

The Design of History: St Albans Abbey and the Representation of the Past, c. 1200 - c. 1600

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- 5.8 p. 234 The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 56, f. 208^r.

Abbreviations

- Monastic Renaissance* Clark, James G., *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c. 1350-1440* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).
- 'Walsingham Reconsidered' Clark, James G., 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St. Albans', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 832-60.
- Historical Writing, i* Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England, c. 500 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge, 1974).
- Historical Writing, ii* Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1982).
- 'Granarium' Hiatt, Alfred, 'The Reference Work in the Fifteenth Century: John Whethamstede's Granarium', in *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A. S. G. Edwards*, ed. by Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 13-33.
- Luard, *CM I* Paris, Matthew, *Chronica Majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Roll Series 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872), I.
- Luard, *FH I* Paris, Matthew, *Flores historiarum*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 95, 3 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), I.
- Luard, *FH III* Paris, Matthew, *Flores historiarum*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 95, 3 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), III.
- Historia Anglorum* Paris, Matthew, *Historia anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor. item, ejusdem abbreviatio chronicorum anglie*, ed. by Frederic Madden, Roll Series 44, 3 vols (London, 1866), I.
- Riley, *HA I* Walsingham, Thomas, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1863), I.
- Riley, *HA II* Walsingham, Thomas, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1863), II.

Abstract

The Benedictine abbey of St Albans was a centre of manuscript production and history writing in England throughout the late Middle Ages. This thesis will, for the first time, study the entire corpus of historiographical manuscripts produced at and associated with St Albans and its historians, from the beginning of history writing at the abbey in the thirteenth century to antiquarian production four centuries later. By utilising a visual approach to manuscript analysis, this thesis will establish key changes in history writing during this period and, moreover, re-evaluate the roles of individual historians and their chronicles within the wider monastic context. What will be demonstrated is that the importance placed on certain works by modern historians is not representative of the contemporary significance of these chronicles, with other St Albans historiographical traditions instead proving more relevant to medieval audiences. Furthermore, continuing the research through to the period of early printing and aftermath of the Dissolution of the monasteries allows us to see how traditional monastic chronicles were viewed and used in a changing intellectual climate. The historiographical manuscripts of St Albans Abbey, therefore, provide a consistent and continuous insight into cultural, intellectual and religious changes in England between 1200-1600.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

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I have been lucky enough throughout this research to travel and see a lot of places and beautiful libraries that would otherwise have been inaccessible. To this end, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the University of Manchester, both of which have provided much needed funding and travel grants. I would also like to thank the many specialist librarians and archivists who have given up their time to assist in locating manuscripts, taking photos and discussing related topics – without the valuable work of these individuals and institutions there would be nothing to research in the first place.

As this research was undertaken on a part-time basis, I would particularly like to thank my peers and friends who have been invaluable in their encouragement, understanding and general ability to help keep me sane over the long seven-year period. Worthy of a special mention are Dr Hannah Robb, Dr Janek Gryta, Dr Thomas Wroblewski and Dr Maria Montt Strabucchi, all of whom were there during the lows as well as the highs. My family have also been a great, consistent support throughout the process, even if they do not understand it, as has my husband Kurt Richards; I am sure they will all be glad to know it is now completed.

When a king dies, the news might take a moon to travel to the furthest corners of his kingdom. It might take years to travel to countries on the far side of the ocean, and in some places, who knows, it might slowly stop being news at all as it travels, becoming instead recent history, and so barely worth the mentioning when travellers exchange the latest developments, so that the death that shook a country and unseated a dynasty only arrives centuries later, as a short passage in a history book.

- Iain M. Banks, *Inversions* (London, 1998) - epilogue

Introduction

This thesis will survey the manuscripts and printed books of St Albans historiography, works of history authored and compiled at St Albans, in the totality of their manuscript and print transmission within and without the abbey, from its heyday in c. 1200 to its antiquarian revival at the end of the sixteenth century. St Albans Abbey is commonly thought of as a great centre of history writing during the later Middle Ages but as yet the entire corpus of manuscripts and printed books has never been studied as a whole. By historiography, this thesis will study the monastic chronicles and history writing associated with St Albans, works that were predominantly public facing, acted as reference works and were adapted and changed to be used as required. Indeed, historiography is commonly viewed as a relatively static genre that was essential within a monastic library but perhaps lacking the glamour or intellectual rigour of patristic or theological texts. This thesis will expand this viewpoint, instead looking at historiographical manuscripts as flexible objects, within a broad and fluid genre. History writing was a vibrant field that underwent several changes during the late Middle Ages; historiographical manuscripts were vehicles for visual and textual traditions that developed and adapted, creating new and engaging ways to deal with information management, structuring and cross-referencing with existing archives, and conveying this information quickly, easily, and in an interesting way to readers. Above all else, these historiographical manuscripts and traditions can be defined as having a purpose beyond that of just disseminating information; this was not history writing that stayed exclusively in a library.

The thesis will explore how the St Albans historiographical manuscripts changed between 1200-1600, using a design-based methodology to draw focus on the manuscripts themselves. Although 'design' as a formal concept is a relatively modern term, it provides a useful lens through which to study medieval manuscripts. Design is a broad term that is frequently misunderstood and confused with being something that is exclusively visual, as more connected to art and art history, but at its broadest it can be thought of in the following terms: 'everybody designs who devises courses of action aimed at changing existing

situations into preferred ones'.¹ A design-led approach in this context, therefore, focuses on the considerations made when producing a manuscript, anything that influenced how that object was used and how people engaged with it. This can include elements that are traditionally the territory of art history, such as decorative features (although the approach and reason for analysis would be different), as well as elements of codicology like script and page size, one text column or two, or more, and how those text columns are presented on the page and for what purpose. That last point is key with the design-led approach: it is asking for what reason something was produced and looked the way it did; reverse engineering the object to further understand its production. A more traditional art-historical approach focuses solely on decorative features, such as illuminations within a manuscript or decorative borders and rarely looks at the object as a whole.² While visual considerations are one part of taking a design-led approach, this thesis will also look at other factors within manuscript production, such as purpose, usage, and audience, and ultimately consider the act of creating a manuscript in itself as a design-led process. The design of medieval manuscripts and design considerations in the Middle Ages is an emerging field. This thesis will build on the previous work by scholars such as Bonnie Mak and Lucie Doležalová, both of whom have studied the continuity of visual elements within specific textual traditions, the context and what such continuity meant for book production.³ Mak has compared the changing design of the *Controversia de nobilitate*, from manuscript to incunabula and Latin to vernacular, to

¹ A famous quote from Herbert Simon during a period in which 'design' was being reconceptualised and professionalised, Herbert Simon, *The Sciences of the Artificial*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), p. 111. There has been much discussion since Simon's book was first published on design and design theory. Good starting points for this wider debate and defining design are: Xinya You and David Hands, 'A Reflection upon Herbert Simon's Vision of Design in *The Sciences of the Artificial*', *The Design Journal*, 22 (2019), pp. 1345-56; The Design Council, 'What Do We Mean By Design?' (2017), <https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/what-do-we-mean-design> [accessed 15/08/2021]; Alan Fletcher, *The Art of Looking Sideways* (London: Phaidon Press, 2001).

² Of particular relevance to this thesis are the art-historical studies of Nigel Morgan and Suzanne Lewis, see Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981); Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the 'Chronica Majora'* (London: Scholar Press, 1987).

³ Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Lucie Doležalová, *Obscurity and Memory in Late Medieval Latin Manuscript Culture: The Case of the Summarium Bible* (Krems, 2012).

illuminate its different usages and audiences, while Doležalová studies the design of the *Summarium Biblie* to understand the transmission of the text, the role of the miscellany manuscripts, and ultimately how this version of the bible was used in late Medieval Europe, especially in comparison to other variants.⁴ Early-medieval and Anglo-Saxon scholars have also undertaken innovative work in this field. Janet Bately has compared the different manuscript layouts in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to draw conclusions on the presentation of the passage of time and potential sources for the chronicle.⁵ A design-led approach, therefore, offers a different route in to studying medieval manuscripts from this period. It allows for a greater understanding of manuscripts as objects, the production process, and the society that created them. Moreover, it provides a flexible approach that is led by the objects themselves, enabling new connections and wider contextual discoveries to be made.

This thesis will adopt a design-based methodology in order to understand how and why historiographical manuscripts were produced during this period. It will also study the role of St Albans as a producer of historiographical content, and the reason historiographical production changed throughout the later Middle Ages. In chapter one the focus will be on the *Flores historiarum* tradition and visual elements of manuscript production, using design to analyse shared display and paratextual features within the *Flores* manuscripts. Chapter two will consider design more broadly, using the methodology to understand the different purposes manuscripts served and look at how St Albans utilised these manuscripts for the needs of the Abbey. Chapters three and four focus on the changing face of historiographical production and use the design-led approach to understand how different traditions interlinked, if at all. Finally, the legacy of medieval historiography is considered. In Chapter five, the antiquarian reworking of monastic chronicles is studied and demonstrates how and why contemporary book production was adapted to work with these historical sources. This design-led approach will show that historiography was a genre through which wider connections and motivations can be seen, as well as a type of manuscript that encouraged experimentation and different methods of production. It is through studying the continued production of historiographical manuscripts associated with St Albans Abbey, historiographical manuscript traditions that encompass the breadth, flexibility, and wider usages of history writing outside of the monastic library, that such conclusions can be drawn.

⁴ Mak, *How the Page Matters*.

⁵ Janet Bately, 'Manuscript layout and the Anglo-Saxon chronicle', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 70 (1988), pp. 21-43.

Academic scholarship is only just starting to study and understand the deliberate design considerations of medieval manuscripts. Recent work on the graphic design of manuscripts and why certain texts look the way they do has been undertaken by Daniel Wakelin, in a study accompanied by an exhibition at the Bodleian Library.⁶ In addition to Mak and Doležalová, this area of research has also been championed by Erik Kwakkel, developing on some of the core introductory texts to manuscript studies.⁷ Although Kwakkel's research and others in this field do not always consciously refer to these studies as relating to manuscript design, all these traditional elements of manuscript studies encompass the considerations made when producing and designing a manuscript, and therefore should be considered as part of this research corpus. Indeed, the work of scholars in manuscript studies has established the groundwork on which to develop more nuanced and detailed research, such as will be undertaken in this thesis. This thesis will combine the fields of codicology, palaeography, and manuscript studies in order to develop a design-led approach that can offer broader conclusions on why specific manuscripts were made and the purposes they served. The manuscripts of the St Albans historical compilers are in need of revision as current scholarship on St Albans historiography focuses almost exclusively on an author-based approach, neglecting the manuscripts as objects and what they can tell us about their production and the wider context. This thesis will show that looking at design specifically and the manuscripts as a whole, instead of just the text it contains, can illuminate connections within a manuscript corpus, such as specific routes of dissemination, the intended purpose of a manuscript, or the intellectual networks in which manuscripts were produced.

⁶ Daniel Wakelin, *Designing English: Early Literature on the Page* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2017). The exhibition 'Designing English: Graphics on the Medieval Page' was held at the Bodleian Library, 1 December 2017 – 22 April 2018.

⁷ Core texts on this subject include Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit* (Paris: Cercle de La Librairie - Promodis, 1990). A lot of Erik Kwakkel's engagement with manuscript design has been disseminated via social media, but is also available in the following studies, Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018); *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Manuscript*, ed. by Erik Kwakkel, Rosamond McKitterick and Rodney Thomson (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

To understand the production of historiography at St Albans and the position the monastery enjoyed during the late Middle Ages, it is first necessary to place the monastery and its origins in context. Various factors led to the success of St Albans, both as a town and a monastic power. The position of the town, and the previous Roman settlement, Verulamium, is advantageous; it is one day's journey from London and the last significant town on the road north for some distance. The centre of St Albans, which is the medieval portion of the modern town, is even positioned directly on the main road. This afforded the town an established position on the road network, making it a regular stop for merchants, travellers, and the royal entourage.⁸

The monastery boasts the shrine and relics of St Alban, England's first martyr, and the connection to the protomartyr remained important for the abbey throughout the late Middle Ages. Indeed, the monastery has a strong geographical connection to Alban's martyrdom as well as housing the shrine. Alban was imprisoned by the Romans inside Verulamium, now a large parkland in the centre of present-day St Albans, before being killed on top of the hill overlooking the settlement. This hilltop is the site of St Albans Abbey.⁹ Despite the fame of Alban, the founding of the abbey and the date of its original founding remains uncertain and is largely substantiated by late-medieval forged documents.¹⁰ The importance of Alban's martyrdom, however, has led many scholars to conclude that there has been religious activity on the site since the end of the Roman occupation and this has been further corroborated by

⁸ Brian Paul Hindle, *Medieval Roads* (Aylesbury: Shire, 1982), pp. 18, 34-40, 44 and 51.

⁹ Martin Biddle, 'Alban and the Anglo-Saxon Church', in *Cathedral and City: St Albans Ancient and Modern*, ed. by Robert Runcie (St Albans: Martyn Associates, 1977), pp. 23-42 (p. 25); Sheppard Frere, 'Verulamium', in *Cathedral and City: St Albans Ancient and Modern*, ed. by Robert Runcie (St Albans: Martyn Associates, 1977), pp. 3-22.

¹⁰ Simon Keynes and Julia Crick have both identified some of the abbey's earliest charters as being forged, see Simon Keynes, 'A Lost Cartulary of St Albans Abbey', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), pp. 253-79 (pp. 272-5); Julia Crick, *Charters of St Albans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 3, 8, 11-12, 14-15, 18-22, 32.

archaeological evidence.¹¹ The abbey was re-founded in 1077 by Paul of Caen.¹² In the later Middle Ages the cult of St Alban was actively promoted by the monks of the abbey, who were keen to attract more visitors and revenue. The cults of the saints, and the pilgrimage attached to each, were a source of significant income for monasteries.¹³ This led to a period in which several supposed saints' remains were discovered across England. The monks of St Albans, for instance, found the bones of St Amphibalus, who was a saint created by Geoffrey of Monmouth because of a mistranslation in the story of Alban's martyrdom, in an old grave near the St Albans cell of Redbourne.¹⁴ The lives of both St Alban and Amphibalus were celebrated by the great authors of the abbey, such as Matthew Paris' *Vie de Sient Alban* in French verse, Thomas Walsingham's *Tractatus de nobilitate, vita et martirio sanctorum Albani*

¹¹ Both Gildas and Bede mention St Alban's martyrdom, see: Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, ed. & trans. by Hugh Williams, Cymmrodorion record series 3 (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1899, pp. 27-9; Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. & trans. by Bertram Colgrave, Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 16-19. Wilhelm Levison has discussed the myth around the founding of the abbey and its early history, see Wilhelm Levison, 'St. Alban and St. Albans', *Antiquity*, 15 (1941), pp. 337-59 (pp. 338-9, 341-4, 347, and especially 350-3). Martin Biddle expanded Levison's investigation; see Biddle, 'Alban', pp. 24-5, 27-9, 36-7. Biddle has excavated the abbey site extensively and discovered, among other finds, the remains of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, see Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'England's Premier Abbey: The Medieval Chapter House of St. Albans Abbey, and its excavations in 1978', *Expedition*, 22 (1980), pp. 17-32 (pp. 30-2).

¹² For more detail on the re-founding of the abbey and Paul of Caen's reforms, see L. F. Rushbrook Williams, *The History of the Abbey of St Alban* (London: Longmans, 1917), pp. 36-40.

¹³ Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 225-7; Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 79-82.

¹⁴ For discussion on the creation of Amphibalus, see: Levison, 'St Alban', pp. 353-6; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. & trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 131. Others have expanded upon the locating of Amphibalus' remains, including: Michelle Still, *The Abbot and the Rule: Religious Life at St Albans, 1290-1349* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 17 and 136; Katherine Gerry, 'The Alexis Quire and the Cult of Saints in St Albans', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), pp. 593-612 (p. 605).

et Amphibali, and details of St Alban's relics were discussed at length in the abbey's domestic history.¹⁵

St Albans Abbey enjoyed relative freedom from the English religious hierarchy. The abbey was granted exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction by Pope Adrian IV in 1156, which meant that the abbey was no longer subject to the rule of the Bishop of Lincoln.¹⁶ This dispensation gave the abbot significantly more power than in a normal monastic structure as it meant the monastery could act independently from the existing church structure in England. The monks of St Albans, particularly in the later period, realised the potential of political involvement. Abbots of St Albans Abbey were members of the House of Lords and regularly summoned to parliament.¹⁷ James Clark has argued that the monks were 'eager to present themselves as political insiders', and many at the Abbey maintained close relationships with the monarch and gentry.¹⁸ Indeed, it was these close political relationships, both to the monarch and court, that gave the St Albans' chroniclers their depth of information.¹⁹

Scholars are quick to point out that St Albans Abbey was the exception from the normal monastic experience during this period, yet it is precisely because of its exceptional status that further study is important. No other monastery in England enjoyed the same combination of continuous power, popularity, episcopal freedom and royal patronage, with the closest parallel being St Denis in Paris.²⁰ It is not just for these reasons, though, that St Albans remains relatively undiscussed in modern historiography; St Albans Abbey does not correlate to modern or traditionally perceived centres of religious or political power. As Michelle Still has said, 'St Albans was not only the premier Benedictine house ranked according to its privileges but also deserves to be considered as the monastic centre of

¹⁵ Dublin, Trinity College Library MS E. I. 40. Walsingham's text survives in two manuscripts: London, British Library Cotton MS Claudius E. IV. and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 585. Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasteri Sancti Albani*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1857), I, pp. 4, 8 and 12-20.

¹⁶ Still, *Abbot*, p. 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-27.

¹⁸ *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 35-8.

¹⁹ For instance, Walsingham's presentation of the Good Parliament of 1376. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 174-5.

²⁰ *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 7-9; Crick, *Charters*, pp. 31 and 36.

England in this period'.²¹ Indeed, instead of trying to establish connections between St Albans and prominent centres of power, such as London, the Abbey should instead be viewed within its own network of power and influence, within which modern perceptions of geography and importance do not align.

The Abbey itself faced various challenges during the Late Medieval period. At times St Albans was subjected to severe financial mismanagement, usually by the abbots, but it also held a privileged position within English monasteries and was favoured by the papacy.²² The Abbey was a significant landowner throughout the southeast and the rest of the country, a position that saw it suffer two rebellions by its townsfolk in 1327 and 1381.²³ Being a wealthy and powerful abbey had more disadvantages: large institutions like St Albans were frequently called-upon to rescue failing priories and abbeys throughout the country, a burden that impacted on St Albans financially. By 1290, the Abbey was responsible for nine cells and only Durham Priory had as many dependencies, but it is believed that many were in an appalling condition and were often used as a place to exile dissident monks.²⁴ Like all monastic institutions, it was hit hard by the plague and the number of monks at the Abbey went from near 100 to around 50.²⁵ A similar loss was felt in its cells too. Royal attention was never far away, whether desired or not, and it was yet another aspect that impacted on the Abbey financially. Matthew Paris developed a rapport with Henry III, and Abbot Hugh de Eversdone had strong, mostly unutilised, links to Edward II.²⁶ The position of the Abbey meant that it was a regular stopping place for the royal entourage; yet another financial burden.²⁷

²¹ Still, *Abbot*, p. 233.

²² Roy Midmer, *English Medieval Monasteries, 1066-1540* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), p. 272. For more information on papal privileges, see Still, *Abbot*, pp. 1, 20-6.

²³ Still, *Abbot*, pp. 109-15.

²⁴ This later expanded to ten dependent cells, see *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 14. Martin Heale has described the burden of these additional cells, see: Martin Heale, 'Dependant Priors and the Closure of Monasteries in Late Medieval England, 1400-1535', *The English Historical Review*, 480 (2004), pp. 1-26 (pp. 3, 7 and 16). Several scholars discuss the exile of dissident and disobedient monks at St Albans, notably Rushbrook Williams, p. 41; and Still, *Abbot*, pp. 113, 130-1, 136 and 155.

²⁵ Midmer, *Monasteries*, p. 30.

²⁶ Paris' relationship with Henry III is well documented, see Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) pp. 3-4, 18, 124; *Historical Writing*, i, p. 420. Michelle Still has discussed Abbot Hugh's relationship with Edward II, Still, *Abbot*, pp. 63-6.

²⁷ Still, *Abbot*, pp. 81-2 and 96-7.

Independence from Episcopal jurisdiction meant the Abbey was at the mercy of the King's escheator between abbots, a setup that impacted financially.²⁸ Such challenges, however, do not seem to correlate with the evidence of the production or acquisition of manuscripts, which remained relatively constant throughout this period.

Books, writing, and record keeping have always been important to St Albans Abbey. The earliest surviving written records from the monastery are a series of charters. Unfortunately the original manuscript is now lost; however, transcriptions of the charters survive in a seventeenth-century copy, a handful of St Albans miscellanies and the *Liber additamentorum*, which was compiled by Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century.²⁹ The lost manuscript is believed to have been compiled in the late twelfth century and contains various charters that date from 793 to 1181, the earliest of which are of dubious authenticity.³⁰ The same group of charters is found in all of these manuscripts and is the only group to have survived from the pre-Conquest period of the abbey's history. Whilst it is not uncommon for such little domestic material to be extant (Julia Crick alludes to a similar situation at Ramsey Abbey), most English monasteries of a similar size to St Albans retained considerably more of their charters and records from this period.³¹ St Albans Abbey is, once again, the exception to the rule. Although only this group of charters survive, the difference between the surviving manuscripts suggests that another manuscript source with a different composition of charters was available at the abbey. Keynes has suggested in particular that Matthew Paris compiled his *Liber additamentorum* from original sources.³² The St Albans' historians would, therefore, have had a rich, local source of history at their disposal from which to compile their historiographical works.

As with the charters, few manuscripts survive from the library of St Albans Abbey in comparison to other English monasteries. Richard Hunt and Rodney Thomson have both

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-5 and 198.

²⁹ Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 7965-73 (3723) and London, British Library Cotton MS Nero D. I. See Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 257 and 260; and Crick, *Charters*, pp. 45-56.

³⁰ Keynes has given this dating based on the contents of the charters. Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 259, 262-3 and 273-4.

³¹ Crick, *Charters*, pp. 30 and 37.

³² Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', p. 261.

worked on reconstructing the St Albans library.³³ Only 135 manuscripts now survive from the abbey's library, significantly less than from comparable monasteries, and there are no surviving catalogues from the period. It has been estimated, however, that there would have been around 300-400 manuscripts in the library by 1200 and that it would have grown significantly by the early fifteenth century.³⁴ Durham Priory is projected to have had 3000 manuscripts and St Mary's abbey, York, around 1500; given the importance of book production and size of the monastery, it is highly likely that the St Albans library was comparable.³⁵ Hunt managed to reconstruct a fraction of the library from information surviving in three fragments.³⁶ In the manuscripts listed there are a lot of religious texts, either practical books like Psalters or the works of the Church Fathers, as well as earlier historiographical manuscripts, such as Bede, Gildas and Cassiodorus. There are also a large amount of classical texts that are likely the result of the revised classical scholarship at the abbey from the late fourteenth century onwards.³⁷ From the manuscripts that survive we can see that learning was important to the abbey and the library was valued by a succession of abbots. Abbot Paul of Caen (1077-1093), as well as rebuilding the abbey, commissioned 28 manuscripts for the library. Abbots Robert (1151-1166), Simon (1167-1183) and John (1195-1213) followed his lead, all adding significant volumes, including the start of one of their

³³ Richard William Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St Albans,' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 251-77; Rodney M. Thomson, *The Manuscripts of St Albans Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985); idem, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney Thomson, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), II, pp. 136-67.

³⁴ Hunt, 'Library', p. 251; Thomson, *St Albans*, p. 5; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 89-97.

³⁵ Rachel Stockdale, 'Benedictine Libraries and Writers', in *The Benedictines in Britain*, ed. by D. H. Turner and Rachel Stockdale (London: British Library, 1980), pp. 62-91 (p. 63).

³⁶ The three documents are: the *Indiculus* of Walter the Chanter (copied by John Bale), a fifteenth-century fragment of the St Albans borrowers list, and the Hertford list, a list of books sent from Belvoir to St Albans in the late fourteenth century. Hunt, 'Library', pp. 269-77.

³⁷ Hunt, 'Library', p. 257. For the resurgence in classical scholarship at St Albans during this period see: *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 163-76.

works of domestic history, the *Gesta abbatum*.³⁸ Indeed, the support of subsequent abbots, although irregular, did not cease until the dissolution of the monastery in 1539.³⁹

During the late twelfth century, Abbot Symon established a scriptorium with a regular stipend for book production.⁴⁰ Thomson's research has begun to unravel the movement of manuscripts for copying in this period and also the use of paid scribes; it was a widespread practice among prominent monasteries and St Albans was no different. Clark has also established evidence of paid scribes in the fourteenth century.⁴¹ Furthermore, Thomson identified manuscripts produced at St Albans for other centres, in which it 'vied with Canterbury in producing books of the highest quality'.⁴² Perhaps the most famous of these is the St Albans Psalter, which was produced under the rule of Abbot Geoffrey of Gorrion (1119-1146) and demonstrates highly skilled work.⁴³ The analysis of the historiographical manuscripts in this thesis shows that there was a level of stylistic consistency in manuscripts produced at St Albans that is not evident in other monastic centres. Others have noticed this too. Clark established the existence of a house style for manuscript production in the fourteenth century and Thomson identified a style of initial used in twelfth century manuscripts.⁴⁴ Furthermore, this thesis will establish that a house style was present in fifteenth century manuscripts too. It is evident, therefore, that at St Albans Abbey book production was a serious consideration, to the degree of establishing a house style, and the continuation of this after the twelfth century made St Albans Abbey the exception to general

³⁸ Still, *Abbot*, p. 33; F. A. Gasquet, 'Books and Bookmaking in Early Chronicles and Accounts', *The Library*, 9 (1906), pp. 15-20 (pp. 17-19); Thomson, 'Book Production', p. 155.

³⁹ Gasquet, 'Books and Bookmaking', pp. 19-22.

⁴⁰ *Gesta*, p. 192; Thomson, *St Albans*, p. 78.

⁴¹ *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 111-16.

⁴² Thomson, 'Book Production', p. 145.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 146. The scribes and artists of this manuscript also had a close relation to Bury St Edmunds, see Katherine Bateman, 'Pembroke 120 and Morgan 736: A Reexamination of the St Albans Bury St. Edmunds Manuscript Dilemma', *Gesta*, 17 (1978), pp. 19-26; Gerry, 'Alexis Quire', pp. 597-8 and 600.

⁴⁴ *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 97-8. Thomson and Hunt have also identified stylistic consistencies, see Thomson, 'Book Production', pp. 139, 141 and 146; Hunt, 'Library', p. 258.

monastic trends.⁴⁵ It is therefore essential to study manuscript production from this period to understand what made St Albans different.

St Albans was one of the most influential monastic houses for historiographical production in the Late Medieval period. Between 1200 and the Dissolution there was a constant involvement in the writing of history, be it authoring a new work, or continuing, or editing, existing historiographical texts. St Albans historiography began significantly in the early thirteenth century with the *Flores historiarum*, compiled by Roger Wendover (c.1170-1236) between 1214 and 1235.⁴⁶ It was compiled mostly from the historical sources held in the monastic library from which, for instance, Wendover adapted the deeds of Brutus, or Roger of Howden for entries on King John.⁴⁷ Wendover's work was continued by Matthew Paris (1200-1259).⁴⁸ None of the extant *Flores* manuscripts contain Wendover's text alone and no autograph or exemplar copies have survived. To counter this scholars have often sought to reconstruct Wendover's manuscripts and their textual variations, but this remains just that, a projection to rationalise the extant manuscripts and does not expand our knowledge on

⁴⁵ Thomson, 'Book Production', p. 166.

⁴⁶ V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Mathew Paris: being the eleventh lecture on the David Murray foundation in the University of Glasgow delivered on March 9th, 1944* (Glasgow, 1944), pp. 9 and 17; Richard Kay, 'Wendover's Last Annal', *The English Historical Review*, 84 (1969), pp. 779-85 (779); Thomson, *St Albans*, p. 74.

⁴⁷ Thomson, *St Albans*, pp. 73-4 and 98. Thomson states that at the turn of 1200 the St. Albans library contained twelve historical works, including: *Abbreviationes chronicarum*, *Imagines historiarum*, *Historia tripartita*, *Historia scholastica*, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, *Historia Britonum*, *Gesta regum anglorum*. The use of these histories in compiling the *Flores* and other chronicles has been much discussed, see Martin and Thomson, 'History', pp. 397-415; F. M. Powicke, 'Roger of Wendover and the Coggeshall Chronicle', *The English Historical Review*, 21 (1906), pp. 286-96 (pp. 286-7 and 293); Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', p. 260. For more detail on how chroniclers 'wove' their texts from various sources, see: Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 14-20.

⁴⁸ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 359 and 364; Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 10-11 and 21; Björn Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35 (2009), pp. 254-78 (pp. 256 and 258); Vaughan, *Paris*, p. 34. See also idem, pp. 21-33 for a more in-depth discussion of the *Flores historiarum* continuation by Paris.

what survives.⁴⁹ It is Paris's continuation and version of the *Flores*, however, which survives in large numbers. Indeed, as will be demonstrated in this study, the *Flores historiarum* enjoyed the broadest distribution and dissemination of all St Albans historiographical works. Moreover, Paris's other historiographical texts, the *Chronica maiora* and *Historia Anglorum*, which this thesis will show remained exclusively at St Albans Abbey, were also based on the *Flores historiarum*.⁵⁰ Despite the relative proliferation of this work, the *Flores* remains understudied and misunderstood. Valuable work has been done on the illumination within the *Flores* tradition, but as with textual study this isolates particular elements from the manuscript whole.⁵¹ This thesis will argue for a reinterpretation of the *Flores* tradition in light of the manuscripts' evidence. As will be seen, the *Flores* manuscripts can tell us about more than just textual development, instead highlighting a broad and dispersed intellectual network of manuscript dissemination within which St Albans sat at the centre. The significance of the *Flores historiarum* tradition will, then, be rebalanced and re-established within the St Albans historiographical corpus.

Paris' other historical works were significantly larger and survive in far fewer manuscripts than the *Flores*. The *Chronica maiora* was his largest work, stretching to two volumes of roughly folio size, and ran up to 1259.⁵² The size of the work is due to the size of the entries for each year, which progressively increase towards the period of writing because

⁴⁹ Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 23-34, and 93-109; Kay, 'Wendover's Last Annal', pp. 780 and 782-5; *Historical Writing*, i, p. 458; Powicke, 'Coggeshall', p. 292.

⁵⁰ On the survival of Paris' *Flores*, see Gransden, 'Chronicles', p. 132. Paris' *Historia Anglorum* is not to be confused with the chronicle by Henry of Huntingdon of the same name. For more on the different texts of Matthew Paris, see: Weiler, 'Matthew Paris', pp. 254-6; Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 8, 11, 20-6, 31 and 34-7; Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 21-34.

⁵¹ Judith Collard, 'Flores Historiarum Manuscripts: the Illumination of a Late Thirteenth-Century Chronicle Series', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 71 (2008), pp. 441-6; eadem, 'Effigies ad Regem Angliae and the Representation of Kingship in Thirteenth-Century English Royal Culture', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2007), pp. 1-26 (pp. 1-2, 11, 13-17 and 19-20); Albert Hollaender, 'The Pictorial Work in the "Flores historiarum" of the so-called Matthew of Westminster: <MS Chetham 6712>', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 28 (1944), pp. 361-81.

⁵² All of which still survive in autograph: BL Royal MS 14 C. VII; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16 I & II and 26. See also Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 22-4; F. M. Powicke, 'Notes on the Compilation of the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris', *Modern Philology*, 38 (1941), pp. 305-17 (p. 305).

Paris transcribed many of his sources directly into the chronicle entries. The *Historia Anglorum*, which runs to 1253, is a shorter chronicle adapted from the *Chronica maiora*. Its brevity lies in the lack of transcribed supplementary material; instead the reader is directed towards the *Chronica maiora* or *Liber additamentorum*, a compendium full of texts, such as charters, leaflets and papal bulls.⁵³ Nevertheless, despite both of these historiographical manuscripts being very well known among modern historians little is actually known about where they fit within transmission patterns or how they were used. What this thesis will argue is that the chronicles of Matthew Paris were not as influential in the contemporary period as previously thought. Indeed, these manuscripts did not circulate outside of St Albans and were used deliberately to attract interested parties to the abbey itself. Matthew Paris also recorded domestic history, notably the *Gesta abbatum* and *Liber benefactorum*. Both of the works were started in the twelfth century and continued by Paris, who was just one of the compilers of these domestic histories.⁵⁴ The main significance of Paris' prolific written output is that it survives in several autograph copies, all of which contain distinctive personal touches, marginal illustrations and world maps. His historiography was encyclopaedic and comprehensive in scale, meaning his work is one of the best primary sources for this period and contains a degree of individuality rarely seen in manuscripts, let alone those produced within monastic institutions. Yet, as this study will show, such uniqueness in Paris's work has caused a misperception about their role within contemporary St Albans. Not only do Paris's manuscripts need to be more closely aligned to the *Flores* tradition, the more successful and broadly disseminated work of St Albans historiography, but they also need to be viewed separately from the personality cult associated with Paris himself.

