are not many 'gross provincialisms' in scribe A's dialect, and the understanding of Add.35157's text would not be restricted to a small corner of Worcestershire. Although it is a difficult case to argue, I feel that the muted nature of scribe A's dialect, with its potentially wide audience, points toward a London provenance for Add.35157. According to Smith, there is certainly nothing in the data 'which would militate against the text being produced in the metropolis.'⁷¹

SCRIBE A'S PUNCTUATION

For the most part, scribe A's general repertoire of punctuation marks is typical of a late fourteenth-century professional scribe. His usage includes the following symbols: punctus elevatus, punctus, virgula, double virgula. Strangely enough, and as will be discussed later in this section, commata sporadically appear in the text.⁷²

Scribe A's punctus elevatus appears in two distinct forms: the first which shows both the 'point' and 'tick' of the mark almost co-joined, giving it an appearance very similar to that of a modern colon or semi-colon; and the second, a more old-fashioned fully-separated mark, which shows a large cursive 'tick' and a small 'point'.⁷³ Both forms are used interchangeably to separate the alliterative hemistiches of Langland's verse. While they appear with great frequency in the first few quires of the text proper, scribe A's use of the punctus elevatus become more and more infrequent towards the end of the manuscript.

Scribe A also uses two forms of the punctus: the first, a mark similar to the early media distinctio, taking the form of a large point

which appears at approximately the x-height of the text; and the second a smaller point, made at the base line of the text. The first mark was used to separate alliterative hemistiches when scribe A tired of using the punctus elevatus. The second was used to indicate either a medial break following a Latin quotation, or the abbreviation of cetera.

Scribe A employed the virgula sporadically during the early quires of the manuscript. These were used to indicate a caesura between alliterative hemistiches. Scribe A's virgula was lightly drawn and runs from the x-height of his text to the base line.

Scribe A's fourth type of punctuation mark was the double virgula, which he made without an ancillary point. Scribe A used these marks to indicate a proposed paraph mark to his rubricator. Most examples were partially obscured by the resulting paraph marks, but in some instances the rubricator disagreed with a proposed division and left scribe A's double virgula unrubricated. This occurs on ff.13v, 14r, 17r, 92v and 94r. Of the completed paraph marks, most do show traces of the double virgula. It can be supposed that no paraph mark was made without scribe A's suggestion.

The final punctuation mark used by scribe A was the comma. Considering that the comma was an extremely uncommon mark in insular manuscripts of the late fourteenth century and was only commonly found in Italian manuscripts,⁷⁴ its appearance in Add.35157 comes as something of a shock, especially considering the dated form of scribe A's second type of punctus elevatus. Scribe A's commata take the form of a modern comma drawn slightly below the baseline of the text. Scribe A seems to have been somewhat uncomfortable with the form of the marks and his commata are clumsy and inconsistently formed.

Scribe A used the comma five times on f.7r and a small number are randomly scattered through the rest of the text. Since the five marks on f.7r are located within a few lines, it is worthwhile to describe their usage. They appear in the following lines of the Prologue:⁷³

Wynking as hit were, weturliche y say hit 11

Of truthe, & of treicherie, tresoun, & Gyle 12

Yn hope to have agoed ende, & hevenriche blisse 29

Of these three lines, line 11 and 29 use the comma in a medial position at the break between alliterative hemistiches. Therefore, it is impossible to determine if they were being used to signify a pause, or were being used in a syntactic sense. Line 12, on the other hand, clearly shows scribe A using the marks in an enumerative sense, an asyndetic parataxical usage. Considering the medial usage of most punctuation in manuscripts of Piers Plowman, scribe A's use of the comma in this situation is unexpected. This sort of usage is an indication that, whatever his motivations were for copying the text, and whatever were his ambitions for its appearance, scribe A was well-trained and well-informed. Since these sorts of marks were common only in Italian manuscripts of this time, scribe A obviously had access or knowledge of some non-insular books.

Scribe A's commata are only found in large numbers on f.7r, which would have been the original first folio of Add.35157. When viewed in the same light as his otherwise atypical dotting of 'i's on f.7r, it seems to indicated that scribe A used these unusual marks as a decorative effect unique to the start of the text. As such, they

probably represented no more than an attempt to smarten-up an otherwise modest volume.

In general, scribe A's application of punctuation marks was inconsistent and sporadic, both of which qualities are typical of late medieval usage.⁷⁵ Throughout most of the manuscript, alliterative hemistiches are divided by some form of mark, but a large number of lines show no punctuation whatsoever. The pattern seems to be as follows: the early quires show heavy use of the punctus elevatus; further on, the simple punctus becomes more common, and then towards the end of the manuscript, punctuation is almost absent. Whether this decline in the level of punctuation is due to scribe A becoming bored with his task, or whether it is due to scribe A coming to the conclusion that Langland's text did not require much punctuation, is unclear. Probably a mixture of both explanations is the answer.

14. SUPPLEMENTARY HAND B1

Supplementary hand B1 was contemporary with the manuscript's creation. It appears as the rubrication underlining from f.7r to 25v. The underlining was drawn with a pen in the same colour as the light red flourishing surrounding the manuscript's two to three line initials. However, the colour differs considerably from the red of the paraph marks. The form of the underlining was quite stable. Each Latin passage was underlined completely and terminated in the outside margin by a heavily abbreviated nota. If, however, English appeared on the same line as Latin, only the Latin words were underlined. Stray Latin words were also underlined, but no framing devices were used. Two of supplementary hand B's annotations appear in the same red ink on ff.14v and 18v. The scribe responsible for supplementary hand B1 is probably the same one responsible for supplementary hand B.

15. SUPPLEMENTARY HAND B2

Like supplementary hand B1, supplementary hand B2 was part of Add.35157's original design. It takes the form of the rubrication underlining from ff.26r to the end of the manuscript. The ink colour is the same as for supplementary hand B1, but the form is slightly different. The underlining no longer terminates in an abbreviated nota, but now ends in an tendril-shaped otiose stroke. The pattern of usage of underlining is the same as for supplementary hand B1. Again, some of supplementary hand B's nota annotations appear in the same ink elsewhere in the manuscript. Some such marks can be found on ff.71v, 91r, 102v and 103v. The scribe responsible for supplementary hand B2 was probably the same one responsible for supplementary hands B1 and B.

16. SUPPLEMENTARY HAND B

Supplementary hand B (hereafter scribe B) added thirty-seven interlinear and expunctuated corrections to seven of the fifteen quires of Add.35157. The same hand also added twenty-six annotations which span eleven quires of the manuscript.⁷⁷ As scribe B's marginal supply and pattern of correction activity is analysed in later sections of this chapter (along with the other corrections and annotations which were contemporary with the manuscript's construction), only his script, dialect and identification will be considered in this section.

Scribe B's hand takes the form of an inconsistent anglicana formata, which is perhaps slightly more formal than the ordinary script of scribe A. Scribe B's hand shows considerable lateral spread. Although it was usually written inter-linearly or completely outside the main frame rulings, the hand is uniform, fluid and well-balanced.

As far as the usage of scribe B's abbreviations is concerned, only two traits are readily observable. First, like scribe A, he wrote 'order' as 'ordour'. Second, he used very dense Latin abbreviations for some of his marginal comments (e.g. ff.31v, 37r and 46r). The Latin abbreviations suggest that scribe B was well-trained in their usage. The full context and content of the annotations on ff. 37r and 46r are unclear, since they were almost completely lost after the manuscript was trimmed (either at the time of Add.35157's construction or during its subsequent rebinding). It is possible that these notes were not intended to remain as permanent features of the manuscript. Judging from the condition and placement of other annotations, it seems likely that scribe B's Latin notes were partially lost when Add.35157 was first bound.

Scribe B's letter-forms appear in a slightly darker ink than scribe A's. Some distinguishing features are as follows:

- a large two-compartment 'a';
- a hooked form of 'b';
- a left-leaning, flattened, two-compartment 'd';
- a backwards 'e';
- a hooked 'h' with a long curling downstroke which recurves and terminates underneath the initial stroke;
- a hooked 'k' with a severely clubbed minim;
- a horned 'L' with a deep loop;
- extremely pointed minims on 'm', 'n' and 'u';
- a two-stroke 'y' with a sharp angular recurve; and,
- 'y' is carefully distinguished from 'þ', although it seems at first that the two forms are used indiscriminately.

Certain aspects of scribe B's hand almost suggest a much later date for his work than the 1480s-90s, but when the methodology used for the inter-linear corrections and expunctuations is considered and the

partial loss of his marginalia to manuscript trimming is examined, it becomes clear that scribe B's work was contemporary to Add.35157's construction.'⁸

It is possible to make some estimate of hand B's dialect, even given the extreme lack of data. The formal LALME questionnaire is as follows:

ITEM		FORM AND FREQUENCY
6.	IT	it
7.	THEY	þoi
14.	MAN	man
16.	MUCH	muchē
18.	WERE	were
26.	TO	to
53.	MIGHT	myght
74.	AT	at
79.	BEGAN	bigan
152.	HIM	hym
156.	HOW	howe
158.	I	I
210.	SAY	said
231.	THEE	þe
232.	THOU	þou
262.	YOU	þou, (you)
263.	YOUR	þour

Of these forms, it seems likely that <þoi> was a mistake and <þei> was probably intended.

The rest of scribe B's English wordlist is: <blamyed>, <bought>, <come>, <electoun>, <ese>, <uen>, <forye>, <frer>, <ful>, <Glotoun>, <he>, <knygtes>, <last>, <lout>, <lore>, <note>, <of>, <ordour>, <(to)_|u|_(ward)>, <þat> and <we>.

For the most part, scribe B uses forms familiar to almost all Middle English dialects. However, his use of <blamyed> and <forye>, in conjunction with his use of <þ> for <ȝ> points to a possible Western Midland's dialect.⁷⁹ Overall, scribe B's dialect indicates that he used the advancing form of Late Middle English.⁸⁰ As far as agreement with scribe A's dialect is concerned, fourteen of the seventeen forms taken from scribe B's LALME questionnaire agree with scribe A's list, only <þou>, <þour> and <I> do not.

Interestingly, the hand bears more than a passing resemblance to that of scribe A of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.2 (hereafter the Trinity Gower), which is a copy of Gower's Confessio Amantis.⁸¹

17. SUPPLEMENTARY HAND C

Supplementary hand C (hereafter scribe C) added eleven interlinear and expunctional corrections to five of Add.35157's quires. The same hand also added eighteen annotations to seven of the manuscript's quires. Since Add.35157's contemporary marginal supply and its correction process will be analysed later, this section will limit discussion on scribe C to a description of his hand and an exploration of his dialect.

Scribe C's comments and interlinear corrections appear in a very dark ink and in no readily-classifiable hand. Although the script is most certainly an early court hand, only fifteen different letter-forms appear. Between them, the letter-forms show so many different features that it is impossible to label the hand more precisely.

In general, the hand is considerably less polished than scribe A's. Scribe C's letter-forms vary slightly in size and adherence to the text's baseline, and often increase in size towards the end of a word.

Hand C, however, does have some distinct trademarks:

- 'et' abbreviation clearly from the mid-fourteenth century;
- single compartment 'a';
- severely left-leaning two compartment angular 'd';
- single-stroke broken-backed reverse 'e';
- angular hooked 'f';
- two-stroke angular formal 'p'; and
- two-stroke 'y' with an angular tail.

Unlike scribe A, whose hand shows a few late fourteenth-century forms mixed into a hand which is mainly mid-fourteenth century, scribe C's hand, like scribe B's, shows one or two mid-century features mixed into a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand. Like scribe B, scribe C was probably trained much later than scribe A. Although it is possible that scribes B and C were the same person, the differences between their respective letter-forms for 'a', 'h', 'y' and '&', suggest otherwise.⁸²

Conducting a dialect survey for scribe C is considerably more difficult than for scribes A and B, since scribe C only uses seven of the 280 words surveyed by LALME. They are:

<u>ITEM</u>		<u>FORM</u>
7.	THEY	yai
9.	THEIR	yair
13.	MANY	(ma)ny
27.	TO	to
104.	DO	do
117.	FATHER	fadre
176.	MAY	may

In addition scribe C also uses the English words: <no> and <piper>. Of scribe C's vocabulary surveyed by LALME the most interesting forms are <yai> for THEY and <yair> for THEIR. The spellings for these items are all Northern, and they co-occur prototypically in Cheshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and West Riding Yorkshire.⁸³ Scribe C was most probably a Northerner.⁸⁴

18. SUPPLEMENTARY HAND D

Supplementary hand D (hereafter scribe D), comprises thirty-three simple Latin annotations written across nine quires. Considering that

only two words ('nota' and 'Bene') appear in scribe D's hand, it is impossible to compile a dialect survey, or, indeed, to comment on his work other than to describe the appearance of his two marks.

Scribe D made two marks, both of which appear in light brown ink, and written with a very thin pen. The first is 'nota', abbreviated much in the same manner as seen in scribe A's work. The second is 'Bene', which is abbreviated much in the manner of scribe C.⁸³

19. PARAPH MARKS

Additional 35157's paraph marks appear as undecorated red and blue painted marks. They nominally alternate within a passus and commence with a red mark.⁸⁶ The distribution of paraph marks in each quire (the quires are listed as they were originally signed) is as follows:

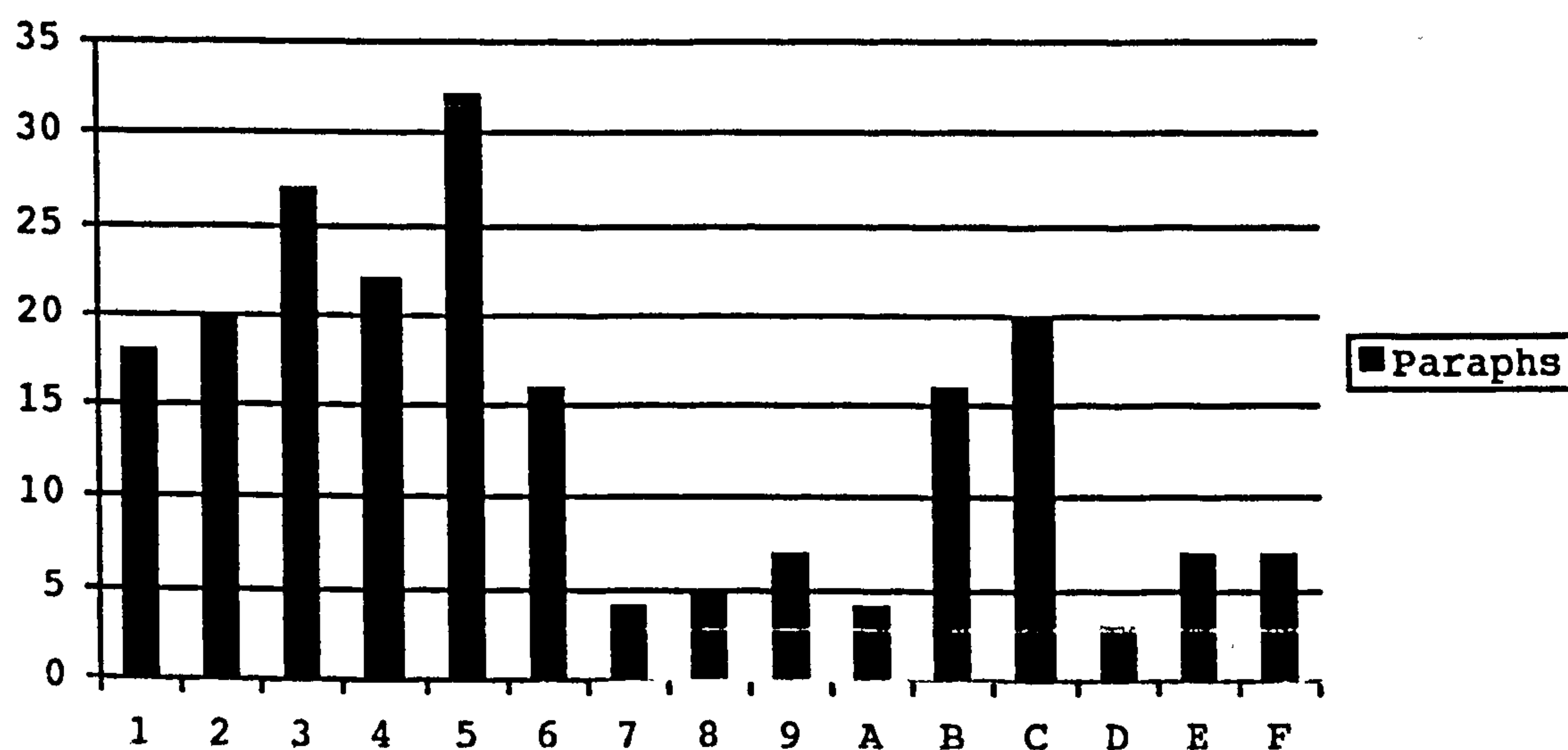


Figure 1 Paraphs per Quire

From Figure 1's general pattern of paraph mark distribution, a few observations may be made. It is not immediately obvious how the paraph marks were added. The pattern of usage does not suggest that the marks were added line by line to the text, nor does it suggest that they were added quire by quire. Certainly quires 1-6 and B and C are more heavily supplied with paraph marks than other quires, but the passus divisions

of the poem do not directly relate to the quiring. There is no reason to suppose one quire, from a non-textual point of view, might seem more or less interesting to a scribe. The only common indication of scribal placement of paraph marks by quire arises when individual quires are forgotten and go unmarked.

As already noted, the placement of the paraph marks was the responsibility of scribe A, who indicated a future paraph by drawing a double virgula in the margin. The following graphs are based on scribe A's double virgules, whether or not they were over-painted by hand 2, the scribe responsible for the completion of the paraph marks.

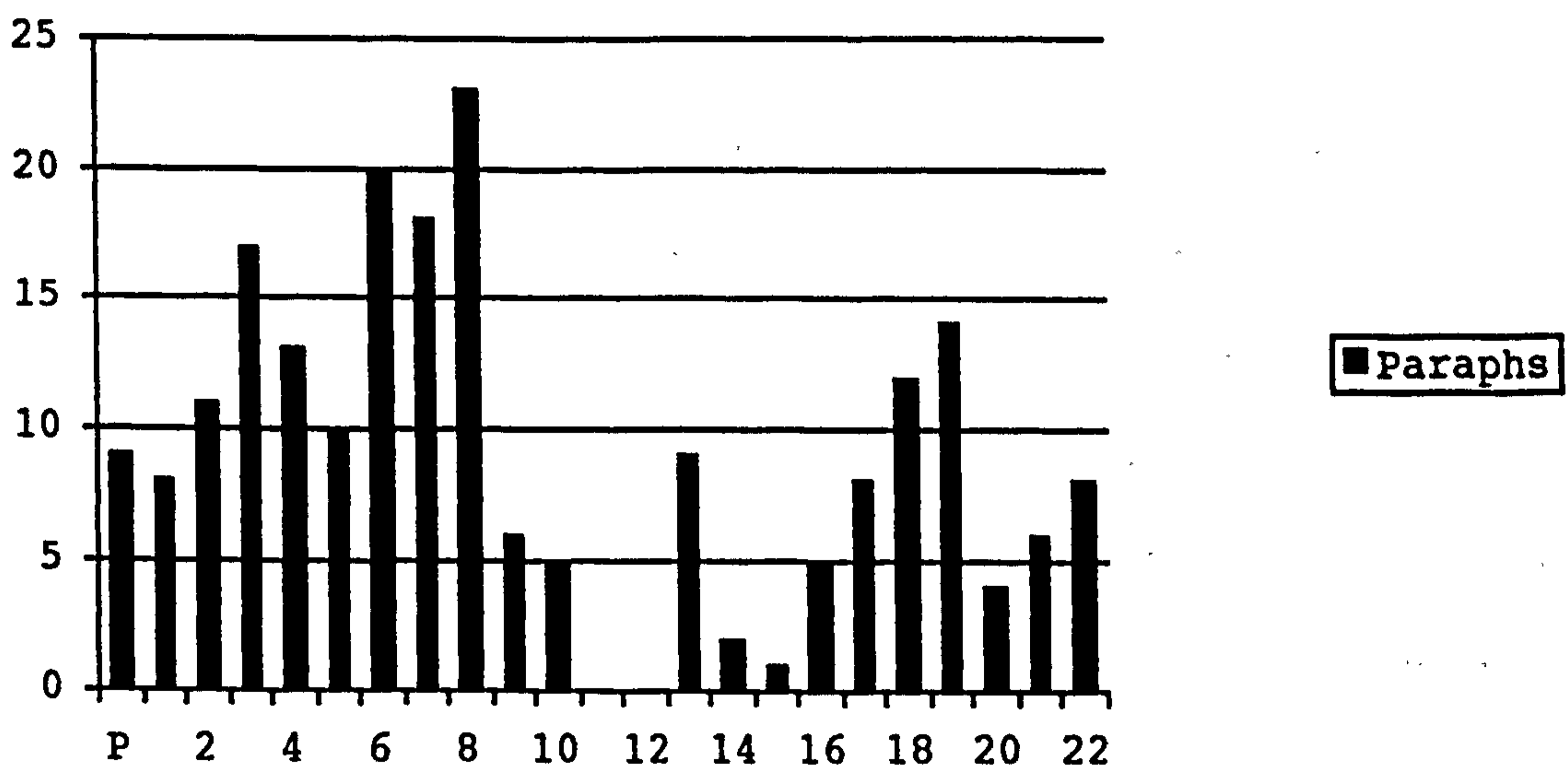


Figure 2 Paraphs per Passus

Figure 2 shows the number of paraph marks per passus, and it is now obvious that the marks were added according to passus and not by quire. This pattern of deployment would have been somewhat out of the ordinary for such a speedily-constructed mid-to-low-grade manuscript. The pattern suggests that Add.35157's scribes paid close attention to the text and to its divisions of sententiae.⁸⁷ From this basic pattern of distribution, scribe A's reading of the Piers Plowman C-text can be further refined:

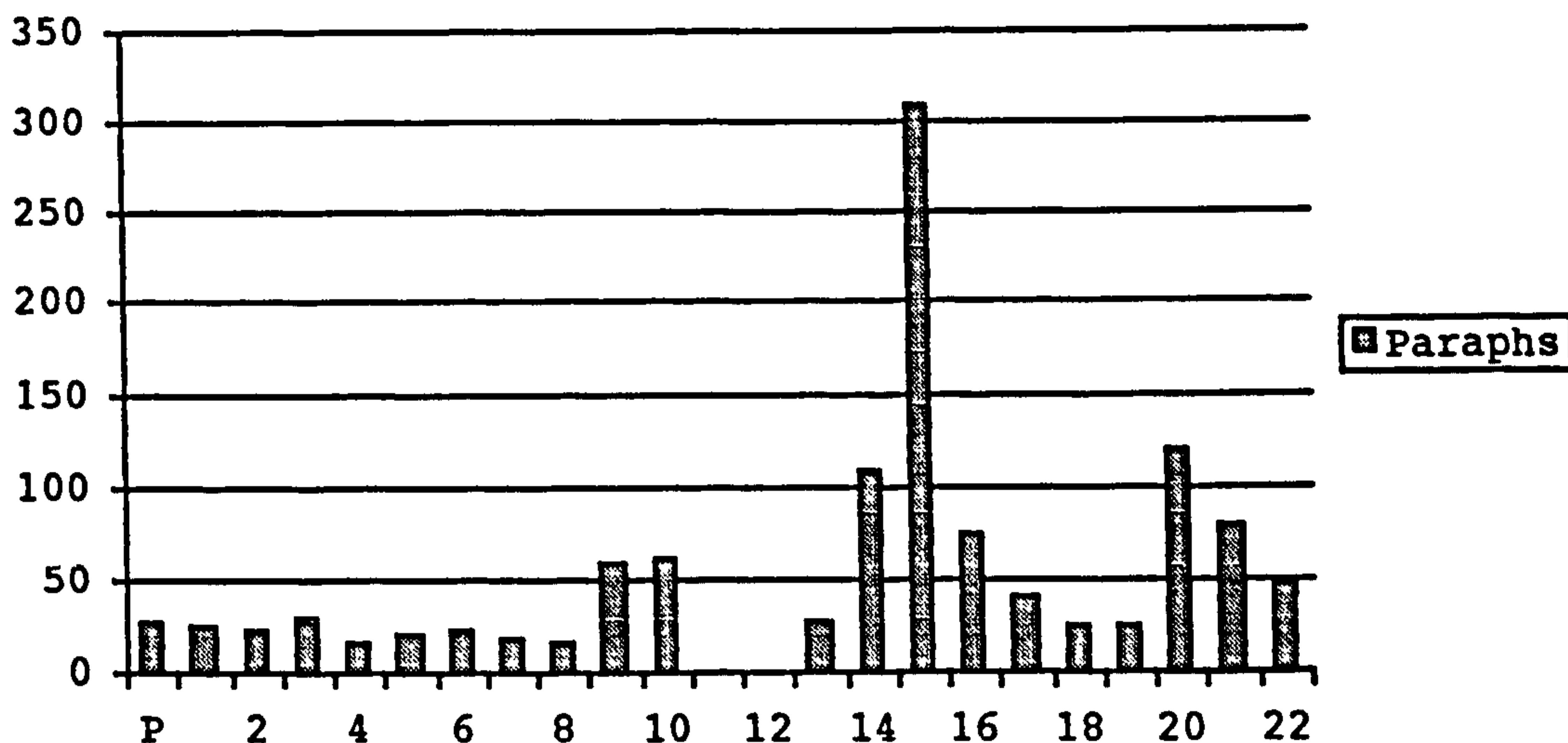


Figure 3 Paraphs per Lines per Passus

Figure 3 offers some refinement of Figure 2's data. After the data from Figure 2 were adjusted for passus length, the resulting information is displayed as the number of lines of text between paraph marks for each passus. Even before approaching the data to the individual paraph mark level, some general observations may be made.

The decline in the numbers of paraph marks can only be caused by scribe A treating definable areas of the text in different ways. For example, the pattern of paraph mark placement does not show any general decline. The density of paraph marks at the start of the 'Visio', where they occur approximately one per every twenty-five lines or so, is nearly re-attained in passus XIII, XVII, XVIII, and XIX. In addition, scribe B and C's correction activity (see below) remains consistently inconsistent, which would not have happened if they had simply abandoned their text.

From the simplest perspective, the change in frequency of paraph mark placement between the 'Visio' and the 'Vita' could indicate that scribe A found the 'Visio' more interesting than the 'Vita'. Indeed he treated the 'Visio' as a nearly unitary composition, placing paraph marks at regular intervals regardless of passus length.

With regard to the 'Vita', scribe A seemed to ignore completely passus XI and XII and came close to ignoring passus XIV and XV. Figure 1.3 indicates that scribe A divided the 'Vita' into its constituent elements of 'Dowel', 'Dobet' and 'Dobest'. A general pattern emerges from the data showing that scribe A began each section with sporadic paraph mark activity and gradually increased the number of marks toward the end of each division.

The easiest way to explain scribe A's apparent dislike of the 'Vita' is to point out that the 'Visio' is more direct. There is more action in the 'Visio'.⁸⁸ Passus XIV, for example, which only received two paraph marks, centres on an allegorical character named Imaginatif. Imaginatif was based on the medieval concept of imagination and in passus XIV, he gives a short sermon. Passus VII, on the other hand, which details some of the confessions of the seven deadly sins and introduces the character of Piers the Plowman, received eighteen paraph marks.

Perhaps scribe A's rhetorical criteria for paraph mark placement was fairly well-defined, consistently applied across the text and was itself responsible for the decline in paraph marks from the 'Visio' to the 'Vita'. This would suggest that scribe A either consciously or unconsciously noticed a fundamental change in Langland's narrative structures.

The paraph marks of passus VII and XIV provide some information on scribe A's rhetorical criteria. Of the eighteen marks in passus VII: seven indicate change in speaker, VII:171, 177, 182, 200, 283, 292 and 299; three mark anti-minstrel comments, VII:82, 97 and 102; two highlight the names of other characters, VII:63 and 261; two detail Christ's journey into Hell, VII:130 and 135; two concern the Castle of Truth, VII:233 and 248; one marks the seven Christian virtues, VII:270;

and one is anti-clerical, VII:30. On the other hand, the two paraph marks in passus XIV both refer to learning (XIV:33 and 48).

Although the majority of paraph marks in passus VII are associated with the activities of the poem's dramatis personae, it is unlikely that the change in the number of speaking parts from the 'Visio' to the 'Vita' is solely responsible for the decline in paraph mark frequency. After discounting dramatis personae paraph marks, the placement of the rest of passus VII's paraph marks happens approximately once every 34 lines, a rate greater than any passus of the 'Vita' excluding XIII, XVIII and XIX. Obviously paraph mark placement is not totally dependent on rhetorical modes, but must find its origin as a record of scribe A's personal reading of Piers Plowman and his ultimate preference for the 'Visio'.⁸⁹

20. DECORATION

Add.35157 is only modestly decorated.⁹⁰ The manuscript contains one full illumination, twenty-three competent but uninspired lombardic capitals, numerous paraph marks and much red underlining of Latin words and phrases. Of these, the paraph marks are more properly considered specialised punctuation marks and the rubrication is best considered as the work of its scribe (see Paraph Marks, Supplementary Hand B1, and Supplementary Hand B2 above). Therefore this section will only discuss Add.35157's sole illumination and its various initials.⁹¹

The opening initial on f.7r comprises a 4-line very subdued East Anglian 'I'.⁹² The initial is presented as a corner piece, in a heavy, gold-leaf, i-shaped, cusped-cornered frame which is typical of the style. The gold was originally thick and was probably presented without any stamping. The condition of the gold is now very poor and it has

been severely blackened. The damage probably followed prolonged exposure to ultra-violet light.

The initial's frame is bordered at cramp positions by two vines and two tendrils each. The vines are curvilinear, meander between themselves, and are capped by single sessile veinless kite-shaped terminal leaves.⁹³ The leaves were probably once gold. The tendrils have short deeply-crimped bases, are heavily stylised, and spiral toward the edges of the folio.

The original colour of the initial itself is impossible to determine, given the substantial damage. But it appears to have been a simple serifed blue 'I'. It appears as if it always has been free from divisions, historiations, infillings, or inhabitations. Its overall aspect almost appears as if it was a 'calligraphic' work, rather than the creation of a separate artist. Such a practice would have been in keeping with Add.35157's general lack of ambition in relation to both its overall quality and its decorative order.

Although no part of the illumination has been lost to trimming, it does show some of the signs associated with a manuscript being left in an unbound state. It is impossible to determine whether this was original to Add.35157's construction, or occurred when Johnson had the book re-bound.

The twenty-three two to three line lombardic capitals appear at the beginning of the passus on the following folios:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>INITIAL</u>	<u>HEIGHT IN LINES</u>
f.10v	W	2
f.13v	A	2
f.17v	N	2
f.25v	S	2
f.28v	T	2
f.32r	W	3
f.38v	T	2
f.43v	Q	2
f.49r	T	2
f.54v	<T>	2
f.59v	T	2
f.64v	A	2
f.68v	A	2
f.72v	Y	2
f.76r	A	2
f.81r	A	2
f.87v	T	2
f.92v	<L>	2
f.97r	I	3
f.102v	<W>	2
f.110r	T	2
f.118r	<A>	3

The initials are in-filled blue, round-lobed forms, presented on red irregular rectangular frames. They are supported in the left margins by a number of void, red, trifoliate leaves, which develop into a sequence of crenated features. The crenations end in several strands of hair-line curvilinear flourishing, which themselves terminate in double or triple buds. In some instances (e.g. ff.13v, 68v and 72v) this decorative order is doubled. For the most part, the initials are double outlined and most are complemented by acanthus leaf, shaded edge-curly in the frame space, or even within the bowls or other interior spaces of the forms themselves.

There is one spurious initial on f.11r at passus I:41. The text shows a change in speaker from Dame Holy Church to the Dreamer, but there is no real textual need for such decoration. Such a division does not occur in any other manuscript of the C-text. Apparently the initial was created on scribe A's direction. There was space set aside for its creation. It is impossible to see scribe A's guide letter beneath the finished initial. While it might be expected that line I:41 would suit scribe A's pattern of paraph mark placement, and, therefore, would receive such treatment, it is unknown why he would indicate an initial, when its usage clearly does not fit into his usual practices.

The general condition of the initials provides some information on the scribal practices in operation. First, from the appearance on f.97r of paraph marks overlaying red flourishing both on the top and bottom of an initial, it seems clear that paraph marks were added after initials. Second, from the appearance of a colour-bleed on f.118r, it seems likely that the initials were not only completed quite quickly but that the manuscripts leaves were already kept in tight gatherings by this stage. Third, from the extremely worn appearance of initials on ff.54v and 102v, both of which are at the end of quires, it seems that the manuscript must have been left unbound for some time for that amount of wear to occur.

21. CORRECTION

Add.35157 was corrected by scribes B and C. Judging from ink overlays and patterns of wear, the correction process must have taken place early in Add.35157's construction. Scribe B contributed thirty-seven corrections, most of which appear inter-linearly. Scribe C contributed eleven corrections, most of which are also inter-linear, although they are handled with less care than scribe B's work. The

distribution of correction activity according to the original quiring is as follows:

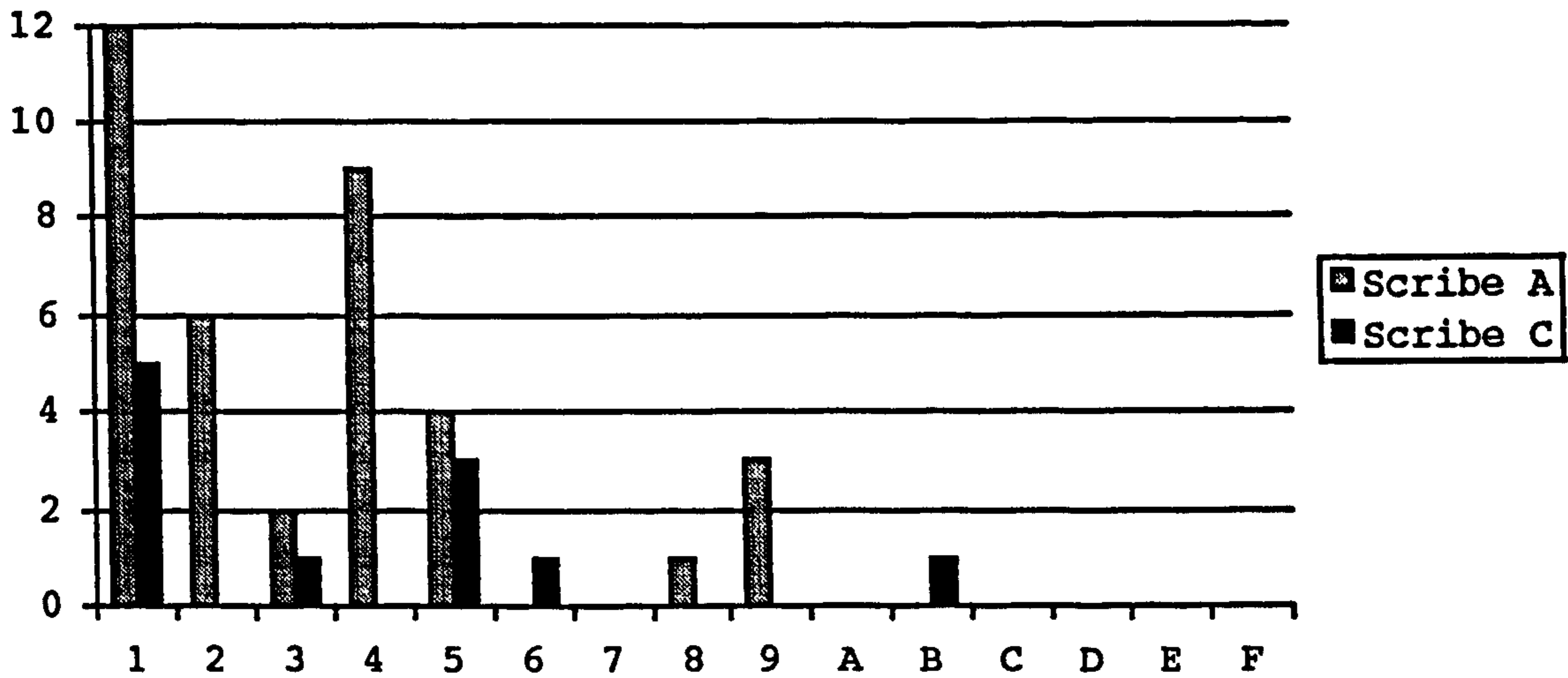


Figure 4 Scribal Correction by Quire

The same data, presented by passus appear as:

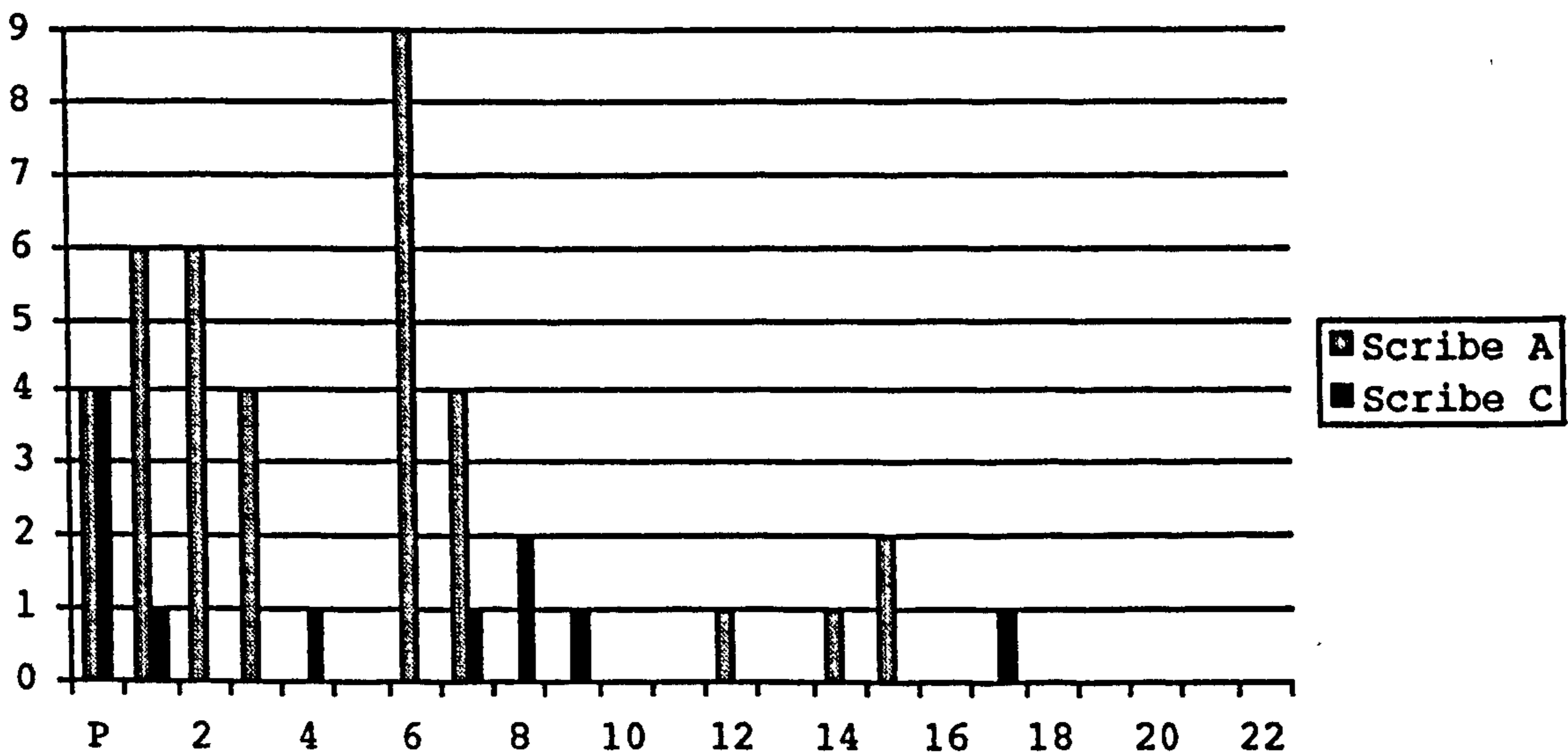


Figure 5 Scribal Correction by Passus

There is no rational pattern of correction activity by Add.35157's scribes. It appears as if they might have worked by quires, but only focused on individual passus within selected quires. When the same data was regularised for passus length and presented as a function of lines of text per correction per passus, it was still unclear what their methodology had been.

It is therefore suggested that scribal correction activity, like the scribal placement of paraph marks, was based on personal readings of Piers Plowman. The concentration of scribe B's corrections in passus VII, for example, fits in with scribe A's extravagant use of paraph marks across the same body of text. The general decline in corrections from the 'Visio' to the 'Vita' also matches such a process, although the drop in correction activity might represent a gradual dissatisfaction with the copying process in general.⁹⁴

It is also important to analyse how Add.35157's supply of corrections relates to its text. The other major manuscript of the C-text, HM 143, whose correction pattern was quite similar to that of Add.35157, was not corrected in order to bring its text closer to that of its exemplar, but was logically emended by its scribes, who sacrificed Langland's alliterative patterns to gain what they considered to be more sensible readings.⁹⁵

Of Add.35157's two correctors, scribe B's work was exemplary. Even when he was incorrect, his work came close to matching Langland's sense. Based on the occasions when scribe B's work conflicts with Langland's most probable text, it is highly unlikely that scribe B had access to the manuscript's exemplar while making his emendations. Therefore, the myriad of successful corrections does not indicate a sound working practice, but a superior understanding of Piers Plowman.

Of scribe B's thirty-seven corrections, two take the place of careful expunctuations, two are more rugged expunctuations, one comprises both an expunctuation and an inter-linear addition and the rest appear either inter-linearly or at the end of lines. Although twenty-one corrections bring Add.35157 closer to Langland's most probable text, the nature of scribe B's errors makes it probable that much of his work was conjectural. Of the sixteen errors introduced into

Langland's text, eight exemplify outright scribal interference, while the other eight arise from mistakes in the exemplar. The latter corrections reveal some insight into scribe B's methodology and some are worth examining in greater detail.

Scribe B obviously read a number of lines of text before making any correction. It is also clear that he was willing to sacrifice Langland's alliteration to preserve sense. Consider Lady Meed's confession in passus III:45 on f.18v:

Thenne mede for hire misdedes to this |frere| knelede

The other manuscripts of the C-text agree that the correct reading would be 'man', which alliterates with 'mede' and 'misdedes'. Scribe B, on the other hand, remembered line 38, 'Thenne come þere a confessour y coped as a Frere,' and made his insertion based on previous content, not prosody.

Line 212 of the prologue was either deficient in the exemplar, or was badly copied by scribe A. B corrected the text and the line reads as follows (f.10r):

Til þat myschef amende hem þat many |one| chastethe

The other manuscripts of the C-text agree that the appropriate word should have been 'man', which is required for Langland's alliterative pattern. Like the previous example, it shows that scribe B understood the content of the poem, but did not bother to make his corrections fit the prosody.

At times, scribe B was also not conscious of Langland's tense. Consider, for example, scribe B's correction to passus III:412 (f.24r):

As me _|redes|_ in regum after ruthe of kynges

Again, scribe B is close but not exact. The other manuscripts of the poem attest to 'ret' for 'redes' and it appears that scribe B changed the tense of the passage from past to present.⁹⁶ Although his suggestion shows that he understood the text, it does not show that he was working from an exemplar.

Of scribe B's twenty-one viable corrections, seventeen re-supply single words, mostly prepositions. Of the remaining four, three occur at the ends of lines (f.10v, I:19; f.11v, I:67; and f.37v, VI:360), while the remaining example occurs mid-line. Although these corrections argue that scribe B did occasionally consult the exemplar, it is possible that he had a good enough knowledge of Piers Plowman to correct from memory.

Unlike scribe B, scribe C's performance is very unimpressive. Of his eleven corrections, only two remedy deficiencies in the text (passus I:79 and IX:255, ff.11v and 53r respectively, both of which were probably errors made by scribe A). Of the other nine, there are two creative but failed attempts to correct further flaws in the manuscript (f.8v, passus P:107 and 123, both of which appear to be derived from inadequacies in the original I-family exemplar), and all the rest arise from scribe C misunderstanding or disagreeing with Langland's text.⁹⁷

Some of these de-corrections may reflect scribe C's dialect and his understanding of Langland's sometimes archaic language. Consider the following passage from the plowing of the half-acre, f.45v, passus VIII:122-3, as it was copied by scribe A (attested in the other manuscripts of the genetic group) and corrected by scribe C:

And þenne seton somme & songon at þe ale

And holpon _|to|_ erie þis halfaker withe hey trolly lolly

It seems likely that scribe A was uncomfortable encountering an infinitive without a preceding preposition. He has, however, understood the word 'erie' which means 'plow'.⁹⁸

A similar example occurs in the prologue, during the fable of the belling of the cat, and can be found on f.10r, at passus P:194-5:

Ne haue hanged hit a boute his hals al ynglond to wynne
And _|þai|_ leton her labour y lost & her long studie

In this situation, it appears that scribe A was either confused by Langland's use of 'leton' to mean 'recognised', or felt that a pronoun was required to tidy up sense.

Perhaps the most interesting of scribe C's corrections occurs during Repentance's extended sermon on jesters and entertainers. This correction can be found at passus VII:102-4, on f.40r. As before, the passage as written by scribe A, is, as far as far as can be known, true to the textual traditions of the C-text:⁹⁹

For thi y rede ꝑou riche · reueles when ꝑe make
Forto solace ꝑour soules suche mynstrals to haue
þe pore _|may|_ for a ~~foulsage~~ _|piper ·|_ sittinge at þi table

Scribe C clearly misunderstood the structure, the sense and the syntax of Langland's text. First, scribe C failed to understand the structure of the passage, which takes the form of a suggested guest list and runs from VII:102-9. Second, he has obliterated the sense of VII:104 by adding a completely unnecessary 'may'. Thirdly, he clearly does not understand the term 'foulsage', which he believes are 'pipers'.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, marginal hand I comments on scribe C's correction and writes 'foulbage ar bagpype.' This shows that he was both unfamiliar with certain aspects of Middle English vocabulary and

could not tell the difference between a sigma-shaped 's' and a single-compartment 'b'. Most importantly, it shows that marginal hand I was fully conscious of Add.35157's corrections and treated them as authoritative.

The corrections of scribes B and C are similar in that they were obviously not made with exemplar in hand, but were based on the scribes' personal readings and mis-readings of the text.¹⁰¹ Their work, however, diverges in terms of quality. Scribe C often emended without understanding the full sense of Langland's text; his corrections seem to be based on the single line and not larger units of poetry. On the other hand, scribe B was a much less impetuous man and emended and corrected only when Add.35157 was deficient. He understood Langland's language and poetry well and in the majority of instances provided 'correct' corrections.

Kane discusses manuscript corrections to Piers Plowman and divides the work into two categories: the professional and the amateur.¹⁰² In his work on Add.35157 Kane fails to distinguish between Add.35157's two correctors and dismisses their work as 'amateur.'¹⁰³

In as much as corrections in Add.35157 were obviously based on personal whim and decline, albeit randomly, from the 'Visio' to the 'Vita', the work of scribes B and C seems to follow a common pattern for manuscripts of Piers Plowman.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the most important lesson from Add.35157's corrections is that manuscript corrections should not be trusted, as they have little provable textual authority. Unless obviously authorial holograph, editors should refrain from adopting corrected readings into their texts.¹⁰⁵ If for some reason it is necessary to use manuscript corrections in an edited text, they should be clearly labeled as such and the scribal correction process fully documented.

22. CONTEMPORARY MARGINALIA

Add.35157's original scribes supplied the manuscript with seventy-three marginal annotations. Twenty-five were added by scribe B, sixteen by scribe C and thirty-two by scribe D. When placed against Add.35157's original quiring, the distribution of the annotations appears as follows:

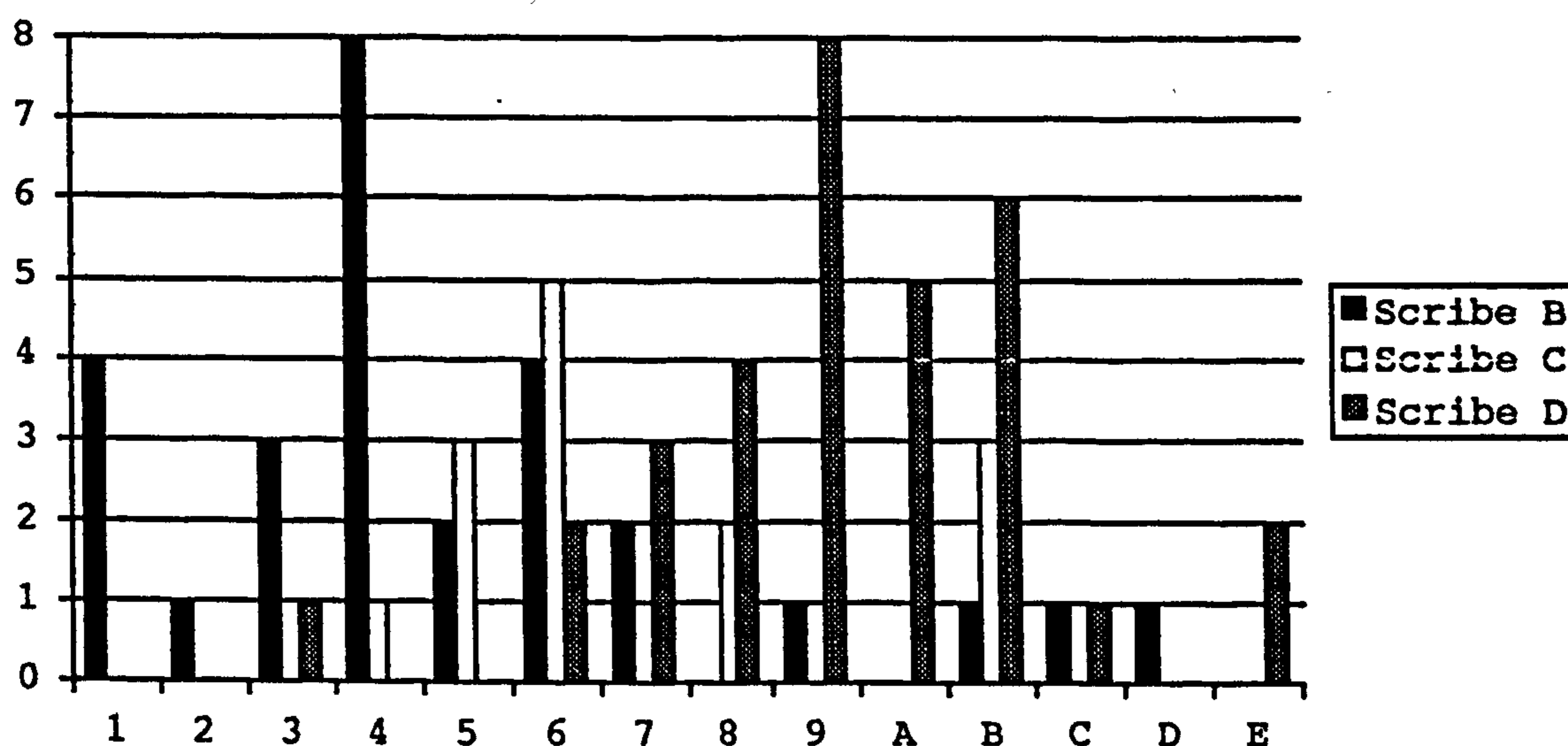


Figure 6 Annotations per Quire

The random distribution of annotations indicates that the scribes were not working from any sort of set pattern based on the manuscript's gatherings. For more evidence of a complete lack of scribal plan, the following figure places the appearance of annotations against the individual passus of the text.

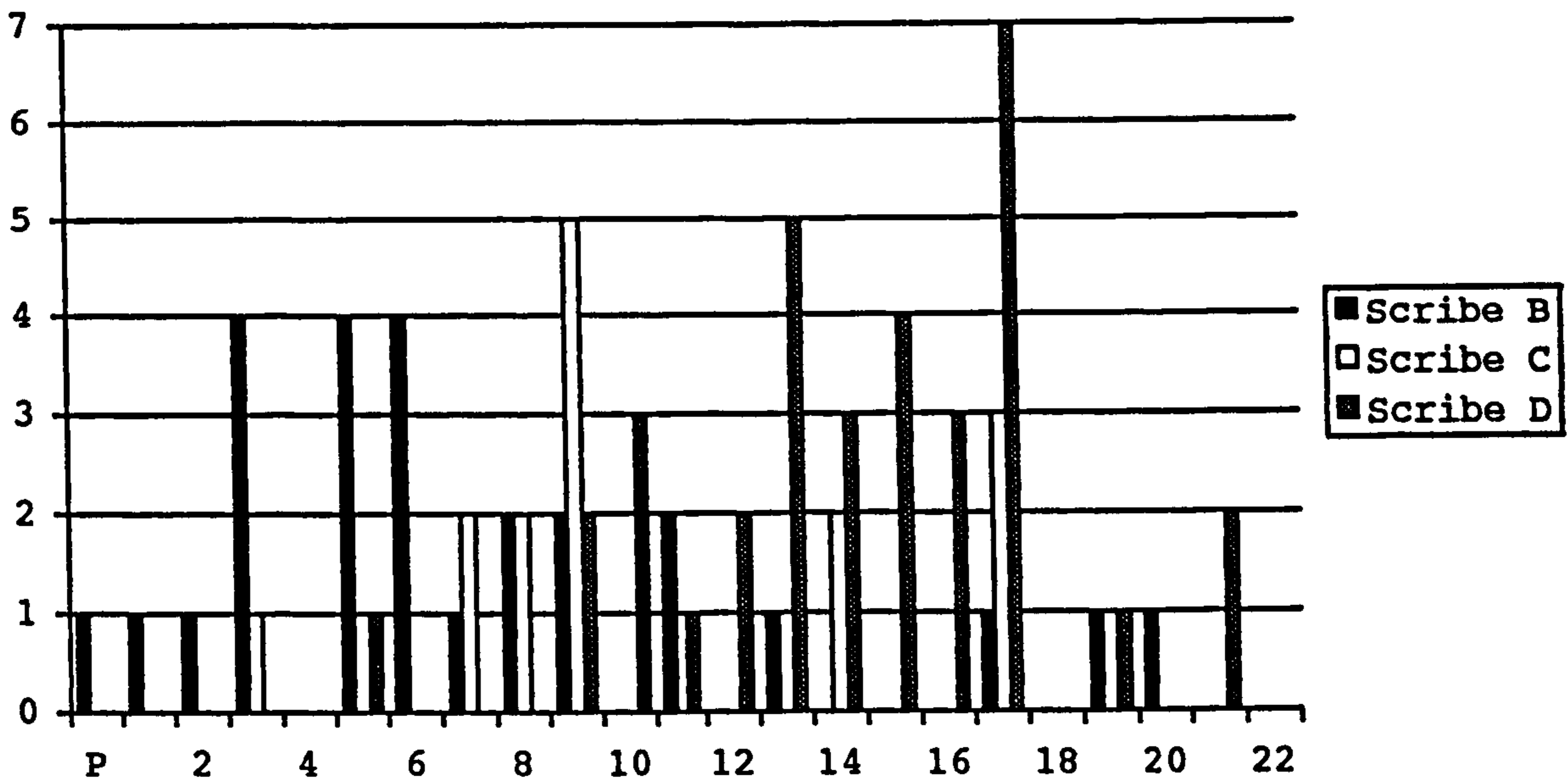


Figure 7 Annotations per Passus

From Figure 7 a number of observations may be made. First, there was no coherent plan for annotating Add.35157. The work was not carried out according to the manuscript's original quires, nor does it seem that it was carried out entirely by passus. Second, the scribes seemed to be working in 'stints'. That is, scribe B added most of his annotations to the 'Visio', scribe C favoured 'Do-well' and 'Do-Bet', while scribe D added his comments to the whole of the 'Vita'. Third, the scribes did not rigidly adhere to their 'stints', and scribe B, for example, continued to add stray comments throughout Add.35157. On the whole, the annotation process must have been very loosely organised, if it was organised at all.

The majority of the annotations comprise very simply-worded notes. There are sixty 'notas', four 'nota benes' and only nine more complexly-worded marginal notes. This is not to say that short annotations are in any way representative of a 'simple' reading of Piers Plowman, or are themselves 'simple' notes. Indeed most of Add.35157's supply of contemporary annotations, when subjected to the classification regime

outlined in chapter 3, fall into the various sub-categories of Type III marginal comment.

The majority of Add.35157's original marginal supply falls into two sub-categories of Type III annotations: Ethical Deictics (III-ED) and Polemical Responses (III-PR). Within these two sub-categories the Add.35157 notes mostly concerning indication of Revelatory Modes (III-ED-REV) and Social Comment (III-PR-SC), Ecclesiastical Comment (III-PR-EC) and Political Comment (III-PR-PC).

In order to illustrate the general areas of interest shared by Add.35157's three annotating scribes, it is worthwhile to examine the placement of their annotations with the goal of determining if any other sort of general pattern is in operation.

Scribe B was the most versatile of Add.35157's annotators and the majority of his comments appear during the 'Visio'. Those annotations which occur later on in the various sections of the 'Vita' only take the form of 'notas' and only appear in the red he used for the rubrication process.

Sixteen of scribe B's comments appear as simple 'notas', whereas the rest are considerably more complex. Of scribe B's 'notas', five mark anti-clerical or anti-fraternal comments (at passus P:76, III:56, V:146, VIII:82 and IX:13), four of scribe B's 'notas' indicate concern over virtue or God's mercy for sinners (at passus V:194, VI:299, XIII:196 and XIX:325), three highlight anti-scholastic commentary (at passus II:63, XI:27a and XI:132), one indicates a prophecy (at passus III:449) and three are simple Narrative Reading Aids indicating Piers' wife and Longinus (at passus VI:344, VI:349 and XX:78 respectively). With the exception of the three Narrative Reading Aids, all of which are of the Dramatis Personae sub-category (III-NRA-DP), and the single note concerning Revelatory Modes (III-ED-REV), the rest of the simple

annotations are not only clearly Socially, Ecclesiastically or Politically-motivated diadactic comments, but deal with a very finite number of issues.

Given the overwhelming number of Ecclesiastically-motivated annotations, it seems that scribe B's reading of Piers Plowman was based on these issues. He was probably a deeply religious man, who was very much concerned by clerical corruption, the role of wealth and the false application of learning for material gain.

It is worthwhile examining a few of scribe B's more complexly-worded annotations, since they provide some additional understanding of his reading of the Piers Plowman C-text.

Scribe B's complexly-worded notes occur randomly throughout the 'Visio', but are concentrated in those sections of the text where Langland offers prophecy. Scribe B alternates between English and heavily-abbreviated Latin. Judging from the cropping of annotations on f.37r and 46r, it is likely that his annotations were designed to be lost during initial binding. They were probably not intended as guides for future readers, but instead were only personal notes.

Of the complexly-worded nine notes, three are elaborate indications of prophecy (at passus III:477, V:171 and VIII:350), two highlight the feudal duties required of knights (at passus I:90 and VIII:156) and single annotations appear at the topic of poverty (at passus IX:120a), the topic of clerical corruption (at passus V:162), the concept of God's mercy (at passus VI:338a) and the appearance of the character Glutton (at passus VI:349).

The typologies represented in these complex notes is similar to those found in the shorter ones. The most unusual annotation occurs at passus V:162 when scribe B adds a Manacule, which represents the only graphic response to the text by any of its original scribes. Graphic

responses in the manuscripts of Piers Plowman are rare and usually indicate exceptionally important levels of scribal interest.¹⁰⁶

Scribe C's work begins at the start of the fourth quire and his annotations appear somewhat regularly through the rest of Add.35157. His sixteen annotations include fourteen 'notas', one 'nota bene' and one 'John', which occurs early in passus XVII. Since it presumably lacks any textual connection, 'John' must either be a simple pen-trial or scribe C's name.

Scribe C's comments are, on the whole, too sporadic to show any obvious pattern of distribution. Many of his 'notas' occur at the mention of poverty or wealth (at passus VIII:262, IX:162, XI:239 and XIII:110), or at the mention of church corruption (at passus VII:30, IX:246 and XVII:220); several highlight Piers' presence (at passus VIII:2 and IX:1), whereas the rest occur randomly. As with scribe B, these comments are mostly Polemical Responses (III-PR), with a few added Narrative Reading Aids (III-NRA).

Scribe C, like scribe B made a 'nota' at passus XVII:239 to highlight Langland's odd passage about the value of Mohammed's faith and the idea that if the Prophet had been a Christian, then he would have become Pope.

Scribe C's two most complexly-worded notes occur at passus IX:246-255 and XIV:146a-155a. Both of these annotations read 'nota bene.' The first concerns an anti-fraternal digression, whereas the second concerns the emperor Trajan's resurrection and baptism. On the whole, it seems that scribe C's annotations were triggered by many of the same passages that triggered HM 143's annotator, mostly issues relating to poverty and the church.¹⁰⁷

Scribe D added thirty-two annotations, thirty-one 'notas' and one 'nota bene'. For the most part, he commented extensively on the latter

passus of the 'Visio' and throughout 'Do-Well'. In addition, he added a few sporadic comments to 'Do-Better' and 'Do-Best'. His contributions do not show any particular area of interest. Using scribe D's five annotations to passus XIII, which comprises the second part of Recklessness' speech, it is possible to examine what triggered scribe D's interest.

Scribe D placed 'notas' at passus XIII:78, 98, 140, 178 and 220. Of these, the annotations to passus XIII:78 and 98 both refer to poverty, or at least Recklessness' view of it. The annotation to passus XIII:140 relates to the Mirror of Middle Earth. The note to passus XIII:200 concerns the Dreamer's argument with Reason's role in the animal kingdom. The annotation to passus XIII:220 deals with the Dreamer briefly changing sleep states during the last lines of the passus.

The same lack of pattern can be seen in scribe D's annotations to the next passus, passus XIV, which takes the form of a speech by the allegorical figure of Imagination. In this scenario, scribe D contributes three annotations (at passus XIV:17, 152a and 198). Of these, the first relates the valueless of wisdom and wealth, the second marks a quotation from Matthew 16:27 leading into a discussion of why Christ saved the repentant thief, whereas the third concerns the eventual status of virtuous Jews and Muslims.

On the whole, it is difficult to classify scribe D's work in the same way as scribes B and C. The placement of scribe D's comments indicates an informal approach and presumably his comments relate more to a structural division and reading of Piers Plowman rather than a thematic reading.

In conclusion, it appears as if the contemporary marginal supply of Add.35157 was based on personal readings. This 'individual' type of

reading, like the manuscript's placement of its paraph marks, indicates that Add.35157's original marginal supply was added through careful study and suggests that each of the manuscript's scribes made slightly different readings of the text. All three scribes were interested in issues of poverty and faith. Curiously all made notes at the passage in passus XVII relating to the Prophet Mohammed's example for the Christian faith. The most demanding of its original readers was of course scribe B, who, as it has already been argued, was destined to move from correcting texts to copying them.

23. BINDING

Additional 35157 was re-bound on June 4, 1728 by Maurice Johnson, who briefly documents a small part of the process on f.3r.¹⁰⁸ The Harleian pattern was used and the binding is presented in gold-tooled crimson morocco. The binding measures 230 x 155 mm. The gatherings are bound on five cords, but it is impossible to tell if the cords are the manuscript's original ones. It is possible that they were replaced and the book completely re-sewn when the extra membranous quire and the paper flyleaves were added. The binding is now severely faded and the headbands are beginning to show some signs of dryness and flaky damage.

In addition to gold tooling on spine which reads:

'MSs|ENGL:|SATYR', there are two black leather gold-stamped labels on the spine which read 'Piers|Plowman' and 'Brit. Mus.|ADD.|35,157'. These labels possibly obscure Johnson's name and his reference number. It is likely that Johnson's reference number for Add.35157 was xxxix (which appears on f.3r).

The end papers are marbled in a coarsely-combed regular manner, using mostly reds and yellows. This is most likely the Old Dutch pattern.¹⁰⁹ It is quite possible that the marbled end papers were Dutch

imports, which were very popular in Britain during the early part of the eighteenth century.

Johnson pasted a note from Francis Ayscough onto the first paper flyleaf, which he transcribes on f.3r, stating first that he found the text 'on the inside of the old parchment cover.' In all likelihood the note came from the missing 126th folio and would have been the back flyleaf of the manuscript.

On the second paper flyleaf is Johnson's bookplate which bears the name and arms of the Spalding Society, of which he was secretary. The bookplate is listed in Franks as being 16555 and is positively dated to 1735.¹¹⁰

24. NON-CONTEMPORARY MARGINAL HANDS

Additional 35157 contains eight non-contemporary marginal hands labeled E-L. Of these eight hands, E-J contribute the bulk of the manuscript's enormous marginal supply. The hands range from the mid-fifteenth to early twentieth centuries and are presumed to be the work of the following individuals:

Hands E and F	Thomas Thyrnbeke s.xvi ²⁻³
Hands G and H	Sir Edward Ayscough s.xvi ³⁻⁴
Hand I	Francis Ayscough s.xvi ⁴ -xvii ¹ⁿ
Hand J	Maurice Johnson s.xviii ¹ⁿ
Hand K	Robert Machill s.xv
Hand L	British Museum Staff (?) s.xix ^{ox}

Hands E and F are discussed in Chapter 5, hands G and H are discussed in Chapter 6, hand I is discussed in Chapter 7, and hand J is discussed in Chapter 8. Since each hand is subjected to in-depth discussion elsewhere, no observations regarding their contributions are provided in this section.

Of the remaining two hands, Hand K appears as an ink signature on f.125v, and is only visible by ultra-violet light. The hand appears to be an early fifteenth-century one, but the poor condition makes it impossible to be certain. Hand K added a few doggerel verses, which are now almost impossible to decipher.¹¹¹

Hand L comprises the pencil notes of the British Museum's accession staff when Add.35157 entered the collection at the end of the nineteenth century.

25. DATE OF ORIGIN

There is a number of criteria used to finalize a manuscript's date of origin. They are:

1. Physical structure
 - Scribal Hands
 - Materials
 - Mise-en-page
 - Ordinatio
2. Dialect
3. Known provenance

First, as far as scribal hands are concerned, the principal scribes used forms of bastard anglicana. The preparation and type of membrane used, the mise-en-page, and the ordinatio of the Add.35157 are completely in keeping with late fourteenth-century practices. Scribe A's punctuation, although somewhat unusual on f.7r, is more like that of an older scribe trying a new form, than a young scribe mimicking a number of earlier usages. The style of illumination used on f.7r is a typical example of the decadent stage of the East Anglian school and appears around mid-fourteenth century.

Second, the language of Add.35157 is late Middle English, but seems to be 'a muted form of South West Midland's Middle English, which includes a number of Northern forms.'¹¹²

Third, Scribe A goes as far as to identify himself as 'Preston' on f.124r, and could possibly be Thomas Preston, a London-based scribe active at the close of the fourteenth century.¹¹³ This Thomas Preston was involved in the production of the Litlyngton Missal during 1383-4, and was perhaps the same scribe who worked as Chancery Clerk during the same period. It is also possible to suggest an identification of scribe B as the Trinity Gower A scribe, but to temper this identification by suggesting that his work in Add.35157 represents an early stage of his training. On a more concrete level, we know that by 1440 or so Add.35157 was in the possession of Arthur Surtees in County Durham.

Therefore, when we consider that the latest possible date for completion of the C-text was probably 1387, we can reliably date Add.35157 to sometime in the 1390s but before the turn of the fifteenth century.

26. PLACE OF ORIGIN

As far as place of origin is concerned, the following criteria should be considered:

1. Physical structure
 - Scribal hands
 - Materials
 - mise-en-page
 - ordinatio
2. Dialect
3. Known provenance

First, there is no single trademark of Add.35157's physical structure that could point to any one particular place of origin. For example, the East Anglian style of illumination had, by the time of Add.35157's construction, spread across most of England.¹¹⁴ In addition, although scribe A's use of commata points to a certain level of access to non-insular manuscripts, it provides no clue as to where he gained such access or knowledge. Perhaps the sheer eclecticism of Add.35157's overall construction argues for a London production.

Second, as far as dialect is concerned, Samuels stated that Add.35157's main scribe originally came from North West Worcestershire.¹¹⁵ However, the muted nature of the scribe A's dialect meant that his text could have been easily read throughout Britain, which, although not conclusive, might suggest that he 'toned down' any gross provincialisms he found in his exemplar in order to appeal to a wider audience. If Add.35157 had been created in the South West Midlands for a South West audience, then audience concerns would not have been a major influence on scribe A. In addition, and although the evidence from the correction process used by Add.35157's scribes is extremely fragmentary, there is some suggestion that scribe C was a Northerner. Granted, it is not unreasonable for a Northern-born scribe to work in the South West Midlands.

An interesting example of scribal mobility can be seen in the Paston family scribe, Wykes, whose dialect suggests that he was from Devon, but who worked in Norfolk.¹¹⁶

As a minor point, the belief that mss I and X and possibly the fragment H were copied in London might argue that their closest genetic relation, Add.35157, was also a London production.

As far as known provenance is concerned, if scribe A was the same Thomas Preston who wrote the Litlyngton Missal, then Add.35157 certainly

had a London origin. Some early provenance evidence suggests that the first recorded owners of Add.35157 had contact, albeit indirectly, with monastic life in London. The uncle of the signatory Arthur Surtees (f.124r) was Ralph Surtees. At the start of the fourteenth century, Ralph Surtees was at the priory of Mount Grace. A Latinised form of Ralph Surtees' name appears on f.124v as 'Suetrus.' There is a documented history of contact between the monastic communities of Mount Grace and the London Charterhouse, which could account for Add.35157 coming into the possession of Ralph Surtees.¹¹⁷ This path, although convoluted, is the only partially-documented route of transmission from wherever Add.35157 was created to Durham.

It is, therefore, likely that Add.35157 was copied in London sometime in the late 1380s or early 1390s, and transmitted to the North via the Surtees family's ties with the monastic system of the time.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

- 1 Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1894-1899, ed. by E.J. Scott (London: British Museum, 1901), pp.192-193.
- 2 The entry was reproduced exactly as it appears in the catalog.
- 3 Because f.7r contains Add.35157's only contemporary illumination, ultra-violet examination was impossible, and has been, quite rightly, forbidden by the staff of the British Library's Student Room. Unfortunately, f.7r is also the most badly damaged folio in the manuscript, apparently suffering much during one or more of the manuscript's unbound states, and for some recent scholar, the desire to examine f.7r under ultra-violet light must have proven too much to resist. Shockingly, the illumination, quite obviously, has been subjected to recent ultra-violet light, and is now badly blackened. Ultra-violet examination of the rest of the ms, excluding f.6r (miniature painting) was successfully carried out.
- 4 Manuscript collection catalogues should always document minor damage, at the very least to give future scholars a better idea of how scholarly use has damaged manuscript collections.
- 5 This topic is discussed in chapter 5.
- 6 Ralph Hanna, 'The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman', Yearbook of Langland Studies, 7 (1993), 1-25.
- 7 For a brief discussion of the C-text stemma, see: William Langland: Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Version, ed. by A.V.C. Schmidt (London: Longman, 1995), I.
- 8 Piers Plowman: The Huntington Manuscript (HM 143) Reproduced in Photostat, With an Introduction by R.W. Chambers and Technical Examination by R.B. Haselden and H.C. Schulz, intro. by R.W. Chambers (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1936). Chambers' introduction contains an excellent discussion of the Piers Plowman C-text I-family stemma.

- 9 The tools now available to a codicologist far outnumber those available at the close of the nineteenth century. Many reference works were crucial to the new description of Add.35157, and although some are not directly cited, they appear in the bibliography.
- 10 See chapter 2, note 24.
- 11 Pearson, p.317.
- 12 Pearson, p.317. Similiar arguments regarding the importance of provenance and associated and non-associated marks in manuscripts and early printed books is echoed by Altson.
- 13 Two excellent descriptive catalogues: C.W. Dutschke, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1989), and M.C. Seymour, A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995).
- 14 For a complete description of the various numerical fields of MARC-APPM see S.L. Hensen, Archives, Personal Papers and Manuscripts: A Cataloguing Manual for Archival Repositories, Historical Societies, and Manuscript Libraries (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1989).
- 15 Hope Mayo, 'MARC Cataloguing for Medieval Manuscripts: An Evaluation', in Bibliographic Access to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: A Survey of Computerised Data Bases and Information Systems, ed. by Wesley M. Stevens (New York: Haworth, 1992), pp.93-152.
- 16 Hanna, 13.
- 17 Warren Van Egmond, 'The Future of Manuscript Cataloguing', in Bibliographic Access to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: A Survey of Computerised Data Bases and Information Systems, ed. by Wesley M. Stevens (New York: Haworth, 1992), pp.153-158.
- 18 Mayo, p.100.

- 19 The four-colour separations required to produce quality printing plates for process-colour reproductions can be very expensive, as is the additional cost of sending each printed sheet through the presses four times (once for each additive colour). In addition, the lifespan of the coated paper stocks used for colour printing is not as long as archive-quality acid-free stock.
- 20 J.P. Gumbert, Illustrated Inventory of Medieval Manuscripts: Experimental Precursor 4 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1991).
- 21 Private communication with Dr Nigel Ramsey of the British Library. At the 1996 International Medieval Congress in Leeds Dr Ramsey stated that the project to re-catalogue the Cotton collection was not using any field structure for its entries, and would not conform to any existing computer-aided classification system.
- 22 For the MARC record presented below, I have used Hope Mayo's work on several of the Huntington Library's manuscripts as a model. See Mayo for details.
- 23 Private communication with Dr David Weston, the Acting Head of the University of Glasgow's Special Collections Department. Dr Weston said that the university's computer systems would be unable to use superscript characters for collations.
- 24 For information on individual points raised during this description, please refer to the expanded section below.
- 25 See note 81 below.
- 26 Private communication with Dr Conseulo Dutschke. Dr Dutschke's descriptions of the Henry E. Huntington Library's 392 items in its medieval and renaissance manuscript collection run to over 866 pages in two volumes. The project apparently had been on-going since 1975 and was published in 1989. Re-cataloguing a collection like the British Library's Additional Manuscripts, would take decades and tens of volumes.

- 27 For the content of the following section, I am indebted to the work of A.I. Doyle, M.B. Parkes and N.R. Ker, whose various paleographical and codicological introductions served as a template for the description of Add.35157. Of particular interest were the codicological discussions in: The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript, ed. by Paul G. Ruggiers, intros by Donald C. Baker and A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979); and, The Winchester Malory: A Facsimile, intro. by N.R. Ker, Early English Text Society, supplementary series, 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- 28 Chambers, pp.22-23.
- 29 According to private communication with scholars in the field, the editor of the Athlone Press edition of the C-text of Piers Plowman, G.H. Russell, apparently had a 'provisional text' ready in 1973. It is unfortunate that his text is still unpublished. See also: Piers Plowman: The B Version. Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best, ed. by G. Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London: Athlone Press, 1975), p.vi.
- 30 Derek Pearsall stated that 'the superiority of X to U as a representative of the author's original is in fact marginal,' but nevertheless sided with Chambers and used HM 143 as his base text for his edition. Pearsall, Piers Plowman, p.21. I believe that the clarity of Add.35157's text and its earlier provenance, suggest that it would have made a better base text than HM 143.
- 31 A.V.C. Schmidt seems to have abandoned B.F. Allen's sigils for no apparent reason, as the differences between his genetic descriptions of the C-texts and hers are entirely superficial. In his defence, Schmidt states: 'a full account of editorial procedure will be found in Vol II, Introduction.' See: Schmidt, I, p.xiii.

- 32 E.T. Donaldson, Piers Plowman: The C-Text and Its Poet (New Haven: Yale, 1949), pp.227-231. Donaldson discusses and summarises B.F. Allen at length. Chambers' discusses the C-text stemma in the facsimile of HM 143 (see Chambers). Although Skeat discusses the C-text at great length, his investigations were incomplete, since the greatest C-texts were, at his time, still unknown.
- 33 Schmidt, T, pp.x-xiii.
- 34 Donaldson, p.230.
- 35 Most C-texts were presented as 'single compact volume[s] devoted only to Langland's poem.' See Ralph Hanna, 'The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman', Yearbook of Langland Studies, 7 (1993), 13 (1-25). For more information on typical manuscripts of the C-text see G.H. Russell, "'As They Read It': Some Notes on Early Responses to the C-Version of Piers Plowman", Leeds Studies in English, 20 (1989), 173-189.
- 36 See Johnson's introduction to Piers Plowman, which is transcribed in chapter 8.
- 37 Russell, 'As They Read It', pp.173-189; Pearsall, p.9; Schmidt, I, passim. See also Robert Adams, 'Langland's Ordinatio: the Visio and the Vita Once More', Yearbook of Langland Studies, 8 (1995). Adams transcribes all C-text rubrics, but curiously omits manuscript U's colophon.
- 38 Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, Pen to Press: Illuminated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing (Maryland: [NP], 1977), p.32.
- 39 Julian Brown, A Paleographer's View: The Selected Writings of Julian Brown, ed. by Janet Bately, Michelle P. Brown and Jane Roberts (London: Harvey Miller, 1993), pp.125-126.

- 40 Hilary Jenkinson, The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1927); Hilary Jenkinson and Charles Johnson, English Court Hand A.D. 1066 to 1500 (Oxford: Oxford, 1915). The differences between an Early Court Hand and a Late Set hand, as given in Jenkinson and Johnson, are quite subtle and would at the most mean that the scribe was trained in the early sixteenth century rather than in the late fifteenth century.
- 41 Julian Brown, p.127.
- 42 This layout is a feature of all of the major copies of the I-family of C-texts and is also shared by the so-called Holloway fragment (now in private hands). See Hanna, p.3.
- 43 Watermarks, ed. by Edward Heawood, Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae: Historiam Illustrantia, ed. by E.J. Labarre (Hilversum: 1950), I.
- 44 See Adams, 'Langland's Ordinatio', and Robert Adams, 'The Reliability of the Rubrics in the B-Text of Piers Plowman', Medium Aevum, 54.2 (1985). Also see Schmidt.
- 45 HHM 143, Ilchester, Douce 104 and Oxford, Bodl. Digby 102 respectively.
- 46 Certain of the annotations attributed to hands B and C appear to be underneath the foliate decoration surrounding the passus initials, but exact determination of the ink overlays is made nearly impossible by Add.35157's condition. See f.72v for one such example. See also the section on the manuscript's decorative order below.
- 47 Where Langland's long line brought scribe A too close to his interior margin, he marked an insertion point (in the same manner and with the same symbol as hand B), and made either the ultimate or, more rarely, the penultimate word appear interlinearly. For an example, see f.72v.
- 48 For the script names and descriptions, see Michelle Brown.
- 49 Michelle Brown, p.100.
- 50 For an example of scribe A's hand, see plates 1, 3-9.

- 51 Terms, standards and suggested dates were taken from Jenkinson and Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson and from the other paleographic sources listed in the bibliography.
- 52 Michelle Brown, p.88.
- 53 Johnson and Jenkinson, p.63.
- 54 George Kane, Piers Plowman: The Evidence for Authorship (London: Athlone, 1965), pp.3-10.
- 55 Unless otherwise noted, all technical terms are taken from, and all dialect work is based on A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (hereafter LALME), ed. by Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and Michael Benskin (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1986). See also Michael Benskin, 'The 'fit'-technique Explained', in Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), pp.9-26.
- 56 M.L. Samuels, 'Langland's Dialect', in The English of Chaucer and his contemporaries, Essays by M.L. Samuels and J.J. Smith, ed. by Jeremy J. Smith (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1986), pp.72-73.
- 57 Samuels, p.74.
- 58 Samuels, p.74.
- 59 Samuels, p.78.
- 60 Samuels, p.76.
- 61 The entire contents of passus I, XIV and XXI were transcribed and analysed, as were all interlinear and marginal comments made by Add.35157's supplementary hands B and C. The transcriptions are reproduced in the appendices. It is acknowledged that a general scan of the manuscript's forms would have increased the value of the dialect survey.
- 62 Samuels, pp.77-81.
- 63 LALME, I.
- 64 For the complete questionnaire, please refer to the appendices.

- 65 Scribe A's dialect survey analysed 331 spellings for a variety of items. The vast majority (257 and 245 respectively) came from an area of the Central Midlands which contains the most colourless set of forms in Middle English.
- 66 Private communication with J.J. Smith.
- 67 I am extremely grateful to J.J. Smith for his assistance in coming to terms with the complex issues of 'colourless' dialect and scribal mobility.
- 68 LALME, I, p.47.
- 69 J.J. Smith, 'The Language of the Ellesmere Manuscript', in The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation, ed. by M. Stevens and D. Woodward (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1995), pp.72-73.
- 70 J.J. Smith, An Historical Study of English (London: Routledge, Forthcoming 1996).
- 71 Private communication with Dr Smith. Dr Smith was kind enough to examine the data used for this section. He was responsible for the suggestion that scribe A probably worked in London and used an advancing form of late Middle English in which the South West Midlands' element was muted.
- 72 See M.B. Parkes, Pause and Effect (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992), p.303.
- 73 These two variants of the punctus elevatus are quite common to manuscripts of the late fourteenth century. Parkes, Pause and Effect, pp.42-43.
- 74 Parkes, Pause and Effect, p.303.

- 75 The line numbers provided were taken from Pearsall's edition of the C-text.
- 76 Julian Brown, p.82.
- 77 For a transcription of scribe B's corrections and annotations, see the appendices. For an example of his hand, see plates 4-6.
- 78 Scribe B's correction to the passus XII incipit on f.68v might have been carried out prior to rubrication. Evidence from the ink overlay, due to damage and wear to the manuscript, make it impossible to be certain. It does appear, however that scribe B's insertion carat is beneath the red of the rubrication. It is possible that scribe B went through Add.35157 rubricating and correcting at the same time, and occasionally mixed up his pens, or performed the two tasks in a different sequence.
- 80 M.L. Samuels, Linguistic Evolution: With Special Reference to English (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- 81 A comparison of Add.35157's scribe B and the Trinity Gower A scribe has been omitted pending further research.
- 82 Scribe C's 'a' form might indicate some connection with the Chancery, since it was during the mid-to-late fourteenth century that Chancery scribes began to import the single-compartment 'a' and other letter-forms from the Parisian chancellerie royale hand. This theory would also explain the presence of other such anachronistic features in scribe B's hand. See: John H. Fisher, 'Piers Plowman and the Chancery Tradition', in Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane, ed. by E.D. Kennedy, R. Waldron and J.S. Witig (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), pp.268-269. Fisher dates Add.35157 to c.1400. Fisher, p.269. For an example of scribe C's hand, see plate 3.
- 83 Wording suggested privately by J.J. Smith.
- 84 Conclusion suggested privately by J.J. Smith.
- 85 For an example of scribe D's marks, see plate 5.

- 86 Passus XI and XII do not have any paraph marks. Passus I, II, III, XVII, XIX, and XX start with blue paraph marks. All other passus start with red paraph marks. Although commencing a passus with a red paraph mark was probably designed to offset the blue passus initials, an equal number of red and blue paraph marks occur with passus in such positions.
- 87 Parkes, Pause and Effect, p.43.
- 88 John A. Alford, 'The Design of the Poem', in A Companion to Piers Plowman, ed. by John Alford (London: University of Californian Press, 1988), p.45 (29-66).
- 89 This effect is readily seen in other manuscripts of the C-text. Grindley, passim. There is also the suggestion that this effect could be authorial. Half of Add.35157's paraph marks for passus VII occur at precisely the same textual junctures as in HM 143. Although Ilchester's scribe (Scribe D of Chaucer and Gower fame) did not use paraph marks externally to the text, it is possible that some of the placement of paraph marks in the I-family of the C-text is authorial.
- 90 Additional 35157 is typical of 'notoriously underdecorated' Piers Plowman manuscripts. Hanna, p.3.
- 91 Lucia N. Valentine's, Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts: A Glossary (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), provided some of the descriptive terms for this section.
- 92 David Diringer, The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production, rev. edn. with Reinhold Regensburger, 2nd edn (London: Faber and Faber, 1967). See also Jonathan J.G. Alexander, Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work (London: Yale University Press, 1992).

- 93 Leaves similar to these may be found in the decoration of Glasgow MS Hunter 231 and Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 242, both of which are thought to have been made in London. See Nigel Thorp, The Glory of the Page: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library (Glasgow: Harvey Miller, 1987), p.79. For another manuscript with similar decorative order, see Yale, Beinecke MS 492, which is dated to the early fourteenth century. See Barbara Shailor, The Medieval Book (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp.40-43.
- 94 As expedient a solution as this might seem, there are problems. Huntington Library manuscript HM 143 shows a similiar pattern of correction, but an examination of the accuracy of the scribes' work clearly indicated that although the text was not as heavily corrected in the 'Vita' as in the 'Visio', there was no corresponding drop in textual quality.
- 95 Grindley, pp.10-16.
- 96 J.J. Smith suggests that 'ret' might be a syncopated present tense derived from 'redeth', so that scribe B might not have changed tense at all.
- 97 This difference in reading comprehension might itself successfully argue for the separate identities of scribes B and C.
- 98 Middle English Dictionary (hereafter MED), ed. by Sherman M. Kuhn and others (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956-), III, p.219.
- 99 See page 66.
- 100 MED, III, p.836.
- 101 It would be interesting to study whether this is a phenomenon across the spectrum of Middle English texts, and whether it implies, a) basic scribal laziness in failing to consult their exemplars, b) access problems, perhaps relating to the loss of 'borrowed' exemplars, or, c) the concept that a new text had its own implicit authority and could be self-corrected, that, for example, Add.35157 was not simply one of many texts of Piers Plowman, but that its text was a fundamentally authoratative work.

- 102 George Kane, 'The Text,' in A Companion to Piers Plowman, ed. by J.A. Alford (Los Angeles: California, 1988), p.187.
- 103 Kane, p.187.
- 104 On a wider note, it seems that manuscript correction was probably carried out by the most junior members of a production team. Judging from Add.35157 and HM 143, the corrections were rarely textually justified, followed no clear plan, and the correcting hands were seldom as sophisticated as the main text hands.
- 105 This subject will be discussed at great length in chapter 5.
- 106 In HM 143, for example, graphic responses were almost entirely reserved for notification of prophecies, which were signified by a crown. See Grindley, passim.
- 107 Grindley, passim.
- 108 See the transcription of Johnson's introduction to Piers Plowman in chapter 8.
- 109 Phoebe Jane Easton, Marbling: A History and a Bibliography (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1983), p.115.
- 110 Franks Bequest: Catalogue of British and American Book Plates Bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Augustus Franks, with note by E.R.J. Gambier Howe, 3 vols (London: [n.pub.] 1903-1904).
- 111 See appendices for a partial transcription.
- 112 Private communication with J.J. Smith.
- 113 A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300-1500, ed. by C. Paul Christianson (New York: Bibliographic Society of America, 1990), p.144.
- 114 Diringer, pp.283-284.
- 115 Samuels, 'Langland's Dialect', p.77.
- 116 Example suggested by J.J. Smith.
- 117 Lawrence Hendriks, The London Charterhouse: Its Monks and Its Martyrs (London: Kegan Paul, 1889).

CHAPTER 5

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HANDS E AND F

THOMAS THYRNBEKE

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I praye of yr power & petye hnd to bepe
 to bynde & unbynde at the boke selletz
 Gode ge leffe yt wyth lone. at a lord beght
 Amongst folwe vestres ye best of all vestres
 y' cardynall beyn yralled & closyn yatt
 tyez. ryzt is in kynng dom to clea & to
 E to oppy yt to thery & sedymb oyle shewe
 E of cardynall at rowe & wath abid man
 to have ye wath pat wet haade & pnynt be y nelle

For in lone & lettme. lity. ye gret eleton
 comit lede hit not ad consience the holy church oate

I pene cam ye a kyng. knyghthod bym lade. *who maad many
 knyghtes
 his strength*

And ven com kynd wit & knyghthod to gide. es
 caite pat ye comdue. chalde her comdres fynde
 bonde wit & ye combn contiened alle castles
 And for most profitable a plough gone yer make
 And wath lele lade to dyne. whil. list an londe on londe laste
 then kynde wit. to ye kyng & to ye comon caide.

Out kepe ye kyng & vi kyngelich
 And leue ye lode so in londe pat lewte ye lonye
 And for thi iustful iulung. be iustidid in heneue
 consience to delgic & to ye kyng. caide

Sum rex dum princeps neutrum fortasse demceps

Quam mihi regis xpi specialia regis

Hac ut agas melius. minus es esto pms

Quod mihi me a te. vestim vult pietate

Qualia vis mere talia sua esse

Si ceptum pietas. de pietate mere

Consience & ye luyt in to court. daiter
 whate honed ya hme. es wath honed of oyle
 Sumitris hit comedent pat tounat ye hape

and a broker brought hie forth to be joyned wip false
 when comynge & cunle: yow pay arthe: wille
 pen a fenne hit were so it ouliver married
 yeme leep hys forth & cande so hie a chyre
 pat gyle hath gyle to falsnesse: & amido also mede
 and peth cunle to see hit & symone to see hit
 yeme cunle & cunle. stouder forth borthe
 and unaldeth pat fessment pat fals hie ymaked
 yeme cande cunle pat cunle hit hede
 It pat loneth & bileneth upon lkyng of mede
 fency hit selly: this world be laste mede
 pat foloweth falsnesse Samuel & hys
 mede & onthe men pat after mede wayton

Quant pntes & luyun & c

keron & wison pat wouyon on erthe
 pat mede is maned more for her richesse
 ven for holynesse or hendenesse: of for hys kynne
 falsnesse is pain of hie: or he wot hit rich
 and fanel pat has a false swete fete y hem by me lde
 to be pntes in amide: & wite to dit use
 to bak hie & to hote & bope falsnesse
 to ome & to stolve & orlamde to make
 ynboyum & holde to hie ye ten better
 ye wylom of emye & ye be hem guntrey
 wip chastel of theft & chateyna out of jerdun
 ye counte of reneytue & consenty to hem bope
 wip yme & ansure & of fals cleygthe
 yn bayaynes & hostages wip ye borde of thefte
 wip al ye lordshp of leayene yn lengthe & m hede
 do yn werkes & worder: & m wipynat or yse
 yn wolder & m wipynat & wip idel yongitred
 ye pat wille wolder & wip manshype falled

marriage
 of scoffmote
 in hie fode
 Fina

I: INTRODUCTION

Sometime prior to the mid-sixteenth century Add.35157 suffered substantial damage to its first quire. In the years following 1550 it was subsequently repaired. The manuscript received extensive damage to one folio, which necessitated a horizontal half-folio to be cut, sewn and inserted, and it sustained lesser damage to two other folios, both of which required small patches to be likewise affixed.¹ At the same time as these repairs were conducted, several new annotations were supplied to the first few passus of the Piers Plowman text.