Less is known about the continuation of historiography in the one hundred years between Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham. Few historiographical manuscripts survive from the abbey from this period, in fact several separately authored histories survive in a single manuscript.⁵⁵ Three monks can be attached to chronicle production during this time: William Rishanger, John Trokelowe and Henry Blanford. Henry Riley discussed the authorship of these later works and questioned the long-standing attribution of the *Opus*

⁵³ Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. pp. 61-5 and 66-77; Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 24, 28-9 and 41; Powicke, '*Chronica Majora*', pp. 310-14.

⁵⁴ Mark Hagger, 'The *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*: litigation and history at St. Albans', *Institute of Historical Research*, 81 (2008), pp. 373-98 (pp. 374, 379 and 396-8); Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 182-189; Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 24-5 and 40-1.

⁵⁵ BL Cotton MS Claudius D. VI. This manuscript also includes the work of Paris.

chronicorum to William Rishanger.⁵⁶ Rishanger's chronicle, and the anonymous St Albans chronicle, begin where Paris ended and cover the years 1259-1306 and 1259-1296 respectively. John Trokelowe continued from Rishanger, writing from 1307-1322, which was then added to by Henry Blanford.⁵⁷ The dates of these texts are known but little else has been explored because they survive in only one manuscript. In fact, if it were not for the critical editions very little would be known about these historians and their manuscript at all; they are barely mentioned in modern scholarship.⁵⁸ The lack of scholarship also means these chronicles are often only discussed in relation to subsequent chronicle production, but it is necessary to relate them to their chronicle predecessors too. What this thesis will argue is that the chronicles of Rishanger, Trokelowe and Blanford did not serve the broader needs of the abbey in the same way that Matthew Paris's manuscripts did, therefore restricting these works to archival and administrative use within the library and limiting any chance of broader dissemination.

Thomas Walsingham († c.1422) continued much of what Matthew Paris started and, like Paris, his interests did not solely lie in historiography. Walsingham created several different chronicle texts of varying lengths. His main work was, confusingly, titled the *Chronica maiora* (a generic name given because of its size and scope), a national history from Creation to 1421.⁵⁹ Other historiographical works include: the *Chronicon Angliae*, the *Historia Anglicana*, and the *Historia brevis*.⁶⁰ His work built on many different chronicle sources, and by this time it was mostly St Albans created material, including the chronicles of Rishanger and Trokelowe, but the work of earlier chroniclers remained relevant.⁶¹ The *Polychronicon* of

⁵⁶ John Trokelowe and Henry Blanford, *Chronica et annales*, ed. & trans. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28 (London: Longman, 1866), pp. ix-xv.

⁵⁷ Trokelowe and Blanford, *Chronica*, p. xiv.

⁵⁸ With the exception of Still, *Abbot*, pp. 173-4; 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 832 and 836.

⁵⁹ 'Walsingham Reconsidered', p. 846; V. H. Galbraith, 'Thomas Walsingham and the Saint Albans Chronicle', *The English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), pp. 12-30 (pp. 19-23).

⁶⁰ Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 13-17. There is a debate about whether these are individual works, like Paris' texts, or whether they are different variations; the redundancy of such an argument will be discussed further below. See also 'Walsingham Reconsidered', p. 847.

⁶¹ Trokelowe and Blanford, *Chronica*, pp. xix-xliii; Galbraith, 'Walsingham', 19; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 177-81.

Ranulph Higden and Adam Murimuth's continuation also acted as a source.⁶² Walsingham's interests, however, were not just limited to historiographical works; the fourteenth century at St Albans saw a resurgence in classical scholarship. Walsingham works extended to classical scholarship, including literature, and he produced texts such as his commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and a history of the life of Alexander the Great.⁶³ Walsingham's chronicles shared many similarities with that of Paris, perhaps because of the same institutional surroundings. In comparison with the proliferation of the *Flores*, only a handful of these manuscripts survive and these works may not have been widely known outside of St Albans Abbey.⁶⁴ Indeed, what this thesis will demonstrate is that Walsingham was producing historiographical works during a period of change for the genre. The extant manuscripts of Walsingham's chronicles demonstrate a move towards history as a genre for personal reference rather than the grand display manuscripts of the previous century. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the purpose and usage of history writing was becoming far more varied and diverse.

Clark has suggested that the end of the fourteenth century at St Albans Abbey was a particularly vibrant period for history production. William Wintershill was a contemporary of Walsingham and was responsible for a copy of the *Historia aurea* by John of Tynemouth, and a *Polychronicon* continuation.⁶⁵ Little is known about William Wintershill apart from his identification as a compiler and scribe. The state of St Albans historiography in the fifteenth century is lesser known still, again because there are fewer surviving manuscripts. John Amundesham is a name attributed to writing a chronicle between 1420 and 1440, but his existence seems doubtful.⁶⁶ Abbot John Whethamstede (c. 1390-1465) was also involved in historiographical production and wrote several manuscripts. His most ambitious work was the *Granarium*, a four-volume text of history and classical literature in the form of an encyclopaedia. Though encyclopaedic in format, with the *Granarium* Whethamstede was very much continuing the historiographical composition that had been alive at the abbey for the

⁶² John Taylor, 'The Development of the Polychronicon Continuation,' *The English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), pp. 20–36 (pp. 28-36); Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 20 and 22; 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 837-8, 840 and 844.

⁶³ 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 835, 837 and 850-6.

⁶⁴ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. xxi.

⁶⁵ 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 843-6.

⁶⁶ His existence was even questioned by Riley in his critical edition for the rolls series. See John Amundesham, *Annales monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1870), I pp. ix and xi.

previous few centuries. The *Granarium* did not circulate widely outside of the abbey but, as will be seen later in the thesis, adopting an accessible format allowed the *Granarium* to be relevant to a broader range of book production and material. As well as literary work, Whethamstede contributed to the general library by commissioning several large manuscripts, including the verse *Lives of St. Alban and Amphibalus* from John Lydgate in 1439.⁶⁷ D. R. Howlett has described the Abbot as ‘the last St Albans historian worthy of the name’.⁶⁸ Whether or not that is true is subjective, but he was certainly the last significant author in the abbey’s history. Although the *Granarium* was similar to the other great historiographical manuscripts from St Albans in that it had little dissemination outside of the abbey itself, the multi-volumed work offers a valuable insight into the intellectual climate of the time, as well as informing us about how book production, both for personal and institutional use, and the purpose of history writing had changed towards the end of the Middle Ages.

The popularity of St Albans historiography means there are around 90 extant manuscripts produced throughout England, all created in different locations and at different times.⁶⁹ As a result the source manuscripts often contain several layers of continuations. The *Flores historiarum* has seen the most work; various scholars have waded through the recensions of the main text, but fewer have attempted the continuations.⁷⁰ Antonia Gransden divided the *Flores* manuscripts into two textual variations: ‘Westminster’ (found in Manchester, Chetham’s Library MS 6712) and ‘Merton’ (found in Windsor, Eton College Library MS 123), the names reflecting the medieval owners of these manuscripts.⁷¹ Other

⁶⁷ Levison, ‘St Alban’, pp. 354-5; Thomson, ‘Book Production’, p. 166.

⁶⁸ D. R. Howlett, ‘A St Albans Historical Miscellany of the Fifteenth-Century’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 6 (1974), pp. 195-200 (p. 199). For Whethamstede’s writing see Gasquet, ‘Books and Bookmaking’, p. 21; ‘St Basil in John Whethamstede’s ‘Granarium’’, British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/cottmanucoll/s/011cotnerc00006u00025000.html> [accessed 20 June 2019].

⁶⁹ See the Bibliography for the complete list of historiographical manuscripts.

⁷⁰ Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 10-12 and 21-40; Antonia Gransden, ‘The Continuations of the *Flores Historiarum* from 1265 to 1327’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (1974), pp. 472-92; and Taylor, ‘Polychronicon Continuation’, pp. 21-36.

⁷¹ This division was first suggested by Gransden and has been generally accepted without much debate. The division is defined by the length of annal entries after 1252, see *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 378-9, 404, and 456-7; Gransden, ‘Continuations’, pp. 473-82 and 484-9.

scholars, such as Richard Vaughan and F. M. Powicke, have utilised this approach to establish manuscript family trees and dissemination patterns. The problem with such reconstructions, however, is that they often create, or rely on, unknown exemplars and establish dissemination structures that are difficult to verify.⁷² Text-critical analysis has been continued for works of later periods by Vivian Galbraith and John Taylor.⁷³ Taylor has compared the continuations of the *Polychronicon* with other contemporary historiographical works, resulting in a detailed understanding of the St Albans' *Polychronicon* continuations and the relationship with Thomas Walsingham's writing. There are currently no studies of this kind on the earlier St Albans' historiographical material. It must also be noted that many of the lesser-known chroniclers, as mentioned above, have been entirely neglected. While all of these approaches are valuable in improving our understanding of individual manuscripts, or textual groups, in fact, these text-based approaches have only progressed our understanding of the genre a certain amount, they do not enable us to view the historiographical output and transmission as a whole. As Galbraith has said, 'something will inevitably be lost by considering the work of Wendover and Paris in isolation from that of their successors'.⁷⁴ To fully gauge the transmission and usage of St Albans historiographical manuscripts, and indeed, the transmission of ideas more broadly within the monastic community, a full codicological and palaeographical study is required. This thesis will undertake such a shift, moving from studying the texts in isolation to the manuscripts as a whole, as well as studying the entire manuscript corpus. Indeed, very little is known about the materiality of the St Albans historiographical manuscripts and this study will, for the first time, offer that insight. By analysing the codicology and palaeography of these manuscripts it will be possible to unpick book production at St Albans and the history writing tradition as a whole and see that the ways in which history was used and consumed throughout this period noticeably changed, with dissemination patterns differing greatly from what might be expected of authors well known to modern historians.

Book production was a defining characteristic of St Albans Abbey, and the end of the fifteenth century posed a new challenge: the printing press. Early printing in England was dominated by London and imported books from Europe but many smaller centres attempted to compete,

⁷² Richard Vaughan, 'The Chronicle of John of Wallingford', *The English Historical Review*, 73 (1958), pp. 66–77; Powicke, 'Coggeshall', pp. 286–96; idem, 'Chronica Majora', pp. 305–17.

⁷³ Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 12–30; Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 20–36.

⁷⁴ Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, p 8.

including St Albans.⁷⁵ In such a competitive marketplace the abbey's printing press was short lived, but the significance of the abbey's attempt to diversify, adapt, and continue professional book production should not be underestimated. A handful of Benedictine monasteries across England and the Continent dabbled in printing, but few were successful long term.⁷⁶ St Albans Abbey, however, was the only monastery in Britain, in Lotte Hellinga's words, to 'act as an independent printing house' and printed Latin and English books between 1479 and 1486, with a later phase of printing from 1534 to 1539.⁷⁷ It should be no surprise that the abbey decided to print books. Unlike most early printers, it had a vast library of popular, religious and education manuscripts at its disposal. The abbey and its school were also consumers of printed books and several printed volumes survive from the library.⁷⁸ The first closure of the abbey's press was in 1486. Nicholas Barker suggests that by this time the abbey press had already employed two printers, evident in the different titles printed, styles, and skills in book production.⁷⁹ It was around another forty years before John Hertford restarted the St Albans Press in 1534. He printed seven books whilst at the abbey and remained until its dissolution, at which point he was embroiled in a heresy scandal and sent to London.⁸⁰ After years of resistance, St Albans Abbey was finally dissolved in 1539; it was one of the last large houses

⁷⁵ H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 21 and 181; Eltjo Buringh and Jan Lutten van Zanden, 'Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, A Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries', *The Journal of Economic History*, 69 (2009), pp. 409-45.

⁷⁶ The only other monasteries in England to adopt printing were Tavistock priory and St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury. James Clark has also discussed continental involvement with printing, see James Clark, 'Print and pre-Reformation religion: the Benedictines and the press in early Tudor England,' in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp. 71-92 (pp. 73-4, 85, 88 and 91).

⁷⁷ Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: British Library, 2010), pp. 90-2 and 95-8; E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1905), p. xi.

⁷⁸ The role of monasteries as an audience for printed books is often overlooked in early printing scholarship, see E. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print* (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1969), p. 14; Clark, 'Print', pp. 77-9.

⁷⁹ Nicholas Barker, 'The St Albans Press: The First Punch-cutter in England and the First Native Typefounder?', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1979), pp. 257-78 (pp. 268-9); Clark, 'Print', pp. 82-5.

⁸⁰ Duff, *Book Trade*, pp. 16, 70 and 155; Clark, 'Print', pp. 87-8.

to surrender to the crown.⁸¹ Once the abbey was dissolved, no printers returned to St Albans until the modern period.

For the first 50 years of printing, Latin historiography, and indeed Latin texts, were not a popular choice for the English printers. The Latin market was dominated by the European printers, who produced work of such value, quality and volume that the printers in England were not able to compete.⁸² Instead, the English printers cultivated a vernacular audience, ensuring that it was financially viable to produce books in the English language.⁸³ This meant that historiographical texts such as Higden's *Polychronicon*, which was translated into English by John Trevisa in 1387, and the prose *Brut* were more obvious sources for the English printers than the Latin monastic chronicles.⁸⁴ The first edition of the *Chronicle of England* printed after the St Albans imprint of 1486 was that by Wynkyn de Worde in 1497, and it was this edition, shaped by its St Albans production, that became the standard. It would go on to be reprinted several times by multiple printers.⁸⁵ De Worde also produced an edition of the *St Albans Chronicle* in 1515, adapted from Thomas Walsingham, and reprinted it once more in 1519. St Albans historiography had lost its popular appeal during this period with other works taking precedence and remained out of print for the next fifty years, until the manuscripts were re-discovered.

⁸¹ It is not in the scope of this thesis to address the Reformation and St Albans in detail; this field already has a plethora of well-researched scholarly material. The Reformation will only be discussed when required for context, or when it relates to book production and historiography. For more detail on the Reformation and how it impacted on St Albans, see J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries – The Case of St Albans* (St Albans, 1994), pp. 5-11.

⁸² Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration', *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp. 785-808 (p. 795); Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 65-108, here p. 68; C. Paul Christianson, 'The Rise of London's Book-trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 128-47 (pp. 136-8 and 140-1); Duff, *Book Trade*, p. xv.

⁸³ S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: British Library, 1996), pp. 55-8.

⁸⁴ Bennett, *English Books*, pp. 125-32; and Steinberg, *Printing*, p. 48. For more information on Caxton as a translator, see Steinberg, *Printing*, p. 47; Hellinga, *Early Printing*, pp. 19-26.

⁸⁵ Hellinga, *Early Printing*, pp. 96-9.

The dissolution of the monasteries opened up the huge monastic libraries on a scale not seen before. This, in turn, gave birth to the antiquary movement, which created a renewed interest in medieval scholarship, particularly medieval historiography, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that saw many of the medieval chronicles revived in print. John Leland recorded the treasures held by the monasteries in his work *Laboryouse journey and serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees*.⁸⁶ Medieval monastic chronicles were also a great source for contemporary historians, with figures such as John Stow and Raphael Holinshed reworking these texts to fit in with new narrative histories. John Stow in particular collected, edited and printed a variety of historical writing with medieval origins, sometimes reworking recent printed editions.⁸⁷ Many members of the new Anglican Church were also involved in preserving the monastic manuscripts. Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575), on whose collection the Parker Library at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College is founded, is perhaps the most famous. Parker was keen to preserve the medieval past, and indeed the nation's history, and from 1566 to 1575 set about printing his editions of previously inaccessible manuscripts.⁸⁸ The printed editions produced during this period are now considered of poor quality, particularly Matthew Parker's translations, however, the printed editions sparked new uses and adaptations of the chronicles.⁸⁹

As the subject matter of medieval historiography was broad ranging historiographical manuscripts were an important source for miscellanies and complemented other works

⁸⁶ John Leland, *Laboryouse journey and serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees* (London: S. Mierdman, 1549), STC (2nd edn.) 15445.

⁸⁷ *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 150; *Routledge Revivals: Medieval England*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 147, 176 and 186.

⁸⁸ Benedict Scott Robinson, '“Darke Speech”: Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), pp. 1061-83 (pp. 1061 and 1066-71); W. W. Greg, 'Books and Bookmen in the Correspondence of Archbishop Parker', *The Library*, 16 (1935), pp. 243-79 (pp. 246-7).

⁸⁹ Matthew Parker remains a controversial figure and there are few modern scholars with positive things to say about him and his approach to books. For the St. Albans related discussion, see Matthew Paris, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. & trans. by Richard Vaughan (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1986), pp. 2 and 10. For more on his bibliographic practices, see Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 111-14.

available.⁹⁰ The age of print did not put a stop to St Albans historiography in its manuscript form, as it did not stop manuscript production in general.⁹¹ Later manuscripts are often treated by modern scholars as different and separate from printed editions, however, these manuscripts should simply be viewed as a complementary type of book production. Indeed, printed editions were used as manuscript exemplars. Later manuscript production saw the St Albans' texts being used even more as supportive material. For instance, in the early-seventeenth century the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian library, MS Dodsworth 120 contains an extract taken from the *Flores historiarum* to complement a compendium of Yorkshire and Lancashire history.⁹² It is the flexibility allowed by manuscript production that sustained its popularity during this period, especially among learned audiences, who could create manuscripts of personalised interest. The wealth of printed texts available, as well as the huge personal libraries of prominent book collectors, meant that more information was available than ever before.⁹³ The St Albans historiographical texts were just some of the many medieval works to benefit from this renewed interest.

⁹⁰ For instance, the *Flores historiarum* text is regularly found with the *Chronicon pontificorum et imperatores* and *Historia regum Britanniae*. Both works elaborate on elements contained within the *Flores*, such as the foundation of Rome (*Chronicon*) and Brutus (*Historia*), and as a combination offer the reader a complete history. Miscellanies, and the choice of companion texts, will be discussed further in Chapter 1.

⁹¹ It is a common misperception that when printing started manuscripts suddenly became obsolete. This position has not been helped by the research of prominent scholars of the early-modern period, in particular Elizabeth Eisenstein and her seminal work: Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For manuscripts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: C. F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth-Century Book* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1960), pp. 34-9; Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *Scribes and Transmission in English Manuscripts, 1400-1700*, ed. by Peter Beal and A. S. G. Edwards, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* (London: British Library, 2005), pp. 46-73 (pp. 48 and 57-9).

⁹² See f. 111. Other material in this manuscript includes extracts from charter rolls, deeds relating to the houses of Furness and Cockersand, a grant to Fountains abbey and a list of Yorkshire writers.

⁹³ Julia Crick has elaborated on this type of production. See Julia Crick, 'The Art of the Unprinted: Transactions and English Antiquity in the Age of Print', in *The Uses of Script and*

The first critical editions of St Albans historiography were created in the late nineteenth century. Although the Rolls Series editions are somewhat flawed – the editors often assuming that each manuscript edited was a ‘witness’ that had a close connection to the compiler themselves - they have created access to the St Albans historiography and improved textual understanding of the works.⁹⁴ There are several issues, however, with these early critical editions. At the time they were written not all of the manuscripts were known about. For instance, pre-1900 scholarship on the *Flores historiarum* largely sources manuscripts from the British Museum (many now in the British Library), Bodleian Library and Parker Library manuscripts, where the largest groups of St Albans historiographical manuscripts can be found, whilst single manuscripts at other libraries have been overlooked and lack significant research, such as those in Lambeth Palace Library and the Beinecke library.⁹⁵ Such a lacuna has limited the scope of existing scholarship and does not reflect the full manuscript corpus. Furthermore, the critical editions often lack the correct identification of later recensions, which by their very nature are hard to work with. This patchwork construction, as mentioned earlier, has been well described by Taylor: ‘chronicles may survive in manuscripts which were written some considerable time after the original was composed, and in these cases it is not easy to distinguish between the original text and parts which a copyist may have added’.⁹⁶ It is perhaps then worrying that the Roll Series critical editions have been re-issued as print-on-demand books, rather than created as new editions.⁹⁷ There are exceptions to this, however, such as the critical edition of Thomas Walsingham’s *Chronica Maiora*. This

Print, 1300-1700, Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 116-34 (pp. 116-18).

⁹⁴ Some of the arguments that have since been disproved, for instance, are the discussion on palaeography and identifying Matthew Paris’ handwriting, see Richard Vaughan, ‘The Handwriting of Matthew Paris,’ *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1953), pp. 376–94 (pp. 376-85). See also the critical editions Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1871), III, pp. liii-lxxxii and cxxvi-cxxxiv; Luard, *CM I*, pp. xi-xvi and xx-xxi; Matthew Paris, *Vie de Seint Auban: a Poem in Norman-French*, ed. by R. Atkinson (London: John Murray, 1876), p. viii.

⁹⁵ London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 188 and 1106, and New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 426.

⁹⁶ John Taylor, *The Use of Medieval Chronicles* (London: Historical Association, 1965), p. 22.

⁹⁷ Cambridge University Press re-issued the editions in 2012 and 2013.

modern edition is a vast improvement on earlier work and, necessarily, acknowledges the role of continuations and manuscript fragments in reconstructing a text.⁹⁸

The cataloguing of the St Albans historiographical manuscripts is another issue researchers face. Inaccuracies from original catalogue records are often sustained in modern records, as are uncertainties. For instance, many repositories still refer to the author 'Matthew "of Westminster"' even though his existence has long been disputed.⁹⁹ The nuances of the manuscript and text are often lost in the cataloguing process too. This is well illustrated by Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 529. In the catalogue this manuscript is stated to be a *Polychronicon* by Ranulph Higden, which is the basic text.¹⁰⁰ What it does not inform the user, however, is that this *Polychronicon* features a significant continuation of Thomas Walsingham's *Chronicon Angliae* and that this continuation is an important historiographical work in its own right. This problem is largely a result of clashing cataloguing approaches. There would not necessarily have been consistency in how manuscripts were catalogued in different institutions in the medieval period. Furthermore, there were different attitudes towards authors and defining authorship, which the modern author-based structure struggles to deal with. E. Goldschmidt has argued for greater empathy with the original material and cataloguing process, and it is not until we adopt an approach more sympathetic to medieval conventions that the complexities of these manuscripts will be unlocked.¹⁰¹

All of the long-standing studies and use of historical works written and compiled by St Albans authors has come in lieu of any sustained engagement with their transmission in manuscript. Our desire to strictly identify an author and text often means that the nuances of the material are lost. This has led to scholarly disagreement. Björn Weiler has argued ardently for scholars to recognise and treat the works of Matthew Paris as the individual texts as they were originally written.¹⁰² Yet these texts are also part of a continuing chronicle tradition. Matthew

⁹⁸ Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham, 1376-1422*, ed. & trans. by David Preest and James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

⁹⁹ 'Matthew of Westminster' was a construct of Matthew Parker which has persisted into modern cataloguing, see Greg, 'Books and Bookmen', p. 246; Powicke, 'Matthew Paris', p. 308; Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech'", pp. 1078-9.

¹⁰⁰ H. O. Coxe, *Laudian Manuscripts*, Quarto Catalogues II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1858), col. 386.

¹⁰¹ Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts*, pp. 95-101.

¹⁰² Weiler, 'Matthew Paris', pp. 256-7 and 259.

Paris would later become a source for Thomas Walsingham, like Wendover had been for Paris. Establishing author personalities, and historic personalities more broadly, is a popular aspect of current historical practice but does not benefit our knowledge of the manuscripts or their production. Paris and Walsingham have been the most affected by this. Matthew Paris's character is often discussed in light of his personal opinions, playful marginal annotations and cross-referencing of the manuscripts he owned and wrote, with scholars such as Galbraith exclaiming that 'Matthew Paris rises above the common dullness by the extravagance of his prejudices and the constant intrusion of his own personality'.¹⁰³ Yet other features in Paris' manuscripts, such as marginalia and organisational structures, which are unique, are neglected and need to be brought to bear on the larger bibliographic and historic agenda. It is entirely logical to view texts, and therefore manuscripts, as separate entities from their authors and compilers. Many manuscripts in this study have been created outside St Albans, the compilers of some of the texts are not even known, and many manuscripts contain texts that have been edited by their creator. Manuscripts were created decades, sometimes centuries, after the author lived; it therefore makes more sense to study the bibliographic and codicological elements of the manuscript instead of taking an author-based approach, especially when the authorial connection has become diluted through time or transmission. Authorship is a useful tool for working with groups of manuscripts, but it should remain just one tool in an arsenal of approaches.

By adopting a design-led approach, this thesis will study the St Albans historiographical manuscripts through a different lens, offering new insight into the transmission of these texts, the domestic use of history manuscripts, and the role of the monastery's wider intellectual and patronal network. Studying the design of manuscripts as an extension to codicological and palaeographic work will shed new light upon production, dissemination and usage. This thesis will focus on the mechanics and design considerations of book production, including elements that have been added or included in manuscripts to ease usage or make a text navigable, as well as other factors, not just the presentation of a text. In doing so it will be shown that the historiographical manuscripts of St Albans Abbey are far from providing a complete and unbroken 'tradition' across this 400-year period. Indeed, this thesis will demonstrate that each chronicle tradition very much maintained its own independence and displayed distinctive, even sometimes unique, design characteristics in the manuscripts containing these texts. St Albans Abbey enjoyed and encouraged a rich culture of book production throughout the late Middle Ages, of which historiography was a major part, but this was a genre that moved with the times and was refreshed with every new

¹⁰³ Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, p. 13; Taylor, *Medieval Chronicles*, p. 16.

generation. Furthermore, these manuscripts were created and circulated independently of St Albans too. Adopting a design-led approach to studying the historiographical manuscripts associated with St Albans, therefore, will not just shed further light on the development of historical writing and manuscripts at one specific location, but also illuminate wider networks and understand the role these historiographical manuscripts played in different settings to show how innovations in manuscript design, and not just purely textual traditions, were exported and transported from a dominant institution.

The Beginning of a Historiographical Tradition: the *Flores historiarum*

The chronicle tradition at St Albans Abbey started with the *Flores historiarum*, a universal chronicle covering the years from Creation to 1259. This is not to say that the *Flores* was the first historiographical work produced at St Albans, earlier works were of a very different type, but the *Flores historiarum* marks the first of the monastic chronicle text-type produced in this location.¹⁰⁴ The *Flores* is a relatively well-studied chronicle and has received a fair amount of attention due to its connection to the monk and author Matthew Paris (1200-1259), yet very little is known about the transmission and dissemination of this text, let alone broader issues related to the manuscript corpus. This chapter will, for the first time, study the entire *Flores* corpus. As a group the *Flores* manuscripts lack overall coherence, ranging in production style and audience, from small miscellanies to large presentation manuscripts with rich illuminations. Indeed, there is little apart from the text to connect many of these manuscripts and it is precisely for this reason that they have not been studied before as a whole. Yet these varied manuscripts have more to tell us about the *Flores* tradition. Studying the manuscript corpus as a whole will help us to understand why the *Flores* enjoyed such popularity in the late middle ages and how it was used, and, in doing so, will address issues that have hitherto remained unanswered. By adopting a unique methodology that focuses on the visual stemma and shared similarities, as opposed to the textual tradition, we will see that the *Flores* enjoyed wide dissemination throughout the South East of England in the late middle ages, with particular regions acting as hubs of production. It was in these regional concentrations where the *Flores* was used most creatively and, as a result, distinct textual and manuscript variants arose. Contrary to what we may expect, the spread of the *Flores historiarum* was through religious and monastic centres of power, quite different from the political centres of the time,

¹⁰⁴ Some of the earlier historiographical sources from St Albans would be used in later historical compilations, like the *Gesta abbatum*, and include early cartularies and a roll owned by Adam the cellarer. Earlier historiographical manuscripts are discussed in more detail in Thomson, *St Albans*.

and by studying the dissemination of the *Flores* we are able to establish the intellectual networks maintained by medieval monasteries.

In addition to the broader networks through which the *Flores* was transmitted, it will also become evident just how important the original *Flores* manuscript was. Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6712 was the first *Flores* manuscript to leave St Albans, and the manuscript that started the entire tradition, yet the important role of this manuscript within the *Flores* tradition remains unacknowledged. Through studying the visual stemma, the importance of the Chetham's manuscript suddenly becomes more evident; the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts are full of distinctive features and shared visual presentation, all of which originate from Chetham's 6712. What becomes clear is that Chetham's 6712 was the start of multiple dissemination strands within the manuscript tradition, even those that are textually divergent.

The Manuscripts

The *Flores historiarum* is the earliest of the surviving St Albans' historiographical texts, extant in 30 known manuscripts and fragments, including miscellanies.¹⁰⁵ It is thought to be the work of two monks from St Albans: Roger of Wendover († c. 1236) and Matthew Paris, with

¹⁰⁵ Cambridge, Parker library (Corpus Christi College): MS 264 (1345-1400), and Trinity College library: MS 635 (1375-1425); London, British library: Arundel MS 96 (1285-1300), Cotton MS Claudius E. VIII (1395-1400), Cotton MS Cleopatra A. XVI (1375-1450), Cotton MS Nero D. II (1300-1350), Cotton MS Otho B. V (1350-1400), Cotton MS Otho C. II (1325-1400), Harley MS 641 (1350-1425), and Royal MS 14. C. VI (1305-1330); Lambeth Palace library: MS 188 (1200-1425) and MS 1106 (1310-1345); Westminster Abbey library: MS 24 (1310-1330); Manchester, Chetham's library: MS 6712 (1235-1300); New Haven, Beinecke library: MS 426 (1400-1450); Oxford, Bodleian library: MS Additional C. 22 [lost], MS Bodley 912 (1310-1360), MS Douce 207 (1300-1325), MS eMuseo 149 (1305-1330), MS Fairfax 20 (1325-1350), MS Hatton 53 (1310-1360), MS lat. hist. d. 4 (1320-1350), MS Laud. Misc. 572 (1295-1310), MS Rawlinson B 177 (1310-1350), MS Rawlinson B. 186 (1375-1400); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: MS latin 6045 (1300-1350); San Marino (California), Huntington library: MS HM 30319 (1400-1450); Windsor, Eton College library: MS 123 (1300-1320) and Oxford, All Souls' College: MS 37 (1375-1425). One of the manuscripts is now in private ownership but was formerly Dublin, Chester Beatty Library: Chester Beatty MS 70. By all accounts, this is a presentation-grade manuscript with rich illuminations.

Paris compiling the bulk of the thirteenth-century text after Wendover's chronicle finished in 1236.¹⁰⁶ The text is a mixture of original authored work and a compilation of other historiographical texts. Richard Hunt noted that the St. Albans library contained a 'high proportion' of classical texts, and Rodney Thomson has recorded six surviving manuscripts of historiography in the abbey library at the end of the twelfth century; such works provided the necessary material from which to start a historiographical tradition.¹⁰⁷ The *Flores* tradition has attracted a large amount of scholarship, most of which takes the form of textual study that places the *Flores* within the wider oeuvre of Matthew Paris and the St Albans historiographical output, but such attention is also in part due to the early position of this text within the perceived tradition of history writing at St Albans.¹⁰⁸ The *Flores* is a relatively condensed universal history, covering the years from creation to 1259, with later recensions adding material and taking the chronicle up to 1309. There are commonly considered to be two main textual variants of the *Flores historiarum* (defined by the later additions rather than original text): the Merton *Flores*, originating from Windsor, Eton College library MS 123 (henceforth called the 'M' version), and the Westminster *Flores*, found in Chetham's MS 6712.¹⁰⁹ What textual analysis has been unable to establish, however, is where the *Flores* manuscripts were made and how the manuscripts relate to each other. There is little textual variation between most of the *Flores* manuscripts – in most cases the manuscripts were copied directly from an exemplar without change – and the text, therefore, is not a reliable source of evidence when it comes to manuscript provenance. The *Flores historiarum* is

¹⁰⁶ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 359 and 364; Vaughan, *Paris*, p. 34. See also pp. 21-33 for a more in-depth discussion of the *Flores historiarum* continuation by Paris.

¹⁰⁷ Hunt, 'Library', p. 257. Thomson states that at the turn of 1200 the St Albans library contained several historical works, including Ralph of Diceto's *Abbreviationes chronicarum et imagines historiarum*, Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, the *Historia Britonum* attributed to Nennius and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum*. Thomson, *St. Albans*, pp. 73-4. The use of these histories in compiling the *Flores*, and other chronicles, has also been discussed by Martin and Thomson, 'History', pp. 397-415.