The hands involved in Add.35157's sixteenth-century correction and annotation activity were identified in chapter 4 of this study as hands E and F. Since they differ only with regard to size they are presumably the work of the same individual. A signature in the same ink and hand as hand E appears on f.124v and reads 'Thomas Thyrnbeke, Clarke.' It seems reasonable from this point forward to refer to the scribe responsible for hands E and F as Thomas Thyrnbeke.²

The name Thyrnbeke, although relatively rare,³ has a possible connection to Thirn, a North Yorkshire place-name of some antiquity.⁴ Thyrnbeke derives from the Old Norse for 'thorny bush' and 'brook'.⁵ Thirn is ideally situated and is near to the ancient school at Ripon, which is less than a four mile journey from Thirn.⁶

Judging from the somewhat haphazard nature of the repairs, Thyrnbeke was probably a semi-professional or perhaps rural-based scribe. His work serves to illustrate the rare but sometimes recorded use of an early printed book to re-supply text to a poem in manuscript.

Thyrnbeke was probably employed by Add.35157's owners. At that point in the manuscript's history, they were the Surtees family of county Durham. The branch of the Surtees which owned Add.35157 resided at Darlington during the time of the repair, a day's journey of Thirn. It seems unlikely that the manuscript was in the possession of its next

recorded owners, the Ayscough family of Lincoln, whose house at Cottam was approximately eight miles from the city of Lincoln.

II: THYRNBEKE'S HAND

Thyrnbeke's hand may be classified as a secretary hand with a few isolated bastard anglicana features. The secretary features include the standard secretary 'g', and a single compartment 'd' and 'h'.⁷ The bastard anglicana features include fairly regular use of a double compartment 'd' and 'a'. From a paleographical point of view, particularly regarding the development of the secretary 'h', the hand appears to be early to mid-sixteenth century.⁸

The hand is fairly well-balanced and appears in a dark black ink. Since the repairs are not ruled in any way, the hand slopes off to the right-hand side of the patches. With the exception of '&' for 'and', the use of abbreviation is slight, although there are a large number of what appears to be otiose strokes. The text is unpunctuated and uncorrected.

III: THYRNBEKE'S EXEMPLAR

Thyrnbeke supplied Add.35157's text with four minor repairs and two major repairs. Of the major repairs, the first is to passus P:128-134, and the second is to passus P:161-168. Since HM 143 contains a slight defect in passus P:128-134, the first of Thyrnbeke's major repairs is significantly more important than the second.

Consider the text of passus P:128-134 as it now appears in Add.35157 (f.9r):

I perceyvede of ye powers yat peter hade to kepe
 to Bynde & vnbynde as the Boke telleth
 how he lefte yt wyth loue as our lordes heghte
 amonges fowre vertues ye Best of all vertues
yat cardynalles beyne ycalledē & closyng yattes
 ther cryst is in kyngdom to clos & to schytt
 & to opyn yt to them & hevyns Blys schewe
 & of cardynalles at cowrt yat caught of yat naym

Now, compare Add.35157's text with HM 143's text as it appears in Pearsall's edition:⁹

I parsceyued of ye power that Peter hadde to kepe,
 To bynde and to vnbynde, as ye boke telleth,
 Hou he it lefte with loue as oure lord wolde
 Amonge foure vertues most vertuuous of vertues
 That cardinales ben cald and closyng-zates
 Thare Crist is in kynedom to close with heuene.
 Ac of ye cardinales at court yat caught han such a name

Finally, compare both texts with the version presented in the Kane and Donaldson edition of the B-text (Pro:100-107):¹⁰

I parceyued of þe power þat Peter hadde to kepe,
 To bynden and vnbynden as þe book telleþ
 How he it lefte wiþ loue as oure lord hiȝte
 Amonges foure vertues, [most vertuuous of alle],
 That Cardinals ben called and closynge yates
 There [crist is in] kyndom, to close and to shette,
 And to opene it to hem and heuene blisse shewe.
 Ac of þe Cardinals at court þat kauȝte of þat name,

Since this passage does not appear in the A-text of Piers Plowman, it is immediately clear that Thyrnbeke utilised a B-text when he re-supplied Add.35157 passus P:128-34. In this situation, he did not use Add.35157's damaged original leaves or another copy of the C-text.

There are a number of lines in the passage which demonstrate the genetic similarities between Add.35157's text and the B-text: the

penultimate line appears in the B-text but not in the C-text; the third line's use of 'heghte' does not occur in the C-text but does in the B-text; and, 'to shette' in the ante-penultimate line appears in the B-text but does not occur in the C-text.

By examining the Kane and Donaldson apparatus, it is possible to identify Thyrnbeke's B-text as one of Robert Crowley's three impressions of 1550. The re-supplied text of Add.35157 shares one unique reading with Crowley at the penultimate line, where the various Crowley editions are alone in attesting to 'heuens'. The Add.35157 text also shares readings with the Crowley text and three other manuscripts at the sixth line, where they attest to 'left it' instead of the much more common 'it left'. Since the three other manuscripts disagree with both Add.35157's re-supplied text and with the Crowley editions in the third, fourth and seventh lines, the only full agreement between texts exists between the Crowley editions and Add.35157.¹¹

Like the large patched repair to passus P:128-134, the small patched repairs are also from a B-text of Piers Plowman. These repairs occur at passus P:198-200, P:228-232, I:30-30b and passus I:59-63.

Of the small patched repairs, perhaps the most genetically revealing is found at passus I:59. All C-text manuscripts agree with HM 143's reading:¹²

Ther-ynne wonyeth a wyghte þat Wrong is his name

There is no doubt that Add.35157 once contained such a line, but following Thyrnbeke's repairs, it has been revised to read:

þreinne woneth a wight þat _|wrong is y|_ me _|hote|_

Obviously the surviving 'me' was once part of 'name', but the construction of the patch does not take it into account. The line has been deliberately constructed to read 'wrong is y hote.' Although this

construction does not occur in any C-texts, it is found in a large number of B-text manuscripts and printed editions, including Crowley's.

Again, it is possible to narrow down the possible origin of the repairs to one of the Crowley editions. Consider the standard C-text reading for P:199:¹³

Thow we hadde ykuld þe cat ꝯut shulde ther come another

Add.35157 replaces 'the cat' with 'this cat,' a reading which only occurs in the various editions of Crowley. In addition, Add.35157 shares readings with Crowley at B-text passus I:30, 66 and 67.

If the ten Thyrnbeke annotations are examined, it becomes clear that not only were they copied from one of Crowley's editions, but that they only appear in the second and third impressions.¹⁴ It should be understood that annotations were often developed independently and that similar if not identical annotations can be found in completely unrelated texts.¹⁵ Agreement, however, across such a large number of annotations does suggest that Thyrnbeke copied Crowley, rather than independently inventing similar glosses.

Conclusive identification of Thyrnbeke's source is only possible following a direct comparison of Crowley's second edition with the repairs made to Add.35157. Consider Crowley's text for the B-version passus P:100-107:¹⁶

I parceyued of the powre, that Peter had to kepe
 To binden and vnbinden, as the boke telleth
 How he left it with loue, as our lorde hyght
 Amonges foure vertues, the best of all vertues,
 That Cardinalles bene called, and closing yates.
 There Christ is in kingdome, to close and to shit
 And to open it to hem, and heuens blys shewe
 And of Cardinals at court, that caught of that name

When the two texts are compared, especially regarding the content of the first, third, fifth and seventh lines, it becomes quite obvious

that the majority of the patched repairs to the first quire of Add.35157's text of Piers Plowman, were certainly supplied from either Crowley's second or third impressions of 1550. As is demonstrated below, the minor differences in spelling between the two are merely a function of Thyrnbeke's dialect.

Unfortunately, the source of the second large patched repair (to passus P:161-70) remains unclear. Consider the lines as they now appear in Add.35157 (f.9v):

ple^udin for pence and powndes^e the lawe
 & nott for love of our^e lorde vn^elows yer^e lyppe once
 you myghte better^e meyth myst on malurne hylles^e
 yen gett a moume of yer^e mowth or money were schewde^e
 then ran yer^e a rowt of ratons as yt wer
 & small mysse wyth^e them mo then a thowsande^e
 Com to a cowncell for ther commoun profett^e
 for a catt of a cowrt comen when hymm lyketh
 & ouer^e lepe them lyghtlye & cawght yem at wyl
 & playde wyth^e them perlosslye & putt them yer^e he lykede^e

Owing to textual differences between the B and C-texts of Piers Plowman, it is unlikely that the repairs from passus P:161-170 also came from Crowley. In the B-text, the first four lines of the repaired passage are found at passus P:213-216, after the end of the parable of the belling of the cat, which commences at passus P:146. In the C-text, the two sections run together, in exactly the way that the Thyrnbeke repairs present them. There is no chance that Thyrnbeke repositioned extracts from Crowley in the correct C-text order. The repairs strongly disagree with Crowley at passus P:146, 147, 150, 213, 214,¹⁷ 215 and 216.

IV: THYRNBEKE'S DIALECT

Thyrnbeke's dialect, although considerably later than the period for which LALME was designed, was recoverable.¹⁸ Since the full survey presents an interesting look at mid-sixteenth century Northern usage, it is worth reproducing it in full. Those items for which LALME only describes Southern usage have been omitted.

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>FORM AND FREQUENCY</u>
1. THE	ye, (((the)))
6. IT	yt
8. THEM	them, ((yem))
9. THEIR	yer, (ther)
18. WERE	wer, were
19. IS	is
30. THEN	then
31. THAN	yen, then
34. AS	as
38. ERE	or
45. NOT	nott
51. THERE	yer
55. WHEN	when
57. prs.part.	-yng
58. verb.sub	-yng
59. 3sg.prs.ind.	-eth
60. pres.pl.	-in
61. wk.prt	-ede
63. wk.pst.part.	-ede
70. ALL	all
71. AMONG	amonges
77. BE	beyn
87. BROTHER	brother
93. CALL	call-
94. CAME pl.	com
98. CHURCH	church
130. FOUR	fowre
145. HEAVEN	hevyn-
152. HIM	hym

156.	HOW	how
164.	LAW	lawe
172.	LORD	lord
173.	LOVE	loue love
174.	LOW	lowe
182.	NAME	naym
200.	OUR	<u>our</u>
213.	SELF	selfe
214.	SEVEN	seuyn
236	THOUSAND	thowsand
239	TRUE	trew-
262.	YOU	<u>you</u>
272.	-DOM	-dom
278.	-LY	-lye

The results of the LALME questionnaire are interesting. With only a few exceptions, it appears as if Thyrnbeke translated the dialects of his various sources and presented a text which could be located to the far eastern section of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Certainly some forms occur in the repairs which are not very northern. For example 59. 3rd sg. prs. ind. <-eth>, 77. BE <beyn> and 172. LORD <lord> appear in Thyrnbeke's text. Of these three three forms, that given for item 77 was copied from Crowley.

West Riding forms include 8.THEM <yem>, 31.THAN <yen>, 61.PRESENT PLURAL <-in>, 77.BE <beyn>, 130.FOUR <fowre> and 214.SEVEN <seuyn>. Out of the 49 items studied, all except 98.CHURCH <church>, 173.LOVE <love> and 182.NAME <naym>, were tolerated in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Of these three exceptions, 98.CHURCH <church> and 173.LOVE <love> betray the late nature of the sample, while 182.NAME <naym> is an East Yorkshire form. If the data analysis from LALME still held true in the 1550s, then Thyrnbeke's text locates itself to the Eastern side of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Thirn, the possible birthplace of Thyrnbeke, is within a few miles of the location suggested by LALME.

There are a few interesting linguistic features of the Thyrnbeke repairs, most notably the uniform absence of an infinitive suffix and the presence of most other inflected forms including a prefix for the past participle (for example, 'yhote', 'yrode' and 'ycallede'). While these features seem odd, there is a simple explanation.

The use of a y prefix for the past participle probably represents Thyrnbeke deliberately employing archaistic usage.¹⁹ This would have been done in an attempt to make the language of Crowley to sound more 'antique'. Thyrnbeke must have seen the y prefix as the easiest way to make Crowley's text appear dated, and the lack of an infinitive suffix probably shows that Thyrnbeke was ignorant of its use.

V: THYRNBEKE'S CORRECTIONS IN MODERN EDITIONS

Since it has been established that Thomas Thyrnbeke used Robert Crowley's second or third impressions of his edition of the B-text of Piers Plowman to re-supply Add.35157, it follows that the corrections must have been carried out sometime following 1550, but, as the Northern dialect insists, before the manuscript came into the possession of the Ayscough family in Lincolnshire. In any event, the repaired sections to Add.35157's text are hardly contemporary with its construction. Therefore, the resupplied text cannot be considered as part of the U copy of the C-text of Piers Plowman.

Unfortunately, the Thyrnbeke repairs raise an important editorial issue for modern editors of Middle English texts. Until this study, the identification of Thyrnbeke's source material escaped the notice of several scholars who have used Add.35157 in their work. The re-supplied Crowley text has been either inadvertently confused or simply ignored in a large number of publications, ranging from a study of the early reception of Piers Plowman,²⁰ to a study of Add.35157's interesting

marginalia,²¹ to the only two published modern editions of the C-text.²² It is this last instance, that presents the most difficult editorial problems. The two editions in question are Pearsall's otherwise exemplary 1982 edition of the C-text of Piers Plowman and Schmidt's 1995 parallel editions of all three recensions of the poem.

Some of Add.35157's re-supplied text, as would be expected given the standard theories of Langland's revision process,²³ cannot be easily differentiated between the various recensions. This in itself is nothing unusual. Consider, as a hypothetical example, the first four words of passus P:1: 'In a somur sesoun.'²⁴ They appear in all undamaged copies of Piers Plowman and could only be expected to differ on grounds of dialect. Realistically, if a manuscript had a patched repair to these four words, it would be impossible to tell which recension of Piers Plowman had been used to re-supply the text.

Unfortunately, just such a situation has arisen in Add.35157 and both Pearsall and Schmidt have adopted two readings from Thyrnbeke's corrections in their editions. The lines in question are passus P:132-133 and 232.

Passus P:132-3 is mislineated in HM 143 and appears in Pearsall's edition as:²⁵

That cardinales ben cald and closyng-ȝates
Thare Crist is in kynedom to close with heuene.

The same text appears in Schmidt's edition as:²⁶

That cardinales ben cald and closyng ȝates,
Thare Crist is in kynedom, to close with heuene.

The same section in Add.35157 reads:

yat cardynalles beynn yalled & closyng yattes
ther cryst is in kyngdom to clos & to shytt

Pearsall's apparatus cites the authority of Add.35157 as '133. Thare Crist U (part of authentic late insertion (Pearsall's italics)) | X thare/Crist.'²⁷ Schmidt's edition uses a different system for the textual apparatus, one where readings adopted from other manuscripts are preserved in an appendix and are not presented as part of the regular textual apparatus. For passus P:133 Schmidt cites '132-3 So div. U&r; after thare X (Schmidt's italics).'²⁸

Obviously Add.35157's text, which represents a very late copy of the B-text, should not have been used to correct HM 143's lineation. Curiously, Schmidt makes a patently erroneous claim for the textual variants of passus P:133: '133 with heuene] x&r; and to shutte b.'²⁹ If Schmidt knew that the 'and to shutte' construction was from the B-text, why then did he use Add.35157 to correct HM 143 at this junction? And if Schmidt did not know that Add.35157 contained the 'and to shutte' construction, whose collation was he using to compile his edition and emend passus P:132-133?

The second of the emendations is to passus P:232, which is the last line of the C-text passus P. This is a much more important emendation. The line appears in Pearsall's edition as:³⁰

Al þis y say sleping and seyn sythes more.

And in Schmidt's as:³¹

--Al þis y say sleping, and seyn sythes more.

The text appears in Add.35157 as:

Al þis y say sleping _|& seyn sythes mor|_

Pearsall's apparatus reads '232. line supplied from U; X om', (Pearsall's italics)³² while Schmidt's appendix lists '232 in U&r; l. om

X' (Schmidt's italics).³³ Although this note is strictly accurate, there should have been some indication that half of the line exists in manuscript U, whereas the other half is an 'authentic late insertion,' and is properly only part of Add.35157.

In addition to the problem with the last line in Add.35157's passus P, a similar case exists in the much-damaged Ilchester manuscript, whose variant readings would be included in Schmidt's '&r'. Ilchester is an odd manuscript, whose passus P was assembled from passus IX of a C-text and passus P of an A-text. Although the poor condition of its first quire makes identification of the sources quite difficult, Schmidt should have been aware of Pearsall's work on this very manuscript.³⁴ For in Ilchester's case, its passus P:232 is an A-text reading. Schmidt's apparatus should have taken Ilchester's composition into account. Finally, it is clear that neither Add.35157 nor Ilchester should be used to correct passus P:232. The line exists in Douce 104, which should have been used to re-supply HM 143.³⁵

VI: THYRNBEKE'S ANNOTATIONS

Apart from the obvious and broad editorial interests raised in the field of editing medieval texts, Thyrnbeke's work also has interesting implications for the study of the reception and authority of early printed books.

The phenomenon of copying entire printed books to manuscript is well-known, but less common is the practice of using printed books merely to supplement or repair existing manuscripts.³⁶ Since there was no instant transition from manuscripts to printed books, it is clear that the two technologies for the reproduction of texts were not mutually exclusive and existed side by side for some considerable period of time. Indeed, it was noted in chapter 2 of this study, that at least as far as the cataloguing and storage of books was concerned, early

Renaissance libraries did not differentiate between manuscripts and printed books.³⁷ An expression of this situation can be seen in Thyrnbeke's use of Crowley's text in Add.35157.

Thyrnbeke considered Crowley's text, regardless of its alternative textual heritage, to be nearly equal to the manuscript he was repairing. For example, he must have felt that Crowley was a respectable enough glossator to warrant the inclusion of some of his annotations. As previously noted, Thyrnbeke adopted and adapted ten of Crowley's annotations. Since the Thyrnbeke supply is slight, all of his annotations are reproduced below.³⁸

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TEXT</u>
9v	Pro:167	ye talle of ye cat & ratones

10r	Pro:204	<i>omnium doctissimorum suffragio dicun tur hec de lassiuis, fa tuis, aut in eptis principi bus, non de etate tenellis quasi dicat, vbi rex puerilis est</i>
11v	I:62	Cayn
11v	I:63	Judas
12v	I:136	Trewth is ye greate[.. treasur
15r	II:78b	<i>maritagium prauum cum feoffemento in malo feodo de peruersa tenura.</i>
16r	II:140	who is occau <u>coun</u> <u>yat</u> <u>ye</u> church is broght lowe
16v	II:177	what ho rses <u>ya</u> [t] had <u>yrode</u> <u>with</u> mede
17r	II:200	trewth maketh hast to ye kyng
17r	II:216	dreyde maketh ye gyleye fle

Of the Thyrnbeke annotations, all but one are types of Narrative Reading Aid, with two indications of topic (III-NRA-T at I:62, 63), six brief summaries (III-NRA-SM at P:167, I:136, II:140, 177, 200, 216), and one source (III-NRA-S at P:204). The solitary non-reading aid takes the form of a polemically-motivated social comment (III-PC-SC at II:78b).

Perhaps the most interesting way to analyse Thyrnbeke's use of Crowley is to compare the annotations he selected from those that were available to him. The Crowley annotations are reproduced below, but are presented without their B-text anchor points.³⁹

PROLOGUE

- Common Jesters
- Pylgrymes
- Hermes
- Friers
- Pardonars
- The tale of the rattons
- *Omnium doctissimorum suffragio, dicuntur hec he lassius, fatuis, aut ineptis principibus, non de etate tenellis. Quasi dicat, vbi rex puerilis est.*
- Eccles, x.
- Sergiants of þe lawe
- Byshops

PASSUS I

- The tour
- Lott
- Gen.vii
- Luke xx
- Dungion
- Cayne
- Judas
- Truth is the best treasure
- knyghtes office
- David
- Elai iiii
- Truth is the greatest treasure
- Mar iiii

- Jacob ii
- Luke vi

PASSUS II

- Mar iiiii
- Pla iv
- Meedes Charter
- *Maritagium prauum cum feoffemento in malo feodo et de peruersa tenuro.*
- The true preacher
- Luke v.
- Who it is that shameth holy church
- Brybes
- What hores thei yrid with mede had
- Trueth maketh haste to ye kynge
- Drede maketh the gilty flee
- false can lack no maister

From passus P-II Crowley prints thirty-seven annotations. Of these, seventeen are simple topic indicators (III-NRA-T), ten cite Biblical authorities (III-NRA-C), one provides a Latin source (III-NRA-S), eight give brief summaries taken almost directly from the text (III-NRA-SM-TGMR), and one is a social comment written in Latin (III-PC-SC).

Thyrnbeke declined the more traditional elements of ordinatio, selecting only two simple topic glosses. Instead, he focused on the Latin source material, the Latin social comment and the brief overviews of the text. Perhaps his reluctance to use any of Crowley's Biblical citations indicates that either he or his employers maintained a familiarity with the scriptures which would have made such annotations unnecessary.

As far as the simple topic glosses are concerned, of Crowley's seventeen annotations, thirteen concern themselves with secular matters, while four identify persons from the scriptures. Of these four identifications (Lot, Cain, Judas and David), Thyrnbeke has only taken Lot and Cain. So although Thyrnbeke or his employers had a familiarity with the scriptures which over-ruled the necessity of identifying the

origin of Langland's numerous quotations, he was still primarily interested in a non-secular reading of the text.

Of Crowley's plot summaries, Thyrnbeke has adopted all but two, the first of which is seemingly repeated in the Crowley text ('Truth is the best treasure,' and 'Truth is the greatest treasure') and the second concerns the allegorical figure of Falsehood. Otherwise there seems to be no pattern in operation.

VII: CONCLUSIONS

Thomas Thyrnbeke's work on Add.35157 is an excellent example of post-construction manuscript repair. Owing to various re-binding campaigns particularly common in the mid-twentieth century, the survival rate of such near-contemporary repairs is very low. For example, the University of Glasgow's Hunterian collection contains approximately four hundred or more manuscripts which date to the period between the tenth and sixteenth centuries, but none of them contains work similar to Thyrnbeke's. The re-binding campaigns have even destroyed a large number of simpler, possibly contemporary, manuscript repairs. For example, silk stitching on torn folios is often replaced with special tape. Therefore, Thyrnbeke's work is fairly extraordinary in that it has survived.

Thyrnbeke's work is also important in that it has a clear origin. On a personal level, Thyrnbeke's identification can be made with relative certainty. The derivation of his name as a Yorkshire place name, the appearance of other Thyrnbekes in the legal history of the general area, the ease of potential access to education at the Ripon grammar school, the appearance of Yorkshire elements in his dialect, and the known Yorkshire provenance of the manuscript itself all point to Thomas Thyrnbeke as being the originator of the repairs. The process of identification reinforces the notion that each piece of paleographical,

codicological, socio-economical, legal and historical evidence can be used to reconstruct an individual.

On a more practical level, it is possible to identify Thyrnbeke's copy text and examine how he re-worked it to suit his purposes. It shows, for example, that even in the mid-sixteenth century, a knowledge of the correct use of regional inflectional forms survived. It also shows that on a broader dialect front, there were such seemingly stable differences between regional usage, that LALME (whose cut-off date is nearly one hundred years earlier) can still be of some use in locating a text.

As far as broader issues are concerned, the repairs show that the early Reformation audience of Piers Plowman did not discriminate between the various recensions of the poem in any meaningful way. Thyrnbeke happily used the printed Crowley B-text, without either realising or caring that it was inappropriate to Add.35157.

The repairs also support the claim that during the period when manuscripts and printed books existed together, they were deemed as equals. Thyrnbeke had no compunction against using a printed book to correct a manuscript. Crowley's printed text was as authorial as the manuscript itself.

The repairs also show the existence of contracted work on a manuscript. Since Add.35157's owners were so easy to identify and, as is shown in the following chapter, the lines of transmission are fairly clear, it is extremely unlikely that Thyrnbeke owned the manuscript. Obviously he was brought in to provide the repairs. In the area of what might be called 'bespoke' reading aids, of which HM 143 and Douce 104 seemingly provide the finest examples, it does appear likely that Thyrnbeke was requested to provide some marginalia as part of his work. He followed some basic criteria for the selection of annotations from Crowley and produced a general and helpful non-secular reading of the first three passus.

Perhaps, however, the most important aspect of the Thyrnbeke repairs relates to the scholarly use of manuscript repairs and supports the decision made in the introduction of this study to refer to British Library Manuscript Additional 35157 as Add.35157 and not as U, its Piers Plowman C-text siglum. The Thyrnbeke corrections, while clearly part of Add.35157 have almost no relation to the U text of the C-version of Piers Plowman, and should be classified as a subset of the Crowley text of the B-version of the poem. It is highly inappropriate for editors to refer to the U siglum when citing text taken from the repairs, and the appearance of text from the Thyrnbeke repairs does suggest that a greater knowledge of paleography and codicology is required in the area of textual editing.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

- 1 For a physical description of the repairs, please refer to chapter 4.
- 2 Although Russell proposes attributing one of the secretary hands in Add.35157 to Thyrnbeke, calling the identification 'possible,' he seems unsure as to how many hands actually appear in the manuscript, and states that 'there are, seemingly, other hands with occasional contribution.' In the same article it becomes aparent that Russell has confused hands E, F, and H. G.H. Russell, 'Some Early Responses to the C-Version of Piers Plowman', Viator, 15 (1984), pp.281-282.
- 3 It was impossible to find more than a few 'Thrynbekes' in the published records of the Public Record Office.
- 4 The Place Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire, ed. by A.H. Smith, English Place Names Society, ed. by A. Maner and F.M. Stanton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), V, p.235.
- 5 MED.
- 6 The town still exists and can be found on any map of the area.
- 7 Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands.
- 8 For specimens of like hands, see Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle, English Handwriting: 1400-1650 (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992). Thrynbeke's hand may be seen in plates 4, 6 and 7.
- 9 Pearsall, pp.35-6.
- 10 Kane and Donaldson, p.233.
- 11 Kane and Donaldson, pp.233-245.
- 12 Pearsall, p.44.
- 13 Pearsall, p.40.

- 14 The actual number of Crowley impressions is problematic. The National Library of Scotland has two copies, selfmarks Sund.5 and H.32.C.25 respectively. Both copies claim to be second editions, and are catalogued as such, but H.32.C.25 contains the 'Cayne' annotation while Sund.5 does not. So therefore, the copy Thyrnbeke used could have been either a late second impression or the third impression of 1550.
- 15 On the theme of the possible lateral transmission of elements of a manuscript's ordinatio, see Adams, 'Once Again'.
- 16 The Vision of Piers Plowman, ed. by Robert Crowley, 2nd edn (London: 1550) f.2v. The second edition is catalogued as STC 19907a while the third is STC 19907. See STC, I.
- 17 It is troubling that both Kane and Donaldson's and Schmidt's collation for B:Pro:214 is in error regarding the Crowley texts, which do not uniformly attest to <vnclosen>. The second and third impressions contain <vnclose>.
- 18 The planned range of LALME covers 1350-1450, but is still useful for isolating Northern usage right into the mid-sixteenth century.
- 19 J.J. Smith suggested the term 'archaistic usage' to describe Thyrnbeke's use of the y prefix.
- 20 Marie-Claire Uhart, The Early Reception of Piers Plowman (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1986).
- 21 Russell (1984).
- 22 Pearsall; Schmidt.
- 23 Donaldson; Kane and Donaldson.
- 24 Pearsall, p.27.
- 25 Pearsall, p.36.
- 26 Schmidt, p.17.
- 27 Pearsall, p.36.
- 28 Schmidt, p.754.
- 29 Schmidt, p.17.
- 30 Pearsall, p.41.
- 31 Schmidt, p.25.
- 32 Pearsall, p.41.

- 33 Schmidt, p.754.
- 34 Derek Pearsall, 'The 'Ilchester' Manuscript of Piers Plowman', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 82 (1981), 181-193. The Ilchester manuscript is the subject of an unpublished study by Steve Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Carl Grindley.
- 35 In a conversation with Derek Pearsall in 1992 at the Manuscripts Conference at the University of York, he indicated that he had entertained doubts regarding the repairs to Add.35157, but allowed the text to stand with its accompanying note. And while Pearsall's edition remains the single finest all-purpose edition of Piers Plowman, future editors will now have carefully to re-assess the place of manuscript corrections in the preparation of texts.
- 36 I am indebted to electronic mail correspondance from Luuk Houwen, Thomas Izbicki, Willis Johnson, David Mackenzie, Outi Merisalo, Jim O'Donnell, and Robert D. Peckham, and for their suggestions and information regarding corrections from early printed books to manuscript. I am particularly grateful to Matthew C. Wolfe of West Virginia University for pointing out a similiar example of printed book to manuscript correction which exists in Cambridge University Library MS. Gg.4.27. Wolfe notes that the manuscript in question is a collection of Chaucer's works which was repaired c. 1600 by Joseph Holland using Speght's 1598 edition. See The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg.4.27, 3 vols., ed. by D.S. Brewer (Cambridge: Cambrige, 1979).
- 37 Blake, p.404.
- 38 The Thyrnbeke annotations are lineated as they appear in Add.35157. They invariably occur on the outside edge of the page.
- 39 The Crowley annotations are presented according to Crowley's spellings, but not in a completely diplomatic form. They are presented only for comparison.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HANDS G AND H

EDWARD AYSCOUGH

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lightlich hyse. leep a wyse peime
 In kyngs paragh laues to loggid of manye
 he was no wygh where welcome for his many tales
 what y hantid & y hote tuisse

Til p doneres hadson pite on him & puldon him yn to house
 pey wosshon him & krupton him & boundon him yn chontes
 and centon him on conendares with celes to chynche
 and zaf p doer for pens pound mese aboute
 peime laped lechas & heo pey centon
 pat hyse ofholde thowye swy him wates to lobe
 Anweser swolon to him to swie her wate
 for he can duhet cast & knoweth many comas
 ac gynntrale & gessanges mette with hyse ones
 and wythheldon him halpreef & tennen dayes
 do swies paragh swy swethe ferton him peimes
 and for knowyng of comes pey copedon him ac a hwe
 ac he hath lene to lepe out ac ofte to him lileth
 and ys welcome when he comes & thowes swy he ofte
 symonye & cynle centon to some
 and pinte hem paragh swies in pe popes ste
 ac constiencie to pe kyng acured hem hope
 and orde oye kyng by gyt but clytes amende
 in kyngdom paragh colleytise wol out of kynde thende
 and holt chynche paragh hem swerth harmed forene
 alle fledden for fear and flouhon in to harynes
 thine mede pe mayde no mo dinte abyde
 ac thulich to tello che trembled for fear
 and hope thepte & thowng when she was attached
Passus tunc de visione ut pms

Now is mede pe mayde & no mo ap hem alle
 paragh bedelo & bethise y thowng by pte pe kyng
 pe kyng calde a clerk y kan not his name
 ac taken mede pe mayde & makon hys ac a

hyse is puld
 into p doer house

swolow no
 pte swolow
 pte swolow
 my strelle
 my strelle
 & is swolow
 the swolow

I: INTRODUCTION

The Ayscough¹ family of Lincolnshire came into possession of Add.35157 sometime in the mid-sixteenth century, with the most probable route of transmission being a marriage between the manuscript's previous owners, the Surtees family, and the Ayscough family.²

Although no will exists mentioning Add.35157 by name, one of the signatories of Add.35157, Ralph Surtees,³ left some now unknown goods and some 'perfumed salmon' to his cousin George Ayscough.⁴ Since Ralph Surtees' will proposes generous donations to 'ye house of Muntgrace... and also to neessam abbey,' it obviously predates the dissolution, but for some reason it remained unproven until 1549.⁵ Although manuscripts were usually valuable enough commodities to warrant specific inclusion in wills,⁶ it is possible that Add.35157 was part of the overall Surtees' behest. Regardless of how it left the Surtees family, Add.35157 was in the possession of the Ayscough family sometime in the mid-sixteenth century.⁷

Edward Ayscough, 1550-1612,⁸ was the first son of Sir Edward Ayscough who died in 1558. He was a member of an important Lincolnshire family.⁹ His father was a cup-bearer to Henry VIII and a member of Archbishop Cranmer's household.¹⁰ Edward himself went to Christ's College Cambridge.¹¹ After Cambridge, he was knighted and served, as did his grandfather Sir William Ayscough, as sheriff of Lincoln.¹²

Edward was well-read and moved in literary circles.¹³ He wrote A historie contayning the warres, treaties, marriages, betweene England and Scotland, which was published in 1607. He dedicated his book to the then Prince of Wales, Henry Stuart.¹⁴ The nature of the book, that of a continuous history which covers Scottish/English relations from the near-mythological to the close of the Elizabethan period, indicates that

Edward had a considerable library at his disposal or at his access. The book's learning also shows that he was familiar with a variety of English dialects and Latin. It also demonstrates that he was comfortable with Scottish historical and literary works.¹⁵

Edward's acquaintances included Sir Robert Cotton. The British Library's manuscript Cotton Julius C III contains an immaculately-penned letter Edward wrote in response to a plea from Cotton.¹⁶ In the letter, Edward discussed a manuscript that Cotton loaned to a 'Mr Beadle' which subsequently went missing. In the letter Edward promised that Beadle would: 'bring the Booke he hath to London [...] which I presume you will like although it be not th' originalle but a coppey thereof but it seemeth to be an exact one.'¹⁷ Such a statement implies that Edward had some familiarity with manuscripts and was able to judge their value and condition.

II: IDENTIFICATION OF HANDS G AND H

The annotations in Add.35157 which were identified in chapter 4 as being in hands G and H were most likely the work of Edward Ayscough. This identification was based on issues of provenance and the similarity of the typologies of the two hands.

First, it is a certainty that Add.35157 was housed at the Ayscough family home in Cottam, Lincolnshire, during the mid-to-late-sixteenth century. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Francis Ayscough signs the manuscript on f.124r: 'per me Frauncis Aiscoughe de Ccottam.' There is no evidence that would suggest that the manuscript was not on family property at this time. At that time, both Edward and Francis were living at Cottam. Since Edward was the eldest son, it would have been

expected that he was living in the family house.¹⁸ Together with the fact that Edward and Francis' father died on April 6, 1558, it seems unlikely that hands G and H could be the work of anyone other than Edward.

As far as paleography is concerned, hands G and H are distinctive mid-sixteenth-century hands. As is discussed in the next chapter, hands G and H do not much resemble Francis Ayscough's typical late sixteenth-century hand.¹⁹ Ink overlays indicate that hand G was written before hands H and I. In particular, a Narrative Reading Aid annotation on f.106v marking 'Symonds sons,' was written by hand G and later modified by hand H to include the brief explanation 'which were in Hell.'

Hand G is a fine non-cursive italic hand, which bears very close resemblance to those taught at Cambridge during this period.²⁰ The letter forms are typical of the hand. They include a very distinctive recurved 'g', which was common in several of the various Cambridge colleges.²¹ Hand H is a small compact cursive secretary hand, very proficiently written, with no traces of earlier letter forms.

Two letters may be used in comparison with Add.35157's hands G and H. The first is the holograph letter written by Edward Ayscough to Robert Cotton, which displays very advanced cursive secretary features, while the second is a holograph letter written to the local authorities in Grimsby regarding a legal matter.²² The Grimsby letter is scrawled in a professional but hurried secretary, which in many ways is similar to hand H. Although the letter forms differ from the letters and the text presented in Add.35157, they do show that Edward had mastery over not only secretary and italic hands, but also that he knew several very specific sub-types of the hands.

The identification of hands G and H as being those of Edward Ayscough, for the most part, is not a critical matter for this study,

the first part of which presents a general analysis of the pattern of annotation attributed to hands G and H.²³ The second part, however, looks at a particular familial incident, attempts to place it within the milieu of Edward's study of Piers Plowman and suggests some reasons why he would have been so interested in the poem. The interpretations suggested in the second part of this chapter would be almost entirely negated if the identifications of the hands are incorrect.

III: EDWARD AYSCOUGH'S ANNOTATIONS

Sometime prior to the turn of the seventeenth century,²⁴ Edward Ayscough added over three hundred annotations to Add.35157's already massive marginal supply.²⁵ Before approaching his annotations on an individual level, it is important to try to gain some overall idea of how he worked.

There are a few questions to answer. For example: does the change in script from G to H indicate different sessions of annotation, or does it indicate a change in methodology (i.e. was one script used for one type of annotation and vice versa); is there a basic pattern of annotation which shows how Edward Ayscough viewed the unity of Piers Plowman's four sections (the Visio, Dowell, Dobet and Dobest); and, finally, how easily do the annotations fall into the specific types outlined in chapter 3 of this study?²⁶

The first question is easily answered. The change from hand G to hand H is explained when annotations in both hands are placed across the same bar graph on a passus by passus basis.

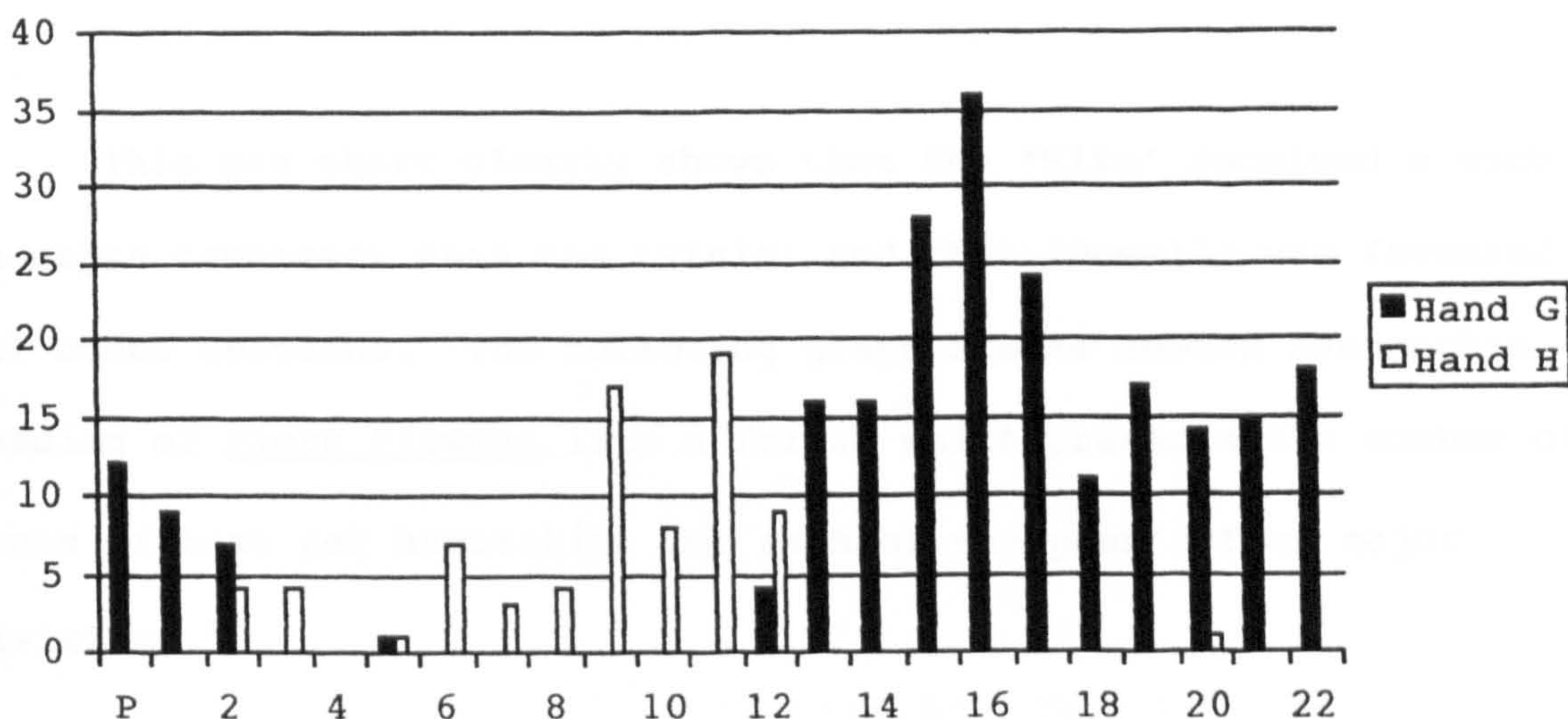


Figure 8 Hands G and H Annotations per Passus

Since hand G and H annotations are almost never found in the same passus, Figure 8 suggests that the annotations as a whole were probably completed in more than one session. The differences between hand G and H are entirely due to these sessions or 'stints'. It is impossible, however, to determine if there were two, three, or more 'stints' of annotation.

Interestingly, the graph also indicates a basic reading of Piers Plowman which radically differs from those readings suggested by Add.35157's contemporary annotations. That is, the various sections of the 'Vita' were more heavily annotated than those of the 'Visio'. Consider the following pie chart, which is segmented according to the number of annotations for each of the poem's four sections:

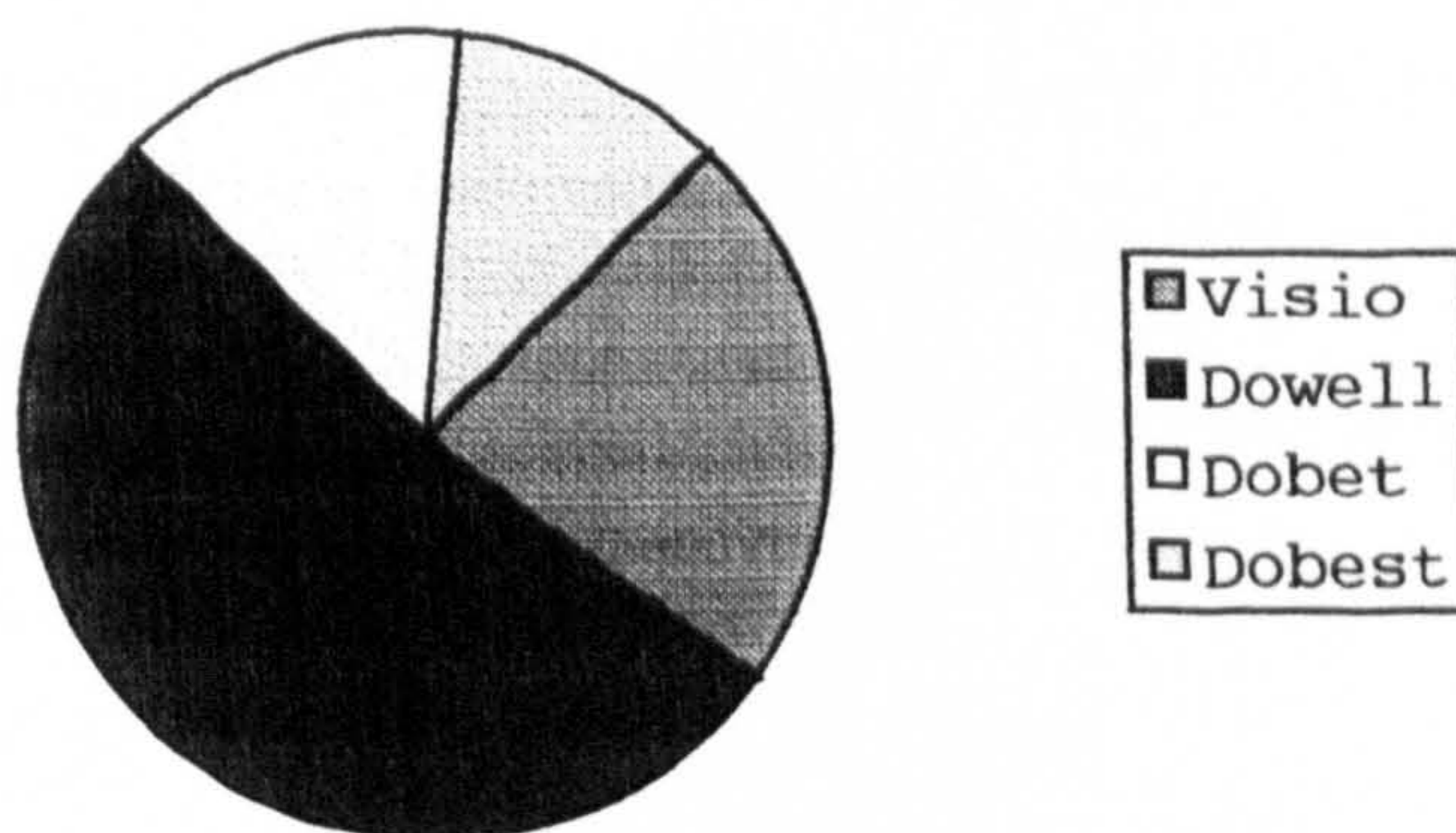


Figure 9 Hands G and H Annotations per Section

This pie chart clearly shows that the 'Vita' received a much more in-depth treatment than the 'Visio' and that 'Dowell' was favoured above all other sections. The following graph breaks Edward Ayscough's reading of Piers Plowman into a format which presents the number of lines of text per annotation for each of the poem's four major divisions.²⁷

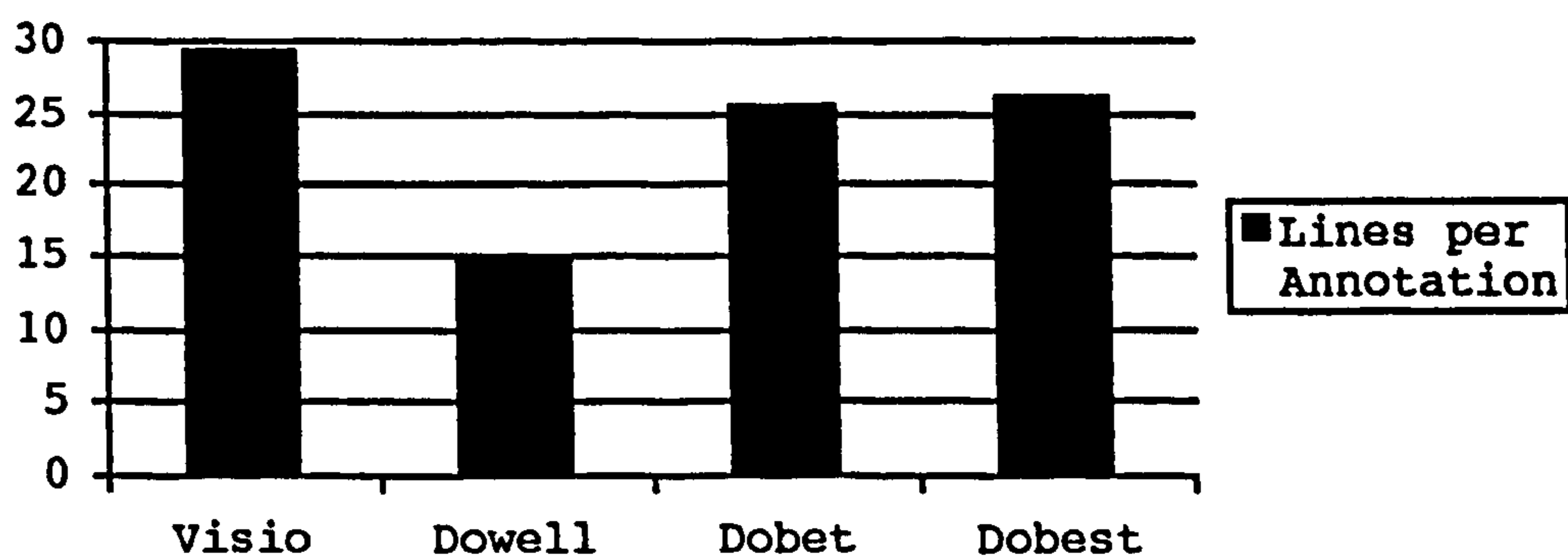


Figure 10 Hands G and H Lines of Text Per Annotation

In the 'Visio' annotations occur once every 30 lines or so, while in the 'Vita' annotations occur once every 18 lines. The level of activity seems to be the same for both 'Dobet' and 'Dobest'. 'Dowell' seems to have been the section which attracted the most attention. The next graph also treats hands G and H as unitary, but breaks down the data into lines of text per annotation for each passus.

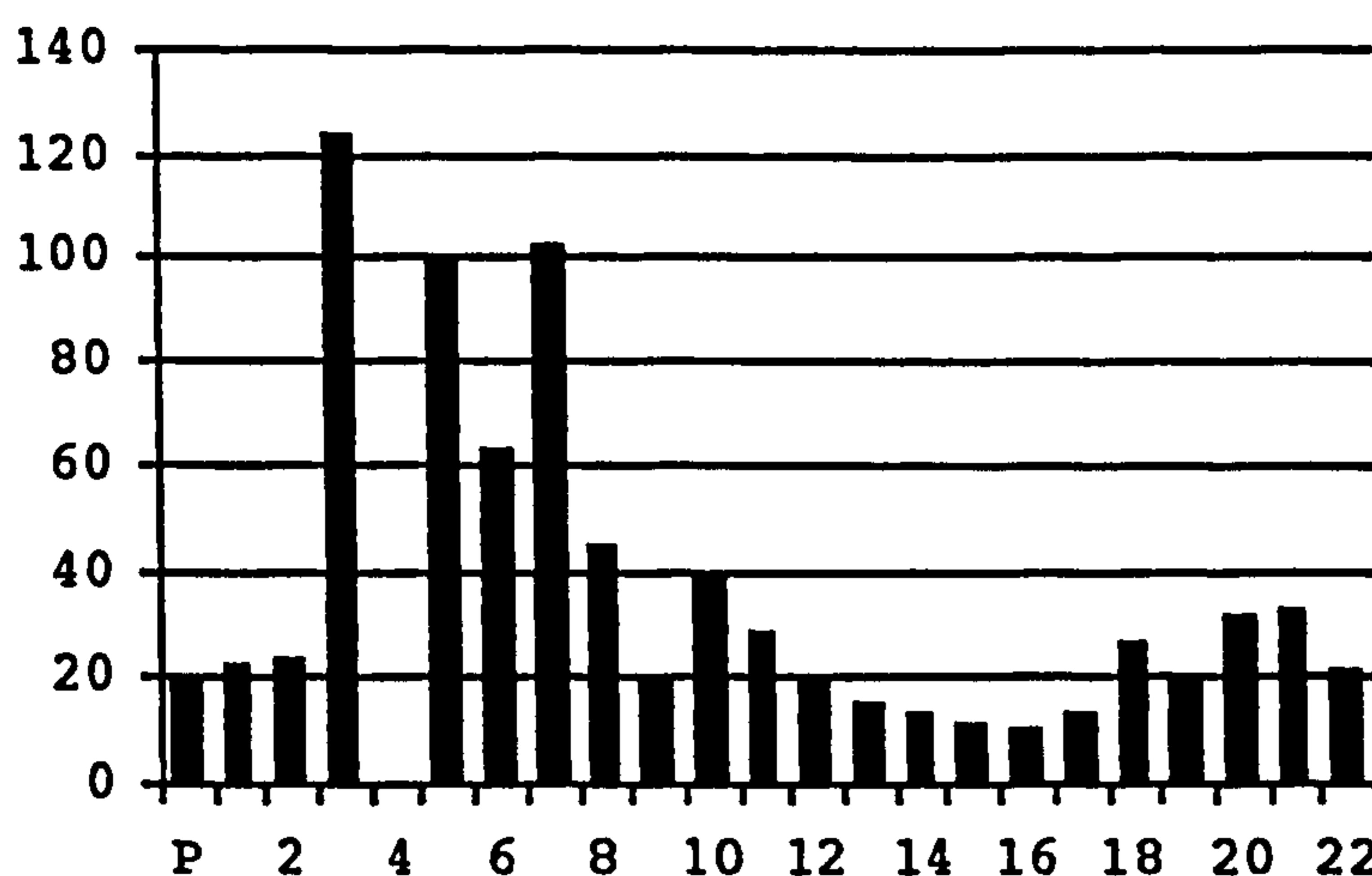


Figure 11 Hands G and H Lines per Annotation per Passus

As suspected, Figure 11 shows that not only were the main sections of Piers Plowman unevenly annotated, but that within sections, some passus were more heavily annotated than others. Edward Ayscough's reading obviously centred on 'Dowell'. In particular, he seemed very much interested in the large scale 'lectures' presented by Rechelesnesse, Imaginatif, Activa Vita, Patience and Liberum Arbitrium in passus XII-XVII. Conversely, Edward refrained almost entirely from commenting on Lady Meed's visit to Westminster in passus III, the 'autobiographical' material in passus V, or the confessions of the seven deadly sins. His lack of interest in the confession of the seven deadly sins seems most interesting. In the majority of Piers Plowman C-text manuscripts, the confession of the seven deadly sins is the single most heavily-annotated passage.

Edward Ayscough's annotations proved very easy to classify according to the system proposed in chapter 2. Looking at the hand G annotations to passus P, I, II, XIII and XIV, it is possible to see a general pattern emerging. Of the sixty annotations concerned, all but five are differing types of Narrative Reading Aids.

Edward Ayscough provided annotations that would enable him to find elements of the general narrative at a glance. Most of the annotations present fairly condensed overviews. His annotations often summarise five to ten line blocks of text. Consider his annotation to passus XIII:179-192 (f.71v):

	And þat moest meued me & my moed chaunged
Reson always	Was þat y say resoun sewen alle bestes
ruleth in beast	Saue man & mankynde mony tymes me þoughte
but not in Man	Resoun ruled hem not, noþir riche ne pore
	[þ]enne y aresonede Resoun & right til hym yseide
	[Y] haue wonder in my wit so wis as þu art holden
	Wherefore & why as wide as þu regnest
	þat þow ne ruledest rathir renkes · þen othir bestes
	Y see neen so ofton surfeton · soþly · so mankynde
for man surfeteth	Yn mete out of mesure · and many tymes in drinke
in meate, drynke	Yn wymmen yn wedes & in wordes bothe
in women, aparel	þei ouerdon hit day & nyght · & so doth not oþre bestes
and in wordes.	þei rule hem al by resoun · and renkes ful fewe
	And þefore mreueillethe for man is moste lik þe of wit & of <u> werkes </u>
	Whi he ne louethe þi lore & liuethe as þu techist

This annotation is fairly common for its type. It is a Narrative Reading Aid which provides a complete but condensed over-view of the material (NRA-SM-CO). The annotator divided the comment into two distinct sections and provided slim pen bracketing for the text he was condensing. The annotator was untroubled by most of the language, but stumbled on 'mete', which by his time more commonly meant 'flesh' instead of 'foodstuff'.²⁸ Although he correctly translated the word 'wedes' into 'aparel', 'wedes' or 'weeds' for 'clothing' was still fairly common usage until the late eighteenth century.²⁹

Although Narrative Reading Aids like the one documented above could be considered the most basic type of type III annotation, they too can be subjected to analysis.

In many passus of Add.35157, there are simply too many annotations to identify any operating patterns. The sermon of Imaginatif, passus XIV, for example, boasts fifteen annotations. These annotations occur at a rate of nearly one per thirteen lines. Since nearly every issue in Imaginatif's speech has been summarised, it is impossible to determine if any one topic appealed to Edward Ayscough more than any other.

On the other hand, some passus received relatively light annotation. Passus P, for example, only contains twelve notes by Edward Ayscough, which occur at a rate of one per nineteen lines of text. This lower frequency allows for the positioning of individual annotations to be analysed quite effectively. Passus P's annotations are distributed and may be classified as follows:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ABSTRACTED CONTENT</u>
P:36	(NRA-SM-TE)	minstrels
P:41	(NRA-SM-TE)	kings
P:49	(NRA-T)	pilgrims
P:54	(NRA-T)	hermits
P:60	(NRA-T)	friars
P:64	(G-M)	prophecy
P:70	(NRA-SM-TE)	pardoners
P:71	(NRA-T)	pardoners
P:78	(NRA-T)	bishops
P:99	(NRA-T)	prelates and priests
P:111	(NRA-C)	Samuel I:4
P:120	(NRA-SM-TE)	priests

Of these twelve annotations, ten concern religion, one concerns minstrels and one concerns kings. Two annotations are particularly interesting, that is the G-M at P:64 and the NRA-SM-TE at P:120. While graphic responses in Add.35157 are quite rare, and, indeed, are infrequently found across the vast majority of C-text manuscripts, the manacule at P:64 merely highlights an indication of prophecy and

presents no further argument. Hand I also responded to this passage, but in a much more direct way. Hand I's annotations to P:64 will be discussed in the following chapter.

However unrevealing the G-M at P:64 is, the NRA-SM-TE at P:120 is rewarding, and gives some indication of Edward Ayscough's motivations.

Consider the passage in question (f.8v.):

	For þi y saye ȝou <u>prestes</u> & men of holy chirche
	þat soffren men do sacrifice & worshipe mawmetes
for Idolatrye	And þey sholdon ben her fadres & techen hem <u>bettere</u>
God will take	God shal take veniaunce on alle suche <u>prestes</u>
Vengeaunce ouer	Wel hardore & grettore on suche shrewed fadres
<u>prestes</u> chiefly	þen euere he dide on off_ ny _ & fynees _ & hely yair fadre _
	For ȝoure shrewed soffraunce & ȝour owne synne
	ȝour masse & ȝour matynes & many of ȝour houres
	Arn don vndevoutliche drede hit is at þe laste
	Lest crist & his coustorie acorse of hem manye

Edward Ayscough's interest in this passage probably relates to his reformist stance towards traditional church iconography, and not to issues entirely related to 'Offny and Fynees'. What is interesting is that it is not clear whether Edward understood the whole meaning of the passage, or was using it to support his own ideas.

First, he has decided to omit any reference in his summary to poorly performed church rites (which arguably occupy the majority of this particular passage's text), and instead he focused entirely on idolatry. To his credit, Edward Ayscough's understanding of Langland's English remains excellent and he was familiar with the word 'mawmetes' which he has correctly interpreted.

Second, the sense of the passage--that is that bad priests will be punished more severely than 'Hely' was punished (death via a broken neck)--is corrupted simply to read 'chiefly'. The sense of the annotation seems to be 'the majority of those committing idolatry are priests and God will take vengeance.'

The question remains: if Edward Ayscough's knowledge of Middle English and his general educational background were so obviously of a superior calibre, how could he have misread such a simple passage? The answer must relate to his general motivations for reading Piers Plowman. Clearly he applied his own reformist ideals to a text which at times did not completely agree with his agendas, and, regarding idolatry, he was simply echoing one of the major concerns of his day.

Indeed, Edward Ayscough's Protestant, reform-oriented reading of Piers Plowman is continuously attested to in passus P. It may even be evidenced by examining those issues that went without any sort of marginal comment. For example, there are no annotations to the vivid parable of the belling of the cat, which is a Langlandian digression occupying a large portion of passus P. Apparently Edward Ayscough shied away from issues which were not directly concerned with religion. Although it might be supposed that by the mid-sixteenth century the rule of John of Gaunt might have been somewhat dimmed in popular memory, it must be remembered that Edward was a highly educated historian, who would have been well able to identify the allusion. Therefore, it must be assumed that he was simply not interested in completely temporal issues and preferred to reserve his comments for church matters. To support this view, it should be noted that Edward Ayscough also avoided commenting on the section on lawyers which follows the belling of the cat, and on the final street scenes which close passus P.

Although most of Edward Ayscough's annotations to Add.35157 agree with the text and simply divide it into manageable portions, he did not refrain from occasionally disagreeing with Langland, particularly on religious grounds. Consider the annotation to passus XVII:274-279 (f.91v.):

Yn sauacion of mannes soule synt Thomas of cantrebury
 Amonges vnkynde cristene in holichirche was slawe
 an Vnsownd And al holy churche honourede þorgh þat deyng
 opynion. He is a forbi seen to all bisshopes & a bright myrrour
 And soureeynly of suche þat surie bereth þe name
 And not yn ynglonde to hippe aboute & halowe menes |autrees|

Again, there is evidence of Edward Ayscough's reformist reading of the C-text of Piers Plowman. It is likely that he was simply echoing the sentiments of the twenty-second article of Anglican faith, which had been published in 1562. In this situation he has just encountered an extended passage, which includes passus XVII:270-273, and which concerns the origin and special powers of Saints. From a theological point of view, Edward is against such excessive veneration and so speaks out against the text itself and its author. Literary responses like this are incredibly rare, and, at least across texts of Piers Plowman, I have yet to find another. What the annotation suggests is that by the mid-sixteenth century, not only had the status of the auctor diminished to the level at which it languishes today, but also that there seemed to be no inherent 'authority' of older books. Whereas it might be argued that Protestant readings of Piers Plowman were conducted to reveal some sort of historic English tradition of reform and protest against the excesses of the church, the texts were being used in a purely pragmatic, propagandist sense and where they were found to be even partially deficient, they were simply dismissed or creatively re-interpreted.³⁰

There is additional documentary information which shows the depth of feeling Edward had for the issues raised by the swelling tide of Protestant church reform. Since interest has grown considerably in the history of the reform movement and in the history of the person concerned, what follows is a brief digression into the Ayscough family's own Protestant martyr.

IV: THE MARTYRDOM OF ANNE ASKEW

Edward Ayscough's paternal aunt, Anne (1521-1546),³¹ was the Protestant martyr Anne Askew. She is figure who in recent years has attracted a fairly substantial body of scholarly interest.³² Certain documentary evidence, however, has been neglected. In particular, two unique and very different statements from her nephews Edward and Francis Ayscough have been ignored. Since this chapter concerns Edward's contributions to Add.35157, it seems fitting to discuss this aspect of his life here and establish the necessary background information to assist the following chapter's discussion of Francis' annotations regarding the same matter.

The facts surrounding Anne's death have been manipulated for propagandist use by both Protestants and Catholics ever since her execution took place. As far as can be reasonably determined, at around twenty-five years of age, Anne Askew was married to Thomas Kyme, a man who resented his young wife's courtly connections and fervent Protestantism. Early into the marriage, she deserted Kyme and moved to London, where she associated with the household of Katherine Parr. Probably on Kyme's request, and perhaps in a foolish attempt to regain control of his wife, Anne was arrested and brought before church

officials. She was charged with denying transubstantiation and other aspects of Zwinglian doctrine.³³ Soon afterwards, Bishop Bonner of London began to take personal interest in her case and her cause began to deteriorate. She was probably not 'racked', as her first biographer John Bale suggests, but following some form of rigorous interrogation, she was found guilty and burnt at the stake in Smithfield in the summer of 1546.

The Askew family, as would be expected after the experience of Anne's martyrdom, continued their support of Protestantism and the reform of the church. In his book, Edward Ayscough responded quite strongly to the memory of Anne. Edward's reaction is preserved in The Warres and can only be described as an odd digression from the main text of his commentary.

Like the rest of The Warres, Edward's comments on Anne date to roughly the turn of the seventeenth century, but he was by no means alone in keeping the memory of his famous aunt alive. John Bale's book appeared shortly after her death. This is how he concludes her story:³⁴

In the year of our Lord 1546, and in the month of July, at the prodigious procurement of antichrist's furious remnant, Gardiner, and Bonner, and such like, [Anne Askew] suffered most cruel death in Smithfield [.....] Credibly am I informed by divers Dutch merchants which were there present, that in the time of [her] sufferings the sky, abhorring so wicked an act, suddenly altered colour, and the clouds from above gave a thunder-clap, not all unlike to this is written Psalm lxxvi.

There were other more solitary voices than Bale.³⁵ For example, Henry Appleyard's curious and unique tabular manuscript chronicle, begun in 1598, also preserves Anne's martyrdom. By observing the other events

that Appleyard considered worthy of preservation, it is possible to put her memory into some historical context.³⁶

Appleyard's chronicle is written on membrane in a fine italic hand, with much illumination in both silver and gold and is divided into a series of long columns, sometimes ten to a page.³⁷ The lone entry for 1546 reads: 'Anne Askue with two moe burned in Smithfield.' At first glance it seems Appleyard was not particularly interested in the occasion, however if the rest of the column is examined, it may be seen that Anne's demise was deemed equal in importance to the Council of Trent in 1545 (which Appleyard granted a three-word description) and the election of Pope Julius the third. Appleyard's statement on Pope Julius serves well to illustrate his by no means moderate political viewpoint:

3: Julius Pope 5, years, a ribald sodomite a blasphemer he saide in spite of gods harte' giue me my bacon & yet his Phisition said it was not houlsum for him yet said he' I will haue it in despite of god. Another time missing a pecoke at his table which he had commanded to be brought, he burst into an extreme choller where upon a cardinal mouing him to be quiet what said he was god angrie for an Apple in so much as he caste out oure fyrste parentes Adam and Eue oute of paradice for yt mater and may not I being gods vicar be angrie for my pecoke.

Although Edward was a committed reformer, he did not completely share Appleyard's inclination toward extreme Protestantism. As already mentioned, his comments in Add.35157, although clearly biased toward a reform-minded reading of Piers Plowman, do not cross the line into hysteria. His comments were measured, uniform and sober. It is therefore all the more surprising that Edward's contribution to the Anne Askew story is as direct as it is, with him devoting three pages of his book to his aunt's martyrdom.

Since Edward Ayscough's book is quite rare, the passage is reproduced in full below:³⁸

For albeit K. Henry had lately banished the vsurped Supremacie of the bishop of Rome, & also had published the New Testament in English, (a good preparatiue to the reformation that followed in his sonnes daies: yet it pleased not the lord to enlighten his vnderstanding so farr, as by his Ministey to giue the Gospell free passage in all the principall points of the true religion. Hereof it came to passe, that as well in the one as other nation, especially for denying the reall and carnall preference of our Sauour Iesus Christ (whom the father hath placed farre aboue the earth, at his right hand in heauen) to be in the holy sacrament of his last supper. For about this time, George Wishart a Scottish Minister, a man of speciall account for the purity of his life & doctrine, was conuented before the cardinall, and by him conuicted of herisie (as the truth was then called) finally burned at S. Andrews, ouer-against the castel (where he was imprisoned) within ten weeks after, on the 16. of Iuly; 1546. Anne Ayscu one of the two daughters of Sir William Ayscu of Lincolnshire, being not aboue 25. yeares old, for the defence of the same truth, was first most barbarously tormented on the rack, & then (not preuailing that way) burned with others in Smithfield at London. These saints of God, the two first of speciall marke (he for the reputaion of his life and learning, and she for the respect of her birth and education) that in this iland gaue their liues for the truth, left behind them a more notorious remembrance of their christian ends, by the strang predictions that accompanied the same. For when this man of God (the flame now ready to incompasse him) was comforted by the Captaine of the Castell his keeper, and put in minde to call vpon GOD, answered againe, that though these fierie flames are greeuous to flesh & bloud, yet my spirit is nothing there-with dismayd: but hethat so proudly fitteth yonder ouer-against vs (meaning the Cardinal that was placed in a window of the Castell to behold this spectacle) shall within few dayes lye on the ground, no lesse reprochfully then now he doth aduance himselfe arrogantly, which within foure monthes

after came to passe when as the Cardinall was murthered by certaine of his owne clientes and followers, in the same place, and his dead carcas showed out at the same windowe, where lately before he was placed, in great pompe at the martirdome of George Wishart. Mine aunt Anne, after many threats and great search made for her by the prelates her persecutors, was by casual intercepting of her owne letter discouered, and so vnwillingly deliuered into ther bloody hands, by him, that both loued her and the religion which she professed, but was neuer the lesse ouer come with feare (for hee had much to lose least happily by concealing what was knowne he knew, he might so haue brought himself into trouble thus much flesh and blood preuailed with him, which often hath such powre euen ouer the most regenerat, that the Apostle Paul saith of himselfe, what I would that I doe not: but what I hate euen that I doe, from the time he had leaft her with them, till the houre wherein she suffered, a flame of fier presented it selfe in the day time to vewe such (as acording to his owne comparison (appeareth in a glasse windowe ouer against a great fier in the same roome, doutlesse this figue was giuen him to some end, and I doubt not, but he made good vse thereof. For the sequell thus much haue I since obserued, that his Sonne and haire in few yeares, wasted the better part of his patrimonie (not to be redeemed at this day, with 20.thousand pounds) by yeelding ouer-much to the vnbridled vanities of another Anne Aiscu his wife. Thus it pleased the Lord in his wisdome, to giue honour to our family by such a meane, as the world then held reprochfull, and contrariwise to impaire the state and reputation of the same, by such a match, as in the iudgment of man (for she was honorably descended) should rather haue giuen more estimation vnto it. But now to returned to the contention temporall.

Anne's inclusion in the text comes as somewhat of a surprise, in fact, it interrupts the flow of the 1546 battle of Tweed and delays the Earl of Hertford's martial preparations for three pages. The most likely explanation for the digression is that Edward began a brief description of Wishart's martyrdom, which comprises the bulk of his

commentary and then felt a need to discuss his own family's experiences in a similar situation.

Thomas Kyme, Anne's husband, who is routinely held at fault by her biographers, is given an uneven treatment by Edward. Kyme is not identified by name, but there can be no doubt that the man that Edward refers to as, 'him, that both loued her and the religion which she professed,' can only be Kyme. There seems to be some vacillation between partially excusing Kyme's conduct on the grounds that the Apostle Paul also suffered from a regret of action and weakness caused by fear and blaming Kyme to the point that Edward appears to revel in the eventual decline of the Kyme family fortunes at the hands of another Anne Askew.

Curiously Edward refrained from naming any individual 'prelates', which, as is documented in the following chapter, is completely the opposite of his brother Francis' approach. It appears that Edward treated the episode with some delicacy. It should be remembered that he also avoided naming the Scottish Cardinal who persecuted George Wishart, an identification which would have been easily made by any member of his early seventeenth-century audience.

It should also be noted that Edward's book is littered with names, and he includes vast tables of names when discussing various chains of command or line-ups for individual battles. Perhaps his reluctance to place the blame originates in an internal mythology he must have constructed regarding Anne's death. Edward, in his conclusion to the episode, makes God personally responsible for Anne's martyrdom, and insists that such an honour should have been given more 'estimation' when it occurred. He has moved away from particular people and events, and focused on the grander designs behind the occasion.

Perhaps Edward Ayscough's interest in his aunt's life should be seen in the context of his apparent high regard for Piers Plowman. Protestantism was an important part of Ayscough family history, and affected their lives from the books that they owned to manner of their deaths. Anne Askew chose to be true to her beliefs and lost her life for them. In his own way, Edward Ayscough's reading of Piers Plowman (especially with regard to the number of his comments which are directly concerned with church matters) shows that not only were his beliefs just as confirmed, but that a certain consistency existed in the entire family's belief system.

V: CONCLUSIONS

By our standards, Edward Ayscough would have been on the fringes of both greatness and prosperity. He received an exemplary education, and busied himself with the affairs of the county he lived in for almost all of his life. Clearly he was a devout Protestant and supporter of the reform, and although his views were often tempered by either reluctance or innate conservatism, he was not above using Piers Plowman for his own ends.

Edward Ayscough's comments on Piers Plowman obviously reflect both his academic training--his annotations provide an excellent ordinatio for the work--and his religious views. He was anti-fraternal, anti-clerical, anti-Papist and wrote the vast majority of his annotations at positions in the text relating to the real or perceived sins of the clergy.

Russell, collectively discussing the work of Edward and Francis Ayscough, writes:³⁹

The burden of the commentary is upon the reform of manners and morals and the reform of structures within the church. [Their comments] enable us to place all three commentators on the more extreme Protestant wing of the church. They have turned the manuscript into a kind of handbook of the positions of that party.

Edward Ayscough's use of the text was not entirely politically motivated. Quite possibly he felt some sense of social responsibility concerning his wealth, which, at the time, would have been very great. Nearly thirty annotations mention poverty or riches or the needy. Edward fixes on the term 'patyence poverty', repeating it five times across a spectrum of passus.

Although Edward Ayscough was a well-educated author with a considerable library at his disposal, he almost entirely refrained from producing 'literary' annotations. There is only one annotation which attributes a passage of text to the scriptures (f.8v. at passus P:111), and only a handful which were triggered by the poem's literary devices. His book, on the other hand, is filled with literary allusions and quotations. He mentions books that he has read on nearly every page. It seems, therefore, that Edward's reading of Piers Plowman, was a politically- and religiously-tempered personal exploration and that his annotations illustrate his responses to a text he saw as primarily from an internalised reformist viewpoint.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6

- 1 The Ayscough spelt their surname in a great number of ways including <Aiscough>, <Ayscough>, <Askewe>, <Ayscu>, <Ayscoe>, <Askew>, <Ascoughe> etc. For convenience I will adopt <Ayscough> as a uniform spelling except where directly quoting mention of the name. The same holds true for the Surtees, and since this family is still extant, it seems expedient enough to use the modern spelling.
- 2 H.C. Surtees and H.R. Leighton, Records of the Family of Surtees, (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: private, 1925), pp.24-25.
- 3 Ralph Surtees' name appears in Latinised form as 'Seutrus' on f.124v.
- 4 Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics &c. of the Northern Counties of English From the 11th Century Downwards (London: J.B. Nichols, 1835), I, p.133.
- 5 Wills and Inventories, I, p.133.
- 6 J.B. Friedman, 'Books, Owners and Makers in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire: The Evidence from Some Wills and Extant Manuscripts', Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts, ed. by A.I. Minnis (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989).
- 7 Ralph Surtees' will is heavily damaged, and large amounts of text are apparently missing, including the first part of his behest to George Ayscough.
- 8 Calendar for State Papers of the Reign of James I 1611-1618 Domestic Series, ed. by M.A.E. Green (London: Longman, Brown, Green, 1858), p.267.
- 9 J. Burke and J.B. Burke, Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), I, pp.122-3. For discussions of the Ayscough's wealth and position in Lincolnshire see Clive Holmes, Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1980); and Gerald A.J. Hodgett, Tudor Lincolnshire (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1975).
- 10 Lincolnshire Pedigrees, ed. by A.R. Maddison (London: Harleian Society, 1902), I, p.61.

- 11 Venn and Venn, I, p.61.
- 12 Public Record Office: List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to 1837 (hereafter PRO Sheriffs), (London: HMSO, 1898), p.80. Edward served as sheriff of Lincoln from the 4th of December 1587 to the 25th of November 1588.
- 13 DNB, II, p.298.
- 14 Edward Ayscu, A historie contayning the warres, treaties, marriages, betweene England and Scotland (London: G.Eld., 1607). Extracts from the University of Glasgow's Hunterian Library's copy of this book, Special Collections e.-3.5, are published with the permission of the Librarian of Glasgow University Library.
- 15 Within the first twenty pages of The Warres, Edward Ayscough mentions books by, Brute, Pliny, Ceasar, Tacitus, Bede, Melancton, Camden, Claudian, Herodotus, Dion, Juvenal, Amianus, Girald Cambrensis, Alfred, and Julius Scaliger.
- 16 A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum, intro. by J. Planta (London: Hansard, 1802), pp.9-10.
- 17 See appendices for a transcription of this letter.
- 18 At the close of the introduction to the Warres, Edward states that his is writing from Cottam. Ayscu, p.[xvi].
- 19 See plates 1 and 3-9 for examples of hands G, H and I.
- 20 Some useful resources on this topic include: Giles E. Dawson, and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650 (London: Faber and Faber, 1966); Bruce Dickins, and Alfred Fairbank, The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1962); and James Wardrop, The Script of Humanism: Some Aspects of Humanist Script 1460-1560 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963).
- 21 Edward's Cambridge college, Christ's, had among its alumni William Chaderton and John Still, both of whom had developed highly ornate humanist hands while at university. For a comparison between these hands and hand G, see: Dickins and Fairbank, pp.29-31 and plates 17(b) and 21 (b).

- 22 I would like to thank K.D. Holt, the County Archivist for the South Humberside Area Archive Office for providing photostat copies of their holograph letter from Edward Ayscough. The letter is catalogued in Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Manuscripts of Lincoln, Bury St. Edmund's, and Great Grimsby Corporations, 14.8 (London: HMSO, 1895), p.256.
- 23 It seems unreasonable to suppose or to propose that hands G and H were the work of anyone other than Edward Ayscough.
- 24 See the appendices for a full transcription of these annotations.
- 25 The annotations of hands G and H were already in place when hand I's annotations were added. Since hand I dates an annotation to 1601, it is clear that the annotations of hands G and H were written sometime before 1601.
- 26 For a key and explanation of the abbreviations used in this chapter to describe marginalia, see chapter 3.
- 27 This chart, like the ones from the chapter 4, uses Pearsall's line counts for the C-text, and includes the Prologue as part of the Visio.
- 28 MED, VI, pp.387-388; and Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter OED), ed. by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), XX, p.530.
- 29 OED, XX, pp.77-78.
- 30 This interpretation is quite standard, and has been successfully applied to Archbishop Parker's motivations for collecting Anglo-saxon and Middle English manuscripts. Guest lecture by Ray Page.
- 31 DNB, II, pp. 190-192.

- 32 For recent work see: Elaine V. Beilin, 'Anne Askew's Self-Portrait in the Examinations', Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works, ed. by Margaret Patterson Hannay (Ohio: Kent State, 1985); Elaine V. Beilin, 'Anne Askew's Dialogue with Authority', Contending Kingdoms: Historical, Psychological and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth Century England and France, ed. by Marie-Rose Logan and Peter L. Rudnytsky (Detroit: Wayne State, 1991); James Michael Glass, Silent Reform in Henry's Court: Katherine Parr and her Court and their Contribution to the English Reformation (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991); Cheryl Jean Glenn, Muted Voices from Antiquity through the Renaissance: Locating Women in the Rhetorical Tradition (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1989); and, D.L Hamilton, The Household of Katherine Parr (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford, 1992).
- 33 M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago: Chicago, 1939), p.57.
- 34 John Bale produced two works on Anne Askew: John Bale, The first examinacyoun of Anne Askew, latelye martyred in Smythfielde, with the elucydacyon of J.Bale (Wesel: D. van der Straten, 1546); and, John Bale, The lattre examinacyoun of Anne Askewe, with the elucydacyon of J.Bale (Wesel: D. van der Straten, 1547). This extract comes from: John Bale, Select Works of John Bale, ed. by Henry Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1849), p.243.
- 35 John Bale's two books on Anne Askew remained in print in various editions until 1560. Anne Askew later became the subject of a popular broadside in the seventeenth century, 'Anne Askew, intituled, I am a Woman Poor and Blind,' which was published in several forms from 1625 until 1695. A copy of this ballad is reproduced in: The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads in the Library of the University of Glasqow, intro. by John Holloway (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1971).
- 36 Extracts from manuscript Hunterian 450 are published with the permission of the Librarian of Glasgow University Library.
- 37 For further information on Hunterian 450, see Young and Aitken.
- 38 Ayscu, pp.306-309.

39 Russell, 'Some Early Responses', p.283.

CHAPTER 7
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HAND I
FRANCIS AYSCOUGH

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hit is ful hard by myn hened herto to bringe hit

And alle your lege ledes to ledt yno enene

syhmi pat vaught yf ye jode ad jerdun to veking

But yf ze use yno alle jerdunec jenneth me any ight

And bringe alle mento bothe byn alston bitt wamnde

byn outon nigment q man langhte amende alle jounes

I shalde hit chere ad ye kyng wel al aboute

For y jerdun jerdily yoll shalt not ydon he nnes

But be my ches channceles yn cheser & in plement

And constence yn alle my countes be a kyng Justice

y assente orde jerdun by to you self here

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I: INTRODUCTION

The most persistent, the most personal and the most violent voice in Add.35157's margins belongs to hand I. Fortunately, hand I attributes its authorship on at least three separate occasions. On the manuscript's first flyleaf and again on ff.124r and 124v, it appears as Francis Ayscough. Francis Ayscough was quite easily identified and, indeed, was the younger brother of Edward Ayscough, who was the subject of the previous chapter.

Judging from the number of annotations attributed to hands G and H which were then modified or disputed by hand I, Francis Ayscough commented on Add.35157 after his brother had completely finished his own reading of the text. Francis contributed nearly four hundred annotations and his comments comprise the bulk of Add.35157's marginal supply.¹

Like his older brother Edward, Francis Ayscough's biographical details are relatively easy to obtain. Francis was the second son of the elder Sir Edward Ayscough.² He was born sometime after 1549, when his brother was born, and sometime before 1558, when his father died.³ According to Lincolnshire records, Francis was alive in 1616, but when his wife Jane Ayscough (nee Welby) died in 1630, she was a widow.⁴ Therefore, Francis' longest possible life would have been from 1550-1630 and his shortest possible life from 1558-1616.

Francis did not have many of the social benefits that his brother Edward enjoyed. There are no records of him attending either Oxford or Cambridge, his name does not appear in any suits or claims or in any privy council documents, nor did he ever serve as his county's sheriff, or associate with the literary circles of his time.⁵ There is every indication that he remained financially dependent on his brother's

estate for his entire life. For example, in 1603, at approximately 45 years of age, he was living with his brother at the Ayscough family seat in Cottam, Lincolnshire.⁶

However, there is evidence to suggest that Francis Ayscough had once been in the employment of Sir Michael Hicks.⁷ Hicks himself was a powerful functionary under Lord Cecil, the great Elizabethan Chancellor of the Exchequer.⁸ A.G.R. Smith calls Francis a 'servant' to Hicks and it is likely that he was some kind of personal assistant or clerk in Hicks' office.⁹ It is this ill-defined relationship with Hicks that provides the majority of evidence regarding Francis' character.¹⁰ This evidence includes the suggestion that Francis was a wild, somewhat uncontrollable, youth, whose life was either ruined or nearly ruined by his easily-malleable nature.¹¹ Indeed, even after a period of at least twenty years, Francis still mentions the 'vaine folly of youtfull lyfe.'¹²

Perhaps the most interesting facet of Francis Ayscough's life is the startling contrast between his words to Hicks in the late 1570s and his comments in Add.35157 at the turn of the seventeenth century. It is as if a great change occurred in his personality shortly after the episode with Hicks. Francis' once rebellious, almost surly, nature was exchanged for an absolutely humourless fundamentalist approach to the Reformation, Protestantism, God and Piers Plowman.

II: THE IDENTIFICATION OF HAND I

The hand previously identified as hand I is that of Francis Ayscough. As far as its general description is concerned, it does not easily fit into any single category.¹³ With regards to some of its

various letterforms, it has some of the hallmarks of a late sixteenth-century secretary hand, but is presented as a non-cursive italic hand in that the letterforms are clearly divided. It is neither a business hand, nor is it a decorative hand and instead seems to have been used merely for the writer's own pleasure. The state of the hand indicates that it was probably never meant to be read by anyone other than its author.

The hand appears in a dark brown to black ink and in some places is now considerably faded. No attempt was made to provide rules or other guides for the writing and on some folios it appears cramped and almost illegible on the inside margins. The letterforms themselves are large and ill-formed, which makes them appear in complete contrast to all the other hands in the manuscript.

Since the hand vigorously asserts itself as the holograph of Francis Ayscough of Cottam, Lincolnshire, there is no reason to doubt its attribution.

III: THE YOUNG FRANCIS AYSCOUGH

Although the topic of this chapter relates to the annotations to Add.35157 that Francis Aycough produced in his late middle age, it is interesting to examine his character as a young man. The source for this portrait of Francis Ayscough is a series of amazing statements preserved in Hicks' correspondance. It is possible that Francis' letters to Hicks show the young man receiving a substantial shock, then undergoing a profound character change, which in later life accounts for the unwavering nature of his work in Add.35157.

Sometime around 1570, Francis somehow offended Hicks, either personally, or by some now mysterious, unethical or possibly illegal activity, and was subsequently relieved of his employment. The British Library's manuscript CVII contains three letters which Francis wrote to Hicks begging to regain favour. The first letter is amazing in its apparent brutality:¹⁴

Sir I curse the daye and our wherin it was my hard fortune to depert from you so villin^oshe without case consideringe yor great kindnes allwaies towards me upon so li^tell desert and haue geuen so gret cause to the contrary as I have donn but this I know that although I nor anie frind I haue am not able to recompence the same yet god I trust will trewlie praise for as to my selfe and I must neds confese this that you haue litell case to beleue m^e in anithing but god beineg I speke it faindlie and am a[.]sorg[.] to part from you as from my owne lyfe therefore I am now in dispare of anie good fortune but to contineu everlastinge sorou but god forgiue them that is the cause of all my hard fortune hard hap in evil to lose such a master as I thinke never anie man had the like and with him all the rest of my frends and so vndon my selfe for euer alas although I mu^{ch} the bast alwaies yet I never was fre from that which is the cause of all my troble and am doubtfull euer of the same I am a shamed of the same and shame to looke you in the face but I ^commit my selfe into your hand in the which ^I my life consisteth ether to same or spill and I hird rather to come againe to take my leue of yow though I did for it then to goe as I haue beyenn but yf I maye haue sue leue of yow I shall thinke myself as ^much bound to yow as the these from the gallows therefore I cumyt myselfe into your hands to vse at your pleseur

Francis closes the first letter with 'yours whilst I liue|whether I liue or die|Frances Ayscoughe.' The letter is remarkable in that it clearly shows someone who is not only very much distraught, but wallowing in potentially suicidal despair. The author sees his loss of

favour as being entirely accidental and quite possibly unjust. Obviously Francis received some form of encouraging reply from Hicks because he again writes:¹⁵

Sir although ther be no cawse for me to desire anie favour of your hands knowinge how litell I haue deservid it yet knowinge your wisdome and good nature I am incoreged to su both for pardon of that ofonce which is past and to craue seruice at your worships hands which if I maye obtayne I shall thinke myselfe most hapie, but alas fortune is so frouand as I am halfe in dispare for when I remember how oft I haue promised yow to amend that which I most neglogentlie haue broken, it greueth me to the very soule but yf I might sure recover the losse of so good a master then hapie I, I woulde not then do as I haue done I haue a master yat loueth I me well and I loue him well yet yf it might please yow to make tryall of me sure againe I would not forsake yow till deth ther is none that woule be more glad of my proferment then the master that I now serue whoe will giue both worde and bond for my good behaviour therefore good sir let my humble and hartieful take efort soth that now I se most playnlie my sure follie that led to my sure foolysh thoughts but I dare well saye ther is no youth in England of my yers hath bought that litell will be hath more ceard than I haue done but oh that I had beleuid your good instrucsions and gentell parsuations then I had not knowne of maine extermites as I haue done but Folly that then did blind me as now put to flight by gods grace which hath opned my eyes thus good sir you maye se the ernest desire I haue to servue yow god graunt it may take efecte thus crauinge pardon for this my <w>onteness with my humble dutie remembred I humblie take my leaue From London this xxiiith daye of Julie

The desperate tone of the close of the first letter has been replaced with the more sober-sounding 'your louinge and obedient|Servant Frances Ayscouhe,' and the letter does seem to be slightly more positive.

The last letter starts to show a further change in Francis' personality. Whether his words are similar to those of a convict feigning conversion for favour, or if they truly reflect his condition is hard to determine. Judging from his annotations in Add.35157, and as unlikely as it seems, the latter is probably the case.¹⁶

Sir since yow haue commandede me to confes my faltes and showe myselfe sorye for the same, I protest before god that I am sory from my hart and do confes that they are so manie and so fouell faltes that I am never able to make yow amends and that by my owne desert I rather deserue dethe then forgiueness and I knowe this that if it had beene to anie man but yorselfe I know that shame whilst I liue had beene shecfest reward whiche deathe had beene more welcome to me a thousand times but he goes far that never turnes and I trust in god that I shall now returne from all thes foule offenses/ which are so manie that cannot resit them but for this too last and detestable faltes of last I too vnfortunatelie remember them and shall till it plese god to giue me anewe mynd which I trust he wille and though not y nor anie frend I haue be able to recompense your goodwill towards me yet god I trust will blesse yow and though I should never cum to good there is now falt in yow for your meninge towards me that beene so much as I do not dout but god will reward yow and for this last offense which me you haue forgiuen y me thinke myself hapie and I hope it shal be such a warm to me that whilst I liue I shall never do the lyke/ and now calinge to mynde ye vertuous counsell which alwaye you haue giuen me it greues me to think how vntankefull I haue beene for the same I mene in that I followid it no better but nowe that I consider the same if there be anie hope of graceing me I shall take hede nowe and I am glad that it pleseth yow to giue me leue to goe into the <c>untrie for I trust I shall leue all thes my faltes with them that hath bene the causes of this my forgetfulnes for I know that my head beinge so troubled with this <folish> <conseit> hath made me forget god and neglect my dutie towards yow but I trust that god will change my hart and make me becum a newe man for the which I will praye

continually with so treu repentance that I do not ydout but
god will here my prayer/

The letter is closed with 'Amen|yours to loue and serue
you|durlinge lyfe Frances|Ayscough.' The tone of the third letter is
considerably more polished than the first or second letters. Francis
went out of his way to endow his language with what might be described
as a faux formality. As a side note, it is unfortunate that no
documentary evidence exists to suggest that Francis ever regained
employment from Hicks.

IV: FRANCIS AYSCOUGH'S ANNOTATIONS: GENERAL COMMENTS

The sheer number and great variety of the annotations made to
Add.35157 by Francis Ayscough considerably complicates any overall
interpretation. By necessity, the following comments are as general as
possible.