¹⁰⁸ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 320-1, 356-79, 406-8 and 417-21; Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 21-34, 49-77 and 92-109; Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*, pp. 20-6.

¹⁰⁹ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 439-41 and 453-63; Gransden, 'Continuations', pp. 473-4, 481-8; T. F. Tout, 'The Westminster Chronicle Attributed to Robert of Reading', *The English Historical Review*, 31 (1916), pp. 450-64; Luard, *FH I*, pp. xii-xvi and xxxv-xliii; and idem, *FH III*, pp. xiv-xix.

without doubt a St Albans text but only one of 29 manuscripts, Chetham's MS 6712, can be attached to the abbey; a reassessment is therefore required to establish the provenance of the remaining 28 manuscripts and the wider circulation of this text. By stepping back from the textual analysis, paratextual features, design, and codicological elements of the manuscripts will be the focus. This chapter will demonstrate how these visual features and presentation of the text – core elements and considerations when producing a manuscript – can be analysed to establish manuscript dissemination and areas of production. For instance, the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy in *Flores* manuscripts is presented in three different ways, each of which is indicative of a separate strand of dissemination. Other paratextual features, such as specific marginalia, are also shared between manuscripts, sometimes bridging dissemination groups. It is therefore possible, for the first time, to establish how the large corpus of *Flores* manuscripts relate to one another.

Manuscript Presentation: The Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy

We commonly think of textual information being the only element retained when one manuscript was copied from another, but in many cases there is a visual transfer of information too; it is not just the text that is important but also how it was presented. This is a methodology that is only just starting to gain traction, with scholars such as Mak and Doležalová among the first to utilise this way of approaching manuscripts and printed editions.¹¹⁰ In the thirteenth century, monks at St Albans were producing manuscripts that experimented with how to present information – a characteristic of the monastery's production not commonly seen in other English religious institutions. Matthew Paris was one of the first English compilers to make use of diagrammatic forms within historiographical writing, although he utilised these features more in his larger historiographical works, the *Chronica maiora* and *Historia Anglorum*.¹¹¹ The diagrammatic presentation of history began in the Paris school in the early twelfth century, from the work of Hugh of St Victor and Peter of Poitiers, before spreading into England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Mak, *How the Page Matters*; Doležalová, *Obscurity and Memory*; Wakelin, *Designing English*. The study of design in medieval manuscripts and books has been discussed in French scholarship for a while. In particular, see Martin and Vezin, *Mise en page et mise en texte*.

¹¹¹ Laura Cleaver, *Illuminated History Books in the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1272* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 70-5. For more on the other manuscripts of Matthew Paris, see Chapter 2.

¹¹² Sekules, *Medieval Art*, pp. 126-30.

Indeed, it has been suggested that St Albans had a close connection to the Continent that influenced the work of the scribes within the monastery.¹¹³ Regardless of whether this connection was a reality, the historiographical manuscripts produced at St Albans were distinctive for their interesting solutions to presenting information and established historical thought. The *Flores historiarum* marks the beginning of an exciting and experimental period of manuscript production at St Albans; a period in which the role and purpose of the historiographical manuscript rapidly expanded.

Distinctive forms of presentation in manuscripts not only allow us to establish more detailed manuscript stemmata and ‘family trees’, but also, perhaps more importantly, allow us to unpick patterns of dissemination. When copying a manuscript, it was the scribe’s decision whether or not to follow the presentation of the exemplar. Indeed, it is common for medieval scribes not to be attributed with as much choice or understanding of the texts being copied as was the reality.¹¹⁴ A good understanding of the text was especially the case with monastic scribes, all of whom were learned individuals with a decent (if not good) grasp of Latin.¹¹⁵ In studying paratextual features and presentation, therefore, it is possible to chart the development and dissemination of a particular feature through its reproduction in later manuscript copies. It must be noted that these features, especially those in the St Albans historiographical manuscripts, made copying the manuscript more laborious for a scribe. It is all the more notable, then, when the scribe chose to adhere to this presentation.

¹¹³ Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ See for instance in: De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, pp. 34-43.

¹¹⁵ This traditional view of manuscript production has proved quite pervasive and suggested that scribes had no input into what was being produced: in essence, scribes were copying machines. Whilst in some situations this may have been true, it is no longer considered the default for medieval manuscript production. Recent studies of manuscript production, especially manuscripts produced by the religious orders, are starting to change this idea, see for example: Rodney Thomson, ‘Scribes and Scriptoria’, in Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (eds), *The European Book in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 68-84.

nunc Alfredum hinc procerem. et ante de regio tenuit illius gratia. Rex itaq; Alfred omni deinceps ipse nunc sine
 monarchiam totius regni anglie adquisit e ipse nunc regnum ipse qd s subjugavit barbaros qd dicitur.
 occupavit enim northanbumbri tota cum cantabria et aliis regionibus plurimul. et quibus affixis regi g
 in finibus imperiores et assiduas iactaverunt. **Recapitulatio regnorum et regum.**
 nunc qd qm ad regem monarchiam tradendo pervenimus. lib; omnium regum anglie quibuslibet reg
 navantur et nomia et regna distinguendo recapitulare. ut successores singulorum y ordinem repetentes
 locorum qd gignores existant. et hystorie sceler clarus illustretur. **Woden** e ex antiquum y sapia gignoz
 origine dicitur. p moxerunt d; filiam e. que uelut y ad colentes. delectantur ei qd eam ferant qm de us
 mine ei Wodenan. id; diem Woden nuncupant. h hinc uoxe noie fream. cu simili uocet feram fer
 am ostendentes. sine dai id; diem sine appharunt. Genitrix au Woden ex uoxe fira seipm filios melicos.
 et qm successione septe reges nuntur originem. qui in britannia potet expulsi bitanni p ea regnaue
 runt. et filio Woden pignocuito noie Westa reges annuatiq; ex sebo fethol gear reges in cionum. et
 cano balan reges Westsaxonum. et qiro ledragio reges northanbumbroz sui lerruoz. et qiro West
 an reges ceteroz. et seruo kasere. reges orientalium angloz. et septimo nascad reges orientalium spaw
 mni origine hinc dnt. **Octauus** no id; rex australium saxonu ex eade gine h n ex eade stipe origine supst. e de p
 de regib; omi. de regib;

Alfredus
 com maon
 et supst
 doni de
 alfreda fil
 p alfredi

de regib;
 a g reges
 saxonu et
 angloz de

De regib; omi.	De regib; Westsaxon.	De regib; northanbumb.	De regib; ceterorum.	De regib; orientalium anglie.	De regib; orientalium spaw.
Horsus.	Cercicus.	Ysa.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
engulfus.	Runcus.	Clappa.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ostacul.	Caulinus.	Theodulfus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
mmenr.	Colemar.	Fethenulf.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ethelbert.	Runcus.	Theodric.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Edwaldus.	Runcus.	Eadric.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ethelbert.	Runcus.	Ethelric.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Lothman.	Runcus.	Eadwulf.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Adneus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Wunthredus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ethelbertus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Eadbertus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ethelbertus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Egfridus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
gterus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Cuthbertus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Alfredus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Ethelstanus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
Alfredus.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
no rianla.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
nun e regis.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
ant. ad re.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
get Westsar.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.
omun.	Runcus.	Runcus.	Elle.	Elle.	Elle.

Ab hinc
 do tulaniz
 regni mox ad reges Westsax.

monarchiam
 regni anglie.
 e successio regni
 ad reges Westsax.
 se extendit qui
 angliam sibi
 gant.

Hinc ad
 reges Westsax.
 mltorum e.

Hinc ad
 reges Westsax.
 mltorum e.

Hinc ad
 reges Westsax.
 mltorum e.

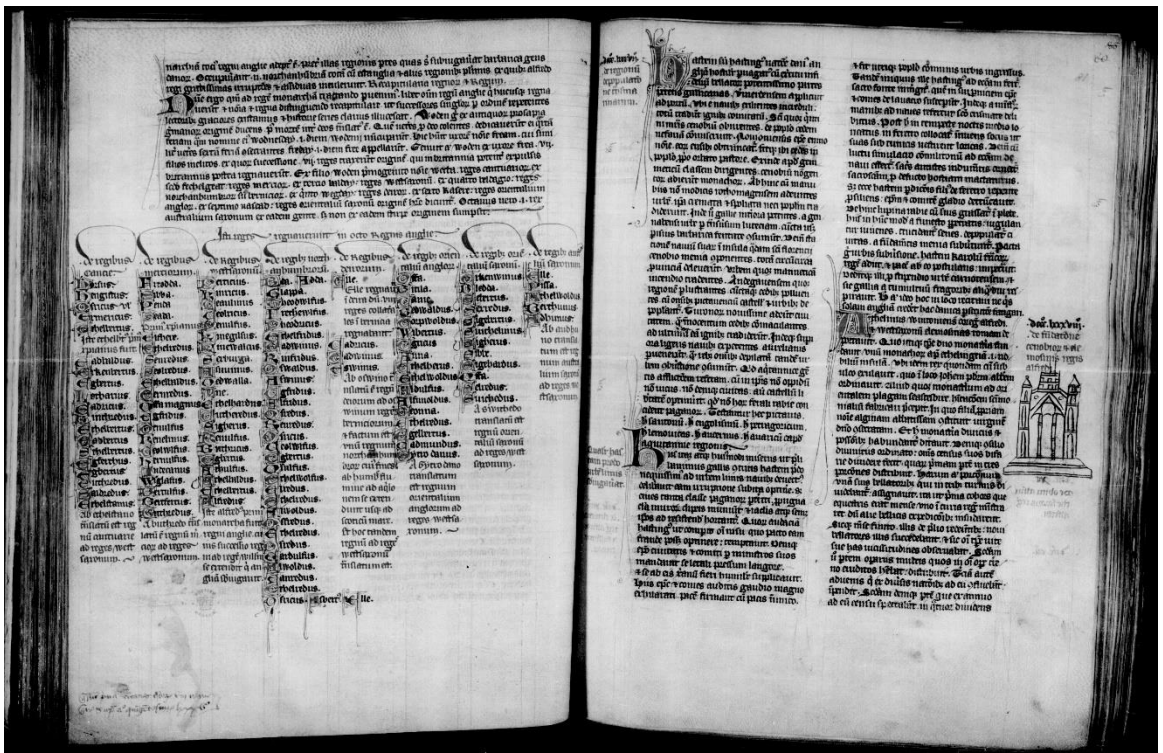


Figure 1.1: Heptarchy layout in Chetham's MS 6712, f. 98r (reproduced by permission of Chetham's Library, Manchester), Eton MS 123, f. 120v-121r, (reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College) and BL Cotton MS Nero D II, f. 80r (© British Library Board).

There are several distinctive features within the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts, all of which can be traced to the only manuscript with known St Albans provenance: Chethams Library MS 6712. The largest and most complex feature in the *Flores* is the presentation of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. The Anglo-Saxon heptarchy is a list of the seven kingdoms of England: Kent, Mercia, Wessex, Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex and Sussex, and was a common element in medieval historiography.¹¹⁶ In the *Flores historiarum*, it is usually included around the year 686, and, although not all *Flores* manuscripts cover this period, it is presented in three different ways across the manuscript corpus.¹¹⁷ Most of the 29 *Flores* manuscripts simply contain the heptarchy as a list written within the normal text block and give it little stress or emphasis. In four of the manuscripts, though, it is displayed as a distinctive eight-column grid prefaced by an introduction that spans the full width of the writing space (**Figure 1.1**).¹¹⁸ There is also a second presentation of the heptarchy, found in Oxford, All Souls College Library MS 37, where the columns are instead incorporated within the normal two-column format. The chart presentation is not common and is an early diagrammatic form; from the fourteenth century heptarchies are usually displayed in circles to express unity.¹¹⁹ It is the specificity of the grid layout, and the care with which it has been copied, that makes this layout so distinctive. Rubrics are in identical locations and the opening single-column remains consistent. What is more, this presentation remains the same – if once miscopied – across all manuscripts that contain the heptarchy chart. This consistency of design means that the manuscripts need to be re-assessed as part of the same dissemination strand. The heptarchy chart was not a widespread feature, nor a normal way of presenting this information, and must, therefore, have been passed through manuscript exemplars.

¹¹⁶ The presence of the diagrammatic form of the heptarchies has often been commented on but rarely in relation to design and manuscript production. See C. M. Kauffmann, 'An Early Sixteenth-Century Genealogy of Anglo-Saxon Kings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 47 (1984), pp. 209-16 (pp. 209-21 and 216); Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', *History and Theory*, 22 (1983), pp. 43-53 (pp. 47-8); Sekules, *Medieval Art*, pp. 126-30.

¹¹⁷ Six of the manuscripts do not contain the heptarchy in any form: Bodleian MS Douce 207 (quire missing), Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 177, Bodleian MS Fairfax 20, BL Cotton MS Otho C. II (has not survived), CCCC Parker MS 264, BL Cotton MS Cleopatra A. XVI.

¹¹⁸ Chetham's MS 6712, Eton MS 123, BL Cotton MS Nero D II and BL Arundel MS 96. The grid consists of eight columns because the entry for Northumbria bridges two columns.

¹¹⁹ See: British Library Additional MS 24059, f. 20^r; Royal MS 14 B V, m. 1; Royal MS B. VI, m. 1; Trinity College Dublin MS 496, ff. 127^v-128^r.

Chetham's MS 6712, Eton MS 123, BL Cotton MS Nero D II and BL Arundel MS 96, then, represent a distinctive dissemination strand of the *Flores historiarum*. Yet this can be examined further. Through looking at the production and movements of these manuscripts, it will be possible to locate a geographic region for this specific *Flores* strand. Not only can shared design features further illuminate manuscript dissemination, but this approach also brings to the fore new information and an alternative perspective on an established and well-studied textual tradition, such as the reason for manuscript production in the first place and connections that exist outside of the established text.

Understanding the movements of extant manuscripts during their lifetime, particularly in the first 100 years after their creation, allows for a more nuanced and accurate picture of dissemination. Chetham's library MS 6712 is thought to be the earliest of the surviving *Flores historiarum* manuscripts and the only manuscript with a direct connection to St Albans. As a result it is the most studied manuscript in the *Flores* tradition.¹²⁰ It was started at St Albans and continued there until 1249, whereupon it was continued at Pershore abbey, Worcestershire, between 1256 and 1265, before ending up at Westminster at the end of the century, where the text was continued to 1326.¹²¹ Seventeen scribal hands can be seen in the entire manuscript, corresponding to five from the St Albans portion – including one that is commonly considered to be the hand of Matthew Paris,¹²² two from Pershore and ten from the Westminster continuation. This is the most hands found in any of the *Flores* manuscripts. The changes in scribal hands are concentrated around the end of each continuation. For example, in the St Albans portion there are four scribes writing the entries between 1240 and 1250, suggesting that for these dates the text was actively being compiled

¹²⁰ D. A. Carpenter, 'The Pershore *Flores Historiarum*: An Unrecognised Chronicle from the Period of Reform and Rebellion in England, 1258-65', *The English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), pp. 1343-66; Gransden, 'Continuations', pp. 472-3, 476, 481-2, and 486; eadem, 'Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), pp. 363-82 (pp. 368-70); Hollaender, 'Pictorial Work', pp. 361-8; Nigel Morgan, 'Matthew Paris, St. Albans, London and the Life of Thomas Becket', *The Burlington Magazine*, 130 (1988), pp. 85-96 (pp. 94 and 96); Luard, *FHI&II*; Sonia Patterson, 'An Attempt to Identify Matthew Paris as a Flourisher', *The Library*, 5 (1977), pp. 367-70 (p. 367); Powicke, 'Chronica Majora', p. 308; Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', 21; Vaughan, 'Handwriting', pp. 384, 389-90; idem, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 36, 41, and 92-109.

¹²¹ Carpenter, 'Pershore *Flores*', pp. 1355-6.

¹²² Vaughan, 'Handwriting', pp. 384, 389-90.

rather than being written in one block at a later date.¹²³ The St Albans portion of the manuscript is finished to a high standard and Chetham's 6712 is one of only eight illuminated *Flores* manuscripts. The Anglo-Saxon heptarchy is used alongside several other distinctive design features in the manuscript, including the use of heraldry and additional rubrics in the margins (discussed below).¹²⁴ Such features, which aid navigation and comprehension, suggest that the manuscript was considered and planned with function in mind. It is clear, therefore, that these features, as found in the earliest of the *Flores* manuscripts, originated from St Albans. The illumination in Chetham's 6712 is mostly in the St Albans portion too: only one illumination was added at Westminster. The first four illuminations are exceptionally skilful with delicate colour washes and expressive faces.¹²⁵ Later artists tried to copy the earlier style, largely without success. For instance, the Westminster illumination of Edward I (f. 247r) has inaccurate use of scale and human proportions.¹²⁶

It has been suggested that both Chetham's 6712 and Eton 123 were presentation copies for Westminster abbey and Edward III respectively. This is an opinion that has persisted, largely because of the quality of the manuscript's illuminations, but, whilst it is an interesting theory, there is no evidence in the manuscripts to support it.¹²⁷ In fact, the continuations in Chetham's 6712 executed at Westminster lack consistency and consideration; the text was written in different scripts and sizes, and the scribal performance was poor.¹²⁸ If Chetham's 6712 was indeed a presentation copy, one would have assumed that its recipients would have continued it with more care. Nevertheless, the earliest *Flores* manuscript, Chetham's 6712, provided the first movements of this text outside of St Albans

¹²³ Collard, 'Flores', p. 444.

¹²⁴ The use of heraldry in historiographical manuscripts will also be discussed further in Chapter 2.

¹²⁵ For links between manuscript illumination and abbey wall painting see: Eileen Roberts, *The Wall Painting of Saint Albans Abbey* (St. Albans, 1993), pp. 54-5; and Miriam Gill, 'Monastic Murals and Lectio in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. by James G. Clark (Woodridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 55-71.

¹²⁶ This copying of style has also been noted by previous scholars: see Hollaender, 'Pictorial Work', pp. 372-3, 375, and 378; Collard, 'Flores', pp. 446, and 449-51.

¹²⁷ Collard, 'Flores', p. 452. Gransden has called it an 'official history': see Gransden, 'Propaganda', p. 370. For the debate about Eton 123, see: Gransden, 'Continuations', pp. 487-92; *Historical Writing, i*, pp. 458-9; Collard, 'Flores', p. 456.

¹²⁸ Carpenter has also noticed the poor quality of the continuations but has not questioned them. See Carpenter, 'Pershore *Flores*', pp. 1350-6.

and all of the additional features that were included within it; with it came a host of new design features. Whilst Westminster abbey may not have treated their new manuscript with as much care and attention as one might hope, it was from this location that the *Flores* started to be copied and distinctive features, like the heptarchy chart, began to disseminate.

Textual traditions established in earlier scholarship can strongly influence how manuscripts are studied by later scholars. In the case of the *Flores historiarum*, the two separate branches of the text, found in Chetham's 6712 and Eton 123, are frequently not discussed together as part of a wider *Flores* corpus. This textual difference has shaped research to such an extent that the two manuscripts are usually considered as separate entities, ignoring the close relationship in terms of design that existed between both manuscripts. What the textual approach misses is the direct relationship between the Eton and Chetham's manuscripts; Chetham's 6712 was the exemplar for the Eton manuscript and they share specific features. Eton 123 is one of the earlier manuscripts in the *Flores* tradition and is called the 'Merton' *Flores* because it was owned by Merton Priory, in Surrey, as evidenced by marginal notation.¹²⁹ It is the source of the 'Merton' *Flores historiarum* text type, found in six of the 29 manuscripts in the corpus. The Eton manuscript was written by one scribe up to 1290 and the consistency of the scribal work to this point suggests it was copied from a source that was complete to this date. Eton 123 is one of the few *Flores* manuscripts to be illuminated, again following the presentation outlined in Chetham's 6712. After 1290, the manuscript was continued by five different scribes, and within each continuation a different style of decorative initial can be found. These continuations were added with care and consideration for the overall manuscript design; each scribe writes in a similar style of textualis semi-quadrata, and clearly the institution that owned Eton 123 held it in high esteem. Despite being presented to a high standard in general, the heptarchy is not complete in this manuscript, missing the column for Sussex. The page size in Chetham's 6712 is actually smaller than in Eton 123, which measures 195 x 272 mm, meaning there should be adequate space in the manuscript for eight columns; however, in this instance the scribe has not anticipated the amount of space required, and perhaps lacked the ability to adapt his script size. This is also evident from the chart spreading over two folios. Nevertheless, in all other respects the heptarchy follows the same design as in the Chetham's manuscript. Combine this with other shared visual traits, such as the coronation illuminations,¹³⁰ and a strong connection between the two manuscripts starts to emerge. Merton priory was geographically

¹²⁹ ff. 227, 251^v, 254^v. For details of erased marginalia see, N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), II, p. 741.

¹³⁰ Collard, 'Flores', p. 441.

very close to Westminster abbey, 7.5 miles as the crow flies, and it seems highly likely that Chetham's 6712 was one of the manuscript sources for Eton 123 after it had arrived at Westminster. Although textual changes were made to the later section of the chronicle, at its core was the St Albans *Flores historiarum*, complete with its rich visual tradition. The Merton *Flores* may have established its own textual dissemination strand but its visual connection to Chetham's 6712 indicates that it did not step far from the first *Flores* manuscript.

Shared visual traditions in manuscripts can also be indicative of the networks and relationships between different monasteries in the late middle ages. This is notable in BL Cotton MS Nero D. II, which is an unintended miscellany that contains a heavily customised *Flores historiarum*, the collection of texts that make up the East Anglian Miscellany type (discussed further below), as well as an extensive series of unconnected, historiographical booklets. It is most likely that the additional texts were grouped by parchment size and bound together under Charles Cotton's ownership. Nero D II is one of the manuscripts containing the East Anglian miscellany type, which will be discussed further below, though is the only manuscript of this miscellany type to contain the heptarchy chart. The bulk of the manuscript (ff. 1r-200v), written around 1300-1350, is the text commonly called the *Chronicon Roffense*, the *Flores historiarum* with customised entries specific to Rochester cathedral priory.¹³¹ Regardless of localised customisation though, the heptarchy features as part of the main *Chronicon Roffense* text, and, unlike Eton 123, is complete as it contains all seven of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. It is notable that the heptarchy design is included in a manuscript with the East Anglian miscellany type, within which the information is usually presented within the text columns, suggesting the use of at least two manuscript exemplars. Although it is not clear how the combination of the East Anglian text type and the distinctive form of presenting the heptarchy came together, it is likely due to a connection with St Albans itself. Here, the presence of the heptarchy chart suggests access to additional material, rather than a pure copy from one exemplar, and provides us with another perspective on late medieval manuscript production.

Exemplar manuscripts played an important role in disseminating both text and visual features. In the case of the *Flores historiarum*, Chetham's 6712 continued to act as a source of paratextual features and information design long after the presentation of the manuscript had been neglected by Westminster abbey. BL MS Arundel 96 is quite different from the other manuscripts that contain the heptarchy chart; it is very large, with a page size of 261 x 373

¹³¹ The *Chronicon Roffense* is discussed further in Chapter 2 in relation to the *Chronica maiora*, to which the manuscript is much closer in production value and spirit.

mm and a text block of 186 x 297 mm. The scribe has chosen to use a single-column format for the text, one of only two occurrences of the *Flores* as a single-column outside of a miscellany.¹³² In a manuscript this size it was a poor choice: the large text block has a long line-length, making the manuscript harder to read. The chronicle only runs up to 1284 – due to being copied from Chetham’s 6712 at a point when it had only been updated to this year (discussed further below) – and the hand is contemporary to this part of the century, but there is no evidence of other *Flores* transmission from this period. Arundel 96 was a good quality, even presentation standard, manuscript that was never completed: the script is a loose textualis rotunda, on large pages, with gaps left in the text for illumination. The *Flores historiarum* was divided into two books: pre-conquest and post-conquest, though this division is not usually emphasised. In Arundel 96 we see a variation in the size of these two books, from f. 73^r the text block is 5mm taller, suggesting that the two parts were not made in immediate succession. Unfortunately the manuscript is incomplete; it is missing the entire prologue, and it has been washed by a later owner. There is no indication of provenance in the text and the only ownership mark that survives is a reference to ‘Evanus’ on f. 1^v. Yet because it contains the heptarchy chart and a finishing date of 1284 – a point in the text that does not correspond to a natural break or change in ownership of any other extant *Flores* manuscript – it seems almost certain that Arundel 96 was copied from Chetham’s 6712 while it was at Westminster. 1284 coincides with a scribal break in the continuation of Chetham’s 6712, which would account for it being used as an exemplar manuscript during this period.¹³³ It may be that Arundel 96 was intended as a presentation copy that was never finished, or perhaps, even, a speculative production to coincide with an important event; 1284 being the year in which the future Edward II was born and Westminster abbey being close politically and geographically to the Crown. The gaps left in the text for illumination are far larger than in other *Flores* manuscript, meaning Arundel 96 would have been a high-status manuscript if finished. Nevertheless, it was not and, furthermore, there is no evidence of contemporary transmission from it. Yet regardless of a lack of transmission or completeness, what is evident from Arundel 96 is the way in which the heptarchy chart, and potentially other paratextual features, were transmitted. By 1284, Chetham’s 6712 was being updated in an ad hoc manner

¹³² Nine other manuscripts adopt this layout, eight of which are miscellanies: Lambeth Palace Library MS 188, Bodleian MS lat. hist. d. 4, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 177, Bodleian MS Fairfax 20, BL Cotton MS Otho C. II, CCC Parker Library MS 264, BL Harley MS 641 and BL Cotton MS Cleopatra A. XVI. The other non-miscellaneous manuscript with text presented in a single-column is San Marino, California, Huntington Library MS HS 30319.

¹³³ f. 250^v. See also Luard, *FHI*, p. xvii.

and no longer retained the production standards of St Albans, but the innovative nature of St Albans manuscript production lived on in the dissemination of key features, such as the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. In this way, St Albans influenced what historiographical writing should look like.

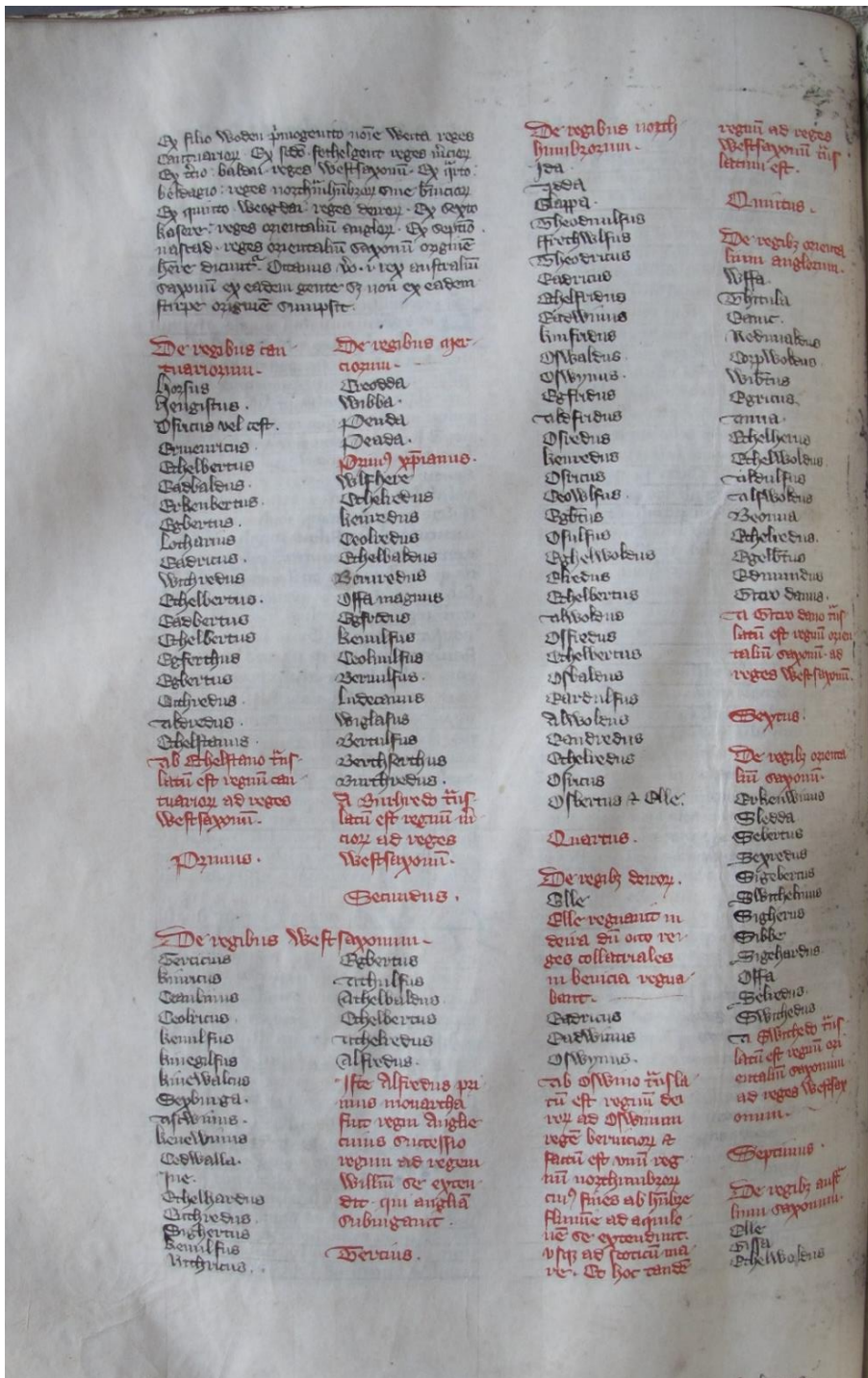


Figure 1.2: The heptarchy chart in Oxford, All Souls College Library, MS 37, f. 71v (reproduced by permission of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford).

The heptarchy chart is further developed in Oxford, All Souls College Library, MS 37, a manuscript copied from Eton 123.¹³⁴ Though the All Souls manuscript uses Eton 123 as an exemplar, it is grander in many respects and demonstrates a significant development all round: the page size is significantly larger, 242 x 376 mm, the parchment is of consistently high quality and it is decorated to a presentation standard. The decoration is likely due to this being a commissioned piece created for Henry Penwortham (d. 1440/1), registrar to Henry Chichele (1362-1443), the Archbishop of Canterbury and founder of All Souls College Oxford, who donated the *Flores* manuscript to All Souls College along with various others upon his death.¹³⁵ All Souls MS 37 does not just contain the *Flores historiarum* though. The manuscript was compiled into a miscellany at a later date, and now is combined with thirteenth-century booklets of the historiographical works of John of Rochefort and Hugo of St Victor, but it is of little doubt that the *Flores* portion of the manuscript was originally intended as a standalone work. As a copy of Eton 123, the All Souls manuscript continues the dissemination of the heptarchy feature (**Figure 1.2**) however there is a notable change in how the heptarchy is presented in this manuscript. Instead of changing the format of the page entirely, as is the case in all earlier instances of the feature, in All Souls 37 the scribe adapts the current two-column presentation to accommodate the content of the heptarchy, allowing for the distinctive presentation of the chart to remain while also retaining practicality of production. The All Souls manuscript, then, demonstrates how features adapt and change through manuscript dissemination, but in a way that embeds the element within the text that the earlier versions do not. In its All Souls form, the heptarchy seems integrated; this third iteration of the heptarchy has become standardised and now gives the impression of being a normal part of the manuscript rather than the distinctive form of data presentation that it started life as in Chetham's 6712.

The diagrammatic presentation of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy shows that scribes were beginning to consider how different information could be presented to make it more memorable. The heptarchy was a St Albans design that spread with the movement of the

¹³⁴ Luard, *FH I*, p. xxix.