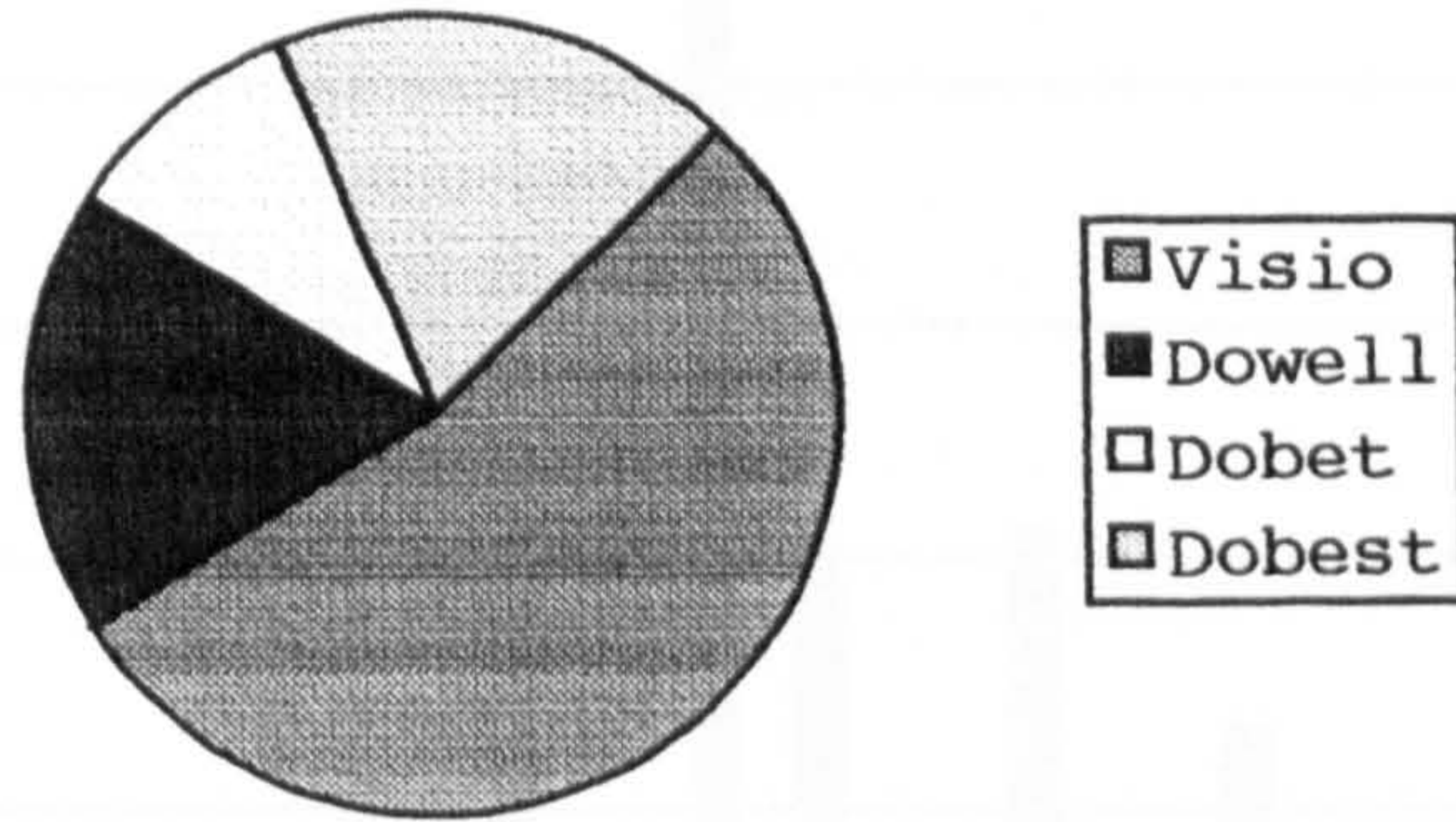


Figure 12 Hand I Annotations per Section

The preceding chart shows the basic distribution of Francis Ayscough's comments in Add.35157 across the broad divisions of 'Vita', 'Dowel', 'Dobet' and 'Dobest'.¹⁷ Already a basic pattern of reading is evident. It is possible to refine these data further.

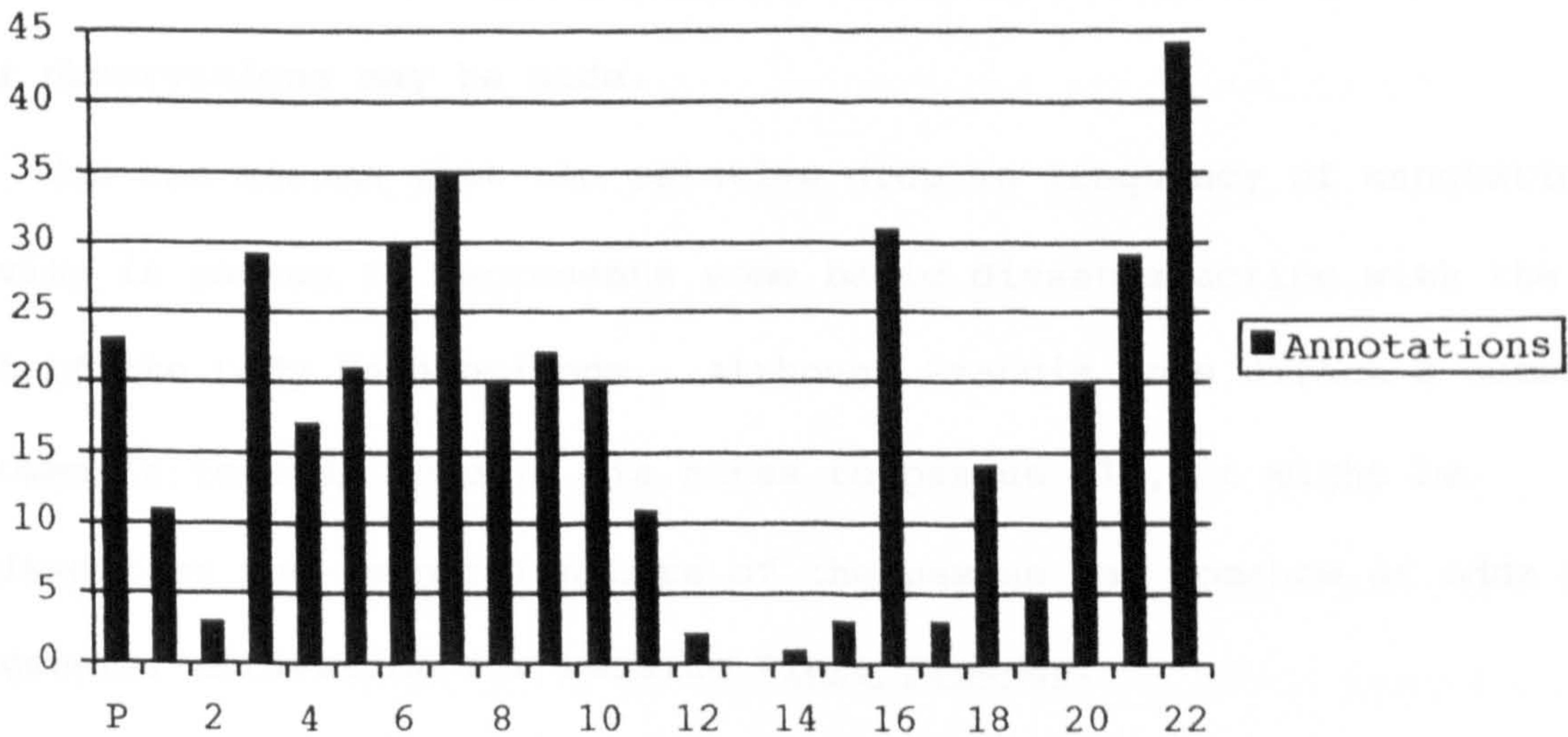


Figure 13 Hand I Annotations per Passus

The preceding graph shows the density of Francis Ayscough's comments on a passus by passus level. The following graph attempts to equalise the data for passus length and presents its findings as a function showing the number of lines of text between each annotation.

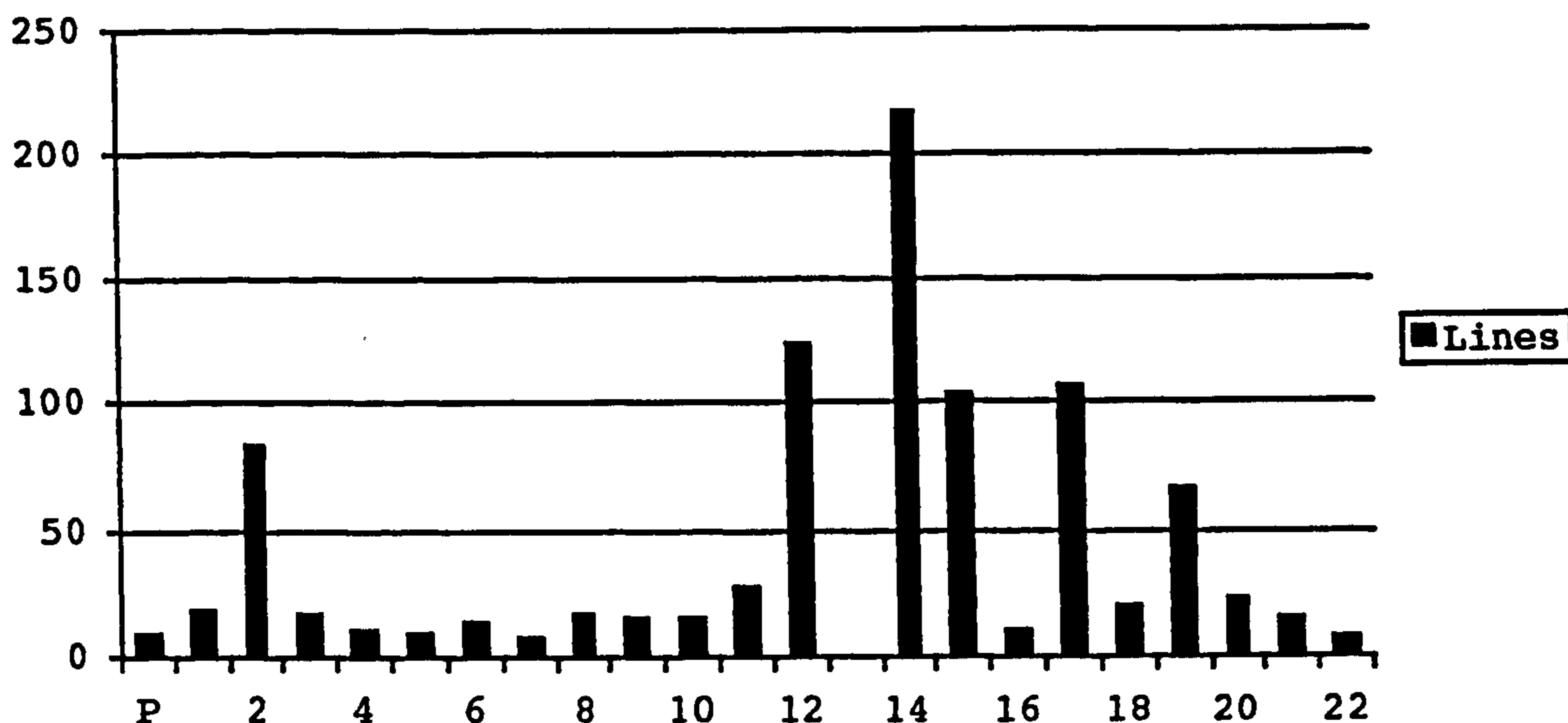


Figure 14 Hand I Lines per Annotation per Passus

The graphs present an interesting record of Francis Ayscough's basic reading of Piers Plowman. They show that, unlike his brother, Edward, who much preferred 'Dowell', Francis was very much interested in both the 'Visio' and in 'Dobest'. Other than this basic suggestion of overall interest across Piers Plowman's major divisions, a few other minor observations may be made.

One can assume that the relative drop in frequency of annotation activity in passus II represents some basic dissatisfaction with the start of the Lady Mede episode. Although Francis does direct a number of comments towards Mede in his notes to passus III, it might be surmised that the temporal nature of the passus was somehow at odds with his general motivation for reading Piers Plowman.

The absence of annotations to the Lady Meed portions of the text may be seen in the light of Francis' annotation patterns from later on in the poem. For example, the complete absence of marginalia accompanying Imaginatif and the scarcity of notes to the other major speeches of 'Dowell' and 'Dobet' reveals more of Francis' criteria for the placement of his annotations. Apparently, he preferred strong visual scenes to extended monologues and seemed either to be confused by

the poem's allegorical characters or completely disinterested in them. Although the question of Francis' comprehension of Middle English is analysed below, it does seem likely that he was more than a little uncomfortable in the realm of the allegorical and constantly demanded personal or historical anchor points for the text. One only has to consider the incredible density of comments attached to passus V's 'autobiographical' passages to begin suspecting that the above theory is probably true.

To judge from the number of comments made to 'Dobest', it seems that Francis Ayscough, as a good Reformer, was particularly interested in the apocalyptic ending of the poem and its prophetic tone.

As far as the typology of Francis' annotations is concerned, the majority of them comprise varieties of Type III Polemical Responses, most often on social and religious issues. For the most part, Francis was uninterested in the overall structure of the poem and although he did summarise sections of the text, he confined his comments to the strictly personal level. Francis' annotations to the passus P provide a good representative sample of the basic types of annotations encountered.

Out of the twenty-three annotations from f.7v to the end of passus P, Francis wrote two annotations providing additional information (NRA-AI), three which summarised the text (NRA-SM), seven which indicated topic (NRA-T) and eleven polemical responses (PR).

Rather than wander through a number of disconnected annotations, it seems most useful to examine those annotations which are on single themes. What follows is a discussion of four general readings of Francis Ayscough's annotations: those relating to the reform of the Church; those connected to Francis' biography; those relating to his

problems with Middle English; and those concerning his need to 'place' Piers Plowman in some sort of grand historical and political context.

V: THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH

The exact nature of Francis Ayscough's faith is difficult to ascertain. On one level he transgressed the orthodox Anglican teachings of the time, while on another, he was reluctant to advocate outright puritanism.

The best way to gauge Francis Ayscough's faith is to compare his marginal comments with the orthodox beliefs of the late sixteenth century. For this exercise the 1562 edition of the Articles of Religion was used as a reference point.¹⁸ On the whole, Francis agreed with the thirty-nine articles on a variety of issues: trinitarianism (article I); original sin (article IX); the merit of works and supererogation (articles XI, XII, XIII and XIV); veneration of saints and idolatry (article XXII); salvation only through Christ (article XVIII); transubstantiation (article XXVIII); and the position of the Pope (article XXXVII). He disagreed, sometimes quite violently, whenever issues arise regarding the temporal power of the clergy and the nobility, or regarding the position of personal wealth (articles XX, XXI, XXIII, XXXVI, XXXVII and XXXVIII). In order to illustrate some of these observations, it is necessary to examine a few individual annotations in context with the Piers Plowman texts they accompany.

One interesting comment occurs on f.25r at passus III:454. The extract is taken from the prophecy of a golden age, which 'draws heavily on Isaiah's vision of the future Jerusalem':¹⁹

Ac kynde loue shal come ȝet and conscience to giders

And make of lawe a laborer suche loue shal arise

And suche pees among þe peple & a parfit truthe

ye Jewes muste

þat iews shal wene in here wit : & wexen so glade	be conuerted
þat here kyng be come from þe court of heuene	to the faith
þe whiche moyses or messie : þat men ben so trewe	before thi<s>
	tyme

This example shows that Francis readily agreed with article XVIII of the Anglican church, which states 'They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.'²⁰

The next example occurs at passus VII:241, during the description of the Castle of Truth. In this passage, Langland calls penances and the veneration of saints the 'pillars' of the Castle of Truth (f.42v):

ye error of	Vch a piler is of (...) <u>preyeres</u> to seyntes	<u>preaer</u> to <u>such</u> is not
<u>yat</u> time	þe hokes (...) þat þe gates hangon on	<u>ye</u> way to truth

The above comments show that Francis agreed with article XXII, which, among other things, denies 'invocation of saints', purgatory, pardons, relics and idolatry. This particular area of dogma attracted a considerable amount of Francis' attention and he commented on related issues on ff.41r, 42v, 53r, 54r and 105r. Of these, the comment on f.105r is perhaps the most interesting. In it Francis wrote: 'truth is directly against purgatory and *limbo patrum*.'

The next comment occurs at passus I:180 in the middle of Dame Holy Church's speech on the duties of a Christian (f.13v):

no <u>muritt</u> in	For James þe gentil Juggethe in his bokes
any worcks	þat feithe <u>withe</u> owton þe feet is feblere þen nought
	And as dede as a dore nayl but yf þe dedes folowe

This comment could be seen as a reinforcement of articles XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, which outline the value of good works. Francis' comment, however, takes a much more hardline stance than article XII, which

suggests that '[good works are] pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith.'

Francis seems to have held a more Calvinistic approach and insisted that no work can guarantee redemption.

The final example of Francis' annotations on religion occurs at passus III:381, during the 'difficult'²¹ grammatical 'venality-satire'²² during Lady Meed's stay at Westminster (f.23v):

hipocreticall

pueritans

Ac þe moste partie of þe peple now : puyr indirect semeþ

are

For þei wilneþ & woldon as best were for hem seluon

Indirecte

In this comment Francis attacked 'hipocreticall' puritans as being self-serving. Unfortunately the annotation is worded so that it is unclear whether Francis was concerned with all puritans, or only with those whose motivations were suspect. In any event, Francis' identification of 'pueritans' in the context of the phrasing of the extract from Piers Plowman, 'þe most partie of þe peple now', shows how 'popular puritanism was in Francis' eyes.

Although Francis Ayscough referred to a number of specific beliefs in his commentary on Piers Plowman, it is still difficult to place him in any particular sect. As disappointing as it may be, the nature of puritanism probably worked against any concept of uniformity. As Peter Lake suggested:²³

Here the central distinction to make may be that between puritanism seen as an ideological construct--a series of positions or principles, both polemical and edificational, each logically linked with or connected to the others--and puritanism seen as a term to be applied to particular men. It is relatively easy to distinguish a series of distinctively puritan opinions or attitudes to a whole series of issues ranging from certain strict standards

of moral discipline to the polity of the church or even the nature of foreign policy. All these opinions were linked.... However, it is important to remember that while it is both possible and legitimate to construct such a thing as a unitary puritan position, the actual positions taken up by individual men need never have corresponded to that model. Different aspects of that over-all position were given different degrees of emphasis by different men in different situations.

Even given his family's earlier interest in Zwinglian beliefs--which resulted in Anne Askew's martyrdom--Francis probably favoured Calvinist rather than Lutheran causes.²⁴ Although it is extremely unlikely that he had any formal connection to the organised ecclesiastical groups, which in the late sixteenth century found themselves equipped with the then much-despised soubriquet 'puritans',²⁵ his desire for further reform of the English church would identify him as a puritan.²⁶ Although Francis described puritans as 'hipocreticall',²⁷ the vigour of his attacks on ecclesiastical authority indicates that he was probably what would now be called an Independent.²⁸ Most certainly he would have disagreed with almost every section of the Anglican constitution.²⁹ It is unclear, however, if he advocated some form of association with the Anglican church as a Non-Separatist, or if he favoured total freedom from all secular government as a Separatist.

VI: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL URGE

For the sake of brevity, the term 'autobiographical' in the title of this section is used to indicate a direct personal connection with historical personages and not a personal reaction to the received history of a period. With regard to the annotations of Francis

Ayscough, this latter concept of attempting to anchor the literary events of Piers Plowman in the real world is discussed under the sub-heading 'Anti-historical Historicising'.

Although Francis Ayscough, like the chronicle-writing Henry Appleyard cited in the previous chapter, was particularly interested in the history of the reformation, Francis was captivated by personal experience. However unwisely, he personally 'contextualised' many of the reform-orientated sections of Piers Plowman. This sort of comment is fairly rare and only five notes appear which place the action of Piers Plowman on a micro-historical level. Nevertheless, each annotation represents a fascinating look at Francis' bitter view of contemporary events and people.

Unfortunately, Francis only made one comment which could possibly relate to his aunt Anne's martyrdom. His comment occurs at passus XV:78 (f.77v):

And me wondrethe in my (wit) whi þat þei ne preche

As poul þe apostel prechid to þe pepel ofte

Periculum est in falsis fratribus

Bonner bush= Holy writ bit men be war & wisly hem kepe

hoppe of london þat no fals frere þorgh flatreyng hem bygile

And me thinkeþ loþ þoghe y latyn knowe to lacken any secte

For alle be we breþeren þogh we be diures yclothid

But y wiste neuere frek þat frere ys ycald of þe foure mendinantȝ

þat toek þis for his teme & tolde hit withe oute a glose

Francis linked the tirade against Langland's usual fraternal bugbears and the broader issue of the abuse of interpretation, with Bishop Bonner's systematic crusade against the spirit of the Reformation and the first prototypical attempts to fashion non-Catholic interpretations of scripture. While it is possible that Francis intended the link between his own opinions and those he ascribed to

Edmund Bonner to end at this point, it is highly likely that a deeper connection was desired.

Bonner, it should be remembered, was personally responsible for a great part of Anne Askew's ordeal. Although this feeling might have been lessened over the years, it could be expected that a lasting air of ill-feeling toward Bonner must have existed in the Ayscough family.³⁰

Other members of the clergy, more connected to Francis' own time are also mentioned in the marginalia by name. Two local members of the clergy are criticised in an annotation to passus XV, during a description of the feast of Patience. The note occurs at passus XV:66 (f.77r):

Pacience was wel apaid of þis <u>propur sreuice</u>	
And mad <u>mery</u> withe þis mete but y morned <u>euere</u>	
For a <u>doctour</u> at þe hie deys drank wyn faste	Doctor Robinson
Ve vobis qui potentes estis ad bibendum <u>vinum</u>	Doctor Barefout
And eet mony sondri metes mor trewe & <u>puddynges</u>	of lincoln
Braun & bloed of gees bacoun & colopes	<u>with</u> many mor

Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence to contest Francis' opinion of Doctor Robinson or Doctor Barefoot as famous drunks or gluttons, but John Robinson did have a direct connection to the Ayscough family. Robinson was one of Anne Askew's inquisitors.³¹ As far as Barefoot is concerned, his situation does illustrate one of the most common hazards of paleography: errors in transcription.

Russell, in an article on Piers Plowman marginalia, transcribes Francis Ayscough's 'Barefout' variously as 'Baresoul' and 'Baresoule' and suggests that this identification helps to confirm a 'Lincolnshire connection.'³² If one were to follow Russell's lead, the identification of a 'Baresoul' would prove fruitless. To his credit Russell posits '[John?] Robinson' for Robinson,³³ but has obviously failed to check the

most obvious source of information. The venerable Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, published in 1854, lists John Robinson as Archdeacon of Lincoln in 1580 and John Barefoot as Archdeacon from 1581-1595.³⁴ Had Russell checked this source, he would have been able to correct his transcription and propose a base date for the comments.

John Barefoot was partially responsible for the anti-puritan campaigns of 1584, so it is easy to draw a connection between Francis Ayscough's religious views and his personal dislike for the Archdeacon of Lincoln.³⁵

The familial loyalty Francis expressed regarding his martyred aunt was by no means consistently applied across the spectrum of Ayscough family relationships. Perhaps the most amusing of Francis' personal comments regard his uncle William Ayscough, whose name appears at passus VI:191 (f.35r):

¶	Thenne cam coueytise y can not him discreue	
Willm.	So hungrily & holough sire hiry him loked	
Aiscough	He was bitelbroued & baberlipped : with two blered yes	marks of covetise
	And as a letherene pors lolleden his chekes	folcks
	Wel siddore þen his chyn ycheueled for elde	
	And as a bondemannes bacown his berd was yshaue	
	With his hoed on his heued • & his cappe bothe	
	Yn a tore taberd of twleue wynter age	
	But if a lous cowde lepe yleue hit y trowe	
	She sholde not wandre vpon þat welche : so was hit þredbare	

The name 'William Ayscough' placed where it is beside the entrance of Avarice could not be accidental. Since the confessions of Avarice contain detailed descriptions of unfair trading practices, it might be supposed that Francis saw similar traits in his own family.

The final name to appear in Francis' comments is Nicholas Saunderson. Saunderson makes his appearance at passus XI:21 where Langland spends a few lines discussing the abuse of law (f.57v.):

nicholas	he ys reuerensed & yrobed þat can robbe þe peple	nota
Saunderson	þorgh fallas & fals questes & þorgh fikel speche	

As might be expected, none of Francis' comments appears in any positive context. All contemporary personal names mentioned are shown in a uniformly negative light. Sanderson, for example, would appear to have had a sterling career. He was made sheriff of Lincoln in 1592 and again in 1613.³⁶ He was knighted and eventually became a baronet. It is a great shame that Francis was not more specific regarding his criticism of Sanderson or the others.

VII: PROBLEMS WITH MIDDLE ENGLISH

Francis Ayscough was fairly uncomfortable with many aspects of Middle English usage, found a good proportion of the lexicon confusing and displayed some lack of familiarity with the scribal hands. But although he experienced problems in these areas and could sometimes be apparently confused by the action of Piers Plowman, Francis' interpretation of the poem was essentially quite sophisticated.

The most obvious example of Francis' problems with the Middle English lexicon arises in the so-called 'autobiographical' passus V, when the dreamer awakens for the first time in the poem and sets about describing his living conditions. Consider Francis' annotation to passus V:1 (f.28v):

Thus y waked woet god when y woned yn cornhull
 Kitte & y in a kote yclothid as lollers

pers dwelled in
 cornewell with
 his frind christofor
 or his wyf Catte
 in there beds
 had a vision

This note is important for a variety of reasons. First, and as J.R. Thorne rightly noted, Francis has confused the characters of Will and Piers.³⁷ Second, the comments display not only difficulties with

the lexicon of Middle English, but an understanding of his problems with comprehension. Since it is discussed at some length later on in this section, the first issue will not be treated here, except to state that it is doubtful if Francis was at all interested in the correct identification of the poem's characters.

The Middle English problems revealed by Francis' annotation to the opening of passus V are very interesting. Basically there are three confusions: 'cornewell' for 'cornhull', 'Catte' or 'christofor' for 'Kitte' and 'bed' for 'kote'. Of these three errors or potential errors, the first, 'cornewell' for 'cornhull' probably originated with the scribal hand. Francis saw scribe A's forms for 'nh' (which were somewhat obscured by some damage to the bottom of the right minim of the 'n', which now joins the left minim of 'h') and somehow believed that the characters represented a 'w'. Of the remaining two problems, the first, the meaning of 'Kitte', is flagged by two possible suggestions, indicating that Francis acknowledged his uncertainty. The second, the definition of 'kote', is simply given as 'bed', which, by Francis' time, was the most common usage.³⁸

Perhaps a better example of lexical problems occurs at passus II:10, when Lady Meed is first introduced (f.14r):

She was purfiled in pelure noen purer in erthe	ye Purpill whore
An crowned with a crown þe kyng hath noen bettere	of Rome

Displaying his usual anti-Papal attitude, Francis inadvertently mistook 'pelure' for 'purple'. 'Purfiled', meaning edged, still enjoyed use even into the late-nineteenth century, whereas 'pelure' meaning 'fur-trimmed' went out of fashion in the late fifteenth century.³⁹

Sometimes it is difficult to blame Francis for having problems with deciphering the meaning of Middle English terms. Consider his annotation to passus VII:104 (f.40r):

For thi y rede ꝥou riche · reueles when ꝥe make
 Forto solace ꝥour soules suche mynstrals to haue
 foulbage ar þe pore _|may|_ for a ~~foulsage~~ _|piper · |_ sittinge at þi table
 babpype

In this situation scribe B had decided to 'correct' the text and transformed 'foulsage' into 'piper'. Francis, seeing the remnants of scribe A's sigma-shaped 's', thought it was a 'b' and therefore quite confidently defined 'foulbage' as 'babpype'. Again, like 'cornewell', this problem probably indicates that Francis was more uncomfortable with the hand than the dialect.

To return to the question of identification of characters. It is doubtful whether this issue is based on problems with either dialect or paleography. Francis never forgot that, ultimately, Piers Plowman has a historical ur-author. Although the question of Francis' opinion regarding the historical basis of the poem will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, his stance ranged from John Gower to Piers Plowman as author. To Francis, the name of the actual author was unimportant. In his discussions on authorship, he was more interested in establishing it within a temporal context. Therefore, Francis' seeming inability to separate Piers and Will probably stems more from lack of dramatic concern than from ignorance.

Francis used the text of Piers Plowman in a meditative sense, in order to help him work through some of the questions of his faith. He simply did not care if it was Piers or Will speaking. Francis always kept in mind that the poem was the creation of a historical person. However, Francis' direct attitude regarding authorship has led some scholars to endow him with almost spectacular stupidity.

Consider, for example, Francis' annotation to passus VII:200 (f.42v):

ye Author ȝe leue pers quod þis pilgrimes & profred pers mede
Tome tell Nay by þe perel of my soule pers gan to swere
truth I ne wole fonge a ferthing for seint Thomas shrine
 Were hit y told truthe þat y toek mede
 He wolde loue me þe lasse a long tyme aftir

If only for its value as an exemplification of academic disaster, Thorne's comment on this annotation must be reproduced in its entirety:⁴⁰

The note from Passus VII recognizes, contrary to the annotator's earlier observations, that the narrator, at least here, is not Piers but fails to recognize him as Will. The invented name Tom Tell-truth suggests that by 'author' the writer means a fictional character and that he understands this character as an anonymous and relatively unimportant medium through which the events of the narrative are revealed.

Thorne was confused by Francis' odd word division. The 'Tome' is obviously supposed to represent 'To me'. Even leaving aside the obvious error in transcription ('Tom' for 'Tome'), Thorne's hypothesis is baffling. Francis' note is so straightforward and in keeping with the character of his marginalia, as to be utterly concrete. Francis was simply indicating that he agreed with the author, that the author was stating the truth. Indeed, the idea of accepting monetary reward for spiritual assistance would have been repellent to Francis.

As with similar annotations to passus VIII:287 (f.43r: 'ye Author commends truth with mercye,' in which Hunger is speaking,) and to passus XX:65 (f.103v: 'the Authore varieth some what from ye worde of god,' in which we have Langland's narrative voice,) the authorship of the text is removed from whatever internal context it might have and is taken directly to Langland. The creator of Piers Plowman is identified as

'the author' regardless of the narrative structure or device used. It seems evident that Francis read Piers Plowman from an archetypal point of view, as a record of the spiritual views of one man. In my opinion, this type of reading is more sophisticated than one which only focusses on the position of the characters and the order and derivation of the internal events of the poem.

VIII: ANTI-HISTORICAL HISTORICISING

As outlined in the previous section, Francis Ayscough was sporadically interested in the authorship of Piers Plowman, but since he vacillated greatly over issues relating to the identification of the author and the date of composition, it is questionable how seriously he believed in his own theories. In this section, the question of Francis Ayscough's periodic internal attributions of dialogue to particular characters or to Piers Plowman's ur-author will be set aside. Instead, the overall motivations of Francis' bizarre attempts to 'date' the text of the poem will be considered.

On a fragment of one of Add.35157's original flyleaves, Francis wrote (f.i v):

This book was written|and daited the 10|of the ides
 |of| Marche|ye Seconde yere of|Kinge John of|famous
 memorie|by Peers Plowman|Pensionare _|or rather Seruant|_ to
 the|said King as|John Gower|Recordethe|qth Francis
 Aiscoughe

The above comment represents the first of several efforts to historicise the events of Piers Plowman. Obviously, Francis' proposed date for the poem is entirely impossible. Judging from his later attributions of rival dates, it is unlikely that he was actually intending to forward any sort of serious theory for the poem's

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

CHAPTER 8
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HAND J
MAURICE JOHNSON

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I

3.

No. XXXIX

PERS PLOCHM

An auntient English Poem, very Satyrical,
 This is called The Vision of Pierce the
 Plow Man sayd to be written by
ROBERT LAITGLAFID of Cley-
-birie in Shropshire

On the Inside of y^e old Parchm^t Cover was this
 Note. **T**his Book was written & dated
 y^e 10th of th^e Ides of March y^e 2^d yeare of K^{ing}
 John of famous Memorie by **P**iers
 Plowman Pensionaire or rather Ser-
 vant to y^e said King as John Gower
 recordeth y^e 7th Fraun: Discouge

Which, the Ink failing, I transcribed
 when I caused this valuable MS to
 be new bound 4 June 1728 W^m Johnson

Em But





Plate 11 Add.35157 f.6r

(Hand J)

I: INTRODUCTION

From ff.3r to 5v Add.35157 contains a unique introduction to Piers Plowman. The work is in a single hand, which has been designated as hand J. Hand J attributes its authorship as the work of Maurice Johnson. Apart from the British Library's accessions staff and the recent scholar responsible for blackening f.7r, Johnson was the last of Add.35157's readers to leave his or her mark on the manuscript.

Maurice Johnson was born in 1688 and died in 1755. He was a member of the landed gentry and a skilful orator, who worked primarily as a barrister.¹ According to standard biographical sources, Johnson had a long and varied career in Lincolnshire politics:²

Johnson was a justice of the peace, chairman of the South Holland quarter sessions, deputy recorder of Stamford in 1721, steward of the manor of Spalding for the Duke of Buccleuch, of those of Kirton and Croyland for the Earl of Exeter, and of that of Hitchin for his kinsman, James Bogdani, esq.

Whatever his involvement in local affairs, Johnson's reputation rests on his work as a motivating and organising force behind the creation of several antiquarian societies and his efforts to build an extensive personal library.³ Johnson had a part in reviving the Society of Antiquaries in 1717, in founding the Spalding Society and in proposing a host of ill-fated societies including the Stamford Society.

Although the Johnson family library was founded by one of Johnson's ancestors in Tudor times,⁴ Johnson added several volumes to it during his lifetime. It is not known how Add.35157's ownership transferred from the Ayscoughs to the Johnsons, but it can be supposed that it was either through some sort of familial link (there are several recorded marriages between the Ayscoughs and Johnsons), or it was acquired through outright purchase.

The Johnson family library, which by some accounts comprised over one thousand volumes,⁵ was sold off in the late nineteenth century under a cloud of great intrigue and scandal:⁶

[T]here came upon us all, like a shell, the extraordinary report, which proved too true, not only that the representative of Johnson of Spalding had determined to part with the valuable library preserved in the house since at least the time of the Stuarts, if not of the Tudors, but that Mrs. Johnson had actually called in a local clergyman to select what books he deemed worthy of being sent up to London for sale, and had committed the residue to a local auctioneer.... Although the library included a proportion of desirable articles, many of the books were esteemed so worthless that the acquirers removed the ex libris, and left the rest behind them!

The transferral of Add.35157--which Johnson had numbered 'XXXIX' on f.3r--from his family to the British Museum predates the final frenzied sales of the bulk of the library. It was accomplished through a private sale 'of Mrs Johnson, 7 Jan: 1898,' some two months before the main auction sales.⁷ The break-up of Johnson's library took nearly twenty-five years.⁸ It destroyed an amazing collection of books which included a significant number of manuscripts and dozens of early printed books including many Caxtons and de Wordes.⁹ William Hazlitt Carew summarised the sad tale by calling it 'unique'¹⁰ and suggested that 'the owner seems to have been grossly ignorant of [the books'] value, as well as wholly indifferent to the property as heirlooms.'¹¹

Johnson's introduction to Add.35157 is not recorded by Vincent DiMarco,¹² who lists most other sources of early Piers Plowman critical commentary. Since Johnson's introduction presents such an interesting text and provides some clues to the way that he approached scholarship, it is reproduced in full below.¹³

II: JOHNSON'S TEXT

An antient English Poem, very Satyrical, This is f.3r
 called The Vision of Pierce the Plow Man sayd, to be written
 by Robert Langland of Cleybirie in Shropshire.

On the Inside of ye old Parchment Cover was this Note.
 This Book was written & dated ye 10th of th' Ides of March
 ye 2d yeare of King John of famous memory by Peers Plowman
 Pensionaire or rather servant to ye said King as John Gower
 recordeth qth Frauncis: Aiscoughe

Which, the Ink failing I transcribed when I caused
 this valuable MS to be new bound 4 Jaune 1728 M Johnson

Inter Libros D Kenelmi Digby MSS in BibliothecBodleyan f.3v
 Oxon N^o 1703 fo.82. Catal MSS Piers Plowman his Visions A
 Theological Tract Sowels Visions by Plowman &c & ibm N^o 1772
 fo.85. Et ibm ms Codd MSS D. Tho. Bodley fo:155. N^o 3041
 (14) Vita & Visio Petri Plowman, & in the Catal of MSS of
 Trinity Coll. Cambr Ibm fo.97 N^o 368. This called Piers of
 Fullam; Poema Anglicum &c ibm int MSS Johis Moor Epi
 Norwicensis postea Elyens: modo Accadem Cantabrig don Res
 Georgii 1 fo.369 N^o 9475 (18) Factura Petri Plowman.
 The learned Dr Hicke sometime Dean of Norwich in thesaur
 Songuan Septentrional Graui Anglo Saxon &c elsewhere through
 that most learned Labour frequently citeth this Author by
 the name of Satyrographus, &c fol. 25 in Says Robertus
 Langeland, auctor XX Satyranquibus Titulus The Vision of
 Pierce Plowman &c fol. 38 calls It Egregius Satyran Liber in
 a good Sence &c 57 in Satyrographus noster &c 103 reckons
 him one of our most Antient Poets, &c Omnium Princeps
 Satyrographus qui in Anglo Saxonum Poetis omni proculdubio
 versatus erat &c fo. 106 prefers him to all the rest Omnibus
 me Judice (are the Deans words) anteponeendus &c he very
 largely &c frequently cites him as Authority and as an
 Auhoness Protestant Divine fo. 107 f.4r
 subjoines this Testimoney of this Author Deniq. Vates luc
 noster in Soeculo Suo docitissimus &c acerrimus morum vindex,
 Alicis quosin Omnibus Satryis ipso Sumo Pontifice non
 intacto pstringit Alicis inquam Utrius q, nominis quid
 propter Peccata eon Hypocrisia Avaritiam Luxum Terrenion
 Cupidinem, Defectum Charitatis Beneficion &c Reddituum

Abusus, Desidiam, &c turpem Gregum neotectum inpostero tempore eventurum erat ante CC circiter Annos quam evenerit non uno in loco pre dixit reckoning backwards from the 1st Stat of Dissol of Monasteries 27 H. VIII 1536 by ye Dean's computation this Author must have written about 1336 9 Edward iii but if you reckon from the General Stat of Dissolucons of all the Religions houses in England 31 H. VIII 1540 then he must have written about the yeare of our Lord 1340, 13 Ed. iii Fo. 196 Gram Anglosax Doct Hickes: Sic Nostrorum Principes Poetae Ut celebris; Ille Satyrographus qui se Pierce Plowman vocat. In a Somer Season ye &c post hunc citat Chaucerum Spencer, Donne, Denham, Waller, Dryden & Cowleium and in how great request this celebrated Satyrist was formerly by appeares from the many ms copies preserved of this poem in our best furnished &c publick libraries, and the early Impressions of it in the Infancy of Printing when they chiefly published here Ethical Tracts.

Robert Crowley the Printer who published an Edition which I have of Ii in ElyeRents in Holburne Ani 1550 4 Ed. vi cani privilegio ad unprimend um solum, called Him in the tytle Page the Vision of Pierce Plowman nowe ye Second tyme imprinted with certain Notes & Cotalions added in ye mergyn giving lyght to the Reader &c a Briefe sume of the Principal pointes or matters then the whole, then to Each distinct pars or Satyr, called there Passus, 1, 2, 3, 4 c to ye sd Number of 20. He gives a brief sume of the principal points therein spoken of

The learned Mr Thomas Hearn of Edmund Hall in Oxford f.4v in Notae et Spicilegium to his edition of Gulielmus Neubrigensis vol. 3 p. 769-770 gives his reader part of an old poem intituled Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, which (says he) is altogether different from the Booke in meter commonly called Piers Ploughman, the author whereof was Robert Langlande born in Cleybirie (a Shropshire man) about eight miles from Malvern Hills, and it was written in the yeare of our Lord MIIIIC and IX.

According to an ancient copy mentioned in a Ms Paper shew'd me by my late very worthy and truly honest Friend Mr John Urry Student of Christ Church. There is no manner of Vice that reigneth in any Estate of Men which this Writer

Robert Langland hath not godlily, learnedly, &c wittily rebuked and from hence perhaps says he, It is that both that Book of the Ploughman's Crede &c some other Satyrical Books bear also the name of Pierce the Ploughman. Crowley the Printer in his Prologe to the Reader gives the like account of this Author and adds he se an antient copy at the end where of was noted that it was writen in yat yeare 1409.

That Editor take notice of a passage in the copy he printed from mentioning a deer yeare (viz) 1350 John Chichister then being Mayre of London and concludes the Author wrote between that time and 1410 in ye time of King Edward the

f.5r

Thyrd, In whos time he observes It pleased God to open the Eyes of many to see his Truth, giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths and cry out against ye works of Darkness, as did John Wicklyfe, who also in thos days translated the holy Bible into thee Englyshe Tongue, and this writer who in reporting certain Visions & Dreames, that he feigned himself to have dreammed, doth most Christianly instruct the weak, and sharply rebuke ye obstinate blind. He wrote altogither in Meter, but not after the manner of our Rhimers, but to have 3 words at the lest in every Vers begin with the same Letter, or wherein some one letter beareth on the same sound. The English is the Language of the time it was written in &c therefore the sence at this day somewhat dark, but not so hard, but that it may be understood of such as will not suck to break the shell of the nutt for the Kernels sake. As for that to which is written concerning a Dearth then to come, it is spoken sayth Crowley by ye knowledge in atronomy, as may well be gathered by what he saith Saturn sent him to sell, and which followeth &c given it the face of a prophecy, is lyke to be a thyng added by some other man than the first Author, fer divers Copys have it diverily. For where (sayth he) the Copy that I follow hath thus

And when you se the sumre amise and thre monkes heads
And a mayde have the maistrye and multiply by eyght.

Some other have

Three shyppes and a shefe, with an eyght following

Shall bring bate and battell on, both halfe the mone.

Now for that which is written concerning the suppression of Abbayes. The Scripture there alledged declareth It to be gathered of the Just Judgement of God, who will not suffer abomination to reign unpunished.

f.5v

The Vision declareth first the divers ways of life then followed both Clergy and Layity. The great wickedness of the Bishops that spareth not to hang their seales at every pardoners proxes and what shamefull Symony reigneth in ye Church. Next it declareth somewhat of Kings & Princes, and in latin rebuketh their Cruelness & Tyrannie. Than under the Parable of Rattens & Mise it rebuketh the folly of the Common people that clusters togethir in Conspiracys against such as God hath called to Office under their Prince: And therin It lamenteth the State of that Realme, wherein the King is Childish, & so every wicked Man getteth rule under him:

Fynaly It rebuketh the fautes of Men of Lawe & Byshops, Barons & Burgesses. And to conclude of all Artificers.

John Weever in his Discourse of Funeral Monuments does frequently cite this Author, & calls him Robert Longland or Johannes Malverne de Clebury & his work the Vision of Piers Plowman, from a MS in 1631 in the Library of Sir Robert Cotten Baronett.

III: JOHNSON AS SCHOLAR AND BOOK-COLLECTOR

Johnson's work on Piers Plowman is limited to his introduction and a miniature painting on f.6r. He did not add any additional comments to Add.35157's text. Although he caused the loss of the manuscript's original flyleaves, he preserved one of Francis Ayscough's notes on the origins of the poem. His introduction does, however, constitute an interesting text in its own right, one which provides information on the eighteenth-century view of Piers Plowman, the nature of eighteenth-

century gentleman scholars and on the specific character of Maurice Johnson.

The most opaque element of Johnson's work is the miniature painting on f.6r, which has been described in chapter 4. As previously suggested, the painting, which was most certainly by Johnson, probably represents his idealised version of Langland. The portrait bears no resemblance to the profile of Johnson drawn by Michael Van der Gucht in 1723,¹⁴ but since there is no caption, it is impossible to determine exactly who is represented.

Johnson's introduction was inaccurately copied and randomly structured. Although he documented his sources, he incorporated very little original material into his work. Instead, Johnson focussed on pre-existing material by Francis Ayscough, George Hickes, Thomas Hearne, Robert Crowley, John Weever and a few early manuscript catalogues.¹⁵ All of Johnson's sources date to 1725 or earlier, so there appears to be no reason to doubt that the introduction was written for Add.35157's 1728 rebinding.

The introduction is divided in seven general sections:

- i) introductory note identifying the text, the poet and the type of work;
- ii) notification of re-binding and preservation of the Francis Ayscough note;
- iii) list of other Piers Plowman manuscripts;
- iv) literary notes from Hickes regarding the type and quality of the poem;
- v) notification of Crowley's second edition;
- vi) literary notes from Hearne, which discusses the content of the poem, and draws most of its assumptions from Crowley's introduction to the second impression of the B-text; and,

vii) further attribution of authorship by John Weever.

George Hickes and Thomas Hearne were probably the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-centuries' best-known academics. Hickes and Hearne contributed greatly to the early study of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and Icelandic literature and language and their works are used by scholars to the present day.

Johnson's chose the best critical material available, but preferred those writers who gave some opinion regarding Piers Plowman's literary merits than those who were purely interested in questions of authorship, or those who were still trying to establish a Langlandian canon. Johnson devoted the majority of his introduction to transcribing passages from Hickes' work on Anglo-saxon. With characteristic eighteenth-century vigour, Johnson favoured Hickes' somewhat traditional reading of Piers Plowman as a purely satirical work. Although Johnson quoted those sections of Hearne's treatment of Crowley's introduction which pertain to prophecies and alliterative poetry, Johnson seemed most content with Hickes' literary impressions of the poem.

Indeed, most of the early printed commentary on Piers Plowman indicates that its readers considered the work primarily as a satire. For example, George Puttenham in 1589 called William Langland 'a malcontent of that time.'¹⁶ Likewise, Henry Peacham in 1622 called Piers Plowman, 'a bitter Satyre.'¹⁷

Although Johnson's first second-party quotation originated with one of Francis Ayscough's notes, the opening sentence of the introduction on f.3r, in which Johnson called Piers Plowman 'very Satyrical,' established Johnson's basic reading of the poem.

Johnson did not exercise particular care with his sources. His transcription of Hickes' Latin is inaccurate. For example, on f.4r, Johnson writes 'terrenion' for Hickes' 'terrenorum' and 'satryis' for

'satyris'. It also seems that Johnson did not bother double-checking his sources. On f.3v, for example, he mentioned two manuscripts held by Trinity College, Cambridge. One of them, manuscript 368 comprises a collection of Lydgate, Chaucer and Hoccleve. It was copied by John Shirley and does not contain any material by Langland.¹⁸

Like the majority of his contemporaries, Johnson did not notice that Piers Plowman existed in several different versions. Although he had good access to Crowley texts and, arguably, had seen an A-text, he did not remark on any differences between the various recensions. To his credit, he did cite Hearne, who knew that The Plowman's Tale and Pierce the Plowman's Creed were distinct from Piers Plowman.

Johnson's text is more of a compilation than a purely scholarly work and its somewhat wandering, fractured tone, fits in well with what is known about Johnson's usual working practices. Contemporaries described Johnson as authoring papers which were 'less important than... expected.'¹⁹

Johnson's hand, for example, although clearly the work of one man, goes through a remarkable number of individual scripts. For example, on f.3r, he switches from a fine engrossing hand, to a non-cursive italic hand, to an elaborate eighteenth-century cursive hand. His great calligraphic flexibility may be seen in his work for the Spalding Society. In the first few pages of their first minute book, Johnson provided a table containing the development of Western European Arabic numbers and insular book-hands, reproduced the faces of several coins, and drew pictures of the various 'Czars of Muscow'.²⁰ The pictures of coins and czars so closely resemble the miniature in Add.35157, that it seems obvious that they were drawn by the same hand.

Johnson was a quick thinker and changed his interests quickly:²¹

Johnson had a ready pen, and an even readier tongue: the earliest records of the Society show him perpetually contributing essays or discourses on his coins, manuscripts,

or gems, and giving impromptu dissertations on the exhibits of other members.

Although Johnson had a great range of interests, including plants, coins, books, medals, gems, maps, prints, engravings, and Italian art,²² his 'infinite labours'²³ were often flawed by their excessive breadth:²⁴

The so-called first minute-book with its untidy repetitiveness, and its numerous interpolated notes and comments, which Johnson evidently added until its latest years, represents very fairly the uncertainties of the early members about their aims and purposes, and appears to be a compendium of loose papers, letters, and memoranda, rather than a systematic record of the meetings of the Society.

Indeed, Johnson's interests occasionally wandered into the extremes of absurdity. For example, Johnson once lectured the Society on: 'Thomas Topham the strong man of Islington,'²⁵ who broke pipe bowls 'between his first and second fingers by pressing the fingers sideways.'²⁶

Under ordinary circumstances, it would be appropriate to suggest that Johnson's introduction was designed for purely personal enjoyment, but when it is placed in the context of his writing for the Spalding Society, it becomes clear that Johnson wrote the text with a readership in mind. The scripts used were elaborate and his quotations, for the most part, were well-documented although poorly laid-out. The general tone meshed perfectly with his work on the Spalding Society's minute-books and his attitudes agreed well with the scholarship of the time.

IV: CONCLUSIONS

By all accounts, Johnson was an odd, sometimes disagreeable and never an entirely predictable man. As is wonderfully demonstrated in

his introduction, his scholarship could be vague, random, sloppy and sometimes, as in the case of the strong man of Islington, ridiculous.

Even during his lifetime, Johnson was known as an abrasive man, who did not tolerate failure or sloth in others. Archibald Clarke illustrates one such situation when Johnson became incensed with one of his contemporaries: 'Maurice Johnson had little time for lack of scholarly industry and censured Cromwell Mortimer for abandoning a proposed history of the learned societies of Great Britain and Ireland.'²⁷

The general view of Johnson as being a difficult man, was enhanced early in this century, following the great scandal of the demise of his family's library. Of course, if viewed from a rational perspective, the sale should not have reflected badly on a man who by that time had been dead for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The sale seemed to have created much ill-will with his later biographers:²⁸

Johnson emerged a rather distasteful character, a sort of cross between Bagford and Stukeley, without the obsessiveness of the former or the charm of the latter.... He had a messy habit of writing his name in a large pretentious hand on title-pages that deserved better treatment, although his vast bookplate (by Vertue) is an ornament to most of the books he stuck it in.

It could said be that there might have been some incipient madness involved in Johnson's regime of collecting and organising and in his chaotic, vast and mostly unpublished scholarly labours. The early literary historian John Nichols wrote that '[Johnson] was a gentleman of great learning, well-versed in the history and antiquities of this kingdom; but published nothing in his lifetime.'²⁹ In Johnson's obituary, William Stukley claimed that Johnson suffered from a 'vertiginous disorder in his head.'³⁰ Joan Kennedy, in her history of the Society of Antiquaries, went further and suggested that Johnson was

mentally unstable, insisting he 'lost his reason.'³¹ Kennedy surmised that:³²

One suspects that Maurice Johnson was disappointed not himself to obtain office, for he was a gregarious, chatty, and ambitious man who liked to make himself out more important than he was. As the years went by, indeed, he claimed to have founded not only the Spalding Society but also the Antiquaries, and to have been the first librarian of the London Society. In fact no such appointment was made.

Along the same lines, Nichols argued that Johnson was a pompous man and in his book of literary anecdotes reproduced a letter claiming to be from 'Dr Taylor's friend,' who offered some comment on Stuckley's obituary of Johnson:³³

Mr Johnson's death was announced in the provincial papers with this remarkable paragraph, That he had endeavoured to raise avast spirit of inquiry and knowledge (or somewhat tantamount) in that flat country--as if it was much harder to raise knowledge in Holland, than Switzerland.

Johnson's introduction was neither a public nor a private text, but appears to have been a semi-public document, probably designed to be delivered to the dozen or so members of the Spalding Society on one of their regular Monday meetings in 'Mr. Younger's coffee-house.'³⁴ The introduction resembles the naive vigour of the Spalding minute books, and contains the same 'polite learning'³⁵ that the society's early statutes demanded. It is neither serious scholarship nor uninformed conjecture and instead exists in a twilight of compilatio and unashamed rambling.

There is some order to the introduction, but it does not set forth any form of discernable argument. Johnson's sources were not quoted to any particular end and the introduction is repetitive. For example,

Johnson quoted Ayscough, Hearne and Weever on the authorship of Piers Plowman, but did so at different junctures in the text. He could easily have placed all of the biographical material into a single section.

Although Johnson was the sort of man who would speak at great length and for almost any reason, he had to be persuaded to leave the surroundings of his gentlemen's clubs and publicly declaim his work. One of his very few apparently public works was his Jurisprudentia Jobi, which was written on the insistence of Samuel Wesley, a rector in Lincolnshire.³⁶

Unfortunately, Johnson's vast scholarly appetite was not passed down through his family. In the remaining one hundred and fifty years that Add.35157 languished in the Johnson family library, it received no new annotations whatsoever. As the great nineteenth-century book-seller Bernard Quaritch reported, the Johnson family's 'enthusiasm for the library declined at a comparatively early period,'³⁷ and it can be assumed that the books received very little use. Quaritch criticised Johnson's collection as 'narrow',³⁸ but although he called it 'a bourgeois gathering,'³⁹ he conceded that:⁴⁰

At the same time, we remark, in the extensive melange of literary property here displayed, more than the average feeling of a provincial middle-class English family during three centuries for the productions, which came in their way alike of a permanent and a temporary cast; and moreover, it is to be predicated of these Johnson collections that they were made when the normal library of their earlier contemporaries might be almost counted on the fingers, or at most filled a shelf or two in the old-fashioned parlour or closet.

The works of Maurice Johnson eventually disappeared. His achievements for the most part are now forgotten and his great library

was broken up nearly a century ago. Quaritch saw the entire episode as being one of the great tragedies of his profession and said:⁴¹

There was, perhaps, never a case in which a noble assemblage of printed and manuscript monuments was in modern times so utterly neglected by its later possessors, and so nearly falling a prey to the incidence of a house sale.

For all of Johnson's personal foibles, professional failures, or scholastic follies, his introduction to Add.35157 is an essentially human document. Seen in the light of his singular character, Johnson's rambling, poorly-copied introduction could not be improved upon. Had it been better organised, better presented, or truer to its source material, it would have been at odds with almost every contemporary account of Johnson's life and work. In this regard, Johnson's introduction to Add.35157 is nearly unique, because in other instances his reluctance to publish his findings severely limited his literary remains. Certainly, several of his letters were reproduced by Nichols in his various publications and some of Johnson's thoughts regarding the various antiquarian societies are preserved in their respective libraries, or in the British Library, but on the whole Johnson's scholarship did not survive. The introduction to Piers Plowman preserved in Add.35157, therefore, presents one of the only examples of Johnson's work and provides a rare glimpse into the mind of an eighteenth-century gentleman scholar.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 8

- 1 Dorothy M. Owen with S.W. Woodward, The Minute Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society: 1712-1755, Lincoln Record Society, 73 (1981), p.viii.
- 2 DNB, XXX, pp.23-24.
- 3 W. Carew Hazlitt, A Roll of Honour (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1908), p.124.
- 4 W. Carew Hazlitt, The Book Collector (London: John Grant, 1904), pp.51-52.
- 5 Bernard Quaritch, Contributions Towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1969), pp.174-178.
- 6 Hazlitt, Book Collector, pp.51-52.
- 7 Accession information on f.1r.
- 8 'News and Comment', The Book Collector, 19.1 (1970), pp.234-236.
- 9 Lists of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676 - 1900 now in the British Museum (London: British Museum, 1915).
- 10 Hazlitt, Book Collector, p.53.
- 11 Hazlitt, Book Collector, p.53.
- 12 Vincent DiMarco, Piers Plowman: A Reference Guide (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1982).
- 13 Johnson's frequent Latin errors have not been either indicated or corrected.
- 14 Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford: Society of Antiquaries, 1956), p.97.

- 15 George Hicckes, Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-criticus et Archaeologicus, (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705), I; Thomas Hearne, Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia Sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1719); Crowley's 2nd edn of Piers Plowman; John Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments with in the vnited Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Ilands adiacent (London: Tho. Harper, 1631); and Bernard, Catalogi Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae, 1.3 (Oxford: Oxford, 1697). Information regarding the shelf-numbers of some of the manuscripts mentioned by Johnson have been taken from the following sources: A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1861), IV; Montague Rhodes James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1900), I.
- 16 George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie (London: Richard Field, 1589), p.48. Cited in Dimarco, p.11.
- 17 Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman Fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & Commendable Qualities... (London: Francis Constable, 1622), p.95. Cited in Dimarco, p.13.
- 18 James, I.
- 19 Evans, p.108.
- 20 Owen, pp.1-5.
- 21 Owen, p.ix.
- 22 Owen, p.viii.
- 23 John Nichols, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica (London: Nichols, 1790).
- 24 Owen, p.ix.
- 25 Owen, p.xiii.
- 26 Owen, p.xiii.
- 27 Archibald Clarke, 'The First Circulating Library in London', The Library, 1 (1900). Clarke's information is attributed to John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London: Nichols, 1812).
- 28 The Book Collector, 19.1, p.235.

- 29 John Nichols, Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer (London: Nichols, 1782), p.98.
- 30 Cited in Owen, p.viii.
- 31 Evans, p.129.
- 32 Evans, p.129.
- 33 Nichols, Biographical and Literary Anecdotes, p.98.
- 34 Owen, p.x.
- 35 Owen, p.x.
- 36 Lee, p.23.
- 37 Quaritch, p.175.
- 38 Quaritch, p.175.
- 39 Quaritch, p.175.
- 40 Quaritch, p.175.
- 41 Quaritch, p.175.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

THE LIFE OF A BOOK: ADD.35157 AS A SOCIAL DOCUMENT

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I: INTRODUCTION

I hope to have shown in as great detail as possible the history of one book, Add.35157, from its creation to the present day. Although the book's codicology was an important part of this study, particular attention was also paid to Add.35157's reception and use throughout the intervening centuries.

The majority of Add.35157's owners, commentators and stewards have been identified and some progress has been made to recontextualise their lives and their additions to the manuscript. Their biographies have been researched and their family histories compiled. Their comments and contributions have been analysed and contrasted with the personal events, literary preconceptions and social milieux of their respective eras.

This final section will outline a few general findings and provide a few comments on the conclusion of the project as a whole.

After being examined against the broad criteria of codicological and paleographical inquiry, provenance history and the recontextualisation of personal commentary, Add.35157 has proven itself to be a most fascinating and important object.

In its most reduced form, this study has arrived at three basic conclusions: 1) that Add.35157 is an object whose long and varied history provides an eloquent argument for continued research; 2) that the fields of manuscript provenance and manuscript marginalia require further theoretical refinement; and 3) that the wealth of data discovered during the examination of Add.35157 suggests that similar studies carried out on other manuscripts would realise equally high levels of success.

II: THE WORLD OF ADD.35157

Add.35157 itself gave up its secrets with submissive readiness. The discoveries made regarding its life have had some impact on several seemingly disparate scholarly areas, including Piers Plowman study, manuscript editing, social history and literacy studies. While the three examples given below were perhaps neither the most nor the least important findings of this study, it is worthwhile to discuss a small sample of representative discoveries.

For example, the manuscript has been shown to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest copy of the C-text of Piers Plowman. Arguably it is the only extant manuscript of the C-text which might have been produced during Langland's life. Its dialect and those of its scribes and correctors were fully recoverable. With some additional work, it might be possible to locate the dialect of its exemplar. While it was most certainly copied in London, its dialect does not show as much localised London usage as its nearest rival, HM 143. HM 143, as Samuels correctly suggested contains far more London dialect than Add.35157, whereas yet-to-be-published work by Kerby-Fulton, Justice and Grindley will show that the much-damaged Ilchester manuscript or its exemplar was subject to outrageous editing at the hands of its scribes. In addition, the discovery that Add.35157 was copied in London goes some way to dismissing the notion that the C-text manuscripts of Piers Plowman were products of some cottage industry in the West Midlands. By all rights Add.35157, not HM 143, should have been used as the base text for Schmidt's recent work and Russell's yet-to-be-released critical edition of the C-text.

Second, Add.35157's sixteenth-century additions and repairs from Crowley's printed B-text inadvertently influenced the only two post-Skeat editions of the C-text. In doing so, the Thyrnbeke repairs highlight several common editorial pitfalls. In the future, editors must pay closer attention to paleographical matters if their texts are to reflect better the textual traditions of the poems they work on. The Thyrnbeke repairs should not have been accommodated by either Pearsall or Schmidt. In fact, the repairs should have been properly documented in both editions.

Third, Add.35157's vast marginal supply informs us that the manuscript and its contents were read in different ways as the centuries progressed. The manuscript's original scribes provided basic reading aids to the poem and highlighted the issues that they were interested in, such as fraternal abuses, political prophecy and poverty. The scribe responsible for the manuscript's sixteenth-century repairs sought to provide a few simple notes taken from a printed text and clearly did not distinguish between printed and manuscript books. Edward Ayscough gave a basic Protestant reading of the text and provided some additional reading aids. The indefatigable Francis Ayscough used the text to justify and reinforce his view of the reformation. Maurice Johnson saw Piers Plowman from the point of view of a gentleman scholar, read the poem as a social satire and provided the manuscript with what could only be described as an utterly expected, completely in-character introduction.

Fourth, Add.35157 provided an excellent example of the various levels and types of literacy found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Francis Ayscough's difficulties with Middle English and the great variety of his mis-readings and mis-translations reveal that Langland's text was a difficult one, even for a relatively sophisticated

audience. However, Francis Ayscough's experiences with Add.35157 were still of a type of high level literacy, unlike the example of William Golding's brush with MS 232 in chapter 2. Golding's literacy, it should be remembered, was pragmatic and was based on his need to master certain hands and documents for use in business.

III: PROVENANCE AND MARGINALIA

The fields of manuscript provenance and marginalia are currently 'hot' topics. The developments in the former have been long fought for and the rewards of individual fields such as Middle English dialectology, the study and classification of bookplates, watermarks and marbled paper, the study of manuscript illumination, and the publication of county records, are manifest and multiply with all new work. It is lamentable that serious pursuit of these topics dates only to our own era. For example, the study of early watermarks and the first major published collections thereof dates to the span of the last seventy-five years.¹ The period of time since bookplates were formally catalogued is less.² The number of years since paleography was codified is fewer still.³ The greatest contribution to insular provenance research to date was the publication of LALME, which has only been available for ten years.⁴

Obviously, much more work needs to be completed. There needs, for example, to be a comprehensive study of scribal hands, to determine if there are any regional features, say, in the shape of the letter 'w' in an anglicana formata hand or the use of certain suspensions and abbreviations.⁵ A directory of scribes is required. The suggestion, for example, that scribe B of Add.35157 was also scribe A of the Trinity

Gower, was made by accident, and needs to be carefully documented.⁶

Such a study would, of course, take many years and involve the wholesale digitisation of representative character sets from thousands of manuscripts, but the work, nevertheless, needs to be done. While it is encouraging to see that the various historical societies of the United Kingdom continue to produce editions of regional records, in recent years the flow of these books has decreased considerably.⁷

It is believed that this study of Add.35157's provenance, while far from complete, shows the massive scope of the field. With further research conducted on the areas discussed above, a much clearer picture of manuscript use not only could but would be obtained.

The study of manuscript marginalia is even younger than the formalised approach to the issues of provenance. To date, there is no encompassing study of the field, no guide to the intricacies of different forms of annotation. But at least the days of dismissing marginal texts as being marginal are over.⁸

Although the system proposed in this study and in the study on HM 143 was by necessity descriptive,⁹ marginalia's place in literary theories like reception theory must eventually be considered.¹⁰ At the present time, Irvine's work seems to be the best informed.¹¹ With the future publication of his volume on the grammatical arts in the later middle ages,¹² it is expected that the majority of types of annotation indentified in this study will turn out to be accepted facets of medieval literary theory.

So far, the development of a descriptive nomenclature for marginalia has had some promising results. A brief guide to the classification system was distributed in 1994 and several papers on it have been presented starting in 1992.¹³ Still, much work remains to be

done and it is hoped that work will continue on developing this classification system.

IV: THE LIVES OF BOOKS

This dissertation must be seen as a starting point, not as a product unto itself. Add.35157's seemingly unusual history is far from atypical. The many facets of its construction, the varied lives of its former owners and the care and attention paid to it over the years represents the average story of an average book. What is surprising is that a study such as this has not been carried out on more important manuscripts.

Certainly, there are some manuscripts which have been thoroughly examined and extensively documented. For example, collections of essays on the Ellesmere and the Vernon manuscripts have been published.¹⁴ A considerable body of knowledge regarding Ellesmere's and Vernon's construction, ownership and texts now exists.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the number of important literary manuscripts of which we know little, far outnumbers those which have been subjected to vigorous study. Perhaps this dissertation's most important conclusion is that much more work along similar lines is required.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 9

- 1 Briquet's work on watermarks was published in 1923.
- 2 The Franks' catalogue of book plates was published in 1903-1904.
- 3 Although Jenkinson and Johnson's work on paleography has been since 1915, Parkes and Brown's more analytical works are less than 40 years old.
- 4 LALME was published in 1986.
- 5 Work on this field has already been conducted by McIntosh and Griffiths See also Laing, Middle English Dialectology.
- 6 It was noticed while studying the format of and the topics considered in Parkes and Doyle's work on the Trinity Gower manuscript.
- 7 For example, the Surtees Society published two titles a year from its inception to the 1960s, now they only publish one title every three years. The reasons behind this decline are probably financial and decreasing membership must certainly play a large part.
- 8 Manly and Rickert published partial texts of the annotations to the Canterbury Tales in their appendices.
- 9 See chapter 2 and Grindley.
- 10 The proposed system of manuscript marginalia classification is in such a state of infancy and the task is so complex, that it would have been impossible to do it justice in this study. A dedicated study of manuscript marginalia is required.
- 11 Irvine.
- 12 Irvine, p.466.
- 13 A short form of the classification system was distributed at a conference on manuscript marginalia held at Corpus Christi College Cambridge in June 1994. Papers were presented at the New Chaucer Society's 1992 Congress and as seminars at the University of Glasgow in 1995 and 1996.

- 14 Studies in the Vernon Manuscript, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), and The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation, ed. by M. Stevens and D. Woodward (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1995)
- 15 A search of the Modern Languages Association database reveals eleven articles, books and theses published on the Ellesmere manuscript since 1966. A similar search conducted on the Vernon manuscript reveals four such publications.

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III: UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW HUNTERIAN MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

<u>MANUSCRIPT</u>	<u>SHORT TITLE</u>
MS 3	Queen Elizabeth I Warrants
MS 5	Lydgate's <u>Fall of Princes</u>
MS 7	Gower's <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
MS 61	Brut
MS 64	Medical Receipts
MS 74	Brut
MS 75	Clarendon Correspondence
MS 76	Selden's <u>Baronage</u>
MS 77	Love's <u>Mirror</u>
MS 82	Howard's <u>Abdication of Charles V</u>
MS 83	Brut
MS 84	Metrical Exposition of the Pater Noster
MS 93	Medical Receipts
MS 95	Medical Receipts
MS 97	Selden's <u>Privileges of Parliament</u>
MS 104	<u>Palladius</u>
MS 115	Catalogue of Minerals
MS 117	Medical Receipts
MS 136	Kemp's <u>Imitatio Christi</u>
MS 176	Wycliffe's <u>New Testament</u>
MS 185	Medical Receipts
MS 189	Wycliffe's <u>New Testament</u>
MS 191	Wycliffe's <u>New Testament</u>
MS 197	Chaucer's <u>Canterbury Tales</u>
MS 228	Brut
MS 230	Brut

MS 232	Lydgate's <u>Life of our Lady</u>
MS 239	Chaucer's <u>ABC</u>
MS 250	Love's <u>Mirror</u>
MS 270	Parker's <u>Dives et Pauper</u>
MS 303	W.H.'s <u>God's 2nd Maister-peece</u>
MS 307	Medical Receipts
MS 328	Medical Receipts
MS 329	Medical Receipts
MS 337	Wycliffe's <u>Gospel According to St Mark</u>
MS 359	Kellie's <u>Lord Boroscho</u>
MS 364	Banister's <u>Anatomy</u>
MS 367	Trevisa's translation of <u>Polychronicon</u>
MS 380	Queen Elizabeth I Proclamations
MS 388	Lydgate's <u>Troy Book</u>
MS 399	More's <u>Dialogue of Comfort</u>
MS 400	Hardyng's <u>Metrical Chronicle</u>
MS 409	Chaucer's <u>Romaunt of the Rose</u>
MS 410	Caxton's <u>Life of Jason</u>
MS 415	Robert of Gloucester's <u>Metrical Chronicle</u>
MS 443	Brut
MS 450	Appleyard's <u>Chronicle</u>
MS 466	Maister's translation of <u>Life of Scipio</u>
MS 472	Primer
MS 496	<u>Pore Caitif</u>
MS 497	Herbal
MS 509	Medical Receipts
MS 512	Calendar, Primer and Hours
MS 513	Medical Receipts
MS 520	<u>Pore Caitif</u>

IV: BRITISH LIBRARY MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

<u>MANUSCRIPT</u>	<u>SHORT TITLE</u>
Additional 24062	Privy Seal Documents
Additional 34779	<u>Piers Plowman</u>
Additional 35157	<u>Piers Plowman</u>
Additional 35167	Gospel According to St. Luke
Additional 35168	Chronicle of English History
Additional 35169	Terrier and Rental of Fleet
Additional 35171	Collections Relating to Ely
Additional 36683	Primer, Psalter and Calendar
Additional 37112	Vincent Family Records
Cotton Julius C.III	Letters to Robert Cotton
Cotton Vespasian B.XVI	<u>Piers Plowman</u>
Egerton 2713	Gaudy Family Correspondance
Harley 2376	<u>Piers Plowman</u>
Landsdowne CVII	Letters to Michael Hikes

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A NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following transcriptions are made according the guidelines adopted in chapter 3 of this study. The hands indicated have been identified in chapters 4 to 8 of this study. 'SIDE' refers to the position on the folio that the text occurs: 'B' for bottom, 'T' for top, 'C' for centre, 'L' for left and 'R' for right.

APPENDIX I
HAND B INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
7R:P:3	of
8R:P:68	said
10R:P:212	one
10R:P:215	u
10V:I:18	forye your
10v:I:19	howe muche were to make you at ese
10V:I:25	loot
11V:I:67	& _ his _ lore
12R:I:108	hym
13R:I:147	a
14R:II:19	yat
14R:II:34	man
15R:II:68	yat
16V:II:165	we
17R:II:199	ye
17R:II:213	ast he
18R:III:29	yoi
18V:III:45	frere
24R:III:412	redes
34V:VI:184	of
37R:VI:344	you
37V:VI:360	I bought it
37V:VI:386	myght
38R:VI:396	uen
38R:VI:398	bigan
38R:VI:419	ful
38R:VI:421	blamyed
39R:VII:16	it
39R:VII:33	ye
39R:VII:49	y
40R:VII:112	ye
64V:XII:RUB	de
74V:XIV:128	note
75V:XIV:191	be
77R:XV:53	come
77R:XV:55	te

APPENDIX II
HAND C INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
8V:P:107	hely
8V:P:123	& hely yair fadre
9R:P:149	to
10R:P:195	yai
11V:I:79	no
27R:IV:90	med
40R:VII:104	may piper
44V:VIII:79	no
45V:VIII:123	to
53R:IX:255	ny
88R:XVII:42	do

APPENDIX III
HAND B ANNOTATIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SIDE</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
8R:P:76	L	<u>nota</u>
12R:I:90	R	<u>ordour</u> of knyghtes
14V:II:63	L*	<u>nota</u>
18V:III:56	L*	<u>nota</u>
25R:III:449	L	<u>nota</u>
25V:III:477	L	<u>nota</u> a <u>prophesi</u>
31R:V:146	L	<u>nota</u>
31V:V:162	L	{manacule}
31V:V:171	L	ad <u>pristinum statum</u>
32R:V:194	L	<u>nota</u>
36V:VI:299	L	<u>nota</u>
37R:VI:338a	R	<u>exemplata usque</u> [...]
37R:VI:344	L	<u>nota</u>
37R:VI:349	R	Gloutoun
39V:VII:82	L	<u>nota</u>
46R:VIII:156	R	<u>exemplata usque</u> h[...]
49R:VIII:350	L	<u>nota bene</u> <u>prophesi</u>
49R:IX:13	L	<u>nota</u>
51R:IX:120a	R	huc
60R:XI:27a	L	<u>nota</u>
61V:XI:132	L	<u>nota</u>
71V:XIII:196	L*	<u>nota</u>
91R:XVII:239	R*	<u>nota</u>
102V:XIX:325	L*	<u>nota</u>
103V:XX:78	L*	<u>nota</u>

NOTE: * INDICATES RED INK.

APPENDIX IV
HAND C ANNOTATIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SIDE</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
20R:III:149	L	<u>nota</u>
39R:VII:30	L	<u>nota</u>
43R:VII:283	L	<u>nota</u>
43V:VIII:2	R	<u>nota</u>
47V:VIII:262	L	<u>nota</u>
49R:IX:1	R	<u>nota</u>
50R:IX:51	L	<u>nota</u>
51V:IX:162	L	<u>nota</u>
53R:IX:246	L	<u>nota</u>
		<u>Bene</u>
63R:XI:239	L	<u>nota</u>
70V:XIII:110	L	<u>nota</u>
75R:XIV:146a	L	<u>nota</u>
		<u>Bene</u>
88R:Top	T	John
91R:XVII:220	R	<u>nota</u>
91R:XVII:239	R	<u>nota</u>
102R:XIX:296	L	<u>nota</u>

APPENDIX V
HAND D ANNOTATIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SIDE</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
29V:V:61	L	<u>nota</u>
51V:IX:162a	L	<u>nota</u>
54R:IX:332	L	<u>nota</u>
56R:X:90	L	<u>nota</u>
56V:X:127	L	<u>nota</u>
58R:X:232	L	<u>nota</u>
64R:XI:302	L	<u>nota</u>
68R:XII:225	L	<u>nota</u>
69V:XIII:78	L	<u>nota</u>
70R:XIII:98	L	<u>nota</u>
71R:XIII:140	L	<u>nota</u>
71V:XIII:178	L	<u>nota</u>
72R:XIII:220	L	<u>nota</u>
72V:XIII:17	L	<u>nota</u>
75R:XIV:152a	L	<u>nota</u>
75V:XIV:198	L	<u>nota</u>
77R:XV:51a	L	<u>nota</u>
78R:XV:127a	L	<u>nota</u>
79V:XV:217	L	<u>nota</u>
80V:XV:281	L	<u>nota</u>
85R:XVI:241	L	<u>nota</u>
85V:XVI:257	L	<u>nota</u>
85V:XVI:282	B	<u>nota</u>
88R:XVII:41	L	<u>nota</u>
88R:XVII:53	L	<u>nota</u>
88V:XVII:68	L	<u>nota</u>
90R:XVII:159	L	<u>nota</u>
90V:XVII:194	L	<u>nota</u>
		<u>Bene</u>
92R:XVII:283	L	<u>nota</u>
100V:XIX:228	L	<u>nota</u>
111V:XXI:82	L	<u>nota</u>
112V:XXI:149	L	<u>nota</u>

APPENDIX VI
HAND E PATCHED REPAIRS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
10R:P198	of ratons kylde this c[at] [u]s & all <u>our</u> kynd
10V:P:228	dyne gawe same read wyne of gascoyn [r]ochell ye rost to defye & seuyn sythes mor
11R:I:30	ye wyne vino [poss]imus <u>de</u> <u>patre</u>
11V:I:59	wrong is y hote hym selfe yll [ku]le his brother Jewesth syluer

FOLIO 9R TOP

I perceyvede of ye powers yat peter hade to kepe
to Bynde & vnbynde as the Boke telleth
how he lefte yt wyth loue as our lord heghte
amonges fowre vertues ye Best of all vertues
yat cardynalles beyne ycallede & closyng yattes
ther cryst is is kyngdom to clos & to schytt
& to opyn yt to them & hevyns Blys schewe
& of cardynalles at cowrt [y]at caught of yat na[y]m

FOLIO 9V TOP

pleidin for pence and powndes the lawe
& nott for love of our lorde vnlowes yer lyppe once
you myghte better meyth myst on malurne hylles
yen gett a moume of yer mowth or money were schewde
then ran yer a rowt of ratons as yt wer
& small mysse wyth them no then a thowsande
Com to a cowncell for ther commoun profett
for a catt of a cowrt comen when hymm lyketh
& ouer lepe them lyghtlye & cawght yem at wyll
& playde wyth them perlosslye & putt them yer he lykede

APPENDIX VII
HAND G ANNOTATIONS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SIDE</u>	<u>CONTENT</u>
7V:P:36	L	Ayenst mynstrels & countrefetes
7V:P:41	L	against [...] kings [...]
7V:P:49	L	pylgrymes
7V:P:54	L	hermytes
7V:P:60	L	& freares
7V:P:64	L	{manacule}
8R:P:70	R	Ayenst pardoners
8R:P:71	R	lewed pardoners
8R:P:78	R	bysshops
8V:P:99	L	Ayenst <u>prelates</u> & prestes
8V:P:111	L	Samuel.1.cap.4
8V:P:120	L	for Idolatrye God will take vengeaunce ouer <u>prestes</u> chiefly
10V:I:7	L	The most people desyre <u>Worship</u> .
11R:I:33	R	Measure
11V:I:81	L	Charytie.
12V:I:126	L	lucyfers fall.
12V:I:146	L	Love
13R:I:147	R	Love
13R:I:176	R	Almesse
13V:I:192	L	vncharytable chaplaynes
13V:I:197	L	Love & truth
14R:II:6	R	false & favell fyckell tonge & Lyar
14R:II:19	R	Meede or Reward enemye to truth.
14R:II:25	R	Meede a Basterd is doughter to favell
14V:II:51	L	Meede shalbe maryed to Falsehod./

14V:II:54	L	Theyr Names yat wer bydden to ye marriage./
15V:II:119	L	the kynred of Meede./
16V:II:165	L	Meede rydeth to Londan to be ayvised by law if she shall marry falshod
31V:V:166	L	A <u>prophecye</u> .trulye fulfilled by Kinge henrye.the.viiij.th
67R:XII:140	R	patyent povertye is greter blessing then Rychesse.
67V:XII:174	L	patyent povertie prynce of vertues
67V:XII:180	L	A Comparason of Wheate.
68V:XII:240	L	The Mischeves that much riches bringe
68V:XIII:8	L	Abraham.
69R:XIII:16	R	Job.
69R:XIII:20	R	patyence and povertie springeth
69R:XIII:32	R	Marchunnte & Messenger
70R:XIII:92	R	the mede is as much to the pore for a Myte as to the riche for all his Money./
70R:XIII:98	R	the pore & patient life is <u>perfectest</u> ./
70R:XIII:103	R	ayenst byshops and prestes.
70V:XIII:116	L	Ayenst prestes.
70V:XIII:125	L	Ayenst bishops.
70V:XIII:130	L	A Vysion of ye Creatures in ye Element. in the sea. & on ye Earth
71R:XIII:146	L	males to males

71R:XIII:148	R	No beaste after Conception doth covet lust but Man and his make out of reason.
71V:XIII:179	L	Reson always ruleth in beast but not in Man for man surfeteth in meate, drynke in women, aparel and in wordes.
71V:XIII:198	L	Suffraun <u>nce</u> .
72R:XIII:216	R	Doowell seeth much and suffreth.
72V:XIII:241	L	Shame.
72V:XIV:6	L	The way to Doo Well.
72V:XIV:17	L	{manacule}
73R:XIV:19	R	Covetos averice and vnkyndeRiches dryve away doo well./
73R:XIV:31	R	Wytte of sterres.
73R:XIV:33	R	Grace. Wytte and lerninge./
73V:XIV:65	L	Lerninge to be reverensed./
73V:XIV:75	L	Ayenst Astronom <u>ers</u>
74R:XIV:105	R	A Comparason betwixt the lerned 'et' vnlerned.
74V:XIV:135	L	of the theefe <u>yat</u> was saved on good frydaye. a rare opynyon./
75R:XIV:157	R	the answer to them that aske why. and. how./
75V:XIV:171	L	A pretye & right semelye comparason betwene the rich man & <u>y</u> e peacok.
75V:XIV:185	L	the pore man & the larke
76R:XIV:205	R	Troianes

76R:XIV:207	R	thre kyndes of cristyninge.
76R:XIV:209	R	the true truth deserveth
76R:XIV:215	R	Love and gret Rewarde <u>with</u> a curtesie more then Covenunte./
76R:XV:5	R	fortune at most nede, & bewtye in age fayleth./
76R:XV:9	R	freares followe after the riche & regarde not the pore.
76V:XV:13	L	Covetyse ouer <u>cometh</u> all sectes.
76V:XV:15	L	Lewd Curates
76V:XV:27	L	Conseyence & Clergie.
76V:XV:33	L	pacyence.
76V:XV:40	L	Reason.
76V:XV:43	L	Scripture
77R:XV:53	R	Conscyence causeth Scripture to give bread to pacyence of the glotones freare
77V:XV:76	L	the freare is apposed what is Doo Well./
78R:XV:128	R	pers ploughman all kynde conynge & craftes <u>inpugneth</u> except such as be of Love Loyaltie & humylitye./
78R:XV:135	R	All thinges are <u>imperfyt</u> . but true love & truthe.//
78V:XV:141	L	Lessons how to Doo Well./
78V:XV:155	L	true Love lytle Covetheth./.

78V:XV:160	L	pacyence./
79R:XV:172	R	of the pope.
79R:XV:182	R	<u>per</u> fyt pacyence fyndeth <u>per</u> fytnesse
79R:XV:195	R	pers ploughmans man a waferer
79V:XV:224	L	ayenst the pope
80R:XV:238	R	No life but hath lyfelode.
80V:XV:265	L	men lyved 40 yers & tyllid not <u>y</u> e erth
80V:XV:270	L	men slept .60. yere & wont meate./.
80V:XV:274	L	Mekenesse and Milde speche
80V:XV:278	L	patyent <u>pou</u> ertye better <u>y</u> e Riches.
80V:XV:287	L	Death is more dredfull to the riche, then to the pore./.
81R:XV:303	R	Many haue ther Joye in <u>y</u> is life./.
81R:XV:303	L	{manacule}
81R:XVI:8	R	the riche haue not two hevvens.
81V:XVI:19	L	God might haue made allmen of like welth & witte./.
81V:XVI:36	L	Contricioun Confession & Satissactioun./.
82R:XVI:48	R	the riche is reuerensid the pore put bak though he be wiser.
82R:XVI:58	R	pryde regneth in the riche rather then in <u>y</u> e pore.
82R:XVI:64	R	the pore is euer redye to please <u>y</u> e Riche.

82V:XVI:82	L	Covetyes hath long hands and armes.
82V:XVI:91	L	Lecherye loveth not the pore.
82V:XVI:100	L	the patyent pore may clame heven.
82V:XVI:103	L	But it is hard for him <u>yat</u> hath Londe Lordship & lykinge of bodye.
82V:XVI:106	L	A Comparasoun.
82V:XVI:119	R	pryde hateth <u>pouertye</u> <u>pouertye</u> is seldom put in auctoritie
83R:XVI:115	R	A diffynicoun of <u>povertye</u> ./.
83V:XVI:153	L	<u>pouertye</u> a blessed life.
84R:XVI:173	R	the <u>propertyes</u> of <u>Liberum arbitrium</u>
84R:XVI:180	R	<u>Liberum arbitrium</u>
84R:XVI:182	R	Anima.
84R:XVI:183	R	Animus.
84R:XVI:185	R	Memoria.
84R:XVI:187	R	Ratio.
84R:XVI:195	R	Amor or leell loue
84R:XVI:197	R	Spiritus.
85R:XVI:225	R	subtyle scyences make men proude.
85R:XVI:234	R	Ayenst freares.
85R:XVI:241	R	<u>perfect</u> presthod bringeth forth holynes.
85R:XVI:244	R	<u>inperfect</u> presthod all euell
85R:XVI:250	R	A Comparasoun.
85V:XVI:264	L	to preach & prove it not, is Ipocrisy.
85V:XVI:274	L	Ayenst <u>Inperfect</u> <u>prestes</u> & <u>prechers</u>
85V:XVI:280	L	whose goodes euel gotten are as euell spent./.
86R:XVI:302	R	Charytie.
86V:XVI:329	L	Charytie.

- 87R:XVI:339 R Charitie is known
by workes./.
- 87R:XVI:351 R Charitie seldom
sene in ye freres
- 87R:XVI:357 R nor in ye kinges
courte except
covetyse be
absent
- 87R:XVI:362 R nor in Coustorye
Courte nor
with Bisshops.
- 88R:XVII:35 R freres & monkes
lyvelode of
lyther Wyinninges
- 88R:XVII:42 R If men of holye
Church wold do
nought but right
then Wold Lordes,
Lawyers, and
merchauntes, do lyke.
- 88R:XVII:53 R Ayenst Monkes
and Chanons
freres prestes
pardoners.
- 88V:XVII:58 L Charitie is yat
furst we helpe
father & kynred
& then such as
haue most nede
before freres
& c.x
- 88V:XVII:69 L the pore haue
right to a parte of
Christes treasure
in prestes handes
- 88V:XVII:77 L A Comparason
betwixt a false
Christpian, & a bad
penye wyth a
good prynte./.
- 89R:XVII:90 R if we did our dutie as all
other creatures, then
shold we haue peace &
plentye./.

89R:XVII:108	R	Gyle & flatterye Master & vssher in all scyences & degrees.
89R:XVII:117	R	of Masse prestes.
89V:XVII:127	L	holy church chere is Charytie.
89V:XVII:133	L	Jewes & Sarazins do both beleue in God the father
89V:XVII:136	L	No Loue vnlafull is to be allowed.
90R:XVII:163	R	bewtie <u>w</u> ithout bountie kynde <u>w</u> ithout curtosye.
90R:XVII:165	R	Matometh was crystened & wold haue ben pope.
90R:XVII:175	R	the deceyte of Matometh by a Dove./.
90V:XVII:197	L	holymen had no boke but Conscyence
90V:XVII:205	L	Covetyse shall ouertorne Clerkes.
91R:XVII:219	R	Bisshops shall lose <u>temper</u> all Landes & lyve of teuthes.
91R:XVII:222	R	An Angell cryed <u>y</u> at <u>y</u> e church was poysoned
91R:XVII:227	R	A Counsayll for Kynge. to take possessions from the pope &c all <u>y</u> e clergie
91R:XVII:240	R	Matometh & the pope compared.
91V:XVII:250	L	presthod in <u>per</u> fyt
91V:XVII:276	L	an Vnsownd opynion.
92R:XVII:283	R	A Bisshops office
92V:XVIII:3	L	<u>liberum arbitrium</u>
92V:XVIII:4	L	Cor <u>hominis</u> .
92V:XVIII:7	L	Imago.Dei.
92V:XVIII:14	L	Charitas.

93R:XVIII:30	R	the world.
93R:XVIII:36	R	the fleshe.
93V:XVIII:85	L	Matrimonye.
93V:XVIII:86	L	Wydowhod.
93V:XVIII:89	L	Vyrginytie
95R:XVIII:175	R	Judas.
96R:XVIII:228	R	A Symylitude betwixt the Trenytie & Adam, Eve & Abell.
97V:XIX:19	L	fayth kepinge the <u>Comandmenntes</u> saveth
97V:XIX:27	L	Abraham sawe ye .3. <u>persons</u> of ye trenytie.
97V:XIX:44	L	the lawe lerned & lytle vsed.
98R:XIX:51	R	the samarytan
99R:XIX:117	R	A symilitude of <u>ye</u> trenytie & <u>ye</u> hande./.
99V:XIX:162	L	A symylitude of the synne ayenst the holy gost./.
99V:XIX:167	L	a symyle of a torche./.
100R:XIX:176	R	<u>peccatum</u> <u>contra</u> <u>Spiritus Sancti</u> ./.
100V:XIX:217	L	No <u>pardon</u> caan dispens <u>with</u> vnkyndnes
100V:XIX:223	L	ayenst vnkyndnes in riche men./.
101R:XIX:236	R	of Diues ye riche mann an <u>argument</u> a Maiore./.
101V:XIX:263	L	Murther ye worst synne ayenst ye holye gost./.
101V:XIX:266	L	Qu[are]ere./.
102R:XIX:294	R	sorowe of herte is satisfactoun to <u>yem</u> <u>yat</u> connot paye./.

102R:XIX:298	R	A Wycked Wyfe an house vncou <u>er</u> ed & the smoke. are compared to. the flesh.
102R:XIX:313	R	Syknesses.
102V:XIX:321	L	Covetyse and vnkyndnes.
104V:XX:119	L	Mercye
104V:XX:122	L	truthe.
104V:XX:144	L	{manacule}
105R:XX:157	R	the venym of Scorpions styngeth till deth./.
105R:XX:166	R	Rightwysenes.
105R:XX:171	R	peace. patyence and Love
106V:XX:258	L	Symonds sons
107R:XX:278	R	nota a question where Lazarus was when Abraham was in Inferno.
108R:XX:354	R	ayenst lyers
109R:XX:410	R	the vayle of Josephat resurrectoun
109R:XX:418	R	note this
109V:XX:439	L	Justyce in hell M <u>er</u> cy in heven.
109V:XX:448	L	not all ransomed
110R:XX:474	R	Idolatrie
113V:XXI:221	L	false prophet <u>e</u> s pope Covetyse.
114R:XXI:229	R	preachers prest <u>e</u> s and lawyers lyve by labor of tonge
114V:XXI:262	L	The Evangelist <u>e</u> s
114V:XXI:269	L	The Doctors.
114V:XXI:277	L	prudence
114V:XXI:284	L	Temporance
114V:XXI:291	L	fortytude.
115R:XXI:303	R	Justyce
115V:XXI:324	L	vnytie
115V:XXI:324	L	{manacule}
115V:XXI:336	L	pryde

116V:XXI:417	L	Lecherye regneth wher Cardynals dwell./.
117R:XXI:428	R	the pope shold save
117R:XXI:444	R	the popes vyces
117V:XXI:469	L	the Kinge is avove his Lawe.
118R:XXII:10	R	Need hath no Lawe./.
118V:XXII:44	L	Needye.
118V:XXII:55	L	freares folowe Antechriste.
118V:XXII:62	L	but fooles will rather dye./.
119R:XXII:70	R	Antechristes <u>battayl</u> ayenst Conseyence.
119V:XXII:95	L	old age bereth deathes standerd
119V:XXII:101	L	Death killeth all estates.
119V:XXII:112	L	Lecheryes battayll ayenst Conscience
119V:XXII:121	L	Covetyse also ayenst Consciens
120R:XXII:125	R	symonye causeth <u>ye</u> pope to hold <u>with</u> Antechryste knocketh conseyence dryveth away fayth <u>over</u> throweth Wisdom of West <u>minster</u> hall overturneth truth turneth syvile in <u>ye</u> Arches./ &c parteth Matr <u>imonye</u> by devorce./
120R:XXII:140	L	{manacule}
120R:XXII:147	R	Conscyence accompted folye./
120V:XXII:180	L	No surgerye nor physik ayenst old age./.