¹³⁵ Ownership marks are given on f. 2^r. Penwortham's manuscript donation is documented in his will: Lambeth Palace Library, Register Chichele 1, f. 437, Will of Henry Penwortham. See also, "All Souls College," in *A History of the County of Oxford*, ed. by H. E. Salter and Mary D. Lobel, 19 vols (London: Constable, 1954), III, pp. 173-93. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3/pp173-193> [accessed 07/02/2019].

manuscripts and was indicative of the abbey's approach to manuscript production; the visual development of the feature will also be returned to in later chapters, as diagrammatic presentation served a greater purpose in later manuscript production. That this feature only survives in five manuscripts, produced in London, Sussex and Kent, indicates where new design features were embraced by scribes and the extent of St Albans' monastic network. The initial transfer of Chetham's 6712 was significant to this. As we will see, additional marginal rubrics were also transmitted via Chetham's 6712, which in several instances was used as an exemplar with another manuscript, yet in these instances the copyist chose to copy the heptarchy as a list within the text body rather than the chart. This is perhaps understandable; the heptarchy list retains the visual coherence of the manuscript by adhering to the two-column layout. It does not, however, make for easy reading. The difference in the heptarchy presentation, therefore, shows the division in attitudes to form and function. St Albans was at the forefront of book production and learning, and it should be no surprise that, with its potential connections to the Paris school, it was one of the first abbeys in England to adopt diagrammatic presentation and functional design in its manuscript production.¹³⁶

Manuscript Presentation: Easter marginal rubrics

The historiographical manuscripts of St Albans contained other distinctive presentation features and, like the heptarchy, these features provide a further opportunity to study the dissemination of the manuscript corpus. In five *Flores* manuscripts an extra rubrication exists in the margins between the entries for 1068 and 1249. It seems most likely that Chetham's 6712 was the original source for this feature, as it is the earliest manuscript in the group. This illuminates another dissemination group within the *Flores* tradition; a curious group consisting of manuscripts that lack any other obvious connection. The feature itself consists of three lines of abbreviated text with each row followed by a variable number or letter (**Figure 1.3**). In each occurrence the text is identical and it supplies the reader with all the necessary information to calculate Easter for that year.¹³⁷ Occasionally, a large, centred 'B', containing small initials of 'I' and 'S' in its top and bottom chamber respectively, representing *bis* is included above the rubrics: this was used when it was a leap-year. In each *Flores*

¹³⁶ The connection between St Albans and the Paris school has been suggested by Lewis, see Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 3.

¹³⁷ Row 1: *Littera domenicallis*, Row 2: *Cyclus decennovenalis*, Row 3: *Dies pasche*. The feature is five years ahead of modern printed charts of Dominical letters and golden numbers; see Clemens and Graham, *Manuscript Studies*, pp. 203-7.

manuscript where the feature is present, the exactitude of the additional marginalia suggests in each instance it was copied from an exemplar with the Easter marginalia.

The feature itself may seem incongruous with the chronicle form, but it provides yet another layer of information. The *Flores historiarum* is not unique in including such computistical information within historiographical works – similar combinations of material are present in manuscripts from Zwiefalten abbey (Benedictine) in Swabia, Germany, for instance – though this combination is not commonly found in English chronicles from this period.¹³⁸ What is clear by the presence of this feature is that such apparatus served a purpose for the monastery that owned the manuscript. In that sense, the Easter marginalia is the product of a specific audience and it is likely that most of the manuscripts containing this feature were either produced in monasteries or intended for the professed religious. The Easter marginalia, then, is another example of St Albans experimentation. Here Matthew Paris was combining computistical material, of which both religious and secular forms were a keen interest of the monks of St Albans,¹³⁹ with the more practical chronicle form. The result was a chronicle that contained key social, political and religious information, in the text body, with important religious data; the religious and computistical information positioning the chronicle within the rhythms of Christian life. The Easter marginalia therefore allowed readers to position the secular history of the chronicle text within the mental framework of Christian salvation history. As with the heptarchy group, these manuscripts form another distinct dissemination group that are all linked through shared religious interests. What we will see is that not only did this feature span the different types of *Flores historiarum*

¹³⁸ Eckart Lutz is currently working on the Zwiefalten manuscripts.

¹³⁹ Computistical elements can also be found in other St Albans manuscripts from the thirteenth century, including the chronicle of John of Wallingford (BL Harley MS 688) and Dublin, Trinity College MS 444. For broader discussions on computistical manuscripts see: Anne Lawrence-Mathers, 'The Reading Computus Manuscript; St John's College Cambridge MS A 22', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 42 (2016), pp. 45-62; Matthew Dowd, *Astronomy and Computus at Oxford University in the Early Thirteenth Century: The Works of Robert Grosseteste* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2003).

manuscripts, i.e., from presentation copies to working manuscripts, but in doing so it became an established element of the *Flores* in its own right that was no longer an optional extra.

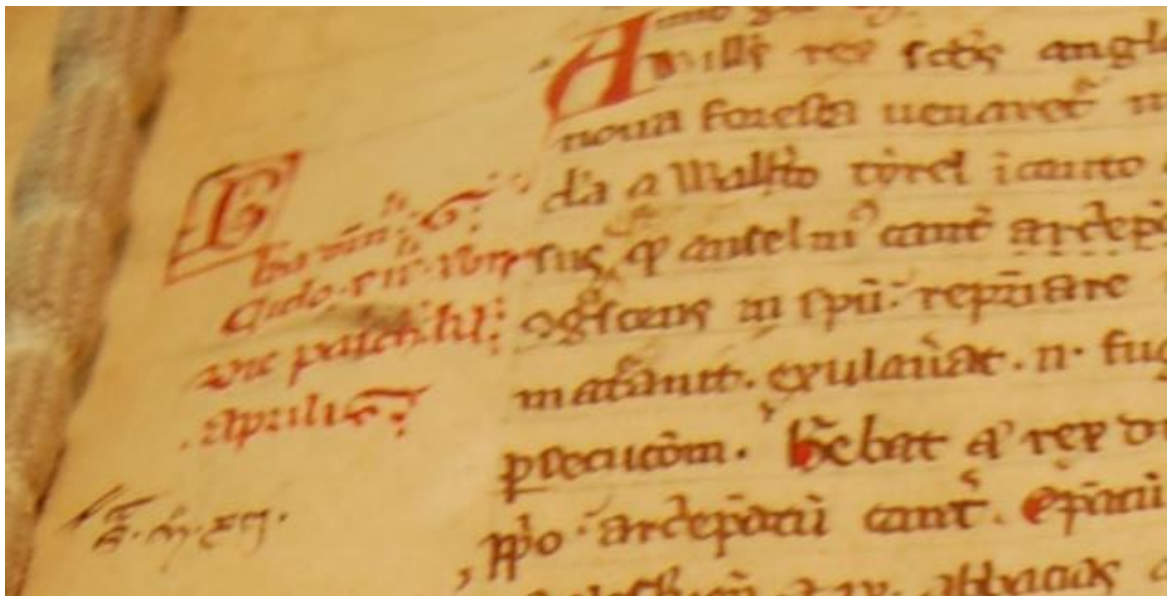


Figure 1.3: Marginal rubrics in the Chetham's MS 6712, f. 126^r (reproduced by permission of Chetham's Library, Manchester) and Bodleian Laud. Misc. MS 572, f. 123^r (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

The Chetham's *Flores* undoubtedly acted as a direct exemplar for several of the manuscripts in the *Flores* tradition, especially while the manuscript was at Westminster abbey. Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 572, produced in the late thirteenth or very early in the

fourteenth century, is one of the manuscripts that made use of Chetham's 6712 and is also the earliest subsequent occurrence of the Easter marginalia in the group. The manuscript as a whole is not particularly accomplished and lacks the finesse of its predecessor (See **figure 1.3**). It is one of the illuminated *Flores*, but the artistry is mediocre and repetitive. Each coronation image in the manuscript is nearly identical to each other in representation and it appears as if the artist has used the same template for each image. Nevertheless, the production of the manuscript indicates an organised scriptorium: Laud Misc. 572 was written by six scribes, with a total of thirteen changes between them.¹⁴⁰ Each scribal passage relates to the quire structure, not the close sections of writing indicative of active compilation from primary sources, showing it was copied from an exemplar at a scriptorium where the labour was divided and work proceeded on multiple sections simultaneously. This is until the last passage, which was the only portion written by scribe five, and brings the manuscript up to date (1296). Yet for an institutional product the scribal hands are not of a consistent standard and vary between textualis rotunda and semi-quadrata, but all adopt generous line spacing making for a consistent, light page. There is another shared feature between Chetham's 6712 and Laud Misc 572, thus confirming Chetham's 6712 as the direct exemplar. In the Chetham's manuscript the 1246 entry, ff. 184^v-185^v, includes four upside-down heraldic shields. Copies of these, although poor, can be seen in Laud Misc. 572 (ff. 169^r-170^v) at the same point in the text with similar page layout. No other manuscripts in the *Flores* corpus contain heraldic shields suggesting, therefore, that Laud Misc. 572 was copied from Chetham's 6712 while it was owned by Westminster abbey.

Paratextual features bring to the fore the usage of multiple exemplars in the manuscript copying process. Although manuscripts are commonly considered to be copied from single exemplar, studying these additional features, such as with the heptarchy chart, shows that this was not always the case. Bodleian MS Hatton 53, that will be discussed further below, also includes additional marginal rubrics. Yet unlike the other manuscripts in this group, Hatton 53 does not contain a complete copy of the feature. The manuscript only starts Easter calculations in 1147, much later than the original starting point of 1068, as in the Chetham's manuscript. Furthermore, the feature starts in the middle of a quire and part-way through the work of one scribe. This suggests that Hatton 53 was either copied from a different manuscript than the others containing this feature, or, as is more likely, was copied from two different exemplars.¹⁴¹ While it is clear that the Chetham's *Flores* played a

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix for a full breakdown of scribal activity.

¹⁴¹ It seems most likely that Chetham's 6712 was the original source of this feature.

prominent role in spreading these distinctive paratextual features, we must resist from assuming it was the exemplar for them all.

The presentation of paratextual features can provide further information about the pattern of dissemination and transmission. Bodleian MS eMuseo 149 is one of the smaller *Flores* manuscripts, with a single page measuring 135 x 205 mm. No provenance for the creation of this manuscript survives, only post-Dissolution ownership, but based on the hand, a tidy *textualis rotunda*, the manuscript can be dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It contains very short annal entries. These shortened entries occur from 1265 onwards, suggesting that it contains what Gransden calls the 'M' text variant.¹⁴² There are two possible reasons for this. The manuscript could have been copied from more than one exemplar, as Arundel 96 and Hatton 53 were, with one of the other exemplars being used after this date. Alternatively, it could have been copied from a single, lost exemplar, which contained both the additional rubrics and shorter entries after 1265. The space for the rubrics has been ruled with the rest of the page, clearly demonstrating that they were anticipated at the time of writing, and as the manuscript is the work of one scribe up to the 1303 entry the latter option seems most likely. The design of the feature has also softened since its first occurrence in Chetham's 6712, suggesting it had been copied at least once before eMuseo 149. In eMuseo 149, then, the presentation of the Easter marginalia has started to soften and be considered part of the text itself, even though they remained positioned in the margins. By this point it was no longer an 'add-on' but a key element of the *Flores* text. Through dissemination, the Easter marginalia became standardised, albeit in a few select manuscripts, and its presence was no longer a decision of usage or purpose: it was now there as a core part of the *Flores historiarum*.

The *Flores* tradition was not limited to English ownership, proving the chronicle had more than just national appeal. Paris, BnF Ms. lat. 6045 is the only extant *Flores* manuscript to be in foreign ownership in the middle ages and demonstrates the reach of the chronicle – the furthest afield any of the St Albans historiographical manuscripts would ever travel during this period.¹⁴³ Written in a cursive script, BnF 6045 was produced in England in the first half of the fourteenth century. It ended up in the ownership of Guillaume Boisratier, Archbishop of Bourges (1409-1421), and it is most likely that the chronicle was purchased

¹⁴² See Introduction.

¹⁴³ This thesis follows the convention of the holding institution with regard to shelfmarks, meaning manuscripts from the BnF will adhere to French standards and will look visibly different.

while the archbishop was visiting London on political business in 1415.¹⁴⁴ Boisratier was a collector of manuscripts, especially historiographical manuscripts, and there is evidence of gifting his manuscripts to his patron the Duke of Berry.¹⁴⁵ Being in London, then, gave Boisratier the opportunity to expand his manuscript collection with English historiography, choosing the *Flores historiarum*. Yet MS Lat. 6045 also tells us more about *Flores* dissemination. The loosest presentation and furthest dissemination of the Easter marginalia occurs in it. As the latest manuscript in the group this should not be surprising – the marginalia had become embedded by this point. In fact, not only had the marginalia become embedded but they were now being produced in the same way as the main text: an additional area of text for the scribe to write. It seems highly unlikely that the Easter marginalia would have made a significant difference to Boisratier when purchasing the manuscript, nor would he have perhaps realised that in earlier manuscripts this was ‘optional’. Indeed, in foreign ownership this feature did not disseminate further, but then neither did the *Flores historiarum*. Although the *Flores* was not copied further once on the Continent, its reach there in the first place is testament to its value as a historiographical narrative.

It is not just in the text body itself where we find transferable features that provide an insight into manuscript dissemination and transmission. It is perhaps surprising that Easter marginalia was not copied in more manuscripts, such as in the manuscripts where the same heptarchy design was copied, but that it was not indicates that it was extra information that most houses and scribes thought was unnecessary. Furthermore, marginalia were much easier to omit and in places the Easter marginalia were perhaps viewed as customisation by the manuscript owner and therefore irrelevant. The dissemination of this manuscript group is more convoluted than that of the heptarchy chart group and it is not possible to attribute it to a specific region of production. Though it is evident that Westminster played a role in the dissemination of this manuscript group, with Laud Misc. 572 copied from Chetham’s 6712

¹⁴⁴ Archbishop Boisratier was part of the ambassadorial team for France during the 100 years’ war, see: Isabelle and Charles Le Bis, ‘Pratique de la diplomatie. Un dossier d’ambassadeurs Français sous Charles VI (1400-1403)’, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de France* (1985-6), pp. 97-209 (pp. 132 and 169).

¹⁴⁵ This manuscript gifting can be seen in BnF Ms. fr. 2641, containing the chronicles of Jean Froissart and BnF Ms. lat. 8886, a missal, see: Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio’s De Casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), p. 57. Other manuscripts owned by Boisratier include: BL MS Yates Thompson 24, *The Pontifical of Guilelmus Durandus*; BnF Ms. lat. 5748 – Sallust’s *De coniuratione catilanae et de bello iugurthino* and Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 318 & 319– Gregory’s *Moralia in Job*.

while it was in Westminster ownership, there is no evidence of other production in this area. It is not known where Hatton 53, eMuseo 149 or BnF 6045 were written, for instance, and all were copied from unknown exemplars. Moreover, the variations seen in these manuscripts suggests that there were more manuscripts in this dissemination group than now survive. Though an area of production focusing on south east England and London seems likely, without further evidence we must resist any firm conclusions. Regardless of geographical attributions, the Easter marginalia in the *Flores* survived because they remained relevant to some of the manuscripts' audience, namely the religious communities. In doing so, they became an integral part of the text. This is a transition that was achieved through 100 years of copying and dissemination, that allowed the *Flores historiarum* to gain a certain prestige and reputation, after which time it was no longer considered new enough to be altered. The Easter marginalia and the manuscripts in which it is contained therefore chart the transition of the *Flores* from a young, malleable text, to an established part of the English historiographical canon in the middle ages.

Manuscript Presentation: Illustration and Indexes

The *Flores historiarum* was a distinctive chronicle for multiple reasons that have already been outlined, yet it had characteristics that caused it to stand apart from other contemporary historiographical works: the inclusion of illustration and indices. It was rare for chronicles of this period to contain illustrations and illuminations – with Matthew Paris bucking the trend in later St Albans chronicles in addition to the *Flores*.¹⁴⁶ Only eight of the *Flores* manuscripts are illustrated, but all adopt a consistent iconography in the illustrations: that of the king enthroned on a throne or royal dais, surrounded by courtiers. The subject remains consistent too – the coronation of the post-conquest kings, along with Arthur and Edward the Confessor.¹⁴⁷ The Illustrations have been a source for much scholarship but, as there is little supporting material on the role of illustrations in Latin historiographical manuscripts because of its rarity, it is difficult to understand the significance of these illustrations at present. Nevertheless, such illustration would have accorded manuscripts a certain status and role within a monastic institution, a status entirely in keeping with that of many monks, abbots or bishops within the religious community who were from noble backgrounds: these

¹⁴⁶ Collard, 'Flores', pp. 441 and 464-6; and Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 19, 35-52. The role of illumination is also discussed further in Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁷ Not all illuminated *Flores* manuscripts highlight the pre-conquest kings.

were books designed to be seen as well as read.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, similar illustrations are found in manuscripts that attest to a monastery's heritage or claims, and such illustrations serve a similar purpose in secular manuscripts too.¹⁴⁹ Not all illustrated and illuminated manuscripts were equal though. While presentation-grade *Flores* manuscripts will be discussed later in the chapter, two illustrated manuscripts survive that present a different story. These were manuscripts with illustrations but they also contained indices and therefore had a sharp focus on usability.

The inclusion of indices in illustrated historiographical manuscripts highlights a different focus of usage than illustration alone would suggest. Here, the manuscripts were designed to be useful to the institution and monks as well as visitors. Two of the manuscripts, Bodleian MS Hatton 53 and Bodleian MS Bodley 912, share an indexing style and artist and were likely the product of the same scriptorium. In both instances the *Flores* is prefaced by a chronological index (**Figure 1.4**). These are the only two manuscripts in the *Flores* corpus that contain indices. The index is structured into five ages; the entries are then grouped into chapters, which are referenced to numbers carried through the manuscripts as running heads, and also next to the rubrics of each new entry. The artist of both manuscripts has a characteristic style (**Figure 1.5**); figures have poor facial expressions, features and gestures, and are posed in the portrait, suggesting a weakness or preference on the artist's part. There is a shared colour palette too. A garish orange pigment, which would have once been a more subtle red, is used liberally in both manuscripts. Nevertheless, the artist's work follows the *Flores* iconography.¹⁵⁰ Superficially, it seems as if these two manuscripts were identical in production, yet the shared visual characteristics are actually hiding a key difference: Hatton 53 and Bodley 912 were not made using the same textual exemplars and contain different *Flores* textual variants.

¹⁴⁸ The role of manuscripts as a tool of patronage for monasteries is discussed further in Chapter 2.

¹⁴⁹ Other examples of this include the Abingdon Chronicle found in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R. 17. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Only Collard has previously discussed the illuminations in these manuscripts. See: Collard, 'Flores', pp. 463-4.

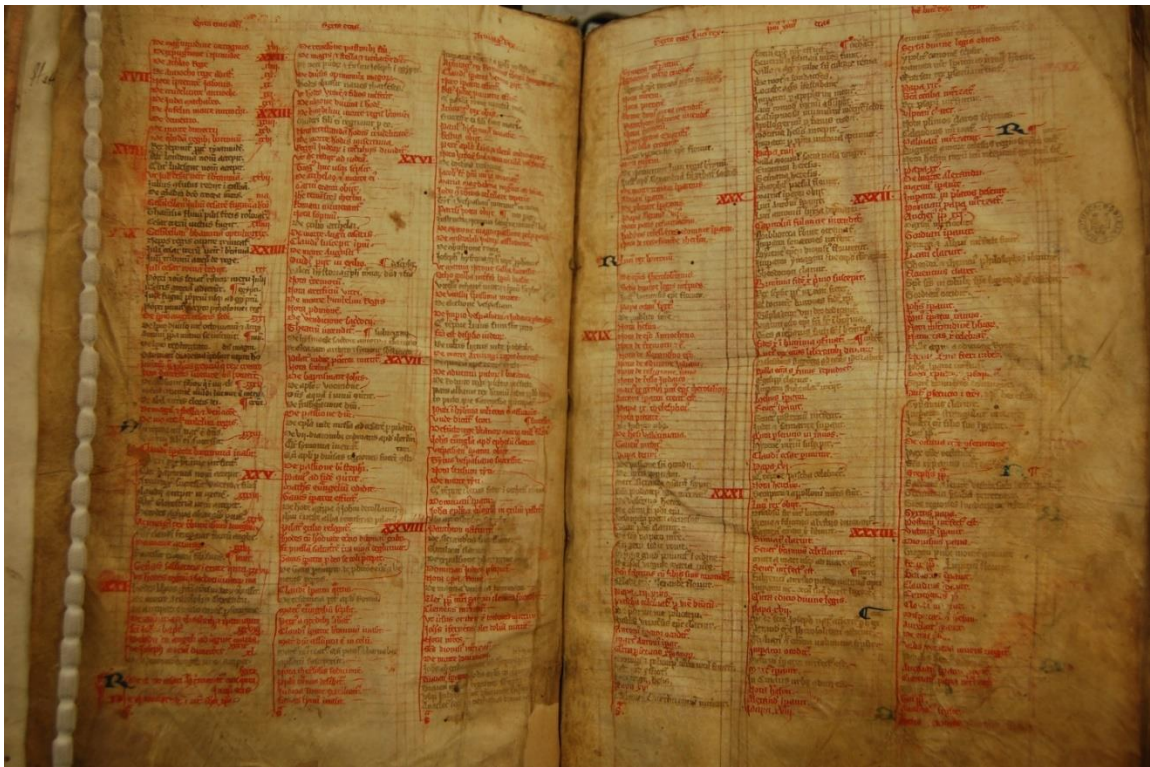
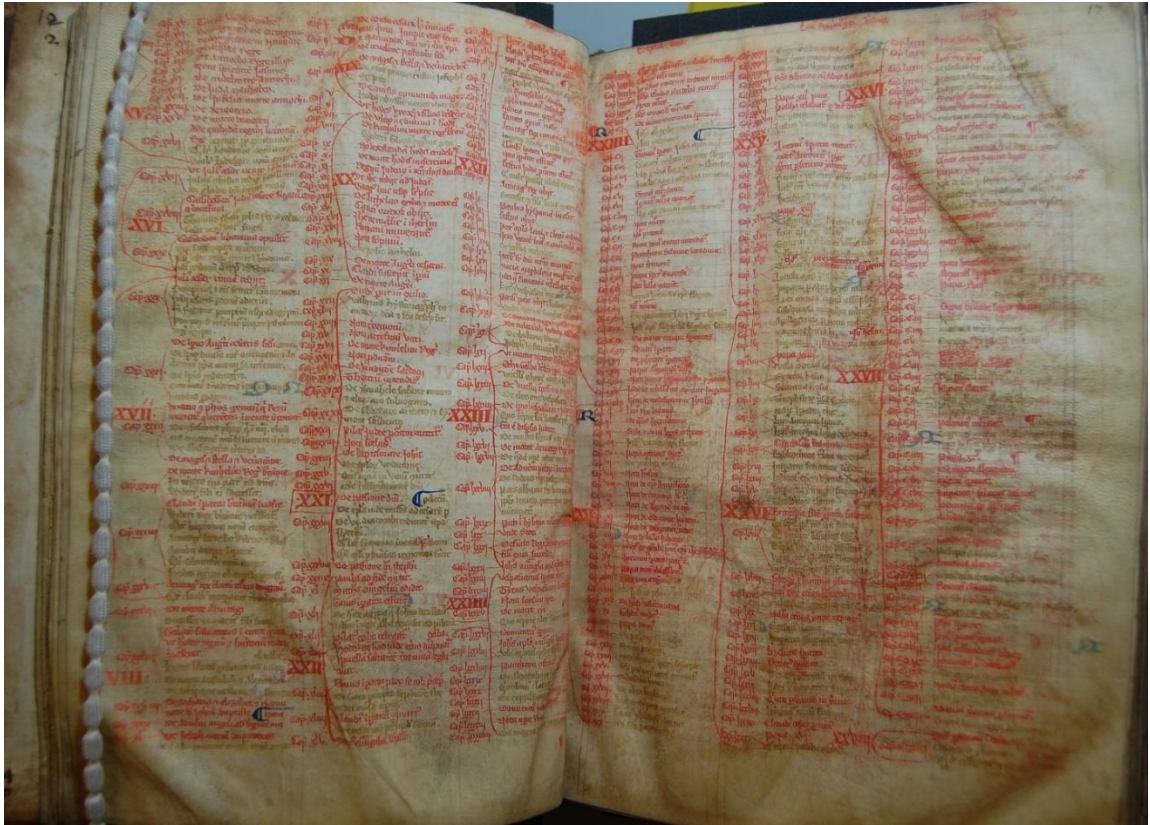


Figure 1.4: Indexes from Bodleian library, Bodley MS 912 and Hatton MS 53 (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).



Figure 1.5: The coronation of William the Conqueror in Bodleian library, Bodley MS 912, f. 126^r (top) and William Rufus in Hatton MS 53, f. 138^r (bottom), reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Shared manuscript production necessitates further unpicking of the connection to establish where similarities and differences lie and how this shaped the manuscripts themselves. Hatton 53 is the earlier of the two manuscripts and survives in a medieval binding. It was obviously left unbound, in quires, for some time as the external folios of each quire are dirty and a lot of sand and dirt has accrued in the middle of the quires.¹⁵¹ The manuscript was written by five scribes but there is no indication of active compilation at the time of writing, meaning it was probably copied directly from an exemplar without further augmentation. Production quality of Hatton 53 is poor overall: there are a high number of parchment imperfections and at times the parchment has not been cleaned sufficiently to retain pigment, such as on ff. 47^r-48^v. The index in Hatton 53 is simpler than in Bodley 912 and does not contain the extra layer of index numbering. Nevertheless, the style continuity is obvious and all established features are retained. Bodley 912 contains a different textual variant, the 'W', longer text variant, and shows noticeable development of technique and presentation in both the index and artwork.¹⁵² The manuscript was written by one scribe up to 1306, the fourth scribe of Hatton 53, another scribe then continued the manuscript up to 1356 in a more formal hand. From the script both manuscripts can be dated to between 1310 and 1360. The illustrations in Bodley 912 are the grander of the two manuscripts as well; most illustrations contain a gold background compared to the half-gold backgrounds of Hatton 53. The Bodley 912 index also shows development. An extra layer of numbering has been added around the chapters, for additional usability. Although it is a development, it is not a necessary one, and by f. 18^v has been dropped by the scribe. In many respects, then, Hatton 53 and Bodley 912 are similar, especially in character and presentation, yet there are fundamental differences here: the manuscripts each represent a different textual strand of the *Flores historiarum*. Although these manuscripts were products of the same scriptorium they are far from identical.

Hatton 53 and Bodley 912 demonstrate that manuscripts can be products of the same scriptorium without being textually identical, especially likely when more than one exemplar was used. It is through the paratextual features, design and codicology that these connections become particularly obvious. For instance, the additional marginal rubrics connect Hatton 53 to Chetham's 6712 and that dissemination strand, but the use of the Chetham's manuscript as an exemplar also accounts for the longer text entries found in Bodley 912 after 1265. In combination with the other shared features, including the scribe and indexes, we can establish a connection that textual analysis alone would miss. It is essential that we do not

¹⁵¹ See in particular: ff. 121^v-2^r, 168^v-9^r, 233^r.

¹⁵² See Introduction.

automatically assume different textual variations were created at separate locations. Instead we need to look at the codicological and paratextual features to guide analysis.

Miscellanies – unintended compilations

A further challenge in untangling the *Flores historiarum* tradition is the role the text played within historical manuscript miscellanies. The role of historiography in miscellanies is relatively unexplored, especially when known texts form part of a miscellaneous manuscript and therefore usually receive attention in isolation from the rest of the manuscript. The *Flores* was a popular choice for inclusion in miscellanies during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, intended and unintended, due to its size, scope and adaptability.¹⁵³ As a compact universal history, the *Flores historiarum* could be edited, adapted into extracts, or used as a whole, but still allow enough space for additional material. Of the eleven miscellaneous manuscripts containing the *Flores*, only four were unintended, later compilations, with seven deliberately created in their current form. In comparison to intended miscellanies, in which we can understand the motive and purpose behind the manuscripts from the grouping of texts themselves, the unintended miscellanies lack an original sense of compilation as they were usually compiled from different booklets at a later stage. Nevertheless, it is the unintended miscellanies that can be more informative about contemporary perceptions of these texts. Miscellanies can tell us about what was expected and desired from chronicles during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and, indeed, how chronicles were understood and used; these manuscripts demonstrate the purpose of the chronicle beyond its administrative role or recording information and documents within the monastery.

The *Flores historiarum* was a popular accompanying text for other historiographical works in miscellany manuscripts, being grouped by a shared theme or genre. London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1106 is an unintended miscellany in a modern binding, a combination of the *Flores historiarum* and the *Annales* of Elias of Trickingham, a monk from Peterborough. It is challenging to establish a precise compilation date, though the two booklets were certainly bound together by 1560, when the manuscript ended up in John Bale's ownership. It is highly likely that the two booklets were bound together earlier while

¹⁵³ The terms 'intended' and 'unintended' miscellany will be used throughout this thesis. The purpose of this is to define between manuscripts that were always envisioned to be a miscellany, and therefore contemporary and intended, and those manuscripts that are a later combination of different works put together by someone other than those who originally constructed the manuscript, making the miscellany unintended.

in the St Paul's Cathedral library.¹⁵⁴ The *Annales* section runs up to 1268 in a late thirteenth century textualis, indicating that it was written around the end date of the *Annales*. The *Flores* portion of the manuscript, though, was not written before 1310.¹⁵⁵ Three scribes completed the earliest layer of the text to 1308, before it was continued two further times, one scribe covering 1309-1331 and the other 1332-1341. The two final sections, being shorter in time period covered and surrounded by large gaps, are indicative of later additions that were meant to bring the *Flores* further up-to-date. The *Flores* text contains information specific to St Paul's and London, such as a marginal annotation of St Paul's Cathedral complete with a Burgundian roof, f. 96^v, and is therefore considered to have been written at St Paul's. This variation from the standard *Flores* can only be found in Lambeth 1106, and it is most likely a result of textual customisation, as seen previously with the *Chronicon Roffense*.¹⁵⁶ Although customised, the St Paul's *Flores* was evidently viewed as an appropriate text with which the *Annales* could be bound together. Covering a large chronology meant the *Flores historiarum* attracted such connections and production. It was a flexible text that could be the perfect accompanying material for a range of documents, from letters and charters, to annals and romance.

It can be a challenge to understand the different purposes of texts found in unintended miscellanies, especially when dealing with booklets of different dates and production. Lambeth MS 188 is an unintended miscellany containing booklets of texts from various periods. The booklets are collected in a modern binding and there is no indication as to the age of this compilation, though it is evident from the different layout designs, script and page size, that these booklets were never intended to be together. The earliest text is the *Historia regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, written in a well-executed and very clear protogothic textualis script.¹⁵⁷ Other texts found in the manuscript include: an unattributed

¹⁵⁴ William Stubbs states that the two booklets were probably bound "before the close of the fifteenth century". William Stubbs, *The Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, Rolls Series 76, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1862), I, pp. xlvi-1.

¹⁵⁵ Lambeth 1106 is catalogued as being created between 1275 and 1300. Whilst this dating is correct for the *Annales* it is not the case for the *Flores*.

¹⁵⁶ There is no evidence in the manuscript to indicate whether it was, or was not, made at St Paul's. Ownership marks have also been removed on f. iv - but such customisation would be unlikely if there were not a connection.

¹⁵⁷ Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 105-7 and 130-3; Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 72-3 and 76-7.

historiography of Anglo-Saxon England and a treatise relating to Norwich Priory and East Anglia. The *Flores* portion of Lambeth 188 was written between 1400 and 1425, in five hands on reasonable quality edge pieces of parchment throughout. A single scribe wrote the bulk of the *Flores* (up to 1291) over a period of time before the other four scribes finished the manuscript.¹⁵⁸ This production is noticeable in the variations in the hand between quires, for instance, differing x-heights, ascenders and descenders, and the lack of continuity with headings and entry spacing.¹⁵⁹ This does not, however, mean that the scribe was careless. As the writer of the *Flores* portion was also the likely owner and user of the text, features have been included that improve the usability of the book, including extending the text mark-up into the margins between f. 30v-145r to allow for better user annotation. This suggests that the book was a personal copy, intended as a personal reference work, a type of book we see increasingly in the early fifteenth century.¹⁶⁰ The *Flores* was the main text in the manuscript, accounting for 166 of the 216 folios, but, when combined with the additional material that was not made to be part of this manuscript, Lambeth 188 became just another manuscript for the library. The *Flores historiarum*, then, was not just a text frequently used as a base text for writing new historiographical works, but in a similar way it often formed the base of historiographical miscellanies, and provided an easy way to develop a basic, customised administrative and historiographical record.

The *Flores historiarum* was frequently used to form the base for new historiographical works, and trying to unravel the transmission of such a tradition when it has been reworked by later additions can prove challenging. BL Harley MS 641 is an unintended miscellany produced for Sir Simonds D'Ewes in 1645 comprising of *De bello Troiano* by Dares Phrygius, the *Flores historiarum* with a continuation, and the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* by Martin of Troppau.¹⁶¹ The booklets of Harley 641 were never meant to jointly inhabit a single manuscript; however, they follow a grouping similar to intended miscellanies. The chronicle is listed in the manuscript itself as being the chronicle of John de Bever, a monk from

¹⁵⁸ The scribal division is as follows; 1: ff. 1r-144v, 180r-203v, 2: ff. 145r-160r, 3: ff. 160v-166r, 4: ff. 177v-179r, 5: ff. 204r-210v.

¹⁵⁹ In quire 3 the hand is more condensed on the line than others and quire 11 contains very dense script.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

¹⁶¹ Andrew G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London: British Museum, 1966), pp. 114-15.

Westminster abbey, but this is not the case.¹⁶² It is actually the *Flores historiarum*, covering the years from Brutus to 1306, with the chronicle continuation of John de Bever running from the end of the *Flores* to 1306. The first part contains *De bello Troiano* and the *Flores* written by a single scribe, between 1350-75.¹⁶³ It was not highly decorated and the parchment is of middling quality. The script is a very consistent and competent textualis rotunda but as the text is in a single column it still makes for difficult reading. In contrast, the second section, produced at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is of a higher standard and decorated with seven-line golden initials throughout. This section is the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*, one of the texts with which the *Flores* is frequently grouped, followed by a continuation. The two sections, attributed to St Augustine's, Canterbury and Glastonbury abbey respectively on the basis of inscriptions throughout the manuscript, were most likely removed from their institutions during the dissolution of the monasteries and only bound together a century later.¹⁶⁴ Harley 641, therefore, highlights a common problem with miscellanies of medieval manuscripts: that in creating the miscellany the original provenance is harder to access, if present at all. It is not clear in the Harley manuscript, for instance, how the *Flores historiarum* was originally used at St Augustine's Canterbury, nor if it was bound with other material that is now lost.

Not all miscellanies, intended or unintended, have a cohesive narrative between the different texts and booklets they contain. BL Cotton MS Cleopatra A XVI is an unintended miscellany that was added to over a period of time; it was still being extensively added to during the reign of Henry V.¹⁶⁵ The manuscript does not contain the main *Flores* text, only a continuation: in this instance, the Westminster continuation of Richard of Reading, Adam Murimuth and John of Reading.¹⁶⁶ This continuation covers the dates 1299–1367. It is obvious

¹⁶² Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 'Bever, John [John of London]' (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14855> [accessed 18/01/19].

¹⁶³ British Library, 'Catalogue of Illuminated manuscripts: Detailed record of Harley 641' <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=5102> [accessed 06/08/18]. Dating for the second booklet is also given in this record.

¹⁶⁴ Inscriptions can be found on the front pastedown and ff. 1^r, 115^v and 206^v.

¹⁶⁵ This can be seen by the chronology of kings on f. 65. Here scribe five wrote a list of kings and the dates of their reign. The dates for Henry V were left blank by this scribe and completed by a much later hand.

¹⁶⁶ The Murimuth and John of Reading continuations, found here as a continuation of the *Flores*, are also linked to the *Polychronicon* continuations (see below). Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 21 and 24-7.

that this continuation was planned as a stand-alone piece as it has a large opening initial. This style of initial is usually found in the *Flores* to indicate a new book and would not normally occur at this point. The initial, therefore, marks a physical continuation; either a booklet created to append to an existing manuscript to update the text, or for another chronicle as a 'bolt-on'. There is seemingly no relation between the *Flores* continuation and the other texts in the manuscript apart from page size. Most of the material in the miscellany relates to events at the end of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including a four-folio memorandum beginning in the reign of Henry IV. Other contents include a conversion table from Roman to Arabic numbering, accounting tables and personal notes, and the composition of months and measurements. One must conclude that the modern binding and trimming hides the combination of a personal notebook with a *Flores* continuation; these are manuscripts that were only combined because of their similarity in size. What this manuscript shows, most significantly, is that historiographical texts were produced in very small, personal formats and not just large-format 'presentation-standard' manuscripts.¹⁶⁷ There are no other known extant *Flores* manuscripts of this size and Cleopatra A XVI therefore sheds light on a style of production not seen anywhere else. Historiographical manuscripts should not, therefore, only be considered as monastic manuscripts; these were manuscripts as much for personal usage as that of the monastery.

Miscellaneous manuscripts are not straight-forward objects; multi-faceted and difficult to unpick, they contain layers of information relating to their various stages of production, from original composition to later compilation. A step towards better understanding these manuscripts is identifying when the miscellany was put together and when the original booklets were produced. The unintended, miscellaneous manuscripts discussed here were all compiled after they were written, but all maintain a similar general historical theme suggesting compilers were sensitive to the manuscript content. The *Flores* is found with the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* in three instances, two of which occur in East Anglian miscellanies (discussed below). The combination is one that works well; as a national history the *Flores* lacks in-depth information about Europe, a void that is easily filled by the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*.¹⁶⁸ This combination recurs with later St Albans'

¹⁶⁷ Personal reference manuscripts were increasingly common within monasteries by the end of the fourteenth century, see Clark, 'Print', pp. 76 and 79-82. The personal use of historiographical works is also discussed further in Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁸ The *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* was an incredibly successful text, surviving in over 437 manuscripts, 91 of which are extant in English libraries; see Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, 'Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: A Medieval Best-Seller and Its

historiographical manuscripts too; indeed, St Albans even provides an update for the *Chronicle* in the early fourteenth century.¹⁶⁹ The *Flores* is found with other historiographical material as well, such as annals and other chronicle texts. These unintended miscellanies show that the *Flores* could be flexible, as seen in Cleopatra A XVI, but often the textual combinations were genre specific, predominantly limited to historiographical material.

East-Anglian miscellanies – intended compilations

A large group of the *Flores* miscellanies were created deliberately and, furthermore, survive in several copies. This miscellany type appears to have originated from Norwich Priory, from which an early, working copy survives, before being copied at neighbouring institutions, such as St Benet's abbey, Holme. It is significant that such a rich, continuous manuscript tradition stemmed from East Anglia. It contradicts the common perception that historiographical manuscript development and production stemmed from London during this period; instead regional production had a much greater role than previously assumed. In the late medieval period, East Anglia was one of the wealthiest regions of England with multiple trading ports and market towns.¹⁷⁰ Norwich, for instance, became a hub of the English wool trade, which brought with it extensive wealth due to English wool being a highly-prized commodity in mainland Europe, while the various ports provided valuable routes to the continent for importing and exporting goods.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, during the late thirteenth and fourteenth

Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers', *The English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), pp. 327-41 (p. 331).

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter 3 for more information on fourteenth-century chronicle production at St Albans.

¹⁷⁰ Kate Parker, 'A Little Local Difficulty: Lynn and Lancastrian Usurpation', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Christopher Harpur-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 115-29 (pp. 118-20, 123-4).

¹⁷¹ Martin Rorke, 'English and Scottish Overseas Trade, 1300-1600', *The Economic History Review*, 59 (2006), pp. 265-288 (pp. 266 and 269-77); Ian Friel, 'How Much Did the Sea Matter in Medieval England (c. 1200-c.1500)?', in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*, ed. by Richard Gorsky (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 167-185 (pp. 169-75). For more on the English wool trade, see Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955); T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Susan Rose, *The Wealth of England: The Medieval Wool Trade and its Political Importance 1100-1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018).

centuries the region was the centre of a Gothic art revival, producing some of the finest English manuscript illumination, most of which was associated with wealthy patrons.¹⁷² The remnants of this revival can be seen in the richly decorated BL Cotton MS Claudius E. VIII, which was produced for Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich (1370–1406) and part of the powerful Despenser family, in the late fourteenth century.¹⁷³ The East Anglian miscellanies demonstrate the vivacity of regional manuscript production; high-end presentation manuscripts were just one facet of a rich literary culture, which also included low-grade manuscripts, miscellanies and historiography. Such production and activity is indicative of the role of East Anglia within England at the time: a rich region, culturally and economically, that rivalled London for power and influence.

Miscellanies are not often considered as deliberate products, seemingly manuscripts that have been compiled into their form for no particular purpose, yet in the *Flores historiarum* corpus there is an established miscellany type that has its own strand of dissemination. The earliest known manuscript of the East Anglian miscellany group is Bodleian MS Fairfax 20. The manuscript is a low-quality, intended miscellany. It was most likely a working copy available in Norwich priory, where it was made. It contains the ownership marks of Simon Bozoun, the prior of Norwich Priory between 1344 and 1352, who also owned CCC 264 and at least 31 other books.¹⁷⁴ The contents too demonstrate a connection to the Priory. For instance, on f. 73^v there is a list of the abbots of the priory from 1156 to 1355. The manuscript was written by eight scribes and compiled over a period of roughly 30 years. Very little of the manuscript survives – in its modern form it contains only 82 folios, most of which are incomplete texts, including what survives of the *Flores historiarum* – but enough of it is extant to establish its role in disseminating this distinctive miscellany. The content includes an unattributed description of England, a history of Rome,

¹⁷² Morgan, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 17-20, 70-1 and 76-85.

¹⁷³ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 'Despenser, Henry', (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7551> [accessed 18/01/19], Richard Allington-Smith, *Henry Despenser, The Fighting Bishop: A New View on an Extraordinary Medieval Prelate* (Dereham: Larks Press, 2003).

¹⁷⁴ A full list survives in BL Royal MS 14 C XIII, f. 13^v. An edited list of these manuscripts is available online: The Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 'Benedictines: The Shorter Catalogues: Norwich, B58 Books Owned by Simon Bozoun' (2015), http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/medieval_catalogues/B58/ [accessed 18/01/19]. See also, N. R. Ker, 'Medieval Manuscripts from Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949), pp. 1-28.

the wonders of the world, the wonders of England combined with extracts from Ralph Diceto, Roger Hoveden and Gerald of Wales, various prophecies, and an index. The front matter is then followed by the *Flores historiarum*. The miscellanies of this type that survive complete have the content in a different order, which would indicate that Fairfax 20 was in booklets before being bound at a later date, when it was placed in its modern order. The index is at the rear of the manuscript, as in modern books, whereas in the miscellanies of original compilation it always sits before the *Flores* text. Regardless, Fairfax 20 was a crucial manuscript in the spread of the *Flores* tradition and the beginning of an East Anglian tradition in its own right. It is likely that this miscellany was a source for the Norwich monks who produced the display manuscript BL Cotton MS Claudius E VIII, the grandest of all the *Flores* manuscripts and produced for Bishop Despenser. Though it may not have been the direct exemplar, Fairfax 20 was evidently the first manuscript with these contents: the multiple different sections each written by a different scribe suggests the manuscript was deliberately compiled into this form. As a standalone manuscript, it would seem haphazard, though the miscellany, with the *Flores historiarum* at its core, was evidently an initial composition on which to develop future manuscripts.

In some instances, medieval manuscripts provide a useful insight into institutions that no longer exist and, thus, help to recreate the broader intellectual landscape. BL Royal MS 14 C VI is a large manuscript that was written at St Benet's abbey (Holme), Norfolk;¹⁷⁵ a monastery of which very little survived the dissolution and subsequent centuries. Nevertheless, the abbey left behind evidence of high-quality manuscript production and was evidently an important centre of learning.¹⁷⁶ Royal 14 C VI is one such manuscript. Produced between 1305 and 1330, it demonstrates high production values and a unique customisation of the *Flores historiarum*. The text in Royal 14 C VI contains a different emphasis to other *Flores* manuscripts, with the Anglo-Saxon kings being given as much importance as the post-conquest kings.¹⁷⁷ This variation has particularly large entries for the kings between 900 and 1066; there can be little doubt that this is an adaptation from another text, though it is unclear from what, and demonstrates a different compositional balance from the standard *Flores* text.

¹⁷⁵ Luard, *FH I*, p. xxii.

¹⁷⁶ Midmer, *Monasteries*, p. 273. For the extant manuscripts of St Benet (Holme), see: *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 'Holme, St Benet's', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/?search_term=Holme%20St%20Benet%27s.%20Norfolk,%20Benedictine%20abbey%20of%20St%20Benedict&field_to_search=medieval_library&page_size=500 [accessed 10/09/2018].

¹⁷⁷ Mentioned above in the Heptarchy section.

Illumination also differs in this manuscript. Here entries on the coronation of pre-conquest kings are illuminated with historiated initials, usually containing a bust of the king in question. The post-conquest monarchs are not highlighted in any way. Such stress is unprecedented and, although bias towards the pre-conquest kings exists in other *Flores* manuscripts, none of the other manuscripts contain this level of emphasis. Despite this alteration, the Royal manuscript otherwise adheres to the East Anglian miscellany type. What such customisation suggests, especially considering that it was a miscellany type that was altered, is that the East Anglian miscellany had become the standard form of the *Flores historiarum* for this particular region. As a large house with an extensive library, the monks of St Benet (Holme) could create a version of the *Flores* that contained any information they wished, and they did so by expanding the Anglo-Saxon entries, yet the East Anglian *Flores* miscellany was the main, base text, suggesting this was the form in which the *Flores* circulated in the region.

The East Anglian miscellany type was not just limited to that particular region, though, and can be found in one other manuscript. Nero D II, mentioned above, also contains the supporting texts found in the East Anglian miscellany type. It is a *Flores* heavily customised for Rochester Priory and was likely produced by monks from the monastery either in situ or at another monastery with a copy of the manuscript. Nero D II is itself an unintended miscellany, a later construction compiled during Charles Cotton's ownership presumably because the texts are all of a similar size, which contains within it the East Anglian *Flores* miscellany. Though it may seem odd for the East Anglian miscellany to end up in Kent, it is likely the result of a series of inter-monastic networks and shared intellectual interests. It is entirely feasible, then, that Rochester had their own connection with Norwich as part of the same monastic network and thus access to the *Flores* miscellany. Moreover, the monks of Rochester may have preferred the miscellany version of the *Flores* because of the additional material it contained. In this instance, there was the option of three distinct textual variants – the normal text, the Merton *Flores* and the East Anglian *Flores* miscellany – and for the Rochester copy the East Anglian type was chosen. Such choices were made possible through larger monastic networks and connections and, in this way, the East Anglian *Flores* miscellany was not just limited to the East-Anglian region but instead represents the intellectual networks of the monasteries in East Anglia and the South East of England.

Yet East-Anglian production could also be unique and serve different purposes; the remaining three miscellanies from the region each demonstrate a unique compilation. Bodleian MS lat. hist. d 4 is the earliest intended miscellany in this study, evident by the distinctive maroon

and red flourished initials throughout the manuscript and the original binding. It belonged to, and was likely written at, Bury St Edmunds: on the front flyleaf and f. 1^r is written the shelf mark C 49 followed by '*Liber monachorum sancti Edmundi*'. The material was chosen to provide a book that linked its contemporary period with ancient Rome, a similar idea to that seen in the miscellany type above but with a different composition. The different composition is likely a result of the compilers having access to different materials to copy in the Bury St Edmunds monastic library.¹⁷⁸ In Lat. hist. d. 4 the *Flores* sits alongside Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and a set of unknown annals. Its miscellaneous content is further reflected in the number of scribes who compiled this manuscript. There are nine different hands in total, and the majority of the changes occur between the different texts; the *Flores* text itself being written by three scribes. Two of the texts have space left after later entries, which shows that the scribes anticipated adding more content at a later date.¹⁷⁹ A particularly distinctive feature of Lat. hist. d. 4 is how it has been used, demonstrating extensive user notes in the margins and on any blank pages. Indeed, the majority of these marginalia are in a later cursive hand and show that the manuscript was starting to be used for personal reference.¹⁸⁰ Lat. hist. d. 4 presents another permutation of a *Flores* miscellany, yet its form is familiar. The *Flores* was a useful supporting historiographical text and could be shaped in a variety of ways depending on what was wanted from the manuscript. In this case, as in many others, the *Flores* was combined with other historiographical works to create the perfect historiographical reference manuscript.

It was common for monastic institutions to make good use of their libraries when compiling miscellaneous manuscripts, leading to multiple miscellanies from a single location

¹⁷⁸ The monastery of Bury St Edmunds was one of the great literary centres in the region and had a much larger library than smaller institutions like Norwich Priory; see Rodney Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), pp. 617-45; idem, 'Book Production', pp. 141, 147-50. For general discussion on Bury: Antonia Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1182-1256: Samson of Tottington to Edmund of Walpole*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); and eadem, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1257-1301: Simon of Luton and John of Northwold* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015).

¹⁷⁹ This occurs in the *Chronica archiepiscopis et episcopis anglie* (ff. 50^r-62^r), where a few lines are left after each entry and the Annals where the entries are mostly empty. Here the date is written in the margins next to each entry space.

¹⁸⁰ The changing use of historiography as personal reference texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is discussed further in Chapter 3.

each doing something slightly different. Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 177 is a high-quality, historical miscellany of three texts: *Flores historiarum*, *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* and *Annales Angliae*. The notes to the rubricator in Rawlinson B. 177 indicate that it was rubricated, if not created, in Bury St Edmunds - the same scriptorium as Lat. hist. d. 4, which features notes in the same hand. The manuscript would appear to be an intended miscellany, but there are several features that indicate otherwise, including the modern binding. The *Flores* text is cut-off on f. 72^v, the end of quire six, which happens to be in the middle of the prophecies of Merlin and is very conspicuous. Throughout the *Annales* 'papa' is crossed through, yet the *Chronicon pontificum* and the *Flores* remain unscathed. Furthermore, both the *Flores* and *Annales* portions of the manuscript have been ruled in the same fashion. We are therefore dealing with a manuscript of two parts, produced at two locations and compiled at a significantly later date. Nevertheless, it was at Bury St Edmunds where the *Flores* portion of this manuscript was produced. The connection between Rawlinson B. 177 and Lat. hist. d. 4 would suggest that not only does the *Flores* tradition demonstrate a large portion of regional activity in East Anglia, but also that there were multiple hubs of activity centred around large monastic houses.

The annalistic entries of the *Flores historiarum* made it a useful text to support a range of additional material, from charters to specific local information. Corpus Christi College Parker Library MS 264 was an East Anglian miscellany of a different type, containing miscellaneous front matter of charters, a papal bull and indulgences granted to pilgrims at Norwich Cathedral. The manuscript contains ownership marks on f. 1^r by Simon Bozoun, the same monk who owned Fairfax 20, and it is undoubtedly connected to the priory; all of the front matter relates to Norwich. As well as the Norwich connection, there is a focus on the reign of King John (1199-1216) – the period to which all the documents are dated. Bozoun's ownership makes the use of the *Flores* text less surprising; he would have already seen, or perhaps even contributed to using, the *Flores* within the distinct East Anglian *Flores* miscellany type. The *Flores* extract covers the dates 1199 to 1225, from the coronation of King John to the 1225 Magna Carta, and there is an opening initial, indicating that it was meant to start at this date.¹⁸¹ It is clear then that the *Flores* extract was deliberately written to support this material, adding a wider historiographical context to otherwise detached archives. As will be seen further in later chapters, this was a common way of utilising chronicles within monastic archives. Chronicles provided context, authority and authenticity to documentation that could otherwise seem lacking, serving a vital archival role within monastic

¹⁸¹ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 361 and 368.

institutions.¹⁸² The *Flores* is followed by Bede's *Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum*, written by a different scribe, and likely bound with the other material through convenience of size. CCC 264 is therefore a miscellany both intended and unintended. In CCC 264 we have a miscellany with a political emphasis that likely served a purpose within the monastery itself and contextualised the archival material. This was not an unusual way to utilise historiographical material; indeed, St Albans produced several historiographical manuscripts that used chronicles as the support and evidence for the additional content.¹⁸³ Chronicles were a natural support for archival material, often making use of charters, papal bulls and correspondence to document events. Not only, then, did the monks of Norwich priory make use of the *Flores historiarum* to start their own miscellany-based historiographical tradition, they also used the text to support their domestic archival material.

Over a third of the surviving *Flores* manuscripts are bound into miscellanies and utilise the *Flores historiarum* as a supporting and complementary text. Though not all manuscripts were intended miscellanies, the role of the *Flores historiarum* in each case is key. These manuscripts all contain a deliberate thematic construction, and the *Flores* text complements this. For instance, Fairfax 20, Claudius E VIII and Royal 14 C VI use the *Flores* text in combination with the *De gestis Britonum* to establish a connection between the contemporary period and ancient Rome. Wonders of the world and England are mentioned, thereby confirming the importance and power of England in a global context. Indeed, geography and location is important when considering these miscellanies further. The strong connection between East Anglia and St Albans is indicative of the power and wealth the region enjoyed during this period; as a wealthy landowner, St Albans was involved in the prosperous economy of the region. Furthermore, St Albans had two cell priories in East Anglia, at Binham and Wymondham, and close connections especially to Norwich priory that are seen throughout the dissemination of historiographical works from the abbey.¹⁸⁴ Antonia Gransden and Nigel Morgan have sought to connect manuscript production at St Albans with London, as the modern centre of power; however, there is no evidence of a sustained relationship between St Albans and the London monastic centres, apart from the initial gift

¹⁸² Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 148-51 and 156-61.

¹⁸³ See Chapters 2 and 3 for further discussion on the archival use of historiography.

¹⁸⁴ East Anglian connections are discussed further in Chapter 3.

of Chetham's 6712 to Westminster.¹⁸⁵ The manuscripts in fact demonstrate the opposite and emphasise where the monastery's network really was. It is, after all, in East Anglia where we see the most defined dissemination strand of the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts. Regional production of the *Flores* was also on a par, if not superior to, that of London, seen in the production values of Cotton Claudius E VIII, the *Flores* of Henry Despenser, and Royal MS 14 C VI. It is, therefore, important that common perception moves away from viewing modern centres of power as holding the same relevance in the past. London was a significant centre for book production throughout the late Middle Ages, especially when early printing was established, but it was not the only area of importance creating manuscripts of high quality. The St Albans connection to East Anglia shows that even though the abbey was closer geographically to London, it maintained stronger networks within the East Anglian region. It is, therefore, a mistake to assume that geographical proximity reflects the nature of intellectual relationships at this time.

Presentation-standard manuscripts

Given the nature of the *Flores historiarum* it is perhaps unsurprising that it was a popular choice of text for presentation-grade manuscripts. The same characteristics that made the chronicle popular for use in miscellanies, that it was compact, easy to customise, and comprehensive, also made it a suitable text for presenting to wealthy patrons. Four of the twenty-nine *Flores* manuscripts are of presentation standard, with one being produced for a known patron, Henry Despenser. The use of historiography in this way is interesting: there was social prestige outside of monastic communities in owning history during this period. The written word had status and authority that translated onto manuscripts themselves, especially those that were recording 'factual' information. By keeping a written record, events were granted authenticity and legitimacy, and in owning such manuscripts individuals gained similarly with prestige, knowledge and power.¹⁸⁶ After all, official historical records did not start to be systematically kept by the Crown until the mid-thirteenth century with chroniclers like Matthew Paris, and the historiography that they created, being relied upon until that time for their description of events.¹⁸⁷ Historiography was, therefore, a prestigious textual genre.

¹⁸⁵ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 420 and 453-60; Gransden, 'Continuations', pp. 475-7, 480-1 and 486-91. Others, such as Nigel Morgan, have suggested a London connection based on stylistic grounds. See Morgan, 'Matthew Paris', pp. 91-5; Collard, 'Flores', pp. 442, 446, 448 and 452.

¹⁸⁶ Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 135-7 and 140-1.

¹⁸⁷ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 65-78; Clanchy, *Written Record*, pp. 163-73.

Furthermore, in this capacity historiography was as much a visual genre as a textual one. It mattered how the text was decorated and the status accorded to it by the decoration.

Presentation manuscripts are not always of exceptional quality or contain grand decoration. Depending on the audience and purpose, sometimes elements such as size and style of script can be enough to indicate the manuscript was of higher status. This is evident in several of the *Flores* manuscripts discussed elsewhere, such as Chetham's 6712 and Arundel 96, both of which were produced with specific audiences in mind. Bodleian MS Douce 207 is a further example of this type of presentation and one of the larger *Flores* manuscripts, measuring 240 x 355 mm. Its quires fluctuate in size; there are usually five or six sheets per quire but in the middle of Douce 207 this increases to 11 or 12 sheets. The *Flores* was written by one scribe up to 1235, where the text finishes, in a textualis rotunda around 1300-1325. It is appended and continued by four additional works on ff. 231^r-240^v by two scribes: fragments of Roger of Howden's *Chronicon*, a *Chronicon breve* by an unknown author, extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Nennius, and part of the *Speculum coenobitarum*, a work on the origins of monastic history written by John of Boston, a monk from Bury St Edmunds. These additional works were added later and the scribal work in these texts is of lower quality than the *Flores*. Nevertheless, it is obvious why such historical works were added: they complemented the *Flores* text whilst also expanding the periods and material covered. Although it cannot add to the discussion of continuations, after Chetham 6712, Douce 207 is one of the most discussed manuscripts in the *Flores* corpus. It is considered to be one of the earliest in the tradition, which the dating of the scribal hand confirms.¹⁸⁸ The 1235 end-date correlates to the end of Wendover's part of the chronicle - the only *Flores* manuscript that ends at this point - suggesting it was copied from a manuscript that did not contain any later additions by Matthew Paris. This is highlighted in the explicit at the end of the chronicle, which states 'huc usque scripsit cronica dominus rogerus de Wendover'. It seems most likely, therefore, that Douce 207 was copied from a manuscript that is no longer extant or has suffered significant damage. Regardless of exemplar, the production values of Douce 207 indicate it was intended for presentation. The manuscript was large for a *Flores* manuscript, as stated above, produced in a good quality rotunda script, with a textual hierarchy and decorated initials. Furthermore, the manuscript contains a decorative historiated initial at the beginning that pictures a monk with a book giving praise to God. These levels of production are in line with high-quality monastic historiographical manuscripts from this

¹⁸⁸ Powicke, 'Chronica Majora', 306-8; Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 21 and 97; Kay, 'Wendover's Last Annal', pp. 779-85.

period, such as Chetham's 6712, the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts of Matthew Paris (discussed further in the next chapter) and Nero D II, which are often well executed and on good quality parchment but do not contain the lavish decoration associated with secular ownership. It is highly likely, then, that Douce 207 was a monastic manuscript and, even though no ownership marks survive, it would have been an important manuscript within its monastic library.

capit. prologus in librum qui flores



...inger hōnam.
...miam q̄ delectu
...ritem ab eis
...dio mundi cum
...fuerit ambus
...quorūdam regū
...ū r̄ regū ad
...eruditiōem fieri
...mū dicitur amonari. acce hieubus
...lecto deignis pla collige possit. Ser q̄
...contra quōsdam audientes pigros dicitur
...qui obviādo dicunt. quid uocāte est u
...pas uel uoces seu dūctos hominū castis
...tas mantere. p̄digia celi + t̄e uel alios
...elementor. scriptis uisibilia p̄ueniunt. + sou
...itū. isti totū uita. + mores p̄ternū ad
...mūmōm̄ subsequētiā. p̄m. malor il
...ceruiplo ut uō uideat. ceterū. p̄digia a
...uel p̄uocata p̄tita que famia. uel uocata
...letat̄ uel aliqua sine uadē flagella. p
...p̄uocatis. filios hominū cū uiderit̄ figu
...raunt iō mēiore. p̄ hīs amēndū. ut
...a q̄ s̄tia rucit̄ p̄dies qui se manēt in
...aliquo manūte mēuunt. moe ad uenē
...dū p̄uocant̄ + confitōm̄. p̄ h̄ t̄m̄ pla
...atū firmēt. Ob hūc itaq̄. cū h̄er
...tie uō d̄lāt. moyses legis latoe. ut h̄t
...tōm̄ diuina uisōm̄. a h̄t. capm̄ in
...uidiam. sup̄tatem iacob. dolo h̄m̄
...etū. malaam uideam filios ist̄. tom
...m̄m̄ duodecim. ioseph. p̄m̄ quinq̄
...gūm̄. p̄ ob̄p̄m̄ ignis + sulphuris
...manūfēt. quātū. bonos amēndū.
...malor. esse sequat̄ abhorreant̄. ut
...p̄m̄ sop̄m̄ fugiēdo radicat̄. em̄m̄
...+ h̄ uō solum moyses. sed omnes diuine
...p̄m̄e t̄m̄tōres in h̄stōrias + in mo
...alib. libris faciūt. uirtutes cōmēndū
...una detestādo. d̄m̄ t̄m̄e s̄m̄l + amare
...m̄ ad uocēdo. Non sūt igit̄. audē
...di qui aduocor libros + maxime a catho
...has edicōs dicunt esse nequigratos. p̄
...quos quocūq̄ humane sapiēt̄ + si
...lūm̄ necessariū est. p̄ mēmorā uirtutū.

et intelligenda cognoscere. et facim

Rer diebus de ope p̄uocati. ser dice
...reus r̄m̄ acētūm̄ formatur. p̄n
...m̄o d̄didit lucem. Sed firmamentū
...celi in medio libigat aquarū. ip̄s aqua
...ne s̄m̄ cū celo sup̄iore ac uirtutū que
...in ea conditōe laudant̄. cū h̄er ser
...dicit̄. eay dū acētū. Seris conuoga
...tas in sui locū aquas que cūta cōmē
...m̄t̄. cēt̄. uic̄t̄. app̄t̄. Quāto h̄er
...instruimento celi p̄sūt qui uic̄t̄ q̄m̄
...p̄ cōmētiōem equūm̄ colligitur. r̄. u.
...ap̄t̄ dies uocatur. Quāto natiuita
...uolant̄. et amāntia cōm̄t̄. Seris
...alta c̄st̄ria + ip̄m̄ hominū + agm̄
...d̄m̄alēns formatur. de cū. latē cōm̄
...entis uirēū oīm̄ uiuentū. eā p̄ uic̄t̄
...qui uic̄t̄ quātū credibile uic̄t̄. + h̄
...ap̄t̄ dies appellat̄. vnde m̄to creditur
...a nō uenit̄ s̄t̄m̄a uic̄t̄ cōm̄. + h̄
...ap̄t̄ die d̄m̄ fuisse cōm̄t̄m̄. De
...h̄t̄ cū ut una ceterū q̄ nō solum eb̄m̄o
...da. ser et mēns die. sedis atam p̄ ge
...nis h̄m̄m̄ s̄t̄m̄e uirtutū. morte sup̄
...p̄dūm̄ a latē suo c̄st̄m̄. s̄m̄m̄m̄
...h̄m̄m̄ sibi s̄m̄m̄ c̄m̄. quo uic̄t̄
...h̄t̄ die p̄m̄ atam ip̄t̄ c̄m̄t̄. cū q̄
...et latē cōm̄ tollēt̄ uirtutū s̄m̄
...uic̄t̄. cū. aduocōs genis p̄m̄m̄
...h̄m̄m̄. *De p̄m̄o ad.*

Adā in paradisi. Vnde uic̄t̄. Amū
...p̄m̄a em̄llat̄. am̄ uic̄t̄ c̄m̄
...q̄ m̄m̄. ac uic̄t̄ uoia m̄p̄m̄t̄ de p̄
...uo cōmēndū uerū s̄t̄e aduocāt̄. Vnde
...puerit̄m̄a nudat̄. h̄s p̄m̄m̄t̄.
...a d̄m̄ de parad̄o c̄m̄. de s̄m̄ malod̄ta in
...s̄m̄e uic̄t̄. s̄m̄ p̄m̄ aduocāt̄. Vnde
...p̄m̄m̄ a d̄m̄ aut̄ h̄m̄m̄ parad̄i die
...m̄m̄ am̄ gladio flām̄o nō solum p̄m̄
...h̄ et uic̄t̄. p̄m̄m̄ parad̄i d̄m̄m̄ s̄m̄
...c̄m̄. *De generacōne ad.*

Adā cognouit uerū suū. non
...in parad̄o ser uic̄t̄ r̄m̄ + c̄m̄m̄.
...et h̄c latoe. leges moyses. ḡm̄m̄ ad.
...s̄m̄m̄ ad q̄m̄ ab̄r̄he p̄m̄ h̄m̄m̄





Figure 1.6: The opening pages of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 635 (reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge) and BL Cotton MS Claudius E VIII (© British Library Board).

Although the majority of the *Flores* manuscripts were produced with practical purposes in mind, such as supplementing the contents of a library, the text was also used to create grand manuscripts that facilitated patronage and built relationships. Cambridge, Trinity College MS 635 is a high-grade book and one of few *Flores* manuscripts to be produced at this quality level. The manuscript is made of immaculate parchment with rich decoration and contains the only occurrence of a display letter hierarchy; normal display initials being blue with red flourishing, while higher-status initials are decorated with gold. Traces of noble ownership are shown by two shields on the bottom of f. 1^r, though these marks have been destroyed in order to remove provenance. The flyleaves used for Trinity 635 come from another manuscript, a common practice. In this instance, however, the parchment used is a folio from the *Flores* - the beginning of book 2, William the Conqueror. The entry on this flyleaf is small and imperfect, only the beginning of a column of text, and, with this text being written in the middle of the pair, the dimensions of the text to page do not correlate to any of the other *Flores* manuscripts. From the large parchment size and similar script, it seems possible that this leaf was a practice for Trinity 635 itself, perhaps scrapped in its early stages due to an error. Although a high-quality manuscript, the decoration within Trinity 635 is not of the same quality found in Despenser's *Flores* (**Figure 1.6**), Claudius E VIII, suggesting this manuscript was owned or gifted to someone of different status or of different relationship to those producing it. Nevertheless, despite being less showy, Trinity 635 is of exceptional quality and production, with a consistent visual presentation throughout. On folio 241^r is the final full-bordered decoration of the manuscript. This type of decoration only occurs twice earlier in Trinity 635: once at the beginning and the other at the start of book two of the *Flores* (the coronation of William the Conqueror). This third occurrence of the decoration coincides with the entry for the coronation of Edward I in 1272 - a visual emphasis that is not found in any other *Flores* manuscripts. Though the manuscript was produced much later, around the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, it would seem likely because of this emphasis that Trinity 635 was made for someone with close ties to the royal family. The Trinity manuscript may not be as showy or decorative as some of the *Flores* presentation manuscripts, but in its subtle and competent production it is possible to see a good quality manuscript that was intended for a high-status individual.