121V:XXII:232	L	Ayenst prest <u>e</u> s & freres
122R:XXII:259	R	Conscyence will not give ought to y <u>e</u> freres. they are so many & out of Nombre
122V:XXII:294	L	Envye fyndeth freres at Schole
122V:XXII:300	L	ypocrysie woundeth many
123R:XXII:314	R	freare flatterye a phisician & surgear

APPENDIX VIII
HAND H ANNOTATIONS

LOCATION	SIDE	CONTENT	HAND
17R:II:220	R	falshod flyeth to the frers	
17R:II:221	R	gyle is shut up in <u>merchauntes</u> shops.	
17V:II:231	L	lyar is puld into <u>pardoners</u> house	
17V:II:234	L	dwelled <u>with</u> physycans polycaryes mystrelles messengers & is fetched into the ffreares.	
18V:III:42	L	the freare shryveth mede	
18V:III:57	L	Reade this syde	
22V:III:310	L	Reward <u>es</u> of masse <u>prestes</u>	
25R:III:451	R	Love & Conscyence shall make Lawe a Laborer.	
31R:V:151	R	heaven & ease on eath is in cloyster.	
32R:VI:1	R	Prowde harte	
33R:VI:62	R	Envye	
33V:VI:103	L	Wrath	
34R:VI:131	R	<u>nota</u>	
34V:VI:171	L	Lecherye.	
35R:VI:196	R	Covetyse	
37R:VI:350	R	Glotonye	
38R:VII:3	L	Slewthe.	
42R:VII:206	R	The waye to truthe	
43R:VII:270	R	vij systers that serve Truthe	
47V:VIII:274	L	Dyet	
48R:VIII:285	R	Almesse	
49R:VIII:344	R	famyn through <u>floodes</u> .	
49R:VIII:344	L	{manacule}	

49V:IX:24	L	<u>Marchauntes</u>
49V:IX:45	L	Lawyers.
50R:IX:61	R	Beggars
50R:IX:75	L	the true nedye
50V:IX:91	L	the true nedye
50V:IX:107	L	madmenn & lunatyk <u>beggars</u>
51R:IX:131	R	Lewde mynstrelles
51R:IX:136	R	godes mynstralles
51V:IX:159	L	the false nedye
52R:IX:175	R	the true nedye.
52R:IX:187	R	lewde <u>hermyttes</u> <u>beggars</u>
52R:IX:194	R	holy <u>hermyttes</u>
52V:IX:212	L	lollers <u>hermyttes</u>
53R:IX:242	R	lollers and lewde <u>hermyttes</u>
53V:IX:280	L	no <u>pardon</u> helpeth
53V:IX:290	L	but doo well & haue well
54V:IX:344	L	<u>pardons</u> nor <u>Indulgences</u> will helpe
55V:X:76	L	doowell
55V:X:82	L	Doo <u>Better</u>
56R:X:92	R	DooBest
57V:X:208	L	Basterdes
58R:X:219	R	kaytiffe of kayn
58R:X:238	R	<u>nota</u>
59R:X:274	R	donmowe Bacon
59R:X:278	R	of maryages
59V:X:3	L	wytte & Stodye
59V:X:14	L	Covetyse
59V:X:18	L	Begyle truth
60R:X:48	R	the rich gyveth les almes then meann menn
60V:X:72	L	gyve to the nedy in thy life tyme.
61R:X:94	R	Stodye techeth

61R:XI:99	R	The way to doo well.is.. to suffer woo regard no riches flee women wyne Ire & Slewth.
61V:XI:129	L	Theologye is no Scyeunc but a sothfast beleofe
61V:XI:133	L	and teacheth vs to love.
61V:XI:144	L	Doo Well.
62R:XI:161	L	Beleefe, Truth, & Love.
62V:XI:186	L	Age
62V:XI:205	L	Nota <u>yat</u> the Elect are wrytten & The Reprobate vnwrytten.
63R:XI:216a	R	Salomon and Aristotell in wysdom & <u>workes</u> both good yet dyed evelly
63R:XI:228	R	Neyther wyt no coninge but <u>godes</u> grace
63R:XI:236	L	The wysest menn & lernedst do seldom lyve as they tech
63V:XI:254	L	{manucule}
64R:XI:285	R	not Wytte but <u>ye</u> grace of god.
64R:XI:291	R	none ravished <u>soner</u> from fayth then coning Clerkes and none <u>soner</u> saved then <u>commen</u> people.
65R:XII:28	R	<u>nota</u>

65R:XII:37	R	Secrettes to be kept.	
65V:XII:58	L	nota of denyall of fayth	
65V:XII:71	L	mercye above all godes workes	
65V:XII:73	L	Troianes	
66R:XII:84	R	{manucule}	
66R:XII:101	L	feastes ought to be made to the pore & not to the Riche	
66V:XII:114	L	Lend to the nedy	
66V:XII:127	L	To be lowe true & loving ech to othir	
106V:XX:258	L	[Symonds sons] which were in Hell	[G] H

APPENDIX IX
HAND I ANNOTATIONS

LOCATION	SIDE	CONTENT	HAND
7R:P:10	R	Pers his <...> of all welth	
7R:P:13	R	Hierulalem <....>	
7R:P:14	R	Roma	
7R:P:16	R	T<...>	
7R:P:19	R	Middell earth	
7R:P:19	L	h<....>	
7R:P:22	R	<....>	
7R:P:23	R	<....>	
7R:P:24	R	<....>	
7R:P:25	R	<....>	
7R:P:27	R	cloyst<....> and frier<....>	
7R:P:29	R	<....>	
7R:P:32	R	licame ye epicurie	

NOTE: Folio 7r is extremely badly damaged, faded and stained. Although its annotations were not examined under ultra-violet light--due to the presence of the manuscript's sole illuminated initial--they were all clearly the work of hand I.

7V:P:33	R	Fidlers cannot Ryghtwiss can	
7V:P:40	R	bawdy pepill	
7V:P:44	R	begers main be in by abbies and nunries.	
7V:P:49	L	pylgrymes & there ancres	G I
7V:P:54	L	hermytes & there Hores	G I

7V:P:64	R	famous Kinge Henry Viiij fulfillid in his time	
7V:P:64	B	ye light of ye truthe	
8R:P:70	L	not[a]	
8R:P:70	R	Ayent pardoners & wicked men	G I
8R:P:76	L	ye pore bleed	
8R:P:78	R	[bysshops] parsons and parr[esh] clarkes gitt thereby profitt	[G]I
8R:P:89	R	byshopps Tellers and officors in ye exchecare	
8R:P:90	L	[n]ot[a]	
8R:P:93	R	all offices in the Clergie	
8R:P:95	R	nota	
8R:P:95	B	This conscience is now supposed to be Kinge James ye Sixt to punishe the couitousnes of the clergie of Brittain	
8V:P:114	R	olde Helies punnishment	
8V:P:119	L	not[a]	
9R:P:139	L	nota	
9R:P:139	R	who maid many knightes his strength	
10R:P:214	R	the insaysiablins of ye lawyers	
10R:P:218	R	will the catt ye kinge and the kittines distroye	
10R:P:223	R	evne nowe at hande	
10V:I:25	L	Loot first planted grappes	
10V:I:25	L	genicis	
11V:I:60	L	ye Deuill	

11V:I:72	L	True = Religion & not ye Popp	
12V:I:118	L	[Lu]cyfers Hall in Imo Celi	
12V:I:146	L	[Love] or Carritas ying	[G] I
12V:I:146	B	(see below)	

as Treacle or Medridat, expulseth pouison in ye body

A Simmoly

So loue, and godly charitie, expulseth sin in the soule.

13V:I:180	L	no <u>muritt</u> in any worcks	
13V:I:182	L	instifinige faith only work nige.	
13V:I:187	L	ye couuitous of ye clergie	
13V:I:187	R	not[a]	
14R:II:10	R	ye Purpill whore of Rome Meed & Favill Antichrist	
14R:II:28	R	christs parable in Mathewe	
15R:II:96	B	Turne	
18R:III:9	R	courtissaire inbrasheth Meed ye maid and setteth by hir	
18V:III:59	L	hit is but originall sinne of frailtie	
18V:III:62	R	seuene sinne[s] drawne out of Adams loines	
18V:III:66	L	<u>nota</u>	

18V:III:66	L	sonne p <u>ar</u> doned
18V:III:69	R	the deuosion of Super <u>st</u> icion
19R:III:80	R	three Bees thatt stinge the poore & nedy
19R:III:99	R	<u>ou</u> r lady a Mediator
19V:III:111	L	Against vserers& Regraders yfrancheised
19V:III:118a	L	Meed corr upteth all estaits
20R:III:142	R	Meed shulde be married to truth and reason or consience but Refusseth them all to take crafte
20R:III:157	R	Meed is fauls of faith and ficle of tonge
20V:III:164	R	Meed a common Strumpitt
20V:III:185	R	Meed ye Pops Darlinge and the Prestes Baude
20V:III:190	L	wo to that realme where Meed Mastereth
21R:III:211	R	ye clergie <u>with</u> Meed are turned into gyle
21R:III:215	R	Meeds fained Annswere to the Kinge

- 21V:III:241 L Peers liued
in Henri
the sixt
his daies
who lost
his heritage
in Fraunce
which his father
had wonne
- 21V:III:256 L nota
- 21V:III:260 B (see below)
- kinge
henri the 6 was a simpell Religious man, which was
the loose of his fathers heritage in Fraunce
- 22R:III:270 R the Pope reneth by
corrupcion of Meed
- 22R:III:283 R Meed prefared by ye
Kinge before consience
- 23R:III:328 R Sallomons Sauluacion
dobtefull.
- 23V:III:381 L hipocreticall
pueritans
are
Indirecte
- 24R:III:413 B Daid caulled a knaue, because he was Sauls man
not that he was one butt by cause he was A
Shepperd
- 25R:III:454 R ye Jewes muste
be conuerted
to the faith
before thi[s]
tyme
- 25R:III:467 R The reformed
clergie
schall rule
the Kinge
- 25R:III:472 R siuill lawe
taken clene
away for
sellinge of
Sinne

25V:III:479	L	ye Jewes ye Sophic and the Turcke shalbe con- uerted to ye faith.
26R:IV:36a	B	nota
26R:IV:36a	B	Script i603 Thus farr of prophises yet to come all the reste followinge are past sauing the fall of ye lawe and Bishopps nowe at hande.
26V:IV:67	L	laweyers vse handy Dandy
27V:IV:113	L	Nunc quam in Anglia but in the lande of conqueste
27V:IV:118	L	nota
27V:IV:118	R	bishopes must be backers bruers and tailors
28R:IV:139	R	Reson telleth wronge and Meede yat lawe for abush shalbe come A laborour.
28R:IV:144	R	nota
28R:IV:144	R	lawe shall not rul but faouere by med[e]
28R:IV:147	R	The abuse of lawe, shall cause it to falle
28R:IV:158	L	[n]ota
28R:IV:158	R	who that is marriede quoth con[science] his goodes shalbe Covunted
28V:IV:165	L	princes Counsell should be ruled by conshouns & Resoun

28R:IV:161	R	Meed a durtie commo[n] Strmpit both in siuill lawe and common
28V:IV:174	R	nota
28V:IV:174	L	loue and good lyff to be the lawe
28V:IV:182	L	warres= & sworde
28V:V:2	R	pers dwelled in cornewell <u>with</u> his frind christofor or his wyf Catte in there beds had a vision
29R:V:4	R	peres became a protestant and loued his lyke.
29R:V:30	R	lowlars regarded not fridaies fast.
29V:V:35	L	nota
29V:V:36	R	brought in a cloystere.
29V:V:44	R	peres a beginge frier <u>which</u> was an easie lyfe
29V:V:44	L	nota
29V:V:55	L	pastors should be of knowlege reputed and Mecke
29V:V:63	L	pastors of good paran- tage and chaystly married.
29V:V:66	R	no basterds
30R:V:65	R	basterds fitt for slauerye

30R:V:72	L	merchantes knightes gentelmen there printices
30V:V:111	L	ye worlde
30V:V:115	L	fained hollynes for pride
31R:V:128	R	pure hippocracy reproued.
31R:V:138	R	Spare the rood and spill ye child.
31R:V:141	R	pastors muste do as they teche
31R:V:145	R	, prelaitts loue of decimes & lords take th[er] linanges.
31R:V:151	R	againste non residence and pleasure and purcas[e] in prelaitts
32V:V:197	R	Reason against pil- grimage to Sanctus butt to trueth
32V:V:13	R	Repentaunce biddeth Pride become lowly meaninge ye clergie
32V:VI:35	L	A discription of fained hippocracy
32V:VI:43	R	nota
33R:VI:71	R	ye nature of Envye.
33V:VI:118	L	collerricke deuines vnperfitt prechers
33V:VI:122	R	emulacoir in all degres
34R:VI:138	R	A descri ption of wrath at large
34R:VI:147	R	nota

34V:VI:159	R	causeth fluxes	
34V:VI:160	R	fatt fole	
34V:VI:166	L	wine Inne witt oute	
34V:VI:171	L	Lecherye.	H
	L	in the clergie and others	I
34V:VI:180	R	places of lechery	
34V:VI:181	L	ye fruites of friday fast and ste <u>eu</u> ues	
34V:VI:189	L	bawdy songes and bauds mirces of lecherye	
35R:VI:191	R	lecherie had by sorcery or ells by Rapine lecherie de[.]ersching	
35R:VI:198	L	Willm. Aiscough	
35R:VI:199	R	marks of covetise folckes	
35R:VI:203	R	in a torne coote	
35R:VI:207	R	an vseror or marchant	
35R:VI:215	R	Drapers drep mens purses	
35V:VI:226	L	decepte in ailewines	
35V:VI:234	L	She robbid hir gestes a slepe	
35V:VI:241	L	lumbards crafte	
36R:VI:285a	R	filthy & bitinge vsurie	
36V:VI:304	L	vsure is compared to the Pops stues rente	
37R:VI:351	R	wil faste on all Friday <u>e</u> s	

37V:VI:357	L	the nature of gluttony
37V:VI:366	R	the sabothes in thos daies well keppte
37V:VI:367	L	companions of the ale Rood.
38R:VI:400	L	gluttonnys horne his tale
39R:VII:30	R	Slewthe the badge of the clergie
39R:VII:36	R	a forsworne lyer.
39R:VII:42	R	ingratfull
39R:VII:45	R	bribery
39R:VII:49	R	wast gods good brontie
39V:VII:59	L	wanhope haith deceaued many a fouly he youth.
39V:VII:70	L	the branches of slewth is to live <u>with</u> oute gods fere
39V:VII:75	R	vsury
39V:VII:82	R	againste bawdy Jesters
40R:VII:97	R	the good poure to be releued before Minstrils
40R:VII:101a	R	dicit christus
40R:VII:102	R	feastes banckits
40R:VII:103	T	may
40R:VII:103	T	piper
40R:VII:104	L	foulbage ar bagpype
40R:VII:112	T	re
40V:VII:125	L	Adams fall
40V:VII:138	R	blyshed Mary

41R:VII:144	R	a seret of ye trinnitie
41R:VII:149	R	ye corruption of yat time
41R:VII:156	R	ye people were blindfolded by superstission
41V:VII:172	R	in Bethlem Jud[ea]
41V:VII:177	L	Nota
41V:VII:192	L	ye nature of truth
41V:VII:200	L	ye Author Tome tell truth
42V:VII:241	L	ye error of yat time
42V:VII:241	R	preaer to such is not ye way to truth
42V:VII:243	L	marke
42V:VII:250a	L	not[a]
42V:VII:250a	R	nay rather per christum
43R:VII:272	R	Abstenence.1 Humilitie.2 Charritie.3 Chastitie.4 Paciencie.5 Pease.& 6 Largenesse.7
43R:VII:283	R	a Cutpurshe and a Beartward haue no truth at all
43R:VII:287	R	ye Author commends truth with mercye
43R:VII:291	R	duringe this pilgramace
43R:VII:298	R	ye parrable of ye bidd to ye marriag[e]
43V:VIII:8	L	meane and gentill women liue by ye plowghe
44V:VIII:71	L	Idell roges shalle wante brede

44V:VIII:73	R	fryers & theire order[s] wiped out of gods booke
45R:VIII:90a	R	we must not do as they do but as they saye the clergie teachethe
45R:VIII:95	R	The will of Pers plouthman
45V:VIII:143	L	Pers will releue the impotente poore but not Idell vacabonnds
46R:VIII:152	L	[n]ota
46R:VIII:152	R	England harboreth more theues and beggers then any countrie
46R:VIII:158	R	wasters and rioters make things deare
46R:VIII:173	L	nota
46R:VIII:173	R	nota Brittain shalbe bitten with hungere when the plouth shalbe neclected by inclosers
46V:VIII:201	L	<u>sir</u> hunger enimie to Idelnes
47R:VIII:223	R	hungers counsell
47R:VIII:240	R	he that will not laboure ys not worthy to eate
48R:VIII:291	L	Idelness causeth sicknes mode fat labor to phisissians

48R:VIII:293	R	bewaire of dogge leches pictpurses
48R:VIII:304	L	nota peres was a pecke man
48R:VIII:304	R	the ploughman diet graue chesses and potage or croudes and milcke
48V:VIII:310	L	A poore dyete
48V:VIII:333	L	the poore are gluttons in harvest tyme
49R:IX:1	L	nota
49R:IX:1	R	the kinge of skootes
49R:IX:8	L	nota
49R:IX:13	R	butt not proud pralaites
49R:IX:17	R	lordes lecher[y] abollyshede
50R:IX:51	R	A cauiat to Laweyers
50V:IX:97	L	feede the lame and the blinde
51R:IX:114	T	thes kinde of men sometimes <u>prouisie</u> the truthe
53R:IX:245	R	Sovenday deriued of vij day dominica domini
53R:IX:255	T	of many bisshopes
53R:IX:255	R	bisshopes the cause of ignorunt pasters at this day
53R:IX:260	R	Bisshopes dare not barck against the offences of oure staite

53R:IX:266	L	nota
53R:IX:266	R	skabbed hirelings skabbed sheepe
53R:IX:266	R	under a durtie Dauver
53R:IX:267	R	Interiectio pastor wantinge both currage and a barkinge dogg
53R:IX:273	R	A bluddy curssed was vppon careles pastors when they shalbe caulled to an accompte
53V:IX:275	L	A hirelinge
53V:IX:282	L	A prittie interogation <u>with</u> a secret discouerie of the popes game of all bulles
54R:IX:325	L	nota
54R:IX:325	R	Doo well is better then ye Popps bulles
54R:IX:333	R	Dowell ys better then ye Popes trionalls
55R:X:21	R	do well dwells not amonste friiers allwaies
55R:X:28	L	nota
56V:X:89a	R	A description of witt
56V:X:133	L	the soule of Man= kinde
56V:X:134	R	The deuill
56V:X:143	L	inwitt hath fiue daughters

57R:X:151	L	god only
57R:X:151	R	and Nature
57R:X:156	L	to Christ in his manhodd
57R:X:156	R	of Animall reasson
57R:X:158	R	A parable
57V:X:180	L	not
57V:X:180	R	wisdom & healthe two greate blissinges
57V:X:191	L	bisshopes should haue no more lands then Christe hadd
58R:X:211a	L	nota
58R:X:211a	R	an vnregenerat father begitteth a curssed sonne
59R:X:279	R	wedd there licke
59R:X:283	R	Marriage fittist on young
59R:X:288	L	nota
59R:X:289	R	a man maie offend <u>with</u> his wyfe, brnge in hir flowers
59V:X:4	L	his wif
59V:X:21	R	nota
59V:X:21	L	nicholas Saunderson
59V:X:23	L	all gripinge parsons
59V:X:27	L	nota the riche are comonly the enimies to rigt and truthe
60R:X:29	R	the religious and godly <u>person</u>
60R:X:52	L	nota

60R:XI:52	R	hipocrites of ye clergie and laitie	
60R:XI:55	R	nota	
60R:XI:56	L	conninge of the prela= tes	
60R:XI:58	B	sterringe the simple pepell to almes for there owne proffitt	
68R:XII:222	L	not[a]	
68R:XII:222	R	sonne ripp sonn[e] Rotten	
75R:XIV:155a	R	a litle taste of poprie	
77R:XV:66	R	Doctor Robinson Doctor Barfout of lincoln <u>with</u> many mor	
77V:XV:78	L	Bonner bush= hoppe of London	
79V:XV:210	L	the pore and rich praethe for pers the plough man	
81V:XVI:46	L	riches bringeth reuerence of ye poore	
82R:XVI:64	R	the pore is euer redye to please ye Riche. but ye rich hateth ye poore	G I
82R:XVI:75	R	ye dronken roge	
83R:XVI:115	R	A diffynicoun of povertye./. describid in .9. partes & declared by paciencs	G I
83R:XVI:116d	R	A grett compart to ye pacient pore	

83R:XVI:119	R	pryde hateth pou <u>er</u> tye	G
		the firste	I
		point 1	
		pou <u>er</u> tye is seldom	G
		put in auctoritie	
		the second	I
		pointe .2.	
		<u>w</u> ithout consiens	
		stained .3.	
		pou <u>er</u> tie getts	
		his goods	
		<u>w</u> ith good	
		consience	
		ye .4. pointe	
		pouertie	
		addorneth	
		the soule	
		ye .5. pointe	
		pouertie	
		ys the	
		pathe of	
		pees ye	
		.6. pointe	
83V:XVI:143	L	pou <u>er</u> tie is A	
		well of	
		wisdome ye	
		.7. pointe	
83V:XVI:146	L	pou <u>er</u> tie is A	
		consience to	
		deserue well	
		ye .8. pointe.	
83V:XVI:153	L	pou <u>er</u> tye a blessed life.	G
	L	swettere	I
		then sugare	
		absque timore	
		sollicitudine	
		felecitas ye	
		.9. pointe	
83V:XVI:154a	R	ye meane estait moste	
		blessed	
83V:XVI:168	B	In medeo concistit virt[us]	
84R:XVI:184	R	Mens	
84R:XVI:187	R	Ratio.	G
		Sence	I

84R:XVI:191	R	Conscience gods Notory
84R:XVI:193	R	<u>Liberum Arbitrium</u>
84V:XVI:200f	R	<u>liberum Arbitrium</u> qui declinat a malo ad bonum
84V:XVI:203	L	Metropolita= nus Doctor Sed pastor Solus est
85R:XVI:229	R	propertie bredeth singularitie & pride.
85R:XVI:235	R	Skornefull flatterers
85R:XVI:236	L	nota
85R:XVI:240a	R	to haue no respecte of <u>persons</u>
85V:XVI:265	L	pride in <u>ye</u> clergie
85V:XVI:271	L	Johannes <u>Cristotomus</u>
85V:XVI:271b	L	aganste three bad pes
85V:XVI:277	L	Hirelings to impropri aci= ons
85V:XVI:81	R	bothe Bushopps and coutitous patrones
86R:XVI:308	L	nota
86R:XVI:309	B	afflicions, <u>persicutions</u> , and Sorrowes, compared truly to heuenelye mussick to a regenerat man
86V:XVI:337	L	not
86V:XVI:338	B	pers <u>ye</u> Ploughman <u>perfitly</u> knowethe Charitie
87R:XVI:346	R(SW)	Jesus Christ
88R:XVII:30	Top	John
88V:XVII:73	L	counterfett curartes
88V:XVII:73	R	a bad body dothe <u>shewe</u> w[]

88V:XVII:78	R	all cristi ans are not faithfull
94V:XVIII:127	L	Jhesus A carpenters sonn <u>ye</u> sonn of <u>ye</u> Judge of all justices in this worlde
94V:XVIII:134	L	A wench ought to be A virgine butt hardly in this wickitt age
94V:XVIII:143	L	Marie Magdiline
94V:XVIII:151a	L	nota
94V:XVIII:151a	R	The sinn aganst <u>ye</u> holly goste
95V:XVIII:188	L	Abrahams Armes thre proues <u>ye</u> holy & blished Trinitie
96R:XVIII:221	L	nota Barrenes of the wome
96R:XVIII:221	R	Matrimony of the Bible <u>which</u> <u>ye</u> Pappistes and monks do allowe is here disconmended
96R:XVIII:241	L	nota
96R:XVIII:242	R	Abraham sawe thre angells et worshiped before his tente dore <u>which</u> resemblid tthe Trinitie

96V:XVIII:256	L	<p>nota <u>ye</u> faithfull Seed of:- Abraham are not only <u>promissed</u> all temporall plashinges but also eternaell</p>
96V:XVIII:270	L	<p>John Baptist bore in his bosh<u>am</u> christe in the simillitid of A layser before his commninge in the flesh <u>which</u> layser represented all the faithfull Borne before Christe</p>
97R:XVIII:278	L	<p>no pleges in oure times butt the [Re]atyes londe [.]Criste notin the faitful before his deathe & comminge</p>
97R:XVIII:282	R	<p>nota</p>
97R:XIX:3	R	<p><u>ye</u> olde and the newe testamente</p>
97R:XIX:7	R	<p>nota Christe is <u>ye</u> seale of the testament</p>
97R:XIX:12	R	<p>nota</p>
97R:XIX:13a	R	<p>Moyes tabill whereni ye lawe was writt[en]</p>

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

99V:XIX:162	L	A symylitude of the synne ayenst the holy gost./. to the palme of the hande	G I
103R:XX:52	R	A sponge of vinniger.	
103V:XX:65	L	the Authore varieth some what from ye worde of god.	
103V:XX:67	R	nota A dombe speche of deade bodies	
103V:XX:78	L	nota	
104V:XX:117	L	heaune in ye weste	
104V:XX:117	R	nota	
104V:XX:132	L	Mary the Virgine.	
104V:XX:135	L	Christe was borne <u>without</u> a medwyfe in a manger	
105R:XX:150	L	nota	
105R:XX:150	R	truth is directly against purgatory and limbo patrum	
105R:XX:176	L	nota	
105R:XX:176	R	pees bringeth plentie & pride	
105R:XX:178	B	(see below)	
		Spalme Daud. Mercy. and truth, are mett together. Rightwsenes, & pees, haithe cished ech other	
106R:XX:237	L	nota	
106R:XX:237	R	Englands careles Securitie	
106R:XX:240	L	nota	

106R:XX:240	R	The Bibil Book.
107V:XX:309	L	nota vijm yere was Adam in Hell. contrary to Elias computa= cions.
108V:XX:380	L	ye serpinte aleged god [s]cripture to Eue
109R:XX:397	R	by ye frute of a tree dampned by ye death on tree Saued
110V:XXI:12	L	pers plough man wereth ye cote armor of Christ
110V:XXI:34	L	Jewes vnder tribute
111R:XXI:61	L	nota
111R:XXI:61	R	Christ betokneth conqueror.
111R:XXI:66	R	without the cros no Crowne?
111R:XXI:70	R	Jhesus A sumonre
111V:XXI:85	L	A definition of the offerings of the three wismen
111V:XXI:91	L	Reson Righti= onsnes Truth
112V:XXI:135	L	ye Madens or biriydes
112V:XXI:161a	L	women can kepe no counsell
112V:XXI:161a	R	nota
113R:XXI:183	R	peter

113R:XXI:187	R	ye ploughman sonnest pardoned for his sinnes then any other caullinge	
113V:XXI:213	L	nota	
113V:XXI:213	R	grace is more aquanted <u>with</u> the ploughman then any oth[er] trad[e.]	
113V:XXI:219	L	nota	
113V:XXI:221	L	false prophetes Antichrist ye pope Covetyse.	G I G
113V:XXI:222	R	nota shall sitt in gods sett and bost him selfe as g[o]d	
114R:XXI:259	R	The ploughman the worlds stuarde	
114V:XXI:266	R	nota peers the deuins purit	
116R:XXI:370	L	nota	
116R:XXI:369	R	common hores & Sumpners enimies <u>to</u> the the Churche	
116R:XXI:385	L	nota	
116R:XXI:385	R	gods body vnder ye elliment of brede not transsubstan- tiacon	
116V:XXI:396	L	A baudy Bruer	
116V:XXI:408	L	A vile vicare	
117V:XXI:455	L	nota	
117V:XXI:455	R	<u>pr</u> udence in oure daies ys but gyle	

119R:XXII:86	L	a legion of angels attend on ante= christe
119V:XXII:115	R	lecherie liuerye is continuall Idelnes <u>with flatterie</u> and decepte
119V:XXII:121	R	Covetysnes liuerye is ingarlines and wiles
120R:XXII:141	R	liuely loue clad in rome harlottry <u>which</u> holdeth religion a geste
120R:XXII:143	L	nota
120R:XXII:148	L	vaine folly of youtfull lyfe.
120R:XXII:148	R	nota
120R:XXII:151	R	lyf health and pride of harte regards not consience nor deathe
120R:XXII:153	L	nota
120V:XXII:154	R	lyf and fortun[e] begate in there youth Sleuth who marrid in his boysage a Post Knigtes Daughter in a vaine hope of youthe
120V:XXII:159	L	nota
120V:XXII:176	L	ye vicare of Bindbrocke.
120V:XXII:182	L	age is bald before [...]

121R:XXII:190	L	nota	
121R:XXII:190	R	ye ere yelds to elde ye teth and grinders decaeth ye leges are gouttie	
121R:XXII:197	R	mariage and elde killeth lust of ye body.	
121R:XXII:199	L	all men muste paie there debt to Nature	
121R:XXII:210	L	nota	
121R:XXII:210	R	ye godlie <u>which</u> loue god truly shall never lacke in this lyfe, nor in ye lyfe to come	
121V:XXII:221	L	nota	
121V:XXII:222	R	litle or no consience to be found in the marches of Ireland	
122V:XXII:300	L	ypocrysie woundeth many prechares	G I
123V:XXII:346	L	hippocrieticall women friers <u>with</u> the salue of loue	
123V:XXII:347	R	nota	
123V:XXII:367	L	contrition ys filled <u>with</u> Ipocracy	
123V:XXII:369	R	nota	
124R:XXII:371	R	daubers <u>with</u> vntempered morter	
124R:XXII:371	L	nota	
124R:XXII:373	L	sleuth & prid[e] enimies to conscience	

124R:XXII:382	R	nota
124R:XXII:382	L	consience
		desiers ye
		company
		of ye plough
		man who
		is moste
		voyde of
		pride
		of all occupacens

APPENDIX X
TEXT FROM FLYLEAVES

CONTENT	LOCATION	HAND	FOLIO
This book was written and daited the 10 of the ides _ of _ Marche ye Seconde yere of Kinge John of famous memorie by Peers Plowman Pensionare _ or rather Seruant _ to the said King as John Gowere Recordethe qth Francis Aiscoughe	C	I	Fr.I.C
644a	L	L	
476d	L	L	
\$ 681b.	L	L	
35,157 Purchased of Mrs Johnson, 7 Jan. 1898.	C	L	F.1R
Concience ys a sleppe till he come in againe William Ai[scough] Explicit liber vocatus pers plogh man Preston Arthyer Surteys Cussin I hope ty you pray to kepe this bouke bothe nyght & dai <u>per</u> me Fraun: Aiscoughe de Ccottam	C C C	I (I?) A	F.124R
Consence will not come into this lande till the proude Prelates and Couitous lawyeres be swepe awai <u>which</u> will not be longe to Amen So be it	C C	I I	
	C		Arthur Surtees

Contra stipacionem venris que vocatur grind	C	I	F.124V
Take chekyns & dight yame. Yen take polipe dile & chope it small & take fenell fare & do yereto & put ya buth in the checkyns & seith thame well & yen take ye herbe & ye seides furth of ye chekins & cast away _ them _. Yen take ych chekine & ye broth & make yereof a culese & dytt well yereoff, & ye seike shall find remedy probatum est <u>quoth</u> Fraun Aiscoughe.			
in in in	C	I	
Suetrus praes the noj	C	(?)	
to kepe this boke to the A lone			
<.....>	C	(?)	
Thomas thyrnbeke, clarke	C	E	
per me antony	C	(?)	
per me antonꝯ ꝯ	C	(?)	
<u>Jesus ꝯ h ꝯ hh Jesus Christ ꝯ Jesus Christ</u>	C	(?)	
To dissolue the	C	I	
Hernia Carnosa in tyme			
Take leade and drive the same smale, prik it full of holes and lay the same in a truse, maid for yat purposse. Then take ffyges brayed, putt there to thoyle of lyge a quantitie of Sanguis Draconis, rosewater, and musterd seed, a like quantitie, and applye the same plastease to the member ix dayes and yt shall desolue the member, a fowrthe parte in quantitie probatum est This diseas ys daungerously Cured By insycion in a ffatt boddy be the Surgion never so Conninge			
<u>dum</u> suma in modo <....>	C	(?)	F.125R
Oclyng þerll as goold so bryght	C	(?)	F.125V*
L<...> ymage as ros all glere O Ruby not rychevne in syght hahst pety on me B<...>ham in <adamgy>			
Robert Machell	C	K	
* Note: F.125V is extremely damaged and readings are difficult.			
125 Folios PB: February 1898	C	L	Bk.I.C.
Examined by γφ			

APPENDIX XI
THE EDWARD AYSCOUGH CORRESPONDANCE

Edward Ayscough to Sir Robert Cotton

MS Cotton Julius C III, f.9r.

s.XVI^{ex}

A letter by Edward Ayscough to Sir Robert Cotton, obviously in reply to a request by Sir Robert Cotton. Written in a graceful, extremely proficient fully cursive italic hand in black ink on unwatermarked paper. Presented with ease, with attention to the text's placement on the page, its punctuation, grammar and spelling. Probably written between 1590-1600.

Sir I deliured your note to Mr Beadle whome hath sent you his answer in this letter, I assuer my self he hath acquainted you at large conserneing those things you that desired of him, onely this I muste adde that I haue preuailed with him to bring the Booke he hath to London after Christenmas when he cometh, which I presume you will like although it be not th' originalle but a coppey thereof but it seemeth to be an exact one, when you see it you can better iudge theiron, in the interim I desier you will honor me soe much as to giue me such touches of & hapessayes yes now in agitation, & you will doe me a great fauour, soe with my wife & owne seruices to your self & Lady with my loue to your sonne I euer rest.

Your affectionate frinde to serue you
Edward Ayscoghe

[....] nstead 16 december

Edward Ayscough to Great Grimsby
 South Humberside Area Archive Office
 19 January, 1575

To the worshipfull Mr.
 Liefetennent of greate
 Grimsbe and to the
 bayliffes of the same
 <.>ong this./.

After my hartye Commendatouns this shalbe to signifye
 unto yow, that this bearer hates & wrestod one Thomas
 Richardsonne of northcoose laborer whoe was
 indetted vnto this sayde bearer in xxv & viii Ls as
 he dyd openlye confesse before me, wheras thenas
 contented that I shoulde make an agremente betixt
 theim, in whiche agremente I dyd awarde that the
 sayde Richardsonne should paye vnto this bearer
 Mr Vnderwoode xiii & iiii Ls to haue bene payed af
 midsomer laste paste, and soe call thinges to be
 clearlye acquitted and discharged betixte the sayd
 partyes from the beginnyng of the worke vntill
 that daye whiche monye beinge as yet vnpayed I
 do thingke, that the sayde Richardsonne dothe
 greatlye abuse this bearer, for as mucche as he
 was contented that I shoulde make an order
 betwixte theim and as yet hathe altogether
 refused to performe the same wheruppon I
 thoughte good to cortysye the {...} tauthe vnto you
 thus fare you well from Swynnoppe th[is]
 xix th daye of Januarye 1575.

Your Frend

E. Aycogh

APPENDIX XII
LALME QUESTIONNAIRE
 HAND A

1.	THE	þe
2.	THESE	þis, ((þise)), (((þes)))
3.	THOSE	þo, tho
4.	SHE	she, (sho)
5.	HER	hir, (hire)
6.	IT	hit
7.	THEY	þei, (þey)
8.	THEM	hem, hem̄
9.	THEIR	her, ((here))
10.	SUCH	suche
11.	WHICH	which, (whiche)
12.	EACH	vche, ((eche))
13.	MANY	many, (manye)
14.	MAN	man, (man)
15.	ANY	any, (((eny)))
16.	MUCH	myche, (miche)
28.	FROM	fro, (from)
29.	AFTER	aftir, (after), (after̄)
30.	THEN	þenne, (thenne), (((þene)))
31.	THAN	þen, (then)
32.	THOUGH	þo, ((þough)), ((þogh)), ((þoghe)), ((þoughe)), (((tho)))
36.	AGAINST	aʒenes, agayn, aʒenes
37.	AGAIN	aʒen
38.	ERE	ar
39.	SINCE	sith-, sothe, seth-,
40.	YET	ʒut
41.	WHILE	whil, (while)

42.	STRENGTH	strenghte
45.	NOT	not, (nought), (nouthe)
46.	NOR	noþre, no
48.	WORLD	world, (worlde)
49.	THINK	thinke, think-
50.	WORK	werk-, worche
51.	THERE	þre, (þere), ((þere))
52.	WHERE	wher, (where)
53.	MIGHT	myghte
54.	THROUGH	þorgh, (((thorg)))
55.	WHEN	wh <u>en</u> , (when), (whan), ((whe))
65.	ABOUT adv.	a-boute, abovton
65.	ABOUT pr	abowte, aboute
66.	ABOVE	aboue
69.	AIR	heir
70.	ALL	alle, alle, al
71.	AMONG	among
73.	ASK	aske
75.	AT	at
78.	BEFORE	bifore
79.	BEGAN TO	bigan to
82.	BETWEEN	bytwene
84.	BLESSED	blessid
85.	BOTH	bothe, (boþe)
90.	BUSY	besy
91.	BUT	but, (bot)
92.	BY	bi
93.	CALL inf	calle
93.	CALL ppl	ycald
94.	CAME sg	cam
94.	CAME pl	comon
95.	CAN	kan
98.	CHURCH	churche, (chirche), (churche)

100. DAUGHTER pl	doughtres
101. DAY	day
101. DAY pl	daies, dayes
102. DEATH	deth, dethe
103. DIE	deye, dye
105. DOWN	down
106. DREAD, SPREAD	drede
107. EARTH	erthe
108. EAST	est-
113. ENOUGH	ynow
114. EVIL	euel
115. EYE pl	yes
117. FATHER	fader, (fadir)
119. FELLOW	felawe
120. FETCH	fecthe, fecchon
121. FIGHT	fighte
124. FIRE	fuyr
125. FIRST	firste, first, furst
126. FIVE	fyue, fiue
127. FLESH	fleshe
128. FOLLOW	folowe
130. FOUR	four, foure
130. FOUR	ferthe
131. FOWL	foul
132. FRIEND	frend
133. FRUIT	fruyt
137. GIVE	giue, (giue), (gyue)
137. GIVE 1.prt.sg	gaf, (gaf)
139. GOOD	goed, ((gode)), ((good))
140. GROW	growe
141. HANG 3.prt.sg	hanged
141. HANG 3.prt.pl	hongen

142. HAVE	han, haue
144. HEAR	here, her <u>er</u> , her <u>re</u>
145. HEAVEN	heuene, (heuen), ((heuen <u>u</u>))
147. HELL	helle
148. HENCE	hennes
149. HIGH	hie, (eye), (hye), (hi), (hy)
150. HIGHT	highte
152. HIM	him, hym
154. HOLD	haldon
155. HOLY	holy, holi
156. HOW	how
157. HUNDRED	hondred
158. I	y, (I)
159. KIND	kynde, kynne, kyne
160. KNOW	knowe
161. LADY	lady
162. LAND	lond
164. LAW	lawe
168. LIE	lie
169. LIFE	lyue, lif
170. LITTLE	litel, (lytle)
171. LIVE	lyue
172. LORD	lord
173. LOVE	loue, (louye)
174. LOW	low, lowe
176. MAY	may
178. MONTH	monthe
180. MOTHER	moder
181. MY	my
182. NAME	name
187. NEITHER	nothir
188. NEITHER + NOR	noþ <u>re</u> + ne, ((nowthir +ne)), (((neyþ <u>re</u> + ne)))

189. NEVER	neure, neuere
190. NEW	newe
193. NO MORE	no more
194. NORTH	northe, north
195. NOW	nowe, now
196. OLD	olde, old
197. ONE	oen, ((one)), (((on)))
198. OR	othir, (or), ((oþre)), ((oþir))
199. OTHER	oþre, ((oþir)), ((othir))
199. OTHER	anothir, (a-noþre)
200. OUR	oure, (our), (oure)
201. OUT	owt, (out)
202. OWN	owne
203. PEOPLE	peple
204. POOR	pore
205. PRAY	praye, ((preye)), ((preie))
206. PRIDE	pruyde
210. SAY inf	saie
210. SAY prt.pl	saide
211. SEE	see, se
212. SEEK	seke
213. SELF	selue, ((self)), ((seluon))
214. SEVEN	seuen
215. SILVER	sulure
216. SIN	synne, synne
220. SOME	somme, (som), ((some)), (((sum)))
221. SON	sone
222. SORROW	sorow, sorowe
223. SOUL	soule
224. SOUTH	southe
226. STAR pl	sterres
228. SUN	sonne

230. TEN	ten
231. THEE	þe
232. THOU	þow, ((thow))
233. THY	þi, (((thi)))
234. THENCE	þennes
235. THITHER	þedor
236. THOUSAND	thousand
237. THREE	þre, (thre)
237. THREE	thridde
238. TOGETHER	to-gidores, togidores, to-gidres
239. TRUE	trewe, ((true))
241. TWENTY	twenye, twenty
242. TWO	two
244. UPON	vppon, vpon
245. WAY	way, weye
247. WELL	wel
248. WENT	wente
249. WHAT	what
251. WHETHER	whedir
254. WHOM	whom
255. WHOSE	whos
256. WHY	whi
258. WITHOUT	withe-owton, (wiþoute), (witheoute), (witheouton)
260. WORSHIP	worship, (worshipe), (worchipe)
261. YE	ȝe
262. YOU	ȝou
263. YOUR	ȝour
269. -AND	-ond, -and
270. -ANG	-ong
271. -ANK	-enk
272. -DOM	-dom, (-doem)
273. -ER	-re, (-ore)
274. -EST	-est, (-ist), ((-iste))

275. -FUL	-ful
276. -HOOD	-hod, (-hed), (-heed)
277. -LESS	-les, (-lees)
278. -LY	-ly, lich <u>e</u>
279. -NESS	-nes, (-ness), (-nesse), (-n <u>ness</u>)
280. -SHIP	-ship, (-shipe), (-chipe)

APPENDIX XIII
TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM ADD.35157

BRITISH LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT ADDITIONAL 35157
PIERS PLOWMAN C-TEXT

PASSUS I 'DAME HOLYCHURCH'

W hat þe movntayn [.....] merk dale f.10v
 And þe feld ful of folk y shal ȝou faire shewe
 A louely lady of lore yn lynnyn clothid
 Cam down from þe castelle & cald me by name
 And said Wille slepest þow sest þow þis peple
 How besy þei ben a bouthe þe mase
 þe moste party of this peple þat passethe on þis erthe
 Haddon þei worship in this world þei wilnethen noen bettere
 Of othir heuen þen here holde þei no tale
 Y was aferd of hir face þough she fair were
 And saide mercy ma dame what may þis be to mene
 The towr vpon þe tofte quod she truthe is þreynne
 And wolde þat þei wroughton as his word techit
 For he is fadir of feithe & formour of alle
 To be faiful to him ȝaf ȝou fyue wittes
 Forto worshiþe him þrewithe whil ȝe lyuon here
 Where fore he het þe elementis to helpe ȝou at alle tymes
 And bringe |forþe your| byliue boþe lynnyn & wollon
 And in mesure |howe muche were to make þou at ese|
 And comaundid of his curtasie in comvne þre thinges
 Arn noen in defoule but þo þre & nempne hem y thinke
 And rifene hem by rewe reherse hem wher ȝe like
 The firste is fode & vesture þe seconde
 And drinke þat þe goed dothe & drink not owt of tyme
|Loot| in his lyue þorgh likerous drinke
 Wickedliche y wroughte & wrathid god almyghty f.11r
 Yn his dronkenesse a day his doughtres he dighte
 And lay by hem boþe as þe boek tellethe
 Yn his glot[nye he gat g]urles & wern churles
 And al he w[itte ye wyne] wicked dede

Inebriemus [eum vino] [...]. *rmianus [..] cum eo*
Vt sreulare p[ossimus de patre] nrore semen Geneses et cetera.

þorgh wyn & þorgh woman þere was lot acombred

For þi drede delitable drink bothe day & nyghtes

Mesure is medicine þoghe þe myche ðerne .