Medieval presentation manuscripts, especially those full of highly decorative imagery, were frequently defaced and mutilated in subsequent centuries by collectors and antiquarians and, as such, it can be hard to recreate and understand the original manuscript. As one of the earliest illuminated historiographical texts, the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts provided a rich source for such collectors. Westminster Abbey Library MS 24 contains a similar type of illumination to that of Trinity 635, though is also one of the few *Flores*

manuscripts that is illuminated throughout. It is written and rubricated entirely by one scribe and can be dated to between 1310 and 1330 based on the textualis semi-quadrata script.¹⁸⁹ In many respects the manuscript follows the standard *Flores* iconography; all of the post-conquest kings are illuminated in the traditional style. Two of these scenes, however, have been removed: Henry I and Henry III.¹⁹⁰ It seems most likely that collectors removed them, either for their decorative value or because of a contemporary interest in these particular medieval kings and in national identity.¹⁹¹ In addition to the standard illumination, Westminster 24 also contains bust illustrations of six of the pre-conquest kings. The illuminations themselves are very similar to the busts found in Royal 14 C VI, yet the proliferation is closer to Trinity 635. While Westminster 24 contains no provenance to indicate ownership, what is evident from the standard of illumination and scribal production is that this was a quality manuscript intended for a person of status. Moreover, the later damage to the manuscript can offer further insights. Westminster 24 was not as grand as manuscripts like Claudius E VIII and Trinity 635, both of which reflected the status of their owner in decorative borders and initials, yet it was not a visually dull manuscript that would be of no interest to art collectors. The manuscript adopted the style of illumination seen in Chetham's 6712 and Eton 123, the traditional image of the King enthroned. This style of imagery, included separately from the text unlike the grander decoration seen elsewhere, was easy to remove with no damage to the text. While the damage from later collectors might make it harder to locate the Westminster manuscript within the broader *Flores* tradition, this manuscript demonstrates that the *Flores* was prevalent enough in presentation-grade manuscripts to have multiple presentation styles.

The use of the *Flores* text to create presentation manuscripts was not an isolated phenomenon in the late Middle Ages, as seen by the five manuscripts discussed in this section. BL Cotton MS Claudius E VIII, the grandest of all the *Flores* manuscripts, was most likely

¹⁸⁹ Luard dates the Westminster manuscript to 1306, which corresponds with the final annal entry in the chronicle, but such a specific dating should be taken with caution.

¹⁹⁰ Each has been removed with a sharp blade that has cut through several of the folios below. The level of carelessness suggests that an early-modern collector removed them, although why the other illuminations have remained unscathed is not clear. Clemens and Graham, *Manuscript Studies*, pp. 68 and 114-6; Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), p. 136.

¹⁹¹ Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 76-97; David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 13-35.

created as a commission piece. The manuscript belonged to Henry Despenser, containing the Despenser coat of arms throughout, and was created by Norwich Priory during his episcopate (1370-1404). A dating of the hand and illumination style confirms that dating. The decorative borders throughout the manuscript are near identical in style to those found in Bodleian MS Bodley 312, a manuscript of the *Polychronicon* produced at Norwich Priory, which Kathleen Scott has dated to c. 1394-1397.¹⁹² There is a clear development of style and iconography between the two manuscripts. The range of foliage motifs is smaller in Claudius E VIII and they are not of the same standard as in Bodley 312. It seems likely, therefore, that Claudius E VIII was produced at a similar time to the Bodley manuscript, perhaps by a less capable artist, suggesting it was written no later than c. 1400. Gold initials indicative of the manuscript's status are found throughout; in fact, there is a piece of gold decoration on nearly every page. Despite its status, though, the Claudius manuscript does not follow the usual illumination pattern of illustrations of the kings, instead it was decorated with full border illuminations, usually containing the Despenser coat of arms, and large, gold initials for the entries of each new king. By tying the Despenser coat of arms directly into the illumination of the manuscript, the suggestion is made not just that the Despensers are powerful individuals directly connected with recent history and current affairs, but, perhaps more importantly, that they are in control of history and in a position to change it. Norwich priory were likely keen to stay on the good side of Bishop Despenser and fostering a strong relationship within the ecclesiastical hierarchy would have benefited the priory in the long-term. As mentioned above, the priory created a miscellaneous text with the *Flores* at its core to achieve exactly that. The *Flores historiarum*, therefore, was evidently a regular choice for presentation manuscripts during this period, to the extent that it was deliberately included in special compilations and miscellanies.

¹⁹² Kathleen Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395-1499* (London: British Library, 2002), pp. 26-7.

p plateas auctat londoni suspendio finali
 pnt in huiusmodi in vigili s̄ audree apli mu
 tius deo i magrib; regni apud lbestu ad
 timorem pie nec p̄ant s̄ subditu ceteri
 Et concessa est ei vindex ps aq; anno
 p̄nto de soluelat. de quib; ū s̄p̄. tūc vñ
 est collata. p̄no archieps̄ Cantuar̄ h̄no et
 tati cum suffraganeis suis obtulit regi de
 amam cantuar̄ lonoz. Estimauit aū re
 ge q̄ plus eēt accepturus noluit eos au
 dit. S̄conitio non declinante deo ad dex
 tam vel ad sinistru de p̄no oblato nolens
 eos contumace rex in crastino concep̄o
 be marie. rex Edvard̄ tenuit natale suū
 apud sc̄m altanū p̄ordinat ap̄o l̄estū nū
 apud solcupub; destinans in villam que
 Saumbra; d̄. p̄pat̄ oordia reformanda
 p̄ntino s̄c̄ ill̄ h̄llari; p̄ant apud plun
 miche. Et l̄. h̄. nauib; Edmūdus fi
 reg. et h̄. de lac. leycesse et l̄uolū Comit̄
 secandis ul p̄cotam m̄uocis Britannie
 v̄lus Burgalm̄ reuigarunt. ap̄cuse aq̄ar
 ē p̄no die mensis. rex Edvard̄ apud no
 uū cast̄ sup̄ t̄yne ex̄itū fortem aduina
 ad sc̄oz neq̄am v̄ndiatadam. Die s̄c̄
 Gregor̄ Cardinal̄ p̄sul altauenis cū qui
 butam de Saumbra; regis apud Doue
 riam ventoz puluā celert̄ fuit t̄lucen
 v̄nica in manus palmar̄ Cardinal̄ ap̄o
 nouū t̄plū londoni hospitante l̄re motu
 ut suos et templaroz sauras ultra se in
 misens nepos Cardinal̄ occubuit saua
 tus. p̄ q̄dem uam ad tempus differēs
 v̄lus coactū p̄p̄at̄ regi consiliū de cau
 b̄y q̄le ul q̄ fuit ostendit. Obierunt
 dū ioh̄s nōnis arepe Ab̄ac. Gilbertus
 de clām Comes Glōc. post regem p̄ten
 t̄llū regni in ope et d̄mone. nos Couen
 tenas et l̄ches̄ ep̄c. Cui successe. l̄. de
 langetoū familiarissimus. et int̄man
 nis p̄ab; nūc assignat̄ p̄ regem sardi
 nali aq̄ fuit consecutus p̄uilegior̄ eadē.
 Cantuar̄ in om̄ib; statu saluo. **Bella**
p̄antus sc̄oz regno tolet eē remor?
 Quo ḡc̄. a. l̄. x̄v̄. xxx. die mar
 t̄ij p̄ magnificū regem Edvard̄.
 villa et castro de Berelikh capt̄ om̄s ibidē
 in uentros angla p̄emerunt p̄ p̄antus ex̄.

balle p̄antus
 p̄antus p̄ regno
 tolet eē remor

qui villam ip̄am postmodum abiurarit
 hoim̄ aū sc̄oz p̄uilegiū s̄p̄ p̄emptoz s̄p̄
 agita multa referunt. Sexto die apl̄ rex
 sc̄oz ioh̄ p̄o de et sc̄oz om̄ib; tenentibus
 t̄tam quāq̄. in angl̄ homagiu debitu regi
 angl̄ reddidit p̄cipuam. rege v̄ angl̄ ap̄o
 Berelikh p̄o fortificandē m̄uoz ac fossa
 toz ciuit̄ v̄lle morante. sc̄oz. s̄. dū teros
 de ayenethe et de alodes. Comit̄ et uic̄s si
 l̄ard̄ et l̄. ill̄ de sc̄o claw. Barō cū adu
 litonib; fines angl̄ ingressi villas de her
 clēstū et de Cozebugg. s̄. reletu odicis
 humane hominū p̄petrarunt. De m̄
 te regessū m̄toam cast̄ p̄antij Comit̄ de
 Wābar contant̄ amica reḡ angl̄ acc̄ ob
 sederunt. verum custodes cast̄ p̄ca l̄mu
 late a rege angl̄ auxiliū postularunt p̄e
 missis utim̄ p̄lat̄ Comit̄. illud castrū
 m̄te. Quo audito m̄s̄ rex angl̄ duo mi
 lia eq̄u cooptoz. cum xl. vesu. p̄o p̄silio
 ne huiusmodi remouenda. sc̄oz itaq̄ p̄e
 tes remanserunt. actis ad. v. a. t̄ga ver
 tentib; hoc uisio p̄derunt obfessū m̄ao
 res ex̄c̄at̄ uti v̄ possent quidam militem
 noie uobam de her̄yng. quem rex fuit
 illo anno angient̄ balzo militan ad
 regem sc̄oz l̄are demandare eius uolun
 tatem ex̄pturum datus pro eo obf̄idib; co
 mitib; de ayeneth et de Batenan in cer
 atudinis argumentū. O. d̄s̄ nob̄es ei
 dem diei post p̄idū cum eq̄tatur̄ quge
 et xl. milib; pedum est regressus. Et cō
 nullo p̄lo cederunt die illa p̄atus no
 be. et d̄s̄ p̄atus de Shū miles uobū
 t̄llū et alius. l̄. de sc̄o claw qui uerū
 lum reḡ sc̄oz defendebat et alij ad m̄m̄s.
 et a. computat̄. iudic̄ v̄ c̄tina appropiā
 te rege angl̄ castro p̄o stati obfessū m̄s̄
 s̄ planctu lacrimabū reddiderunt. post h̄
 m̄ulam de Salfelley subitū fugient̄
 b; seu fugatis q̄ acta custodierunt cast̄ in
 gla v̄rū occupant. Castellū puellarū
 et q̄ si in ex̄pugnabile uidebatur subar
 castodib; v̄r̄ bellicosis m̄s̄ aliq̄ d̄m̄ dese
 dentib; demq̄ ad qūs̄uit. Tandem mare
 sc̄oz p̄t̄iens. regē sc̄oz noie tū de au
 nis t̄re educē hanelau. villas s̄c̄ audree
 et s̄c̄ ioh̄s cū vicinū castell̄ d̄ici p̄e ad

Figure 1.7: Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 426, f. 75r.

Not all high-quality manuscripts were necessarily produced with a patron in mind though and the *Flores* was also used for speculative manuscript production. The production values of New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 426, such as quality of script and parchment, match those of Claudius E VIII, just without any decoration (**Figure 1.7**). It was relatively common for manuscripts to contain spaces left for flourished initials and illuminations that were never completed, as we have already seen in Arundel 96, and such is the case in the Beinecke manuscript. Beinecke 426 is the largest surviving *Flores* manuscript, measuring 260 x 481 mm. It was written by one scribe throughout in a textualis semi-quadrata dating to the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁹³ That this manuscript was never finished suggests two things: either it was a speculative production made without a specific patron in mind, or it was intended to be a high-status manuscript within a monastic library but was not finished. In fact, a combination of the two seems to be the case here. Beinecke 426 was owned, and likely produced, by the Cluniac priory of St Saviour's, in Bermondsey.¹⁹⁴ Between 1324 and 1373 St Saviour's was involved in political turmoil after providing sanctuary to supporters of the Earl of Lancaster.¹⁹⁵ It is likely, then, that the Beinecke manuscript was a speculative product, made for a putative patron during this tumultuous time, but was not required after royal favour was regained in 1373. Speculative manuscript production was another tool in the monastic arsenal that allowed abbots and priors to flex their influence and develop their networks further. The status of the *Flores historiarum* was such that a speculative presentation copy could always be of use and in fact such approaches to manuscript production make sense with historiographical texts. If not being presented as a gift, manuscripts of the *Flores* could be used to supplement the institution's library, act as an indication of the monastery's own status, or be sold to other monasteries or collectors. Though producing a high-quality *Flores* manuscript for speculative purposes may seem a little extreme, it was a manuscript that would always retain value and provide a good return.

The *Flores historiarum* was a versatile text that allowed for multiple different uses, including manuscripts of presentation standard. Such manuscripts varied, from high-quality manuscripts produced for a monastic audience, such as Douce 207, to grand manuscripts intended for an important patron, like Claudius E VIII, but nevertheless the *Flores* remained the choice of text in each instance. As is clear, its use as a text for presentation manuscripts was not an isolated phenomenon. Indeed, that a sixth of the surviving manuscript corpus is high-quality manuscripts is indicative of the authority attributed to the text and transmission

¹⁹³ *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 522-3.

¹⁹⁴ There are ownership marks in the margins of ff. 23^r and 84^v.

¹⁹⁵ Midmer, *Monasteries*, p. 65.

of the *Flores* in the late Middle Ages, and perhaps suggests an even broader transmission of the text than is evident in the extant manuscripts alone. Historiographical manuscripts are frequently seen as practical, reference items, as much of the previous manuscript analysis in this chapter has shown, but they were not limited to such usages. Although it was these exact characteristics that made the *Flores historiarum* appealing as a choice of text for presentation manuscripts, in developing the text into this high-status manuscript form the reputation of the *Flores* was enhanced too. By owning a presentation copy of the *Flores historiarum* you were not only showcasing your status, knowledge, and control of events, you were also connecting yourself to a rich historiographical and intellectual tradition.

Other Manuscripts

A handful of plain copies of the *Flores* survive, all with little to no evidence of provenance and unexamined in the scholarship. While these manuscripts may lack provenance information and so can add little to our understanding of contemporary dissemination, what they demonstrate is the full spectrum of the manuscript lifecycle during the Middle Ages, from initial production, to having continuations and extra sections added, and ultimately being dismantled and broken down when the manuscripts were no longer popular. All manuscripts had a life beyond their initial creation, as we have already seen in part when studying the miscellaneous *Flores* manuscripts, and what happened to these manuscripts at later stages in the lifecycle can inform us about contemporary opinion towards the *Flores historiarum*. The *Flores* remained relevant into the late Middle Ages and beyond, so much so that *Flores* manuscripts were rescued from being destroyed and recycled into other products. What made the *Flores* relevant and distinctive in the thirteenth century ensured its interest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it was a condensed but acutely observed historiographical work packed full of copies of contemporary charters, correspondence and relevant information.

As we have previously seen, the *Flores historiarum* often acted as the base for a local historiographical tradition, but it also formed the base of historiographical manuscripts containing the work of later St Albans chroniclers. Though not produced to the quality of Matthew Paris's later works, these manuscripts were on par with Chetham's 6712 and provided the monastery and its cells with a base from which to expand future historiographical works. BL Cotton MS Otho B V and Otho C II were both severely damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731 and now survive in fragments. Otho B V is the earlier of the two manuscripts but is in worse condition, what survives only covers the years from Creation

to 1133. Higher-grade flourished and puzzle initials are utilised to mark the coronations in the text, but otherwise the manuscript lacks ornate features and decoration. Indeed, the parchment used to make the manuscript is full of imperfections – a trait commonly found in St Albans historiographical manuscripts (even the large, display manuscripts of Matthew Paris, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MSS 16 and 26, are written on parchment of mixed quality). No provenance survives for Otho B V because of the fire damage the manuscript sustained; though it is tempting to connect the manuscript to St Albans, for after all it is highly likely that a *Flores historiarum* manuscript was owned by the abbey, there is no direct evidence for this. What Otho B V does show is the base *Flores* text with a certain amount of customisation, such as the same textual emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon kings found in Westminster 24 and Trinity 635.

Otho C II has survived the better of the two fire-damaged manuscripts, although it is highly fragmented. Enough of the manuscript survives to show us that it was a medium-small manuscript, roughly 204 x 283 mm in size. From what remains, it is evident that Otho C II follows the same presentation as other manuscripts; it is written in one column and there are spaces left for illumination. Otho C II is a significant manuscript as it is the only *Flores* to contain the continuation of Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica maiora*.¹⁹⁶ Although this manuscript is discussed further in Chapter 3, Otho C II is a manuscript constructed of several parts. There are three distinctive sections, all of which are imperfect due to fire damage: the *Flores historiarum*, a continuation by Adam Murimuth (1330-1362), and Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica maiora* (1376-1378).¹⁹⁷ This manuscript began as a copy of the *Flores historiarum*, written by one scribe. It was then brought up to date with the Adam Murimuth continuation, written by a different scribe, before adding the Walsingham section at the end of the century. This can be confirmed by scribal hands, which all demonstrate enough difference in style to have been written decades apart.¹⁹⁸ The *Flores historiarum*, then, was valuable as a base historiographical text both within St Albans, its network, and outside, and there it was valuable enough to be kept up-to-date over a century later. Though both Otho B V and C II were damaged in a library fire, we can still piece together enough information to understand their contemporary and later usage. These were manuscripts continued and

¹⁹⁶ 'Walsingham Reconsidered', p. 846.

¹⁹⁷ Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', p. 29; Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 20-1 and 30.

¹⁹⁸ The surviving fragments of the manuscript show five hands: 1: ff. 1^r-81^v and 88^r-89^v, 2: ff. 82^r-87^v, 3: ff. 89^v-107^v, 4: ff. 108^r-115^v and 5: 116^r-138^r.

maintained over a long period of time, interesting because of the lifecycle that remains visible despite the damage.

Not all *Flores* manuscripts suffered neglect through accidents; some manuscripts were produced from booklets of different qualities and simply used heavily. Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 186 is one such manuscript where later usage has gone on to alter the presentation quality. It was written by three scribes, with one scribe responsible for the bulk of the writing. The hand is a loose bastarda anglicana dating to the late 1300s, to which have been added loose highlighting of text in a yellow wash and pilcrows. In some instances, these features are simply written over the text making the writing illegible, such as in the opening pages ff. 1r-2v. There is mud and dirt throughout the manuscript, particularly around quire breaks, suggesting it was left unbound for quite some time. The production values and quality seem entirely at odds with the quality of the parchment, which is of a very good standard and consistent in colour throughout. It seems most likely that at some point in the fifteenth century Rawlinson B. 186 became a personal book, indicative from the cross referencing, heavy marginalia and editing that occurs throughout the manuscript, and may have even been produced for this purpose. It also passed into antiquarian hands, as seen by later additions to the manuscript included to make the text 'complete', such as the section added to the fifteenth quire on ff. 216r-217v, other marginalia and erasures, and edits to the text itself, as seen with the opening incipit. Rawlinson B. 186 may have been damaged by personal use but it was its continuing relevance as a personal manuscript that ensured its posterity. By remaining a relevant and interesting source even into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts survived in a way that many other manuscripts did not.

Many medieval manuscripts were reused and recycled during their lifetime, especially when made of parchment, which was useful for making new books, as well as for a range of other trades and purposes.¹⁹⁹ As a popular text, it should not be surprising that *Flores historiarum* manuscripts were involved in this lifecycle; however, what is interesting is for one such manuscript to have been reclaimed before it was destroyed. San Marino, California,

¹⁹⁹ Manuscript fragments and reuse are the subject of increasing scholarship, see: 'Fragmentarium' (2019), <https://www.fragmentarium.ms/> [accessed 07/02/2019]; *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, ed. by Åslaug Ommundsen and Tuomas Heikkilä (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); and Michael Erwin, 'Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in Printed Books: Crowdsourcing and Cataloguing Medieval Waste in the Book Collection of the Harry Ransom Centre', *Manuscripta*, 60 (2016), pp. 188-247.

Huntington Library MS HM 30319 displays evidence of having been dismembered and its pages having begun to be used for other things, before what remained was reconstituted into the original manuscript. The Huntington manuscript is very different from the other *Flores* manuscripts in production and decoration. It is relatively small for the *Flores* tradition, pages measuring 182 x 246 mm, and appears to have been written by a single scribe around 1400-1450. The decoration itself is eclectic and seems to have been started professionally before being taken over by another individual: starting initially with blue initials with red flourishing of good standard, then a combination of blue and red initials, followed by only red with green flourishing, before reverting back to a mixture of all three colours. Towards the end initials have been decorated with silver. The script itself is a high quality script gothic littera cursiva and is in keeping with this being a book owned by the Abbot of Battle, John Newton (r: 1463-1490), who later donated the manuscript to the abbey library.²⁰⁰ It is not clear whether the damage occurred to Huntington 30319 while in the monastic library or after the dissolution of the monasteries, though it would seem unlikely for the monastic community to destroy a gift from one of their abbots. It is most likely, then, that the damage taken by Huntington 30319 occurred in the mid-late sixteenth century. The Huntington manuscript, then, is an example of a wider practice that occurred after the dissolution of the monasteries in England, when many books were destroyed for their constituent parts. That Huntington 30319 survives reflects the broader antiquarian interest in the *Flores historiarum* and medieval historiography in general – a fate that many monastic manuscripts from the dissolution were not lucky enough to receive.

The majority of extant manuscripts containing the *Flores historiarum* were produced with a clear purpose and reason, and fit within one of the groups through which we have studied the tradition in this chapter, but the *Flores* was not limited to clearly defined manuscripts. While these other *Flores* manuscripts may defy simple explanation, they are indicative of a broader range of purposes in which the *Flores historiarum* was used in the middle ages; that of more everyday or personal books. The *Flores* tradition, therefore, was a broad one. This was not a text limited to high-quality, presentation manuscripts, or only produced by monks for their own personal reference; it was a text that encompassed the full range of the manuscript book in the late middle ages.

²⁰⁰ Ownership marks and donation are given on f. 108r.

Conclusion

The *Flores historiarum* was a versatile and popular text that enjoyed relatively wide dissemination throughout the south east of England in the late middle ages. Not only that, but it was produced in a range of manuscript types and was a historiographical text that retained its popularity well into the fourteenth century. It has only been possible to make these discoveries, such as unpicking the dissemination and other uses of the *Flores* manuscripts, by adopting a new methodology: focusing on the transmission of visual characteristics instead of textual. As we have seen, these distinctive visual elements originated in the earliest surviving *Flores* manuscript, Chetham's 6712, and represent their own dissemination strands. When viewing the *Flores historiarum* tradition, then, we are no longer limited to viewing it as two separate textual traditions, instead being able to see the greater subtlety in how this manuscript corpus dispersed and spread. Furthermore, the *Flores historiarum* manuscripts demonstrate a different geographical emphasis than we might expect. Instead of seeing production focused in and around London, what the *Flores* tradition demonstrates is that East Anglia was of equal importance when it came to manuscript production; a spread that is indicative of the importance of religious houses to the intellectual landscape. Not only did East Anglia see an equivalent amount of *Flores* manuscripts produced during this period, but the regional success also resulted in a separate textual miscellany tradition, distinct from the two main variants that have previously been identified. This chapter, then, suggests several new dissemination strands for the *Flores historiarum*, as well as an alternative way of approaching manuscript dissemination, and demonstrates that the *Flores* tradition is far richer than is commonly realised from its role as an important historiographical text and reference work. The *Flores historiarum* manuscripts provide a lens through which we can understand manuscript production, ownership and intellectual interests in late medieval England, and beyond.

St Albans' Historiography in the Thirteenth Century after the *Flores Historiarum*

Thirteenth-century English history writing is dominated by the figure of Matthew Paris: a Benedictine monk, artist and chronicler at St Albans Abbey. The chronicles he compiled were lively and vividly illustrated. His works offer a detailed depiction of the political and religious landscape from a position near to the royal court and thus provided an enduring appeal that guaranteed the popularity of his chronicles into the early seventeenth century. Yet Matthew Paris was not the only monk writing history at St Albans. Despite the attention Paris brings to the abbey, the monks who followed his work remain understudied and undervalued, although they provided a necessary continuation from which the abbey could retain its position as a centre of historical writing. This chapter will re-assess this period of historiographical production at St Albans Abbey, to see why historical manuscripts were being produced, what purpose they served, and their relevance to the local monastic community.

Matthew Paris is often seen by modern historians as a maverick, peerless individual who produced chronicles of such magnitude and depth to which no other thirteenth-century historian compares.²⁰¹ By some, Paris is perceived as a reliable witness for contemporary life and a valued commentator on a turbulent period of history.²⁰² Yet such approaches focus

²⁰¹ Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*; M. R. James, 'The Drawings of Matthew Paris', *Walpole Society*, 14 (1926), pp. 1-26; David Knowles, 'The Cultural Influence of English Medieval Monasticism', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 7 (1943), pp. 146-59; Vaughan, *Paris*, Weiler, 'Matthew Paris'; Martin and Thomson, 'History Books', pp. 405-7 and 409-10; Lewis, *Art of MP*.

²⁰² *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 356-79; Gransden, 'Propaganda'; eadem, 'Chronicles: Part 1 & 2'; Hagger, 'Gesta Abbatum', pp. 373-98; Miriam Helene Marshall, 'Thirteenth-Century Culture as Illustrated by Matthew Paris', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), pp. 465-77. Paris's reliability has been called into question by some scholars though, in particular Luard's critical edition of Matthew Paris: Luard, *CM I*, p. lxxvi. See also Taylor, *Medieval Chronicles*, pp. 6-7, 20 and 22-4.

largely on the texts alone and entirely misunderstand the purpose of Paris' manuscripts and how they were used at the abbey. Furthermore, in focusing so intensely on Matthew Paris, the work of monks who were his contemporaries and those who followed after has almost entirely been forgotten. We must, therefore, reconsider Matthew Paris as part of the monastic community at St Albans that neither began nor ended during his lifetime.

Through studying the autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris, and all other historiographical manuscripts associated with him or St Albans during the thirteenth century (including copies of these chronicles), it will instead be seen that far from existing in isolation, Paris was in fact highly dependent on the creative environment of St Albans. It was the rich holdings of the abbey library that provided Paris with a basis from which to work and a source of visual templates. Indeed, the work of Matthew Paris was so much a part of the monastic community that he was creating historiographical works to perform specific functions on behalf of the abbey, all of which functions were primarily outward-facing and served the abbey's needs in relation to patronage and building reputation. This chapter will, therefore, limit its scope to focusing on how historiography was used outside of the confines of the monastic library in the thirteenth century, especially at St Albans, and address why this shift was possible with Paris's works.²⁰³ Furthermore, this chapter will expand out of the designed approach and incorporate related elements into the study so that manuscript production during this period can be fully understood; the usage and purpose of manuscripts will also be considered, for instance, as well as discussing issues of text where necessary. Not only should we avoid considering Matthew Paris's manuscripts in isolation from other manuscripts produced at St Albans during the thirteenth century, we should also resist separating him from the monastic institution.

Yet so far, Paris's contemporaries and the chronicle writers who followed have been largely forgotten.²⁰⁴ The work of these historiographers does not survive in as many variants,

²⁰³ As such, manuscripts like BL Cotton MS Claudius A. V and BL Cotton MS Titus C. VIII are excluded from consideration here, as they performed different functions. These manuscripts are both from the libraries of cells of St Albans Abbey: Claudius A. V is a copy of William of Malmesbury from Belvoir Priory and dating from the late twelfth to early thirteenth century; Titus C. VIII a cartulary from Wymondham Priory, produced in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

²⁰⁴ Very little scholarship exists on the work of the other St Albans chroniclers in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. See James P. Carley, 'William Rishanger's Chronicles and History Writing at St. Albans', in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of*

yet a low quantity of surviving manuscripts does not mean that these historiographical manuscripts are less valuable or useful. The work of John of Wallingford, William Rishanger, John Trokelowe and Henry Blanford are as important to understanding the development of a chronicle tradition at St Albans as is the work of Matthew Paris. Indeed, it is not possible to fully understand how and why the abbey had such a vibrant historiographical culture throughout the late Middle Ages if we do not study the work of all active writers and compilers. Scholarship on St Albans and its chronicles may be dominated by the figures of Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham, but the manuscripts written by the chroniclers in between had far more influence and longevity than commonly believed; they formed the basis of multiple chronicles, including Thomas Walsingham's work. A full study of all the manuscripts is, therefore, long overdue. A study of the entire corpus of thirteenth-century historiography from St Albans will address the issue of how and why there was continuity in historiographical manuscript production and what this meant within the institution.

The chapter will begin by studying Matthew Paris in depth, focusing on the autograph manuscripts he produced at St Albans and considering the nature of their production, why they were produced, and how they were used. It must be stated though that to fully understand the historiographical manuscripts of Matthew Paris it will first be necessary to unpick some of the historic, constructed 'identity' of Paris himself and the broader context in which he worked at St Albans Abbey. St Albans retained several similar historiographical manuscripts, all Paris autographs, into the early fifteenth century, each with a slightly different presentation; at St Albans chronicles were not just historical accounts, they served a pragmatic purpose too. This chapter will then assess the non-autograph manuscripts associated with Matthew Paris and his chronicles, many of which have been attributed to him but the connection not investigated, before comparing the work of Matthew Paris to the historians active at the abbey both during his lifetime and after. Matthew Paris has very much come to dominate the perception of historiographical writing at St Albans and a more balanced attitude and a more institutionally focused perspective are necessary to properly

Leonard E. Boyle, ed. by Jacqueline Brown and William P Stoneman (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 71-102; William Rishanger, *Chronica et annales, regnantibus Henrico tertio et Edwardo primo*, ed. by Henry T. Riley Rolls Series 28 (London: Longman, 1865); idem, *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger, of the Barons' War: the Miracles of Simon de Montfort*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1890); Trokelowe and Blanford, *Chronica*; Vaughan, 'Chronicle of John of Wallingford', pp. 66-77; idem, *The Chronicle Attributed to John of Wallingford*, Camden Miscellany 21 (1958).

understand these manuscripts in the landscape of thirteenth-century historiographical production. As this chapter will show, although the autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris demonstrate quality production and high levels of creativity, these manuscripts remained within the abbey and had limited external dissemination. Indeed, Paris's manuscripts were used by St Albans as a tool for facilitating patronage. Paris's works had a negative effect on the historians that followed, though, and later thirteenth-century historiographical production struggled to match these high standards, both of production and usage, resulting in history compilations for a while being confined to the abbey archives and administration.

Autograph manuscripts

The *Flores historiarum* tradition paved the way for the writing of history at St Albans. In Matthew Paris' lifetime (c. 1200-1259) several original historical compositions emerged from the St Albans scriptorium, including the *Historia Anglorum*, the *Flores historiarum* and the *Chronica maiora* – an expanded version of the *Flores*. Historiographical writing did not cease on Paris' death. Paris' reputation is derived largely from the chronicles themselves: his autograph chronicles were well informed and are an essential source of information for modern historians. Indeed, Paris' chronicles contain information and transcripts of other documents that have since been destroyed or lost, such as the pre-conquest charters of St Albans.²⁰⁵ Yet the value placed on Paris's historiographical works as repositories of information by antiquarians and modern historians has distorted our perception of their place within the chronicle corpus. Paris' autograph chronicles never left St Albans and never achieved the popularity and spread enjoyed by the *Flores*. At the same time, the very fact that these manuscripts remained at the abbey can inform us about their usage, the role of manuscripts at St Albans and, most importantly, the purpose of historiographical writing for large monastic institutions.

Only two of Matthew Paris's autograph manuscripts ever left St Albans Abbey, the Chetham's *Flores* in the thirteenth century and the *Historia Anglorum* in the fifteenth century, yet the manuscripts that remained are informative, complex and visually engaging volumes, distinctive for their highly personalised nature. Furthermore, the works are visually divergent, suggesting that each manuscript had a different purpose, usage or audience. The rich illustrations, rare to this extent in medieval chronicles, have attracted the attention of

²⁰⁵ Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 257-63 and 271-5; Crick, *Charters*, pp. 1-35; J. R. Hunn, 'A Medieval Cartulary of St Albans Abbey', *Medieval Archaeology*, 27 (1983), pp. 151-2.

many scholars, such as Nigel Morgan, Suzanne Lewis and M. R. James.²⁰⁶ Paris' maps are also some of the earliest and clearest extant examples of medieval cartography.²⁰⁷ The autograph manuscripts are a testament to medieval knowledge management and use of design: Paris' artistic skills meant that he experimented with different layouts and presentation strategies. The importance of these manuscripts to our understanding of late medieval England, knowledge management and manuscript production should not be understated, but we need to understand why these manuscripts differed and why so many manuscripts with similar content remained at the abbey. The manuscripts themselves offer clues to their usage and their uniqueness sets these manuscripts apart. Their inimitable and rich qualities reflected the greatness of St Albans at the time and for modern audiences these manuscripts act as a mirror in which to view the abbey's perception of itself.

Matthew Paris' historiographical works all demonstrate a certain amount of similarity between the manuscripts, yet there are elements of notable difference between the manuscripts too. Indeed, with the manuscripts associated with Paris it is simply not possible to take the comparative-visual approach as was done with the *Flores historiarum* in the previous chapter; these autograph manuscripts each retain a level of distinctiveness that defies this methodological approach. Here, then, a broader approach to the design-led analysis will be taken that incorporates other elements and considerations of manuscript production, such as usage, purpose, content, and the wider context of production. Indeed, there is a great deal of context to unpack with Paris before the manuscripts themselves can be coherently studied. The idiosyncrasy and interconnectivity of Paris's autograph

²⁰⁶ Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981); Lewis, *Art of MP*; James, 'Drawings of Matthew Paris'; Judith Collard 'Henry I's Dream in John of Worcester's Chronicle (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157) and the Illustration of Twelfth-Century English Chronicles', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 105-25; eadem, *Flores*, pp. 441 and 443-53.

²⁰⁷ Daniel Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys Through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Michael Gaudio, 'Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins', *Gesta*, 39 (2000), pp. 50-7; J. B. Mitchell, 'The Matthew Paris Maps', *Geographical Journal*, 81 (1933), pp. 27-34; Johannes Weiss, 'The Itinerary and Palestine Maps of Matthaëus Parisiensis: New Input to a Neverending Discussion', in *Understanding Different Geographies*, ed. by Karel Kriz, William Cartwright and Michaela Kinberger (Berlin: Springer, 2013), pp. 243-52.

manuscripts has led many scholars, in particular Vaughan and Gransden, to attempt to reconstruct a chronology of production at St Albans. The difficulty of the task is highlighted by the lack of agreement on the matter, with multiple alternative chronologies and relationship diagrams based on textual comparison currently in circulation.²⁰⁸ It is not entirely clear in what order Paris produced his various works, although there is sufficient evidence to date all of the autograph manuscripts to the years 1245-1259.²⁰⁹ Within this period it is not necessary to identify a strict chronology of production for all manuscripts. Paris' autograph manuscripts maintained a high level of interdependence and remained working documents while they were in the abbey's library: marginalia, single leaf additions and alterations were made to all historiographical manuscripts present at the abbey repeatedly until his death.²¹⁰ By focusing on the chronology of manuscript production the reason for production has been overlooked. It is how these manuscripts were used and the purpose they served at St Albans and other institutions that tells us most about historiographical production in this period; indeed, removing the chronological focus allows the manuscripts to be viewed in a different light. They are part of a wider tradition and heavily inter-related: it is not a detailed chronology of manuscript production that is important but the question of why these manuscripts were created in the first place.

Before the design and production of these autograph manuscripts can be studied, we need to consider the basics: titles and titular attribution. Rarely do historians stop to consider the legitimacy of the titles of the works that are studied and the affect this has on our perception of those works, but in the case of the St Albans chronicles it is essential that we do so as Paris's manuscripts are not what they have come to be viewed as in modern scholarship. Matthew Paris is best known for his *Chronica maiora* manuscripts, extant only in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library MSS 16 and 26 (hereafter CCCC 16 & 26), a two-volume set of richly-illuminated chronicles. Yet these manuscripts pose a problem. Modern historians have come to know these manuscripts as the *Chronica maiora*, but this title does not reflect

²⁰⁸ Vaughan produced various relationship diagrams from existing scholarship, such as Luard, and his own research, but all were heavily dependent on 'postulated manuscripts', Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 25, 29, 49-77 and 92-109. See also Powicke, 'Chronica Maiora', pp. 305-17; and Galbraith, *Wendover and Paris*.

²⁰⁹ Luard provided some conclusions based on textual content, see Luard, *CM I*, pp. x-xxxii. Others have approached the topic but there is yet to be a conclusive timeline: see Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 8-10; *Historical Writing, i*, pp. 356-79; Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 2-11.

²¹⁰ Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 58 and 69. For quire structures in CCCC 16 & 26, see Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 53-5.

the original perception of these manuscripts. The *Chronica maiora* was not the title given to these manuscripts by their scribe and compiler, that title was the *Flores historiarum* (**Figure 2.1**), the very same title under which were known the shorter, more widely distributed chronicles. It must be stated that there is nothing, per se, incorrect in naming these manuscripts the *Chronica maiora*; but it is exactly that, a descriptive term by which these manuscripts, not works, were commonly known and a way to separate these from the numerous *Flores* manuscripts in wider circulation. The usefulness of this descriptor has ensured its continued use for 700 years. Scholars such as Björn Weiler have argued for viewing Matthew Paris' works as individual texts, and as there are textual differences this is a legitimate approach; yet this approach does not help us to understand why so many similar works co-existed at St Albans.²¹¹ In attributing titles and identifying texts Richard Sharpe argues that a text is 'revealed to us in four aspects, manuscript copies, medieval references to the text or to copies of it, its tradition in print, and the critical recensions of its textual history'.²¹² One must consider that it is possible for a manuscript's identity and purpose to be multi-faceted and to understand how chronicles, as one of the genres of text most prone to alteration and customisation, were perceived on these various levels is essential. To fully understand the purpose of CCC 16 and 26, therefore, we must assess them as part of the larger *Flores historiarum* tradition.

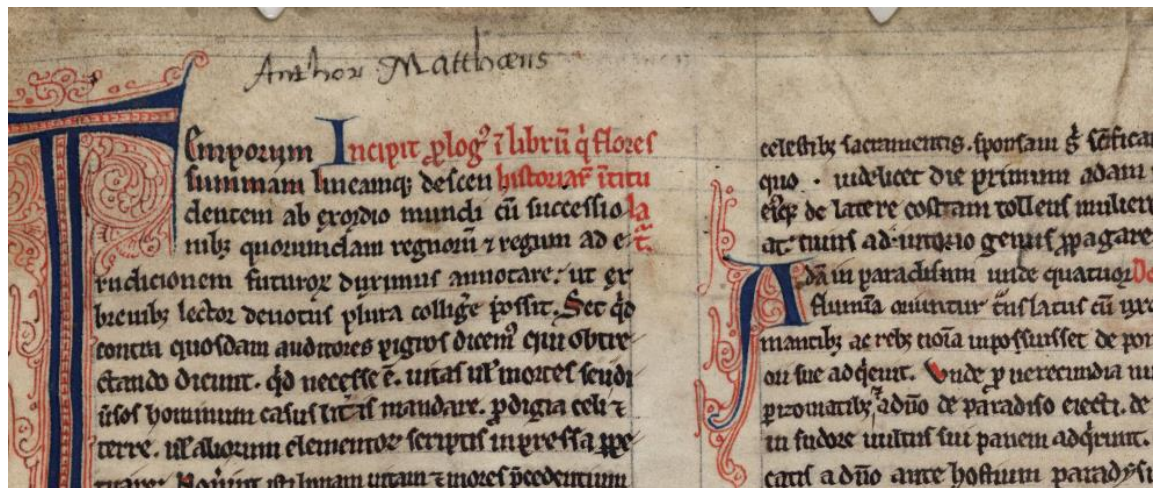


Figure 2.1: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 26, f. 1r, incipit.

²¹¹ Weiler, 'Matthew Paris', pp. 256 and 277.

²¹² Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 75.

It has never been properly explained why St Albans retained so few historiographical manuscripts authored by the abbey's monks but it would seem that in mis-titling the works we have also misunderstood how and why the abbey used these manuscripts, and perhaps its retention policy. The autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris have received a different title because of the high level of customisation, yet at the core of the two-volume work is a *Flores historiarum*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Flores* offered a framework and base for other monastic houses to start their own historiographical tradition. The *Flores* survives in manuscripts of varying types of customisation but both Nero D II – the chronicle of Rochester expanded from the *Flores* – and the Corpus Christi manuscripts of St Albans are prime examples of extensive monastery-specific customisation. Indeed, Luard has identified significant textual similarities between the *Chronica maiora* and *Flores historiarum*.²¹³ If in studying the *Flores* tradition on its own it would seem strange that only one extant manuscript can be traced to St Albans, the explanation is a simple one: the abbey still retained versions of the *Flores* that have since been catalogued under different titles. As well as the highly customised manuscripts of CCC 16 & 26, St Albans also retained BL Cotton MS Nero D V, a *Flores* manuscript which was heavily annotated with additional points by Matthew Paris. Paris' intervention in the manuscript has resulted in its being called a 'Chronica maiora' by later catalogue compilers, but, as with Paris' autograph chronicles, it is called the *Flores historiarum* in the incipit. St Albans therefore did retain copies of its own historiographical manuscripts, understood within its own system of classification. We may see these autograph manuscripts as subtly different due to differing length and content, but all were instances of the *Flores* to contemporary eyes.

The isolation of the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts from other historiographical works produced at St Albans, not to mention the hierarchy of these manuscripts created by modern scholars, is an artificial divide that has caused us to view these manuscripts outside of their original context. Richard Vaughan has claimed the *Flores* tradition to be 'of only incidental value', yet as the base for the *Chronica maiora* volumes and the most successful of the St Albans historiographical traditions it is anything but; it offered the structure that Paris could adapt for his own needs and purposes.²¹⁴ It is the inter-relationship between these chronicles that is often misunderstood and needs to be redressed. If looking at the *Chronica maiora* on its own, independent from all other St Albans historiographical works, then it would have to be classified as an institution-specific tradition; the *Chronica maiora* was a set of volumes that never left the confines of the abbey and therefore had limited impact as a textual tradition.

²¹³ Luard, *CM I*, pp. xxi-xxx.

²¹⁴ Vaughan, *Paris*, p. 125.

Scholars have struggled to make sense of how this could be the case when the *Chronica* volumes present such a vivid account of history, especially an account that has proved so useful to modern historians. If instead we choose to view the *Chronica maiora* as part of the wider *Flores* tradition, the tradition from which the *Chronica maiora* developed, then CCC 16 & 26 suddenly make much more sense. In this perspective the highly-customised *Chronica* manuscripts become the apex of the *Flores* tradition.

Paris' detailed illustrations offer an insight into the usage of the *Chronica maiora* at St Albans. The autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris are exceptional for their time: no other historiographical manuscript in England during the thirteenth century or earlier was illustrated to this extent and in the same fashion. Prior to Paris' work, illustration of historiographical texts in England was confined to a handful of pages throughout the manuscript, such as in Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, both of which contain sporadic marginal illustrations but not to the same extent as in the *Chronica maiora*.²¹⁵ It was the illustration of these earlier historiographical manuscripts that very much laid the groundwork for Matthew Paris. The library at St Albans contained one of the illustrated chronicles mentioned above and this could have acted as a source for Paris when customising his work.²¹⁶ His illustrations were extensions of the narrative, and provided an alternate route into understanding the text.

Lewis has claimed that Paris' marginalia were designed to accompany readings of his manuscripts, as their narrative function would support and elaborate on the chronicle content.²¹⁷ The style in which Paris produced his illustrations further suggests this connection: the inclusion of detail and movement combined with descriptive words was considered an important aid to memory in imagery, and all of these were common techniques employed by Paris.²¹⁸ In addition, it seems likely that such imagery was designed to appeal to a non-monastic audience and served an important role at a local level. An abbey as large as St

²¹⁵ Eton College MS 96 and London BL MS Arundel 48. Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 35-9; Collard, 'English chronicles'.

²¹⁶ Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* within a larger historiographical miscellany, see BL Royal MS 13 D. V. Paris' work was connected to the content of the monastic library in many ways, evident not least in the design of manuscript.

²¹⁷ Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 45, 49-50.

²¹⁸ Thomas Bradwardine, 'De memoria artificiali' [On Artificial Memory], Appendix C in Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 281-8 (p. 282-3).

Albans and in a prime location on the main arterial road out of London towards the North would have housed a high quantity of guests seeking monastic hospitality. Whilst it is challenging to know precisely what the abbey offered guests because of the paucity of evidence, Julie Kerr has suggested activities such as tours, library visits and an opportunity to view treasures of the monastery were common for more distinguished visitors.²¹⁹ The two *Chronica maiora* volumes were one such treasure at St Albans. If we also factor in the size of each manuscript, measuring approximately 240-250mm x 360mm and with 151 and 286 folios respectively, it is highly likely that within the contemporary period at the abbey the manuscripts were used more as static display pieces than as practical, everyday reference books, much in the same way as the manuscripts are on display in their current home at the Parker Library. Indeed, the *Chronica maiora* manuscript volumes are less a historiographical work intended for reference only within a library and archival setting, and more an illustrated history intended to interest and engage readers and viewers as well as providing historiographical information. Furthermore, these were not manuscripts constructed by one person alone; it the product of an active monastic scriptorium. Nine scribes wrote the two volumes of the *Chronica maiora*, which equates to a significant investment from the monastery itself and it is just as valid to think of this chronicle as an institutional work.²²⁰ It therefore seems probable that the *Chronica maiora* served a dual purpose at St Albans. The chronicle provided the abbey with a highly detailed and well-informed expanded version of the *Flores historiarum*, on the basis of which further historiographical works could be composed and continued, whilst also doubling as a form of attraction or visitor entertainment. The *Chronica maiora* had little to no circulation outside of St Albans but that is perhaps as the abbey wanted it; to view the chronicle the abbey itself had to be visited.

Matthew Paris's autograph manuscripts are far more expansive in content and decoration than the normal *Flores* text; they are an extant indicator of the wealth of the library at St Albans in the early thirteenth century. The *Chronica maiora* title refers to a chronicle of this distinct richness and it is a title that embodies the whole of the manuscript, not just the text in isolation. CCC 16 & 26 were distinct because of their character, content and individuality, just as the two volumes are considered now. They are literary monoliths and were envisioned as such. We should not, therefore, consider the *Chronica maiora* as a mere

²¹⁹ Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c.1070-1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 17 and 167-70.

²²⁰ For further analysis on the scribes of Matthew Paris's works, see Manuel Munoz Garcia, *The Script of Matthew Paris and his Collaborators: A digital approach* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College, London, 2018).

text to be transmitted, or even one that can. The few manuscripts that have been copied from the *Chronica maiora*, which will be studied further below, did not retain the illustration or ornate cross-referencing of the autograph originals as these were elements that were hard to replicate or required additional material; the entire character of the original manuscript therefore is missing. Instead, we should think of the *Chronica maiora* as a title that can only be specific to this two-volume set of manuscripts just as the *Liber benefactorum* records it. It is a loaded title that expressed a whole-manuscript quality, in this instance a quality entirely supplied by Paris' personalisation. Matthew Paris: the author in a certain sense, scribe and artist of a well-known chronicle, but apart from the Chetham's *Flores* none of his autograph manuscripts left the abbey. Only at St Albans could his handiwork be seen, heard and appreciated.

As well as demonstrating a high level of artistic flair, Matthew Paris' manuscripts contained a significant amount of information; indeed, how Paris controlled the information in these manuscripts was a key element of the design and usage considerations when the manuscripts were produced. The way Paris handled additional information has long been a source of interest, but this has come in lieu of a consideration of how this process fits within the St Albans library or why certain sources received different treatment. From the late 1240s Matthew Paris stopped copying the majority of sources directly into his chronicles and instead utilised an appendix, commonly called the *Liber additamentorum*, which is part of the extant manuscript London, BL, Cotton Nero D I. Paris' information management skills have been well attested by Vaughan and Lewis and his use of symbols to navigate between the manuscripts had its origins in a simpler system developed by Ralph Diceto. Diceto, who is best known for the two chronicles known as the *Abbreviationes chronicorum* and the *Ymagines historiarum*, was a canon at St Paul's Cathedral in the twelfth century and had himself studied in the Paris schools, the likely source of Diceto's own manuscript innovation.²²¹ Here we see Matthew Paris building on existing systems from manuscripts within the St Albans library and adapting them to suit a more diverse range of material.²²²

²²¹ Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography, 'Diceto, Ralph de' (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7591> [accessed 20/06/19].

²²² A small number of similar symbols can be found in the St Albans manuscript of Ralph Diceto, see BL Royal MS 13 E VI, f. 1r; Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 43-5 and 66-71; Vaughan, *Paris*, p. 129; *Historical Writing*, i, p. 364; Martin and Thomson, 'History Books', pp. 401 and 406. Lewis has also suggested a visual connection with the Exchequer, see Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 43.

Diceto's system was for information-finding within the text; Paris adapted it to act as a cross-referencing tool. In Nero D I, and the St Albans chronicle manuscripts that contain the reference symbols, these symbols have all been refined and reduced in size to fit in with the writing on the page or the marginal space. Yet despite the elaborate cross-referencing, Paris's reasons for dividing off supplementary material into what is now Nero D I has consistently been misunderstood. The excision of primary sources from Paris's chronicles is often attributed to a desire to save space within his manuscripts, but at only 58 folios this seems unlikely.²²³ The cross-referencing symbols do not only occur in Paris's historiographical manuscripts either. These symbols can also be found in the institutional historiographical manuscript, the *Gesta abbatum*.²²⁴ Therefore, instead of thinking of the *Liber additamentorum* as supplementary to the *Chronica maiora* alone, we should think of it as a miscellany of specific historical sources for use in a range of different manuscripts at St Albans. Yet Nero D I does not only contain historical material relevant to Matthew Paris; the abbey's interests are present throughout, as will be seen below. Once again, the work of Matthew Paris is found presented in a manuscript shaped by the requirements of his institution and it is within this context that Nero D I must be viewed.

The production values and presentation standards of such miscellaneous manuscripts can provide an indication of how they were used and why they were made. The Nero manuscript was an intended historical miscellany, originally compiled by Paris at the abbey, and contains a range of historiographical material relating to St Albans. In addition to the *Gesta abbatum* and *Vita duorum Offarum*, Nero D I contains royal and episcopal diplomas, charters, and administrative documents. Although not clear when the content was first brought together, it is evident from the different booklets that they were not produced with the intention of being compiled with the other material. Simon Keynes has identified Nero D I as the last surviving contemporary example of a set of early cartularies from St Albans. The manuscript therefore acted as a select repository for institutional use, not just as an extension of Paris' historiographical works.²²⁵ In addition to the supplementary material incorporated by Paris, the manuscript contains two sections of official documents created between the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, one royal and the other episcopal, as well as multiple

²²³ This theory is present in most scholarship but does not seem to have been analysed in any depth. See Vaughan, *Paris*, pp. 78-91; Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 9, 71 and 191; Weiler, 'Matthew Paris', pp. 256, 264-5, 268; Alan Harding, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 6; *Historical Writing*, i, pp. 357-64 and 367.

²²⁴ Now part of the same manuscript as the *Liber Additamentorum*, Nero D I. See ff. 30-73.

²²⁵ Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 253-79.

later additions. Furthermore, these sections are of excellent quality, both in production values and materials, painting a stark contrast to the historiographical sections of Nero D I. The historiographical sections were produced to the normal St Albans standard for historiography: written in a *textura rotunda* hand with line drawings on poor quality parchment. If production values alone are considered then the collection of official documents would appear to be the focus of this manuscript, not the additional material of Matthew Paris. It seems evident, therefore, that Nero D I was much more than the *Liber additamentorum*; it was a cartulary that aimed to reassert the abbey's position, claims and heritage by combining legal record with historiography and hagiography.²²⁶ For example, Keynes has established that some of the earliest charters in Nero D I, including those from Offa, were forgeries, therefore combining a *vita* that confirmed Offa's relationship with the abbey into the same manuscript legitimised what were otherwise records of questionable status.²²⁷ The work of Matthew Paris contributed to a manuscript that formed an integral part of the St Albans library, developing the abbey's identity and monastic claim, and it is within this larger picture that Paris and St Albans historiography must be considered.

Paris's autograph work continued in an additional historiographical manuscript of different purpose and scope, but the same issues remain with modern identification. Furthermore, Paris utilises a different visual language in the manuscript, meaning again the analysis needs to focus on production, usage, content, and contextual considerations. The *Historia Anglorum*, London, BL, Royal MS 14 C VII, is a shorter chronicle covering the years 1066 to 1259, with a later addition continuing the entries up to 1272. Whilst the *Historia Anglorum* does not face the same issue of mislabelling as the *Chronica maiora*, for it is titled *Historia Anglorum* in the incipit, the manuscript contains a contemporary continuation covering the years 1254-1259 that was considered by Madden to be the third part of the *Chronica maiora*, and a later fifteenth century continuation that covers 1259-1272.²²⁸ Due to the *Chronica maiora* association, the contemporary continuation has never been studied in context within Royal 14 C VII, even though it has been integrated into the manuscript and is essential for the *Historia Anglorum's* textual and chronological completeness. The annal entries of the 1254-

²²⁶ For more on legitimising the abbey, see Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 106-21

²²⁷ Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 259-60 and 272-4.

²²⁸ London, BL, Royal MS 14 C VII, ff. 157^r-218^v. Matthew Paris, *Historia anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor. item, ejusdem abbreviatio chronicorum anglie*, ed. by Frederic Madden, Rolls Series 44, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1866), I, pp. li-lii.

1259 section are longer in length than the earlier entries of the manuscript, although closer to Royal 14 C VII than CCC 16. The continuation also contains cross-referencing symbols to the *Liber additamentorum*, a signifier of its later date of production rather than necessarily an indication that the section belonged to a different manuscript.²²⁹ In general, manuscripts produced at the St Albans scriptorium were well planned, finished and ordered: it would be highly unlikely for the 1254-1259 entry to end up in the wrong manuscript unless there was a good reason for it. Consistent paratextual features further ground this continuation with the rest of Royal 14 C VII. The high quantity of coats of arms remains constant throughout this section, in keeping with the preceding section of the manuscript, and a running head that states which king is in power is still being used. Moreover, we know that Royal 14 C VII was in this structure when it was borrowed by Archbishop Matthew Parker for his printed editions of St Albans historiography. Herein lies the problem. Our modern perceptions and understanding of this manuscript have been shaped by antiquarian printed editions rather than the original medieval document.

The printed editions of Archbishop Parker introduced multiple errors into later scholarship of the St Albans historians.²³⁰ In the instance of Royal 14 C VII, Parker's use of the 1254-1259 continuation for his critical edition of the *Chronica maiora*, printed in 1571, has resulted in the continuation being viewed as separate from the bulk of the manuscript and thus the Royal manuscript has never been studied as a whole.²³¹ There is nothing to suggest that Parker's motives for printing this section were anything other than a desire for 'completeness' in his edition. Indeed, it seems most likely that he included this section because it is the latest in date and nothing more. Production of Royal 14 C VII can be broken down into three parts: the chronicle from Creation to 1253, 1254-1259 and a fifteenth-century continuation from 1259-1272 believed to be copied from William Rishanger's chronicle.²³² Only the first two sections were completed in Matthew Paris' lifetime; the continuation was added later, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Unlike the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts, Royal 14 C VII did not remain at St Albans until its dissolution. In 1440 it was sold to Humphrey, second Duke of Gloucester, by Abbot John Whethamstede along with

²²⁹ For abbreviating symbols see ff. 157^v, 162^v, 182^v, 190^r, 195^v (2), 198^v, 199^r and 213. As stated earlier, Matthew Paris did not compile his manuscripts within a linear chronological sequence. See above for more on Paris' use of symbols.

²³⁰ Archbishop Parker's involvement in St Albans history will be discussed in chapter five.

²³¹ Matthew Paris, *Historia maior à Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij* (London: Reginald Wolfus, 1571) STC (2nd edn.) 19209. See also *Historia Anglorum*, pp. li-lij.

²³² *Historia Anglorum*, p. lii. Rishanger's work will be discussed further below.

several other manuscripts from the abbey's library.²³³ Whilst the abbey managed to buy back most of the manuscripts sold, Royal 14 C VII remained in private hands.²³⁴ It would initially seem likely that the fifteenth-century continuation was added prior to the manuscript being sold, yet this raises several questions. The dates suggest it was continued to encompass the whole of Henry III's reign but it is not clear why, when added much later, the continuation only covered the years 1259-1272, especially when more up-to-date chronicles were available in the library at St Albans. Moreover, by adding a continuation it indicates that the manuscript was viewed as incomplete without it, yet it had lived at St Albans without a continuation for 150 years. The fifteenth-century continuation, then, is problematic. The continuation updates the manuscripts, but only to a certain degree, suggesting that it was not considered cost-effective to update the manuscript to the contemporary period, nor that there was a reason for it. Furthermore, once this was done, the abbey had a surplus historiographical manuscript, that being no longer of use and containing similar content to the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts and other resources in the monastic library, was a valuable resource to sell. The choice to update the manuscript may not have coincided directly with the sale to Duke Humphrey, but nevertheless took place during the same era, an era in which the library at St Albans was being consolidated and reviewed. High-quality historiographical manuscripts, therefore, provided St Albans with a useful revenue stream and were desirable to contemporary collectors. The continuation of Royal 14 C VII may be problematic and its handling in subsequent centuries has caused issues within scholarship, but it nevertheless indicates that manuscripts could exist within multiple states of value simultaneously; the *Historia anglorum* may have no longer been of archival value to St Albans Abbey, but it had financial value and that was utilised, conversely, for collectors the manuscript continued to remain important as a contemporary witness.

The scholarship on Royal 14 C VII highlights the hazards involved in focusing on individual authors rather than manuscripts in context and the material that can be neglected by taking such an approach. As demonstrated, there is more to this manuscript than an autograph section by Matthew Paris. By studying the manuscript as a whole it is possible to see how historiographical manuscripts were viewed at different periods of time, and by various audiences. Royal 14 C VII was an important manuscript to St Albans during the

²³³ *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 97; Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 191-2 and 351.

²³⁴ A full list of ownership and detailed provenance can be found in the catalogue: George Warner and Julius Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London: British Museum, 1921), II, pp. 135-6.

thirteenth century – though whether it was ever considered on par with the *Chronica maiora* is up for debate – but by the early 1400s it had been superseded by multiple new chronicles and it no longer had the same relevance or purpose. Nevertheless, the high-quality continuation it received shows the manuscript maintained its original status, even 150 years after it was originally produced. The *Historia Anglorum*, therefore, occupied a strange space within the monastic library during this period: at once both valuable and out of date. That it was the monetary value of this manuscript that proved most useful to St Albans in the fifteenth century should not be surprising.

The copying of historiographical manuscripts at St Albans during the mid-thirteenth century requires further consideration and it is the difference between these manuscripts that can offer an explanation as to the purpose they served. Whilst there is a certain level of variation in the information each manuscript contained, largely determined by length of entry, period or region, what is more notable is the way this information is presented. It is clear that Paris was experimenting with alternative ways of presenting the chronicle. The *Chronica maiora* manuscripts, CCC 16 & 26, with their rich marginal illustrations, present the chronicle as an entertainment, mirroring the developing fashion for romance literature.²³⁵ In contrast, the *Historia Anglorum*, Royal 14 C VII, lacks the detailed marginalia and is a chronicle navigated by heraldic shields with more focus on the English political and religious hierarchies. It seems highly probable then that, like the *Chronica maiora*, the *Historia Anglorum* manuscript was serving an additional and different purpose at St Albans.

Paris's manuscript production coincides with a period of expansion and development at the abbey. During the abbacy of John of Hertford (1235-60) the guest quarters were significantly expanded, a new two-storey guesthouse and stable block was built that Paris claimed could house three hundred horses. Moreover, by the mid-thirteenth century St Albans was leading the way; it had one of the more advanced guest quarters in the country.²³⁶ Such development came at the end of a fallow period in benefactions for the abbey during which it received few important gifts from the nobles or gentry.²³⁷ Matthew Paris' work, then,

²³⁵ Nigel Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 37-59 and 308-17.

²³⁶ *Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, p. 73; Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, pp. 76, 81-5 and 150.

²³⁷ St Albans enjoyed surprising benefactions for a pre-conquest monastery in the one hundred years after the Norman conquest. Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 80-96; Brian Golding, 'Wealth and Artistic Patronage in Twelfth-Century St Albans', in *Art and Patronage in the English*

represented an opportunity for the abbey to improve its reputation and prestige amongst the social strata who could provide the types of benefactions that mattered: tithes, property and influence.²³⁸ Royal 14 C VII, in particular, fed into these aspirations. The *Historia Anglorum* demonstrated an interest in the religious, monarchical and political structures of society by utilising relevant heraldry. In this respect, Matthew Paris was very much ahead of his time. Heraldry was not a common field or illustrative source until at least a century later, when books started to contain personalised coats of arms and private ownership and patronage of manuscripts increased, as seen in the privately-owned *Flores* manuscripts from the previous chapter.²³⁹ The *Historia Anglorum*, therefore, served a valuable purpose for the abbey, not only providing excellent historiographical records for their own use, but also being used to bolster their political and religious networks through the public display of heraldry.



Figure 2.2: BL Royal MS 14 C VII, f. 134^v and BL Additional MS 33244, f. 200^r (© British Library Board).

Royal 14 C VII is not the only example of such a manuscript but, as with other aspects of Paris's manuscript production, the use of heraldry was highly innovative. Only one other extant English manuscript is known that contains heraldry from the early thirteenth century,

Romanesque, ed. by Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson, Occasional Papers 8 (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), pp. 107-17 (p. 110). For building development during this period see: Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, p. 80.

²³⁸ Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, p. 134-6, 138; Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, pp. 38-49; James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* Monastic Orders 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), p. 250.

²³⁹ Saul, *Chivalry*, pp. 317-24; Meredith Parsons Lillich, 'Early Heraldry: How to Crack the Code', *Gesta*, 30 (1991), pp. 41-7 (pp. 41 and 45-7).

a psalter, and the work of Paris is suggested as a source.²⁴⁰ Similar manuscripts survive from abbeys of equal stature, such as Furness, yet from much later periods than the mid-thirteenth century. The Furness abbey cartulary, BL Additional MS 33244 (see **Figure 2.2** above), dates from the mid-fifteenth century and utilised heraldry within historiated initials. These initials then corresponded to relevant charters, grants and benefactions to the abbey. We know that the Furness manuscript was produced for Abbot William Dalton and, whilst the specifics of how such manuscripts were utilised is not clear, ownership by the abbot himself could suggest the Furness manuscript was used or displayed in the abbot's lodgings, where the manuscript could be used to solicit or encourage further benefaction from guests.²⁴¹ The survival of similar manuscripts suggests that expressing benefactions in this way became a familiar strategy to the monasteries. Royal 14 C VII differed from CCCC 16 & 26 in the level of marginal illustration, which as we have already established served a supporting function to the text, indicating a different audience. The stripped-back illustration, combined with the extensive use of heraldry, reflect a more focused chronicle without much of the superfluous detail of its larger relatives. Indeed, there are ninety heraldic shields throughout the manuscript, a high number, particularly during this period when heraldry was in its infancy.²⁴² The extensive use of heraldry in Royal 14 C VII then serves as a precursor to formal books of benefactors; it charts the deeds and life of England's elite or individuals that the abbey hoped would become benefactors. A specific manuscript, the *Liber benefactorum*, was produced later at the end of the fourteenth century but until that point the abbey had no other public display of its patrons.²⁴³ Although Royal 14 C VII was in a chronicle form, the genre of text that Paris was most familiar with and one that lends itself easily to heraldry, the visual display of the heraldry could have been easily and quickly accessed by users of the manuscript.²⁴⁴ Therefore, just as the *Chronica maiora* could be used to entertain guests at the abbey, the *Historia Anglorum* offered a mirror of prestige, power and wealth.

The *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris is often discounted because it lacks the visual complexity of the *Chronica maiora*, but to take such an approach is to ignore the clues this

²⁴⁰ Stockholm, National Museum B. 2010. For more details of the comparison, see: John A. Goodall, 'Heraldry in the Decoration of English Medieval Manuscripts', *Antiquaries Journal*, 77 (1997), pp. 179-220 (pp. 184-6).

²⁴¹ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1882-1887* (London: British Museum, 1889), p. 282.

²⁴² Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 41-3 and 174-81; Goodall, 'Heraldry', pp. 184-90.

²⁴³ BL Cotton MS Nero D I.