Al is not goed þat þe gost ne þat þe gut askethe

Ne liflode to þe lycam þat leue is þe soule

Leue not þi licam for a liare him techithe

Whiche is þe wrecchid world wolde þe bigile

For þe feend & þe fleshe folowen to gidores

And þat sueth þi soule & seithe hit þe in herte

And wisseþ the to be war what wolde þe disceyue

A madame mercy me likethe wel ðour wordes

Ac þe money of þis molde þat men so faste kepon

Tellethe me to whom þat tresour bilongethe

Go to þe gospel quod sho & se what god saide

When þe peple apposedon him of a peny in þe temple

And god asked at hem whos was þe coyne

Sesares þei saide sobly we knowethe

Reddite sesari saide god þat sesar bifallethe

Et que sunt dei deo Or elles ðe don ille

For rightfulliche resoun sholde rule ðou alle

And kynde wit be wardeyn þorgh welthe to kepe

And tutour of ðour tresour & take hit ðon at nede

For husbandrie & he holdeth to gidores

Y frayned hir faire for him þat hir made

þe deep dale & þe derk so vnsemly to see too

What may hit bymene ma dame ybiseche þe

f.11v

¶ þat is þe castel of care who so comethe þreinne

May banne þat he born was in body & in soule

þreinne wonethe a wight þat |wrong is y hote| <..>me

Fader of falshed fond hit fi<...> |hym selfe|

Adam & Eue he Eggid to |yll|

And counceled cayin ku|le his brether|

Judas he biyaped þorgh Iuwen |jewesth sylver|

And afterward an hanged him hie vpon an ellerne

He is lettere of loue & liethe alle tymes

That cristethe in tresour of erthe he bitraiethe sonnest

To combere men withe couertise þat is his kynde
 ¶ Thenne hadde y wonder in my wit what woman she were
 þat suche wise wordes of holy writ shewed
 And halsede hire on þe hie name or she þennes wente
 What she were weterly þat wissed me se & taughte
 ¶ Holy churche y am quod she þow aughtest me to knowe
 Y vndertok þe formest & freman þe made
 þow broughtest me borowes my bidding to fulfille
 Leue on me & loue me al þi lyue tyme
 ¶ Thenne y kneled on my knees & cried hir of grace
 And praide hire pitously to praye for me to amende
 And also kenne me kyndely on crist to bileue
 Teche me to _|no|_ tresor but telle me this ilke
 How y may saue my soule þat saynt art yholde
 Y do hit vpon deus caritas to deme þe sothe
 Hit is as derworthe drewry as dere god him seluon
 For he is trewe of his tunge & of his two hondes
 And dothe þe werkes þrewithe & wilnethe no man ille
 He is a god by þe gospel & graunt may hele
 And also lik oure lord by seynt lukes wordes
 Clerkes þat knowen hit is þus sholdon kenne hit abovton
 For cristen & vncristen claymethe hit eche one
 Kynges & knyghtes sholdon keep hit bi resoun
 Ridon and rappe adovn in reaumes abowte
 And taken transgressors & tyen hem faste
 Til treuthe hadde y termyned her treppas to þe ende
 And haldon withe & wiþ hire þat han trewe actoun
 And for no lordes loue leue trewe partie
 Truliche to take & truliche to fighte
 Ys þe professioun in þe puyr ordre þat appendiþ to knyghtes
 And who so passeþ þat poynt is apostata of knyghthod
 For þei sholde nowthir faste ne forbere þe serk
 But fighte & fende truthe & neure leue for loue in hope to lache sulure
 ¶ Daid in his daies dobbed knyghtes
 Bide hem swere on her swerd to serue truthe euere
 And god whn be bigan heuen in þat gret blisse
 Made knyghtes in his couert creatures tene
 Sherubyn & saraphin suche seuen & a noþre
 Lucifer louelokest þo ac litel while hit durede
 He was an archangel of heuene oen of godes knyghtes

f.12r

He and oþre with |hym| heldon not withe truthe
 Lopon out in lothly forme for his fals wille
 That hadde lust to be lik his lord þat was almyghty

*Ponam pedem meum in aquilone
 Et Similis ero altissimo*

Lord whi wolde he þo þat wicked lucifer
 Luppon a loft in þe northe syde

þen sitton in the sonne side þere þe day rewethe
 Nere hit for northirne men anoen y wolde ꝑou telle
 Ac y wol lackon no lif quod þat lady sothly

Hit is sikerore by southe þere þe sonne regneth

Then in þe north by many notes no man leueþ othir

f.12v

For þedor as þe feend fley his foot forto sette

þere he failled & fel & his felawes alle

And helle is þere he is & he þreynne ybounde

Euene þe grace sittethe crist clerkes weton þe soþe

Dixit dominus domino meo sede dextris meis

Ac of þis matere no more nempne ynelle

Hewes in þe haliday after hete wayton

Ac þei care not þough hit be cold knaues whe þei worche

Wonder wyfe holy writ telleth how þei fellon

Somme in erthe somme in heir somme in helle depe

Ac lucifer lowest lith of hem alle

For pruyde that him pokede his payne hathe noen ende

And alle þat worchon þat wicked is wendon þei sholle

After her deth day & dwelle þere wrong ys

And alle þat haue wel ywrought wende þey shol estward

Til heuene eue þere to abide

þere truthe is þe tour þat þe trinte ynne sittethe

¶ Lereþ hit þus lewed men for lettrid hit knowethe

þen truthe & trewloue is no tresour bettere

I haue no kynde knowyng quod y þat mot ye kenne me bettere

By what way hit waxethe & whedir out of my menyng

Thow dotid daffe quod she dulle arn thi wittes

To litel leredest þow y leue latyn in þin ꝑouthe

Heu michi quod streilem duxi vitam iuuenilem

Hit is a kynde knowyng þat kenneþ in þin herte

For to louye þi lord leuest of alle

Deye rathir þen do any dedly synne

Melius est mori quam male viuere

And þis y trowe be trewe who so can teche þe bettere
 Loke þow soffre him to say and so þow myghte lerne
 For truthe tellethe þat loue is triacle to abate synne
 And most sovereyn salue in sore body
 Loue is plante of pees most precious of vertues
 For heuene holde hit ne myghte so heuy hit first semed
 Til hit hadde of erthe y ꝓttin his silue
 Ne was neuere leef vpon lynde lightore þere after
 As when hit hadde of þe folde fleshe & bloed taken
 þo was hit portatif & persaunt as þe peynt of a nedle
 May no armure hit lette ne none hie walles
 For thi is loue leder of oure lordes folk of heuene
 And a mene as þe mair is bytwene þe kyng & þe comune
 Right so is loue a ledar & þe lawe sheppethe
 Vp man for his mysdedes þe mrecyment he taxethe
 And forto knowe hit kindely hit comisethe by myght
 And in þe herte þere is þe heued & in þe eye welle
 For of kynde knowyng of herte þere comsethe a myght
 And þat fallethe to þe fader þat formed vs alle
 Loked on vs withe loue let his sone deye
 Mekely for oure mysdedes amendid vs alle
 And ꝓut nolde hem no wo þat wrought him al þat tene
 But mekeliche by mouthe mercy he bisoughte
 To haue pite on that peple þat peyned him to dethe
 Here myghte ꝓe see ensaumples in him self one
 þat he was myghtful & meke & mercy gan graunte
 To hem þat hongen hym hye & his herte thorlede
 For þi y rede ꝓou riche haue ruthe on the pore
 þogh ꝓe be myghty to mote e meke in ꝓour hertes
 For þe same mesure þat ꝓe mete amys opre elles
 ꝓe sholon be weyed þrewithe when ꝓe wende heunes
Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remecietur vobis
 For þogh ꝓe be trewe of ꝓour tonges & truliche wyne
 And ben as chast as a child þat chideþ noþre fighteþ
 But yf ꝓe loue lelliche & leue þe pore
 Of suche goed as god sent godliche parte
 ꝓe hau no more meryte yn masse ne yn houres

f.13r

f.13v

þen malkyn hadde of hire maydon hed when no man hir coueytid
 For Iames þe gentil Iuggethe in his bokes
 þat feithe withe owton þe feet is feblere þen nought
 And as dede as a dore nayl but yf þe dedes folowe
Fides sine operibus mortua est
 Chastite withe owton charite worthe chayned in helle
 Hit is [a] lewed thing as a lampe þat no light is ynne
 Many chapeleyns arn chast ac charite hem failethe
 Arn none hardore ne hungriore þen men of holi churchē
 Aueros & euel willed whan þei ben auaunsed
 Vnkynde to her kyn & to alle cristene
 Chewen her charite & chidon after more
 & ben acombred with coueytise þey can not crepon owt
 So harde haþ auarice y happed hem to gidores
 And that is no truthe of þe trinite Bot treccherie synne
 And a lither ensauple leue me as for þe lewed peple
 For þise arn wordes ywreton in þe euangelie
Dat et dabitur vobis
 For y telle ꝯou alle & þat is þe lok of loue & vncloseþ grace
 þat connforteþ alle careful & combred withe synne
 So loue is leche of lif & lisse of al payne
 And þe grace of grace & graythest way to heuene
 For thi y may saye as y saide eer bi sight of þes textes
 When alle tresoures ben y tried treuthe is þe beste
 Loue hit quod þat lady lette may I us lengore
 To lere þe what loue is & leue at me sho laughte

PASSUS XIV 'IMAGINATIF'

Y am ymaginatif quod he ydel was y neuere f.72v
 Þough y sete by myselue suche is my grace
 Y haue folowed þe in faithe more þen fourty wyntes
 And wissed me ful ofte Dowel was to mene
 And counseled þe for Cristes sake no creature bigile
 Noþre to lie ne to lacke ne lere that ys defendid
 Ne to spille no speche as forto speke on ydel
 Ne no tyme to tyne ne trewe þing tene
 Lowe the & lyue forthe yn þe lawe of holi chirche
 And þenne dost þu wel wiþoute drede who can dobet no fors
 Clerkes þett conne al y hope þey can do betture
 But hit suffiseth to be saued & be suche as y taughte
 But forto louye & to leue lytle wel & bileue
 Ys ycald Caritas kynde loue in englishe
 And þat is dobet yf any suche be a blessid man þat helpith
 þat pes be & pacience & pore out of defaut
Beacius est dare quam petere
 But catell & kynde wit acombrethe ful manye
 Wo ys him þat hem weldithe but be hem wel dispene
Sciuenti & non facienti variis flagellis vapulabitur
 But comunliche conyng[.] & vnkynde richesse f.73r
 As lorels to be lordes & lewed men techeres
 And holy churche hores help auerous & coueytous
 Druyeth vp dowel & destruethe dobest
 But grace ys a gras þefore to don hem eft growe
 But grace growethe not til goed witt bygynne reyne
 And woke þorghē gode werkes wicked h[.]tes
 But ar suche a will waxe worchethe god himselue
 And sente forthe þe seunt esprit to do loue springe
Spiritus vbi vult spirat
 So grace withe outon grace of god & also gode werkes
 May not be be þow siker þough we bidde euere
 But clergie comethe of sight & kynde wit of sterres
 As to be bore or begete yn suche a constellacoun
 þat wit wexethe þreof & othir wordes bothe
Vultus huius secli sunt subiecti vultibus celestibus
 † So grace is a gift of god & kynde wit a chaunce
 And clergie a connyng of kynde wittes teching

And gut is clergie to comende for cristes loue more
 þen any connyng of kynde wit but clergie hit rule
 For moises witnessithe þat wroet & crist with his fyngur
 Lawe of oure lord wrote longe ar crist were
 And Crist cam & confermed & holi kirke made
 And yn a soend a signe wroet & saide to þe iewes
 þat seethe himselue synnelees sese not y hote
 To strike withe stike or wip staf þis strumpet to dethe
Quis vestrum sine peccato est c. et cetera
 For þi y counsele vche a creature clergie to honoure
 For as a man may not see þat myssethe his yes
 No more can no clerk bot yf hit come of bokes
 God was here maistre & þe seint spirit þe saumple
 And said waht men sholdon write

¶ And right as sight sirethe a man to see þe hie strete f.73v
 Right so lerethe lettrure lewed men to resoun
 And as a blind in bataile berethe wepene to fighte
 And haþ noen happe withe his ax his enemy to hitte
 No more kan a kynde witted man bot clerkes him teche
 Some for al his kynde wit þorgh Cristendoem to be saued
 þe whiche is þe cofur of cristes tresour & clerkes kepeþ þe keyes
 To vnloke hit at her likyng þe lered & lewed to helpe
 To giue mercy for mysdedes yf men wole hit aske
 Buxumly & benyngly & biddon hit of grace
 Arca Dei in þe olde lawe leuytes hit kepte
 Hadde neuere lewed man leue to lay hond on þe chest
 But hit were prestes or prestes sones patriark or prophete
 Saul for he sacrifised sorow him bitidde
 And his sones for his sinnes sorow hem bitidde
 And alle lewed þat leydin hond þre on loron lif aftir
 For thi y counsele alle creature no clerk to despise
 Ne sette short bi her science what so þei don hemselue
 Take we her wordes to worthe for her witnesses be trewe
 And medele we not myche withe hem to meuen any wraþe
 Last chest chauf vs & wo & chopn vche man othir
 And do we as dauid techithe for doute of godes veniance
Nolite tanger Christos meos
 For clergie ys cristes vicarie to conferte & to cure
 Bothe lered & lewed wer lost yf clergie ne were

Kynde witted men hau a clergie by hemselue
 Of cloudes & of custumes þey coutreued many þinges
 And marked hit in her manere & mused þreon to knowe
 And of þe selcouthes þat þei sye her sones þreof þei taughton
 For þei heidon hit for an hi science her sotiltees to knowe
 Ac þorghe her science soþly was neuer soule ysaued
 Ne brought by here bokes to blisse ne to ioye
 For al her kynde knowyng cam but of diuers sightes
 Of briddes & of bestes of blisse & of sorowe
 Patraikes & prophetes repreued her science
 And saide her wordes ne her wisdomes was bot a folie
 As to þe clergie crist þei countid hit but trufle
sapientia huius mundi stulticia est apud deum
 For þe hie holi gost heuen shal to cleue
 And loue shal lepe out aftir yn to þis low erthe
 And clennes shal cacthe hit & clerkes sholon hit fynde
Pastores loquebantur ad inuicem et cetera.
 Hit spekethe þer of riche men right nought ne of riche lordes
 Bot of clennes of clerkes & kepers of bestus
Ibunt magi ab oriente et cetera.
 Yf any frere were founde þere y giue þe fiue shelinges
 Ne in no cote ne caitif house þe beste of þe toune
 To pastoures & to poetes appered þe angel
 And bad hem go to Bedlem godis birthe to honoure
 And songe a song of solace *gloria in excelsis deo*
 Riche men rutte þo & in her reste were
 þo hit shoen to þe shephurdes a shewere of blisse
 Clerkes knew þe comete & comon withe her presents
 And didon her homage honourably to him þat was almighty
 Whi y haue told þe al this y toek ful good hede
 How þu conuriedest clergie withe crabbede wordes
 þat ys how þat lewed men & lithere lightloker wern ysaued
 þen connyng clerkes of kynde vnderstondyng
 And þu saidest soþ of summe[.] but y see in what manere
 Tak two stronge men & in temese cast hem
 & boþe naked as a nedel noen heuegore þen oþre
 þat oen hath connyng & can swymme & dyuen
 þat othir is lewed as of þat labour & lerned neuere to swymme
 Which trowest of þo two in temese is in moest drede

f.74r

He þat can not swymme y saide hit semeþ to all wittes
 Right so quod þat renk resoun hit shewethe
 þat he þat knowethe clergie can sounere arise f.74v
 Owt of synne & be saef þough he synne ofte
 Yf him likethe & lust þen any lewed sothly
 For yf þe clerk be connyng & knoweþ what is synne
 And how contricioun with confessioun connfortethe þe soule
 As we seen in þe sautre in psalmes oen or twenye
 How contricioun is comendid for hit cacthiþ away synne
Beati quorum remisise sunt iniquitates et cetera.
 And þat comforithe vche a clerk & kennethe fro wanhope
 Yn whiche floed þe fend fondethe man hardist
 þere þe lewed lithe stille & lokethe aftir lewte
 And hathe no contricioun ar he come to shrifte
 And þenne can he litel telle bot as his loresman him lerethe
 Bileuethe & trowethe & þat is aftir his person
 Othir his parishe prest & peraunter bothe lewed
 To lere lewed men as luk berethe witnes
Dum secus. ducit secum et cetera.
 For miche wo was him marked þat wade shal withe þe lewed
 Wel may þe barn blesse þat him to boek sette
 þat lyuyng after lettrure saued him lif & soule
Dominus pars hereditatis ys a mury note verset
 Bit hap take from tiborne & twenty stronge þeues
 þere lewed þeues ben lolled vp loke how þey ben saued
 þe þef þat hadde grace of god a goed Friday as þu toldest
 Was for he ȝeld him creaunt to crist & his grace askede
 And god ys ay gracious to all þat gredithe to him
 And wole no wicked man be lost bot yf he wole himselue
Nolo mortem peccatoris et cetera.
 But þoughe þat þef hadde heuene he hadde noen hi blisse
 As seynt Johen & oþir seyntes þat hau asserued betture
 Righet as sum man ȝiuethe me mete & set me amynd þe flore
 Y haue mete more þen ynow but not withe myche worchipp
 As þo þat sitton at þe sid table or withe soureeyns yn halle
 But as a beggere bordles by myselue on þe ground f.75r
 So hit ferde by þe feloun þat a goed Friday was saued
 He sit neyþre withe seint Johen ne wiþ symond ne Jude

Ne withe maydones ne withe martires ne withe mylde wedewes
 But as a soleyne by himselue yserued vpon þe ground
 For he þat is ones a thef ys euermore in daunger
 And as þe lawe likethe to lyue othir to dye
De peccato propiciato noli esse sine metu
 And for to seruen a se[ynt]e & suche þef togidores
 Hit were no [resoun] ne right to rewarde hope yliche
 And r[ight] [as] [Troijanes] þe trewe knyght telde not depe yn helle
 þat our [Lord] [ne] haddon lightly out so leue y þat þef in heuen
 For he is in þe lowest of heuen yf our beleue be true
 And wel loesly he lollethe þere as bi þe lawe of holi church
Et reddet vnicuique iuxta opera sua
 But whi þat on þef on þe cros creant him zelde
 Rathir þen þat othir þoughe þow woldest appose
 Alle þe clerkes vnder crist ne couthe þis assoille
Quare placuit quia voluit et cetera.
 And so y saye bi þe þat sekest aftir þe whies
 How creatures han kynde wit & how clerkes come to bokes
 And how þe floures in þe frithe comethe to faire hewes
 Was neuere creature vnder crist þat knew wel þe biginnyng
 But kynde þat contreued hit first of his curteys wille
 He taughte þe turtel to trede þe pocok to cauke
 And Adam & Eue & alle othir bestes
 A cantel of kynde wit her kynde to saue
 Of goed & of wicke kynde was þe firste
 Sey hit & soffred hit & saide hit be sholde
Dixit & facta sunt
 But whi he wolde þat wicke were y wene & y leue
 Was neuere man vpon molde þat might hit asprie
 But longe lyuyng men likned men lyuyng
 To briddes & to bestes as her bokes tellithe
 þat þe fairest foul foulest engendrithe
 And feblest foul of flight ys þat fleethe opir swymmethe
 þat is þe pocok op þe popiniay wiþ her proude feþeres
 Bitokenethe right riche men þat regnon herre on erthe
 For persue a pocok or a pohen to cacche
 And haue hem yn hast at þin owne wille
 For þei may not fe fer ne ful hie nothir
 For her feþeres þat faire ben to fle fer hem lettithe

His ledene ys vnloueliche & lothliche his caroyne
 But for his peyntid pennes þe pocok ys honoured
 More þen his faire fleshe or for his murye note
 Right so me reuerensethe more þe riche for his mebles
 þen for any kyn he come of or for his kynde wittes
 þus þe poete preysethe þe pocok for his feþeres
 And þe riche man for his rentes or for richesse in his shoppe
 þe larke þat is a lasse foul ys louelokest of ledene
 And swettore of sauour & swiftore of wenge
 To lowe lyuinge men þe larke ys resembled
 And to lele & lifholy þat loue alle truthe
 þus porfirie & plato & poetes manye
 Lykneþ in her logik þe leste foul owten
 And wher he _|be|_ saf or not saef þe soeþ woet no clergie
 Ne of sortes ne of salamon no scripture kan telle
 Wher þat þei ben yn helle or yn heuen or aristotel þe wise
 But god ys so goed y hope þat sithe he gaf wittes
 To wisson vs weyes þrewithe þat wenon to be saued
 And þe bettere for her bokes to biddon we ben yholde
 þat god for his grace gyue her soules reste
 Alle þes clerkes quod y tho þat on crist leuen
 Sayn in her sarmons þat noþre sarazmes ne iewes
 Witheoute baptem as by her bokes bethe not ysaued
 Contra quod ymaginatif þo & comsed to loure
 And saide *vix saluabitur iustus in die iudicii*
 Ergo saluabitur quod he & saide no more latyn
 Troianes was a trewe knyght & toek neuere cristendoem
 And he is saef saithe þe boek & his soule in heuene
 But þre is fullyng of fonte & fullyng yn bloedsheding
 And þorghe fuyr ys fullyng & al is ferme bileue
Aduenit ignis diuinus non comburens or illumnenas et cetera.
 But trewe þat trespased neuere ne trausured aꝑenes his lawe
 But lyuede as his lawe taught & leueth þre be no betture
 And yf þr were he wolde & yn suche a will dyethe
 Ne wolde neuere true god bot trewe truthe wer alowed
 And wher hit be or be not þe bileue ys gret of truthe
 And hope hangethe ay þreon to haue þat truþe de[.]neþ
Quia super pauca fuisti fidelis et cetera.

f.76r

And þat is loue & large huire yf þe lord be true
And a cortesie more þen couenaunt was what so clerkes _|carpe|_
For al worthe as god wole & þrewithe he vanysned

PASSUS XXI 'THE FOUNDING OF HOLY CHURCH'

T hus y a waked & wroet what y hadde y dremed f.110r
 And dighte me derely & dide me to kirke
 To here holly þe masse & to be hoseled after
 Yn myddes of þe masee þo men̄ ġede to offring
 Y fel est sones a slepe & sodeinlichē me mette
 þat pers þe ploughman was peyntid al bloody
 And cam yn withē a cros bifore þe comune peple f.110v
 And right like in allē lymes to oure lord ihesu
 And thenne cald y conscience to kenne me þe sothe
 Ys this ihesu þe iousterē quod y þat iewes didon to dethe
 Or hit is pers þe ploughman who peintid him rede
 Quod conscience & kneled þo þis arn cristes armes
 His coloures & his cote armer̄ bot he þat comeþ so bloody
 Ys crist withē his cros conquerour̄ of cristene
 Whi calle ġe him crist sithon iewes caldon him ihesu
 Patriarkes & prophetes propecied bifore
 þat allē kynne creatures sholdon knele & bowen
 Anoen as men̄ nempned of god ihesus
 Ergo þerē is no name to þe name of ihesus
 Ne noen so nedful to nempie by nyght ne by day
 For allē derk deueles arn drad forto heron hit
 And synful ben solased & saued by þat name
 And ġe callon him crist for what cause tellethē me
 Ys crist more of myght & more wortheore name
 þen ihesu or ihesus þat al oure ioye cam of
 þow knowest wel quod conscience & þu canne resoun
 þat knyght kyng conquerour̄ may be oen persone
 To be cald a knyght is fair for men shal knele to him
 To be cald a kyng is fairore for he may knyghtes̄ make
 But to be conquerour̄ cald þat comethē of special grace
 And of hardinness of herte & of hendenesse
 To make lordes of laddes of lond þat he wynnethē
 And fre men foule thralles þat folowethē not his lawes
 þe iewes þat were gentil men̄ ihesu þei dispised
 Bothe his lore & his lawe now thei lowe churles
 As wide as þe worlde ys wonyethē þerē none
 But vnder tribute & taillage as tikes & churles

And þo þat bicome cristene bi counsel of þe baptist
 Arn frankelynes & fremen þorghē folling þat þei toek
 And gentil men wiþ ihesu for ihesu was yfolled f.111r
 And vpon caluarie on cros ycrowned kyng of iewes
 Bycomethe for a kyng to kepe & to defende
 And conquere of his conquest his layes & his large
 And so dide ihesu þe iewes he iustified & taughte hem
 þe lawe of lif þat laste shal euere
 And fendid hem from foule eueles feueres & fluxes
 And fro fendes þat in hem was & fals byleue
 Tho was he ihesu of iewes cald gentil prophete
 And kyng of here kyngdom & croune baer of thornes
 And þo conquered he on cros as conquerour noble
 Myght no dethe him fordo ne adown bringe
 þat he ne aroes & regnede & rauyshed helle
 And þo was he conquerour cald of quyke & of dede
 For he gaf adam & Eue & othir mo blisse
 þat longe haddon leye bifore as luciferes churles
 And toek lucifer þe lotheliche þat lorde was of helle
 And bond him as he bounde withe bondes of yron
 Who was hardiore þen he his herte blod he shedde
 To make alle folk fre þat folowethe his lawe
 And sothe he gūiethe largly al his leel lege
 Places in paradys at her parting hennes
 He may be wel cald conquerour & þat is crist to mene
 But þe cause þat he comethe þus withe his cros & his passioun
 Is to wisson vs þrewithe þat when we be ytemptid
 þrewithe to fighte & fende vs fro falling in to synne
 And see by his sorowe þat who so louethe ioye
 To penaunce & to pourete he mot putte him selue
 And miche wo in this world wilnon et seffron
 But to carpe more of crist & how he cam to þat name
 Faithly for to speke his furst name was ihesus
 þo he was bore in bedleem as þe boek tellithe
 And cam to take mankynde kynges & angels f.111v
 Reurensed him right faire withe riches of erthe
 Angels out of heuene come kneled & songe
Gloria in excelsis deo
 Kynges cam after kneled & offred

Mirre & miche gold withouton mercy askyng
 Or any kynne catelle bot knowlechid him soureayn
 Bothe of sand sonne & see & sithen þei wente
 Yn to herer kyngene kuthe by sounsel of angels
 And þere was þat word fulfilled þe whiche þu of speke
Omnia celestia terrestria flectantur in hoc nomine Ihesu
 For alle þe angels of heuene at his birthe kneled
 And al þe wit of þe world was in tho thre thinges
 Resoun & Rightfulnes & ruthe þei offred
 Wherfore & whi wise men þat tyme
 Maistres & lettered men magi hem calde
 þat oen kyng cam with resoun y kenured vnder sense
 The seconde kyng sthe sothliche offred
 Right wisnesse vnder rede gold resounes felawe
 Gold is likned to lewte þat laste shal euere
 And resoun to riche gold to right & to truthe
 þe thridde kyng cam & kneled to ihesu
 And presentid him pite appering by myrre
 For myrre is mercy to mene & mylde speche of tonge
 Erthely honest thinges was offred þus at ones
 þorgh þre kynne kynges kneling to ihesu
 But for al þis precious presentes our lord prince ihesu
 Was noþre kyng ne conquerour til he comsed wexe
 þu þe manere of a man & þat by myche sleithe
 As hit bicomeþ for a conquerour to conne many sleuthus
 And many wiles & wit þat wol be a ledere
 And so dide ihesu in his dayes who so durste tellon hit
 Som tyme he soffred & som tyme he hidde him
 And som tyme he faught fastest & fley othir while
 And som tyme he gaf goed & grauntid hele bothe
 Lif & lyme as him luste he wroughte
 As kynde is of a conquerour so comsed ihesu
 Til he hadde alle hem þat he fore bledde
 In his iuuentee þis ihesu at iewene feste
 Turned water in to wyn as holy writ tellithe
 And þere bigan god of his grace to do welle
 For wyn ys lykned to lawe & lif holinesse
 And lawe lackid tho for men loued not her enemyes
 So at þe feste first as y bifore tolde

f.112r

Bigan god of his grace & godnesse to dowelle
 And þo was he cleped & cald not only crist but ihesu
 A fauntenkyn ful of wit *filius marie*
 For bifore his moder marie made he þat wonder
 þat he first & formost sholde ferme bileue
 þat he þorgh grace was gete & of no gome elles
 He wroughte þat by no wit bot þorgh word one
 After þe kynde þat he cam of þere comsed he dowelle
 And when he was woxon more in his moder absence
 He made lame to lepe & gaf sight to blynde
 And fedde withe two fisshes & fyue loues
 Sore afyngred folk mo þen fyue thousand
 þus he connfortid carfole & caughte a grettere name
 þe whiche was dobet where þat he wente
 For deue thorg his deynges & donnbe speke he herde
 And alle he helid & halp þat him of grace askid
 And þo was he cald yn contray of þe comune peple
 For þe dedes þat he dide *fili dauid ihesus*
 For dauid was þe doughtiest of dedes in his tyme
 þe buyrdes tho songe *saul interfecit mille & dauid decem milia*
 For þi þe contre þre ihesu cam calde him *fili dauid*
 And nemnid him of nazarethe & no man so worthi
 To be kaiser or king of þe kingdom of iuda
 Ne oure iewes iustise as ihesu was hem thoughte
 Herre of hadde cayphas enuye & oþre iewes
 And for to do him to dethe day & nyght þei caston
 And kildon him on cros wise at caluarie on a Friday
 And sethon buriodon his body & bedon þat men sholde
 Repon hit from nyght comaries withe knyghtes armed
 For no frend sholde hit fecthe for prophetes hem tolde
 þat þat blessid body of buriels sholde arise
 And gon in to galilee & gladon his apostles
 And his moder marie thus men afore deuyned
 þe knyghtes þat kepton hit biknewon hemseluon
 þat angels & archeangels or þe day spronge
 Comon knoling to þat cers and songon
Christius resurgens & hit aroes after
 Verray man bifore hem alle & forthe withe hem gede
 þe iewes preyed hem of pees & preyde þe knyghtes

f.112v

Telle þe comune þat þre cam acompnay of his apostles
 And bywicked hem as þey woke & away stelon hit
 But marie maudeleyn mette him by þe weye
 Goynge toward galile in god heed & in man heed
 A lyue & lokyng & aloud cried
 Yn vche a company þere she cam *Christius resurgens*
 þus cam hit out þat crist ourecam rekureed & lyuede
Sic Christum pati & intrare et cetera.

For þat a womman woet hit may not wel be counselle
 Petur preyued al this & pursued aftir
 Bothe James & John ihesu to seke

f.113r

Tadee & ten mo withe thomas of ynde
 And as alle þes wise wies wern to gidres
 Yn an house al by shut and her dore barred
 Crist kam yn & al closed bothe dore & gates
 To petur & hise apostles & saide *pax vobis*
 And toek Thomas by þe hond & taught him to grope
 And fele withe his fynGRES his flessliche herte
 Thomas towchid hit & withe his tonge saide
Dominus meus & deus meus
 þow art my lord y bileue god lord lord ihesu
 Dyedest & dethe tholedest and deme shalt vs alle
 And now art lyuyng & lokyng & laste shalt euere
 Crist Carped þenne & corteisliche saide
 Thomas for þow trowest this & truliche bileuest hit
 Yblessed mote þow be & be shalt for euere
 And yblessed mote þey be in body & in soule
 þat neuere shal see me yn sight as þow seest nouthe
 And lelliche bileue al this · y loue hem & blesse hem
Beati qui non viderunt & crediderunt

¶ And when this dede was doen dobest he þowghte
 And gaf pers power & pardoun he grauntid
 To alle manere men mrecy & forgifnes
 Him myght men to assoile of alle manere synnes
 Yn couenaunt þat þei come & knowlehid to paie
 To pers pardoun þe ploughman *Redde quod debes*
 þus haþ pers power be his pardoun paid
 To bynde & vnbynde bothe here & elles
 And assoile men of alle synnes saue of dette one
 An noen after an hy vp in to heuene
 He wente & woneth þere & wol come at þe laste

And rewarde him rightwel þat Redde quod debes
 Paiethe parfitly as puyr truthe wolde
 And what persone paieth hit not punyshon he thenkethe
 And demen he at domes day bothe quyke & de
 The gode to godhede & to gret ioye
 And wicked to wonye & woo withe owton ende
 Thus conscience of crist & of þe cros carped
 And counseled me to knele þreto & þene cam me þought
 Oen *spiritus paraclitus* to pers & to his felawes
 Yn liknes of a lightning a lighte on hem alle
 And made hem come & knowe alle kynne langages
 Y wondred what þat was & waggid conscience
 And was a fred for þe light for in fuyres liknes
Spiritus paraclitus ouersprad hem alle
Quod conscience & knelid þis is cristes messangere
 And comethe fro þe grete god grace ys his name
 Knele now quod conscience & yf þu canst synge
 Welcome him & worship him with *veni creator spiritus*
 And y sang þat song & so dide many hondred
 And criedon withe conscience helpe vs god of grace
 And thenne bigan grace to go withe pers þe ploughman
 And counseled him & conscience þe commune to sompne
 For y wel dele to day : & dyuyde grace
 To alle kyne creatures þat can his fyue wittes
 Tresour to lyue by to her lyues ende
 And wepens to fighte withe þatwol neuere faile
 For antecrist & hise al þe world shal greue
 And acombre þe conscience bot yf crist þe helpe
 And false prophetes fele flatereres and glosers
 Shal come & be curatoures oure kynges & erles
 And þenne shal pruyde be pope & prince of holichurche
 Coueytise & vnkyndenes cardinals him to lede
 For thi quod grace ar y go y wol gyue ꝑou tresour
 And wepene to fighte withe when antecrist ꝑou assaillith
 And gaf vche man a grace to gye withe himseluon
 þat ydolnes encombre hem not ne unye ne pruyde
Diuisiones graciaram sunt
 Som men he ꝑaf wit withe wordes to shewe
 To wynne withe truthe þat þe world askethe
 As prechoures & prestes & prentises of lawe
 þey lelly to lyue by labour of tonge

f.113v

f.114r

And by wit to wisson othir as grace he wolde teche
 And somme he kenned hem craft & connyng of sight
 Withe sullyng & buggyng her byleue to wyne
 And somme he lerid to laboure on lond & on water
 And lyue by þat labour a leel lif & a trewe
 And somme he taughte to tulie to teche & to coke
 As her wit wolde when þe time come
 And somme to deuyne & diuyde nombres to konne
 And to compace & coloures to make
 And somme to see & to saie what shold bifalle
 Bothe of wele & of wo and be ywar bifore
 As astromyens þorgh astronomye & philosophres wise
 And somme to ride & som to rekeuere þat vnrightfulliche was wonne
 He wissed men wyne hit aȝen þorgh whitnes of handes
 And fecchon hit fro fals men withe foleuyle lawes
 And somme he lerid to lyue in longyne to be hennes
 Yn pouerte & in pacience to preye for alle cristene
 And alle he lerid to be lele & vche a craft loue othir
 Ne noen bost ne dbate be among hem alle
 þough somme be clenner þen somme ȝe sen wel quod grace
 þat alle craft & connyng cam of my ȝifte
 Loke þat noen lacke othir bot louyethe as breþeren
 And þat most maistries can be myldiste of beryng
 And crounethe concience king & makithe craft ȝour stiward
 And after craftes counsel clothithe ȝou & fedithe
 For y make pers þe ploughman my procuratour & my reue
 And registrer to resceynon redde quod debes
 My prowor & my ploughman pers shal be on erthe
 And for to tulie truthe a teme shal he haue
 Grace pers a teme foure grete oxon
 þat on was luk a large best & a low cherid
 & mark & mathew þe thridde myghti bestes bothe
 And ioyned to hem oen John most gentille of alle
 þe pris neet of pers ploughe passing alle other
 And sithe grace of his godnesse gaf pers foure stottes
 Al þat his oxes erede þey harowed after
 Oen hette austyn & ambrose anothir
 Gregory þe grete clerk & Jerom þe gode
 þise foure þe faithe to teche folowed pers teme
 And harwed in an hand while al holy scripture

f.114v

Withe two aithes þat þei hadde an old & a newe

Id est vetus testamentum & nouum

And grace gaf pers graynes cardinals vretues

And sowe hit in mannes soule & sithe he tolde her names

Spiritus prudencie first seed highte

þat who so eet þat ymagine he sholde

Ar he dide any dede · deuyse wel þe ende

And lered men a ladel bugge withe a long stale

þat caste for to kele a crocke & saue þe fatte aboue

þe seconde sethe highte *spiritus temperancie*

He þat eet of þat seed hadde suche a kynde

Sholde neuere mete ne myschef maken him to swelle

Ne sholde no scornere out of skile him bringe

Ne neuere wynnyng ne welthe : of worldliche richesse

Waste word of ydelnes ne wicked speche meue

Sholde no curious clothe comon on his rugge

Ne no mete in his mouthe þat maistre iohan spised

¶ þe thridde seed þat pers sew was *spiritus fortitudinis*

And who so eet of þat seed hardy was euere

To soffre al þat god sente siknes & angres

Mighte no liare withe lesinges · ne lose of wordly catelle

Maken for eny mornyng þat he ne was merye in soule

f.115r

Bold & a biding bismures to soffre

And pledid al withe pacience and *parce michi domine*

And keuered him vnder counsel of catoun þe wise

Esto forti amino cum sis dampnatus inique

¶ The ferthe seed þat pers sew was *spiritus iusticie*

And he þat eet of þat seed sholde be euene trewe

With god & not agast bot of gile one

For gile gothe so priueily þat good faithe oþrewhile

May not be aspied þorgh *spiritus iusticie*

Spiritus iusticie sparithe not to spille

Hem þat ben gulty & forto corecte

þe kyng & þe kyng falle yn any agult

For countithe he no kynges wrathe when in court sittithe

To demon as a domesman adrad was he neuere

Noþre of duk ne of dethe · þat he ne dide þe lawe

For present or for preyere or any prinses lreres

He did exuite to alle eueneforthe his knowyng

þes four sedes pers sew & sethon he dide hem harowe

Withe olde lawe & new lawe þat loue myght wex

Among þes foure vretues & vices destroye
 For comunliche in contrayes cammokes & wedos
 Foulethe þe fruyt in þe feld þere þey growe to gidres
 And so dothe vices vretues forþhi quod pers
 Harowethe alle þat connethe kynde wit by counsel of þis doctoures
 And tuliethe after teching þe cardinal vretues
 Aȝenes þi graynes quod grace byginnethe forto ripe
 Ordeyne þo an hous pers to herborow ynne þi cornes
 By god grace quod pers ȝe mot ȝiue tymbor
 And ordeynon þat hous ar ȝe hennes wende
 And grace gaf him þe cros withe þe croune of þornes
 þat crist vpon caluarie for mankynde on peyned
 And of his baptem & blod þat he bledde on rode
 He made a manere mortere & mercy hit highte
 And þrewithe grace bigan to make a good fundament
 And wateled hit & walled hit withe his peynes & his passioun
 And of al holy writ he made a rof after
 And calde þat hous vnite holichurche on englishe
 And when þis dede was don grace deuysed
 A carte highte cristondom to carie hom pers sheues
 And gaf him caples to his cart contricioun & confessioun
 And made presthod hayward þewhile him self wente
 As wide as þe world ys withe pers to tulie truthe
 And þe lond of bileue · þen lawe of holichurche
 Now ys pers þe ploughman pruydehit aspied
 And gaderid him a gret ost greue he thenkethe
 Conscience & alle cristene & cardinal vretues
 Blowe hem down & breke hem & bite atwo þe mores
 And sente forthe sorquidonres his sreiauntȝ of armes
 And his spie spilleloue oen speke euel bihinde
 þise two cam to conscience & to cristene peple
 And tolde hem tichinges þat tyne þei sholde þe sedes
 þat sire pers sew þe cardinal vretues
 And pers berne worthe broke & þei þat ben in vnite
 Shal come out & conscience & ȝour two caples
 Confessioun & contricioun & ȝour cart þe bileue
 Shal be coleured to queyntly & coureed vnder our sophistrie
 þat conscience shal not knowe by contricioun
 Ne by confessioun who is cristene or hethon

f.115v

Ne no manere marchant þat withe money delithe
 Wher he wyne withe right withe wrong or withe vsur
 Withe suche coloures & queyntises comethe pruyde armed
 Withe þe lord þat liueth after þe lust of his body
 To waston on welfare · and in wicked kepyng
 Al þe world in a while · þorghe our wit quod pruyde
 ¶ Quod conscience to alle cristone þo · my counsel ys we wende
 Hastiliche to vnite · & holde we vs þere f.116r
 Preie we þat pes were in pers berne þe ploughman
 For weterly ywot wel we be not of strengthe
 To gon agayn pruyde bot grace were withe vs
 And þenne cam kynde wit concience to teche
 And cried & comaundide alle criston peple
 To deluon a diche depe aboute vnite
 þat holichurche stod in holinesse as hit were a pole
 Conscience comaundid þo alle cristen to delue
 And make a myche mote þat myghte be a strengthe
 To helpe holichurche & hem þat hit kepithe
 þenne alle kyne cristone saue comune wymmen
 Repentidon & refusedon synne · saue þey one
 And a sisour & a sompnour þat wern for sworn ofte
 Wetinge & wilfully withe þe fals þei heldon
 And for sulure wern forswore sothly þei wiston hit
 þere ne was cristene creature þat kynde wit hadde
 þat he ne halp a quantite holines to wexe
 Somme þorgh bedes bidding & by pilgrimages
 Or othir priue penaunses & somme þorgh pens deling
 And þenne welled watur for wicked werkes
 Egerliche ernyng out at mennes yes
 Clannes of þe comune & clerkes clene lyuyng
 Made vnite holichurche in holines stonde
 Y care not now quod conscience þogh pruyde come nouthe
 þe lord of lust shal be ylet al þis lente y hope
 Comethe quod conscience ge criston & dynethe
 þat han laboured lelly al þis lenton tyme
 Here ys bred yblessed & godes body þere vndor
 Grace þorgh goes word gaf pers þe ploughman
 Power & myght to maken hit & men forto eton hit
 Yn help of her hele ones in in a monthe
 Or as ofton as þei haddon nede þo þat haddon payd f.116v

To pers pardoun þe ploughman Redde quod debes
 How quod al þe comune thow counseilest vs to ȝelde
 Al þat we owon any wyght ar þat we go to hosele
 þat is my counsel quod conscience & cardinal vretues
 Or vche man forȝiue othir & þat wol þe pater noster
Et dimitte nobis debita nostra et cetera
 And so to ben assoiled & sithon to ben hoseled
 ȝe baw quod a brewere y wol not be ruled
 By ihesu for al ȝour ianglyng after *spiritus iusticie*
 Ne after conscience by crist y couthe selle
 Bothe dregges & draf & drawe at on hole
 Thicke ale & thinne & þat is myn kynde
 And not to hacke after holines hold þi tongue conscience
 Of *spiritus iusticie* þow spekest myche yn ydel
 Caitif quod conscience corsid wrecthe
 Vnblessed art þow brewere · bot yf þe god helpe
 Bot yf þow lyue by lore of *spiritus iusticie*
 þe chef seed þat pers sew · saue worst þu neuere
 Bot conscience þi comune fode & cardinal vretues
 Leue hit we ben lost boþe lif & soule
 þenne ys man lost quod a lewed vicary
 I am a curatour of holichurche & kam neuere in my tyme
 Man to me þat me couthe telle of cardinal vertues
 Or þat acountid conscience a cockes fethere or hennes
 I knew neuere cardinal þat he ne cam from þe pope
 And we clerkes when þei come for her comunes paiethe
 For her pelure & palfrayes mete & peloures þat hem folowethe
 þe comune *clamat cotidie* vche aman to othir
 þe contrey is þe corsedore þat cardinals comethe ynne
 And þere þei liggethe & lenge most lecthene þere regnethe
 For þi quod þis vicary · by veray god y wolde
 þat no cardinal come among þe comune peple
 Bot in her holines holdon hem stille f.117r
 At auynovn among iewes *cum sancto sanctus eris*
 Or in Rome as her rule wolde þe relikes to kepe
 And þow conscience in kynges court & sholde neuere come þennes
 And grace þat þu gredest so of gyour of alle clerkes or
 And pers withe his new ploughe & also his olde
Emperour of al þe world þat alle men wer cristene
 ¶ Inparfit is þat pope þat alle peple sholde helpe

And sowlithe hem þat sleethe suche as he sholde saue
 But wel worthe pers þe ploughman þat pursuethe god in doynge
Qui pluit super iustos et iniustos at ones
 And sent þe soule to saue acorsed manes tulthe
 As bright as to þe beste man or to þe best womman
 Right so pers þe ploughman payneth him to tulie
 As wel for a wastour & for a wenche of þe stues
 As for him self & his sreuantꝝ saue he is furst ysaued
 So ybessid be pers þe ploughman þat peyneth him to tulie
 And trauailethe & tulie the for a trattour al so sore
 As for a trewe tidy man alle tymes ylik
 And worsheped be he þat wroughte al bothe goed & wicke
 And soffreþ þat synfol be til som tyme þat þei repente
 And god amende þe pope þat pilethe holichurche
 And claymeth byfore þe kyng to be kepe oure cristene
 And countithe not þgghe cristene be kild & y robbed
 And fynde folk to fighte & cristene blod to spille
 Aȝen þe olde lawe & þe newe as lik berithe witnes
Non occides michi vindictam et cetera
 Hit semethe by so him self hadde his wille
 Him reckethe right nought ~~nought~~ of þe remenant
 And crist of his cortesie þe cardinals saue
 And torne her wit to wisdom & to wel for þe soule
 For þe comune quod þis curatour counton fol lytol
 þe counsel of conscience or cardinal vertues f.117v
 Bot yf þey sounne as by sight somewhat to wynnyng
 Of gile ne of gabbynges gyuethe þei neuere tale
 For *spiritus prudencie* among þe peple ys gile
 And alle þo faire vretues as vises þei semethe
 For vche man sotilethe a sleithe synne to huyde
 And colourethe hit for a connynge & a clene lyuyng
 ¶ þenne lough þere a lord & by þis light saide
 I halde right & resoun of my reue to take
 Al þat myn auditour or elles my stiward
 Counselethe me by her a counte & my clerkes writing
 With *spiritus intellectus* þei cote þe reues rolles
 And withe *spiritus fortitudinus* fecthe hit wol he nyl he
 And þenne cam þere a kyng & by his corone saide
 Y am kyng withe corone þe comune to rule
 And holy church & clergie for corsed men to defendon

And if me lackithe to lyue by þe lawe wol þat y take hit
 þere y may hastilokest hit haue for y am hed of lawe
 And ȝe ben bot membres & y aboue alle
 And sithe y am ȝour aller heed y am ȝour aller hele
 And holichurche chef help & cheueteyn of þe comune
 And what ytake of ȝou to ytake hit at þe teching
 Of spiritus iusticie for iugge ȝow alle
 So y may baldely be hoselod for I bowe neuere
 Ne craue of my comune bot as my kynde askethe
 Yn condicioun quod conscience þat þow þe comune defende
 And rule þi reme in resoun right wel & in truthe
 þat þou haue al thin askyng as þi lawe askethe
Omnia sunt tua ad defendendorum non deprehend
 þe vicary hadde fer hom & fair toek his leue
 And y awakned þrewithe & wrot as me mette