²⁴⁴ Goodall, 'Heraldry', p. 179.

manuscript can offer about its production and usage. This extends to the view that Royal 14 C VII was not deliberately constructed in the same fashion as other manuscripts from St Albans. On the contrary, Royal 14 C VII survives in its intended format, layout and structure. By studying the manuscript as a whole, instead of a series of disparate parts, it becomes clear that the disconnect between this manuscript and scholarship lies with its later reworking. In converting the *Chronica maiora* and other St Albans historiographical manuscripts to print, Archbishop Matthew Parker created a separation in Royal 14 C VII that is entirely artificial. The manuscript was not divided and was never meant to be. Indeed, at St Albans it served an important role in its completeness. Much like the manuscripts of the *Chronica maiora*, it seems probable that Royal 14 C VII would have been seen and used by guests at the abbey. The *Historia Anglorum* was not therefore just another historiographical manuscript at St Albans serving no particular purpose beyond the recording of history; it was part of the abbey's arsenal for encouraging and extracting benefactions from guests.



Figure 2.3: Itinerary map - BL Royal MS 14 C VII, f. 2r, and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, f. 20v (© British Library Board).

One of Matthew Paris's main achievements and lesser celebrated skills was his creation of documents with exciting and experimental design: a rare trait in medieval book production. Paris's intuitive use of space, format and design is perhaps best demonstrated in his least known manuscript, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, an annal covering the years 1066 to 1255. Here the composition of the text follows on from Paris' itinerary pilgrimage maps. The page is divided into two columns with three solid coloured vertical bands marking the edges (**Figure 2.3**). The placement of the date on the coloured band, which introduces each entry and continues without gaps across each folio, almost mimicking the continuity achieved by using the roll form, creates the impression of continued time, whilst the simplified date makes it easier to access the content. This is a distinctive and innovative design for an annal or chronicle at this time and reflects Paris' broader interests and ability in information design. If, in conjunction with Claudius D VI, we consider Paris' presentation of genealogies his stylistic approach seems somewhat familiar. St Albans has frequently been connected to the Paris school of St Victor and Suzanne Lewis and Andrea Worm have suggested a direct link, as well as influence from the Parisian scholar Peter of Poitiers (**Figure 2.4**).²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, similar genealogies survive from this period in other English manuscripts and are perhaps indicative of a more widespread pattern of continental influence.²⁴⁶ The two genres of writing were certainly inter-related but Paris takes this a step further in his usage of the same simple visual formula. In using the basic column structure throughout the manuscript Paris unites three genres, genealogy, chronicle writing and annals, and blurs the boundaries. In Paris' presentation, history, like lineage, is something of constant flux and movement, yet sufficiently static to suit a fixed presentation. This two-columned design builds on existing design from manuscripts within the St Albans library but pushes it further; whilst not necessarily innovative, Matthew Paris was evidently capable of adapting visual strategies from existing or historic works. Therefore, whilst on the one hand creative, Paris was very

²⁴⁵ Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 3; and Andrea Worm, *Salvation History and the History of England in Peter of Poitiers' Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B VII), 7th International Medieval Chronicles Conference, Liverpool, 10/07/2013.

²⁴⁶ Lewis, *Art of MP*, pp. 3, 140. Other examples include BL Royal MS 14 B V, BL Harley MS 627 and BL Harley MS 658, to name but a few; however, genealogies were arguably more prevalent in scroll than codex form during this period. For further debate about this formatting, see Laura Cleaver, in *Anglo-Norman Studies 36: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013*, ed. by David Bates, Anglo-Norman Studies 36 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 69-90.

much a product of the monastic institution and was inspired by his surroundings. None of Paris' manuscripts or design strategies existed in isolation; all had a source and this was often from within the monastic library. The historiographical manuscripts of Matthew Paris were without doubt progressive for the genre, especially in their presentation and information management, but we must not lose sight of the fact that this progression was built on a well-established base of common and popular monastic works.



Figure 2.4: Bodleian Lat. th. b. 1, membrane 3 (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford) and BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, f. 10^v (© British Library Board).

The influence of Paris' content design continued after his death. Claudius D VI is not just an autograph Matthew Paris manuscript; it also contains continuations by three later St Albans historians: William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanford. Although their continuation of Paris's historiographical works will be discussed further below, it is worth considering the role Paris played in shaping these later works. Not only did Matthew Paris establish a new presentation within his own section of the work, but the design he established continued to be used by subsequent chroniclers. As James Carley has stated, this continuity of design made it all the more tempting for antiquarian collectors to compile into

one manuscript the different booklets that now make up Claudius D VI, but it also acted to encourage the continuity of historiographical production at St Albans.²⁴⁷ With Claudius D VI, Paris utilised the visual language of scrolls and genealogy, creating a basic template for later chroniclers to follow. In this case there is the possibility that such continuity was achieved quite literally through reusing the marked-up and decorated folia. Matthew Paris's historiographical works fed into the library and creative consciousness at St Albans and would continue to directly influence subsequent historiographical writers for the next century.

The chronicle manuscripts of Matthew Paris have without doubt had a large effect on how modern historians perceive the thirteenth century and St Albans, yet a lack of context has meant that these manuscripts have too often been studied and considered in a vacuum. Paris did not work in isolation at St Albans; indeed, he was reliant on a network of informants outside of the abbey, his autograph manuscripts demonstrate the collaborative work of other scribes and these manuscripts are far more inter-connected than a textual study alone would indicate. Thus we should be careful with how we define these manuscripts and the titles and definitions attributed to them. As we have seen, the *Chronica maiora* was a version of the *Flores historiarum* that was customised for St Albans. In recognising this different attribution we are not changing the importance of the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts to our understanding of medieval society but we are challenging their usage and perception within Paris' own time. Instead, we should be thinking of the *Chronica maiora* as part of the active *Flores* tradition that circulated quite broadly in the South East of England, thus showing that Paris's work did not exist in the vacuum otherwise suggested by the static nature of these autographs and the lack of direct further transmission, but equally, that the status of the manuscripts that did circulate did not match that given to the autograph manuscripts either by Paris's contemporaries or by modern historians.

Matthew Paris was a creative individual but he did not exist or work in isolation, nor did he lack institutional motivations. In his manuscripts he blurred the lines of history and genealogy, and, as is typical of late-medieval manuscript production, did not work in strictly defined genres; he followed established visual traditions but also offered a new interpretation as to how these traditions could be used. Furthermore, he was making full use of the resources at his disposal: the mature monastic library which has been estimated to

²⁴⁷ Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles', pp. 88-9.

have contained at least 300 manuscripts by this time.²⁴⁸ The manuscripts left behind by Matthew Paris show ingenuity and an understanding of visual and written structures but his most creative historiographical works did not leave St Albans in their heavily customised forms. It is essential therefore, that we return Matthew Paris and his autograph manuscripts to their institutional context, and think of these works not as the product of a single individual produced in isolation, but in fact the result of a vibrant and rich monastic community.

Non-autograph manuscripts

Titles are a particular challenge in establishing the manuscript corpus of St Albans' historiographical works and there is a high level of error in title attribution among these manuscripts in modern catalogues. The grandeur of Matthew Paris's autograph manuscripts has led to a broader misperception about their transmission. There seems to be an unspoken desire to prove that these manuscripts existed in other copies outside of St Albans and thus that the *Chronica* was a textual tradition in its own right, but, as shown above, only the short *Flores* form of the chronicle enjoyed contemporary popularity.²⁴⁹ Indeed, erroneous references to the *Chronica maiora* can be found in multiple special collection catalogues and are a product of over-familiarity with Matthew Paris's work and reputation. Titling errors also relate to the form of the extant text. The non-autograph *Chronica maiora* manuscripts survive in three different types: full contemporary manuscripts, copies produced at least 150 years later, and excerpts. Each type of product poses a different problem for source identification but most of these manuscripts are not what the title suggests. In separating fact from fiction and reconnecting the *Chronica maiora* to other St Albans historiography, very few manuscripts that claim this title can in fact be connected directly to CCC 26 & 16, instead demonstrating closer connections to the *Flores historiarum*. Yet whilst these manuscripts do not always relate to *Chronica maiora*, they offer insights into the broader spread of St Albans historiography, both in physical copy and reputation.

There is only one *Chronica maiora* manuscript which survives from outside of St Albans that is contemporary with Paris's autograph manuscripts. Other manuscripts that are called the *Chronica maiora* rarely contain this text, yet we must consider how it is that these manuscripts have acquired this title. We have already established that the *Chronica* and *Flores*

²⁴⁸ Thomson, *St Albans*, p. 5; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 89-97.

²⁴⁹ For further discussion of the *Flores* tradition see Chapter 1.

texts were inter-related, because the former is a variant of the latter, the *Flores historiarum*. The starting-point for viewing these manuscripts must therefore be changed. Contemporary *Chronica maiora* manuscripts should primarily be considered as part of the wider *Flores* tradition, within which they were a variant type and provide further examples of the extent of this tradition outside the confines of St Albans. Furthermore, like the other *Flores* manuscripts, the transmission of the *Chronica maiora* variants can be tracked through shared paratextual features. By taking such an approach we will be able to map the transmission of *Chronica maiora* manuscripts comparatively and further understand the relevance of the *Chronica maiora* outside of St Albans.

The version of the *Chronica maiora* that was in circulation was not the magnum opus of Matthew Paris but a reduced, slim-lined version closer to the *Flores* in length and scope. London, BL, MS Harley 1620 is one of the few *Chronica maiora* manuscripts that can be connected to the autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris. It contains marginal additions only seen in CCCC 26 and Nero D V, in particular a note about Offa on f. 69^v, as well as shared paratextual features, neither of which have been noticed or analysed in previous scholarship.²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ Other such features include the use of coloured capital letters in the text body. This is clearest on ff. 121^v-122^r, 155^v, 164^v-165^r and 181^v but present throughout the latter portion of the manuscript.



Figure 2.5: Shared presentation of the heptarchy. BL Harley MS 1620, ff. 85^v-86^r (© British Library Board) and the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 26, f. 69^v.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, shared features can be used to locate manuscripts within a transmission group and in this instance connect Harley 1620 with the *Chronica maiora*. The most distinctive shared feature is the presentation of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy (Figure 2.5). It differs from any of the variants found in the rest of the *Flores* tradition and originates in Paris's autograph manuscripts of Nero D V and CCCC 26. Luard conducted a textual analysis of the *Chronica maiora* corpus and concludes that both the Nero and Harley manuscripts are closely related to CCCC 16 & 26.²⁵¹ Like Nero D V, Harley 1620 contains much shorter annal entries than those in the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts and it therefore seems most probable that Nero D V was used as the exemplar. From the script, a tidy textualis rotunda, its production can be dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century, but it is not clear where the manuscript was produced. In addition to shorter annal entries, Harley 1620 shares the heptarchy feature found in Nero D V. The Harley scribe struggled to fit all four columns of the heptarchy into a single text column and has split the feature over two folia,

²⁵¹ Luard, *CM I*, pp. xi-xii. See also *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

suggesting a copying error when producing the manuscript but indicative of this feature being present in the exemplar. Despite being copied from Paris's autograph works, Harley 1620 lacks a lot of the character that would perhaps otherwise be expected. The manuscript is formulaic: there are no marginal illustrations or cross-references and few additions. What is clear, then, is that without Matthew Paris's direct influence, St Albans historiographical manuscripts quickly reverted to type. This is also a characteristic evident in Nero D V, a *Chronica maiora* manuscript not written by Paris himself, where the bulk of the manuscript is text with little to no visual elaboration. Whilst the occasional paratextual feature may survive, especially dominant designs such as the heptarchy, there was little design innovation in external manuscripts, or even those produced by other scribes within the monastery. This lack of customisation further highlights the distinctive quality of Paris's autograph historiographical manuscripts at St Albans. Although Paris was just interpreting and building on the visual strategies and presentation of other manuscripts within the abbey library, and in many ways was reliant on the monastic library to do so, his skill of interpretation was still a creative quality that set his work apart from the work of others involved in manuscript production.

Matthew Paris's autograph chronicles continued to be copied and added to at St Albans and indicate the continued interest in historiography at the abbey. Yet the *Chronica maiora* remained an institution-specific tradition. Paris, BnF, Ms. latin 6048b is the only extant manuscript copy of the *Chronica maiora* produced after the thirteenth century and before the antiquarian revival in the sixteenth century. It is a paper manuscript, copied directly from CCC 16 & 26, which we know remained at the abbey until just prior to the Dissolution, and from the script, a well-executed textualis rotunda, can be dated to the early 1400s.²⁵² As well as containing a direct copy of Paris's *Chronica maiora*, BnF lat. 6048b also contains a series of sections from different works, such as William of Malmesbury, *Narratio de quadam visione S. Thomae Cantuariensis*, and various anonymous tracts on paradise, hell and leading a moral life. In addition, due to the range of scripts in usage throughout, the manuscript has the general impression of being an unintended miscellany written by multiple scribes. It is actually an intended miscellany written by a single scribe that reflects the breadth of historiographical sources still available at St Albans during the fifteenth century.²⁵³ As we

²⁵² *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxvi-lxix.

²⁵³ See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the intellectual climate at St Albans in the fifteenth century.

have seen throughout this chapter, this was nothing new; the monks of St Albans had a long tradition of drawing on the information retained within their library and, as an integral source for later generations, Paris's work had become a useful reference material. Yet the creation of this manuscript is problematic. Like its exemplars, BnF lat. 6048b remained at the abbey and at dissolution was acquired by William Cecil; it was purchased by the BnF as part of the larger Colbert Collection acquisition in 1732.²⁵⁴ Therefore, the only manuscript known to have been copied directly from CCCC 16 & 26 at St Albans never left the abbey either. The production of BnF lat. 6048b fits into a resurgence of interest in Paris's chronicles, which will be discussed further in later chapters, that complemented the abbey's agenda and the development of Matthew Paris as a talismanic figure.²⁵⁵ What this manuscript represents, then, is not necessarily an interest in the content of the *Chronica maiora*, but instead a re-working of the contemporary monastic library.

Excerpts and fragmentary copies of texts pose a particular challenge in establishing textual transmission, an authoritative title and, above all, an exemplar. A further problem is faced when excerpts are abridged. Establishing the original source, especially between two such similar texts as the *Flores historiarum* and *Chronica maiora*, becomes particularly difficult. There are noticeably few survivals of either text in excerpts and fragments, which in itself speaks for the adaptability and versatility of the original *Flores* text.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, special collections are full of 'misc. historia' manuscripts. A cursory glance of Neil Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* shows the amount of unspecified and unidentified historiographical manuscripts held by libraries.²⁵⁷ Whilst it may be that there are more fragments and excerpts to be discovered, at the moment only two extant manuscripts can be attributed to this form of production. In both, St Albans historiography plays a minor role. It is notable that so few fragments survive: instead the St Albans chronicles that were relatively short historiographical works were more prevalent in large extracts or complete copies.

Manuscripts containing abridged texts prove a particular challenge to catalogue and it is more problematic to unpick the source manuscript. Yet, if we look beyond the textual

²⁵⁴ *Historia Anglorum*, p. lxvi.

²⁵⁵ Suggested by James Clark in his paper: James G. Clark, *Matthew Paris and the Textual Communities of St Albans*, International Medieval Congress 2016, Leeds. 07/07/2016.

²⁵⁶ See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

²⁵⁷ The number of extant *Misc. historia* manuscripts is too great to be analysed in this thesis and requires extensive further study.

attribution, extracts offer further evidence of manuscript circulation and the dissemination of specific traditions. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 332 is one such manuscript, but here St Albans historiography only plays a supporting role. The manuscript is an intended historical miscellany, containing Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae historia*, the *Prophetia* of the Tiburtine Sibyl, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*. The St Albans text can only be found on the final two folia in faded ink and the parchment on which it is written was used as a palimpsest, suggesting that prior to the reuse of the parchment more of the text survived. The abridged nature of the text makes it very challenging to identify whether or not it was abridged from a *Flores* or *Chronica* manuscript, but when both are part of the same broader tradition it is not necessary to identify the exact textual source. Whilst the extract is small and textually confused, Hunter 332 offers a further example of the *Flores* tradition outside of St Albans. The manuscript was owned by Syon abbey, Middlesex, and indicates that the *Flores historiarum* was evidently available to them, yet it did not retain its relevance and hence was re-used. The palimpsest highlights the relationship between text and manuscript. The *Flores* was already short for a chronicle; however, here a scribe has attempted to abbreviate it further. In an abbreviated form it lacks important information and becomes ephemeral, the parchment has more value. At present this is the only known *Flores* palimpsest, but we should not be surprised if there are more. The *Flores* tradition was popular because of its length. Detailed enough to have depth of knowledge but not verbose, it could be cut up into chunks, used to support administrative documents or kept as a whole. The *Flores* tradition, of which the *Chronica maiora* was part, came in large sections, complete works but not as small, abbreviated chunks – for that a scribe would consult a different work.

Sometimes textual attribution is given without direct evidence but instead is based on a familiarity with the original work. One of the manuscripts classified in the Bodleian's catalogues, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 384, has been misidentified and illustrates this issue. The manuscript is an unintended miscellany consisting of a short set of annals on the English kings, transcriptions of letters and an index of British surnames, written in a fifteenth-century hand. Its given generic title, *Chronicon regum Angliae*, is used because it is descriptive – the annals briefly mention all English kings from Brutus to Henry VI. The annal entries themselves are short, repetitive and generic, for example in the entry for Edgar's coronation in 940 on f. 5^r: *Anno gratie nongentesimo sexagesimo coronatio regis edgari fratri edwini apud kyngeston hic sexdecim anno imperavit et apud Glastoniam sepelitam*. Once the scribe, and perhaps author or editor, had established a pattern for the information, it was used for each relevant entry. Furthermore, the information is far more simplistic than that found in either the *Flores historiarum* or the *Chronica maiora*. There is no direct textual connection between Douce 384 and the St Albans' chronicles and it is unclear on what

grounds it earned this attribution. Douce 384 is a heavily abridged annal from the fifteenth century that could trace its origins to various historiographical works, yet there is nothing, such as specific language or information, to suggest a connection with St Albans or Matthew Paris. We can only conclude that this work has been incorrectly attributed and cannot be considered part of the St Albans' historiographical corpus.

It is clear from the range of manuscripts attributed to Matthew Paris, or Matthew 'of Westminster', that he was a figure who dominated historical thought throughout the early modern period and through to the present day. The awareness of Matthew Paris and interest in his role as a chronicle writer is such that seemingly random historiographical manuscripts are attributed to him or identified as a copy of his work. As we have seen, such as in the case of Douce 384, these connections do not always stand close scrutiny. Under these modern attributions and perceptions, Paris's real contribution toward book production and information management has been diluted and the original purpose of his chronicles misunderstood. The *Chronica maiora* did not enjoy the same proliferation and distribution as the *Flores* tradition, of which it is a part, but its circulation outlines a different audience to the *Flores* manuscripts. Harley 1620 belonged to a different monastic order, Cistercian, and demonstrates the broader appeal of St Albans historiography.²⁵⁸ Whilst in the fifteenth century a resurgence of manuscript production reflected the contemporary importance placed on Matthew Paris as a figure, these manuscripts all highlight one thing: short, accessible historiographical works that could easily be adapted to different situations and usages were always going to retain a level of popularity not achieved by highly customised, specialist manuscripts like the *Chronica maiora*.

Late Thirteenth-Century Historiography

Continuity was essential to establish a historiographical tradition and St Albans' success lay in the work of the chroniclers who followed Matthew Paris. Paris is dominant in the modern account of history writing traditions in St Albans, as is Thomas Walsingham who started writing his chronicles a century later, but little attention is paid in modern scholarship to the chroniclers who worked in between and established an actual historiographical tradition.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Harley 1620 was owned by Jervaux abbey, see f. 11v.

²⁵⁹ Lewis goes as far as to state 'the chroniclers lapsed back into nameless obscurity', whilst Galbraith said that the historiographical tradition 'languished somewhat' after Paris. See

At least three other monks continued the chronicles of Matthew Paris: William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanford. Whilst Rishanger has received a modicum of attention, little work has been completed on these three chroniclers since the critical edition in the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ The content of these chroniclers' work remains of interest to historians yet the manuscripts themselves lack the visual appeal of Matthew Paris' work. If the number of surviving manuscripts alone is compared, then it seems strange that the work of William Rishanger was forgotten where Matthew Paris was remembered; both surviving in single figures. The content and approach of Rishanger's chronicles differed, primarily being far less extensive in the range of sources and material gathered. Yet, the text is extant in two known manuscripts, not a vastly different quantity from the autograph works of Paris. Furthermore, if we consider Paris's contemporaries, there are more inadequacies in previous approaches to the manuscripts. John of Wallingford's historical miscellany has received little attention, especially as a complete manuscript, yet it is instrumental in understanding how Matthew Paris' work related to the library at St Albans; it demonstrates the extent of shared influences. Studying the manuscripts of these chroniclers further highlights Matthew Paris's work within its institutional context. Historiographical writing at St Albans was not restricted to Matthew Paris and nor did it end at his death: it was a continuous concern driven by a rich knowledge base.

Lewis, *Art of MP*, p. 8; V. H. Galbraith, *The Abbey of St Albans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 29.

²⁶⁰ Rishanger, *Chronica et annales*; and idem, *Chronicle of William de Rishanger*. The only scholar to focus on Rishanger and Rishanger's chronicles is James P. Carley: see Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles'; idem, "Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas": John Bale, John Leland, and the *Chronicon Tinemutensis coenobii*, in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchinson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 163-87.

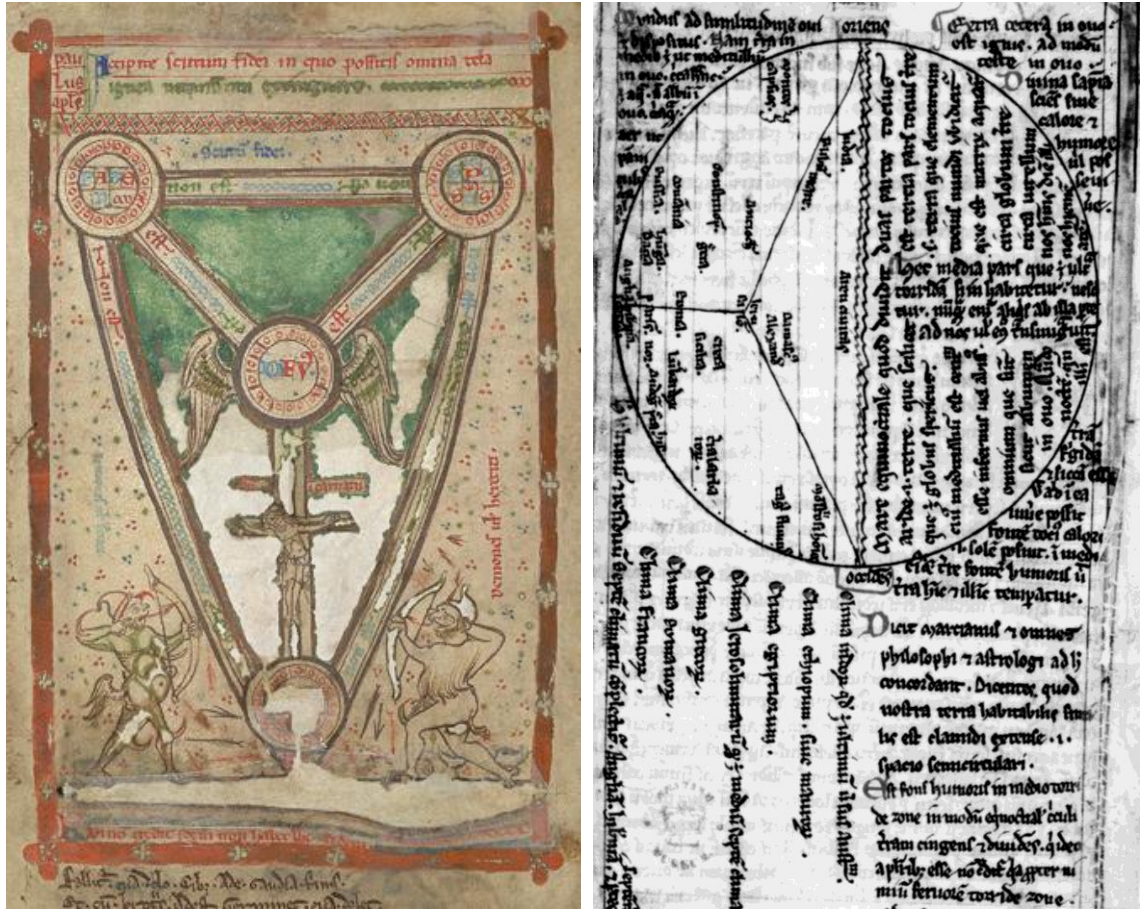


Figure 2.6: BL Cotton MS Julius D. VII, f. 3^v and f. 46^r (© British Library Board).

Let us start with John of Wallingford. A volume of miscellaneous historiographical material, commonly attributed to the monk John of Wallingford, also survives from the same period that Matthew Paris was working at St Albans. London, BL, Cotton MS Julius D. VII reflects the varied historiographical interests of St Albans but is also indicative of a different type of manuscript production. The content is eclectic, from tables to calculate the day of saints' feasts and complex infographics, to chronicles and devotional imagery.²⁶¹ The surviving manuscript is not complete and is heavily restored, making it impossible to know the true scope and intentions of the compiler. It is clear in passages that the existing historiographical works of St Albans were used as sources and in many respects the manuscript resembles a

²⁶¹ Vaughan has edited a critical edition of the historiographical elements in Julius D VII but there is no detailed overview of the visual and practical material it contains. See Vaughan, *Chronicle Attributed to Wallingford*.

personal commonplace book.²⁶² The historiographical work of Matthew Paris was very much a dominating force at St Albans during this time; Julius D VII demonstrates a connection to his work but it shows us much more. Matthew Paris's chronicles were so rich because of the wealth of information held in the St Albans library, not solely because of personal flair. Wallingford's compilation utilised exciting infographic and page design not found in Paris's work, such as his depiction of the Trinity on f. 3^v and a descriptive map on f. 46^r (**Figure 2.6**), as well as familiar elements of design. For instance, Julius D VII also contains a section of text with the same column outlines as Claudius D VI, as well as a heptarchy and genealogy of kings starting from Alfred the Great (ff. 49^v, 56^v-59^v). Furthermore, some of the most exciting information design in Julius D VII cannot be found in Paris's manuscripts at all but instead can be traced to the other manuscripts held at St Albans.

The manuscript is an intended historical miscellany, containing a unique historiographical compilation commonly attributed to John of Wallingford (ff. 112^v-129^r) as well as multiple extracts and fragments from other texts, such as Bernard of Clairvaux's parables (ff. 43^r-44^v), a short annal by Matthew Paris (ff. 61^r-110^r) – likely a variation of one of the existing St Albans historiographical texts, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (ff. 10^r-33^v). Whilst the visual antecedents of genealogical diagrams at St Albans have already been established, the presentation of Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle is unique for the subject matter, which usually appears in manuscripts as clean single or double-columned text, and in this instance does not rigidly stick within columns or a normal text block. It would seem likely in this instance that a non-historiographical manuscript was being used to influence the manuscript layout. What we see in Julius D VII is a way of laying out the text not dissimilar from the glossed gospels found in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.5.3, which was owned by St Albans and may even have been produced there (**Figures 2.7 and 2.8**). Although the subject matter is vastly different there are clear visual similarities between the two manuscripts. In this instance, the glossing style seems to be used to section off additional pieces of information, but not in a uniform fashion. Indeed, on some pages the different sections are marked at the beginning with a symbol that acts as a way of cross-referencing this information in other parts of the text, while on other folia the main text seems to continue in these different sections. Wallingford's re-presentation of this text is an interesting one and does provide a different way of reading and accessing this information; this is

²⁶² See for example f. 114^r that includes a record of the elephant owned by Henry III and recorded by Paris CCC 16. For more detail see Vaughan, 'Chronicle of John of Wallingford', pp. 66-9.

experimentation in page design using existing sources as inspiration. Clearly Paris was not the only scribe at St Albans with the ability to adapt and change the way in which information was presented. Despite looming in the shadow of Paris' manuscripts, or being considered as such, Julius D VII is indicative of the rich resources available in the library of St Albans during the thirteenth century. These resources were not just available to Matthew Paris and were not just used by him either. St Albans was a hub of knowledge and creativity and not just in the thirteenth century. In terms of design and creativity, we should consider John of Wallingford to stand alongside Matthew Paris as an equal, even if his work is less well-known.



Figure 2.7: Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* in BL Cotton MS Julius D VII, ff. 32v-33r (© British Library Board).

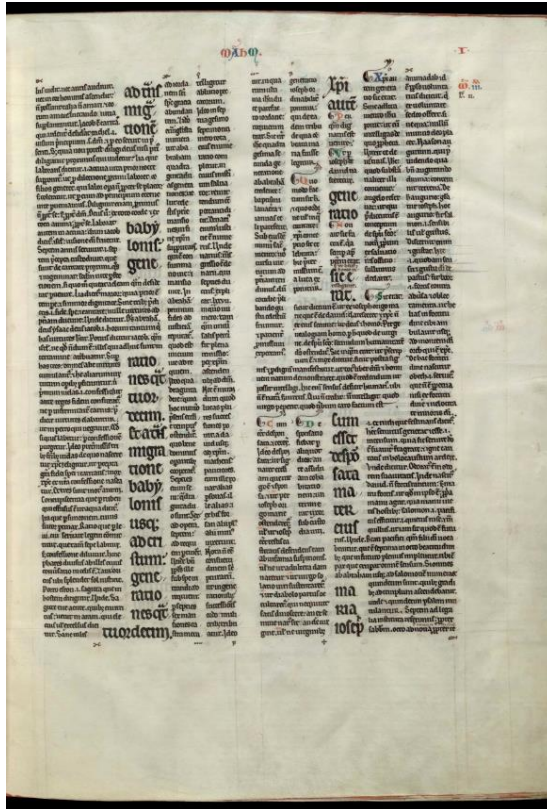


Figure 2.8: Evangelica IV. Glosata, Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.5.3, f. 7^r and 52^r (reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge).

Less is known about the historians that followed Paris and Walsingham, none of whom enjoyed noteworthy distribution outside of the abbey. The work of William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanforde has consistently been overshadowed by that of their more famous peers. Much of this perception and emphasis on key individuals is based on the reputations of these historians that were established by antiquarians in the sixteenth century. It is impossible to know contemporary opinion, yet, if we consider the number of extant historiographical manuscripts at St Albans during this period, of which there are only six (including Paris's manuscripts), then Rishanger's historiographical works in particular certainly seem comparable to the historiographical output of Matthew Paris. Indeed, because of the small amount of extant manuscripts, the same approach needs to be taken with the manuscripts of the Rishanger, Trokelowe and Blanforde, as was with Paris; that is an approach that focuses as much on usage, purpose, content and context, as it does on specific design features. John Bale originally attributed six different works to William Rishanger.²⁶³ This number has since been revised as it no longer corresponds to the extant manuscripts in

²⁶³ Carley, 'Chronicon Tinemutensis', pp. 166-7.

their existing form; all of these attributed works survive in two manuscripts in total.²⁶⁴ Yet taking such an approach overlooks the role of these chroniclers in developing the historiographical tradition at St Albans. Rishanger's reputation has been obscured mostly because his work was viewed as a continuation or prelude to the chronicles of Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, or other historiographical works like the *Polychronicon*, and as such these manuscripts have not been thought to require serious consideration as works in their own right. On the contrary, it is exactly because these additional chroniclers were establishing such a vibrant historiographical tradition that the manuscripts require further attention.

Rishanger's role as a continuator of historical writing at St Albans is well established but, as with other established ideas about the chroniclers of St Albans, it is not a reputation without its problems.²⁶⁵ In two of the extant manuscripts, the present structure of William Rishanger's work does not represent its original state and is the consequence of a swap between Robert Cotton and the royal librarian Patrick Young in the early seventeenth century.²⁶⁶ This swap of material has resulted in 22 folios from London, BL, Cotton MS Claudius D VI ending up in Royal MS 14 C I, yet it also gives the initial impression that more manuscripts of Rishanger's works have survived than is actually the case. As an arbitrary and non-original break, these two sections will therefore be treated as if part of a whole. A further issue with the Rishanger section of the manuscript is scribal identity. Most scholars assume Claudius D VI contains Rishanger's autograph but there is no basis for this attribution; it is pure speculation on the part of John Bale.²⁶⁷ What we do see in Rishanger's section of Claudius D VI, though, is the usage of page design found in the works of Paris, in this case the banded columns found in Paris's itinerary maps and genealogy (**Figures 2.3** and **2.4**). It could be argued that this continuity of design was a result of Rishanger using the left-over, pre-marked pages created for Paris' section, which might not seem that plausible were it not for an

²⁶⁴ London, BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI and Royal MS 14 C I. Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles', pp. 75-6; idem, *Chronicon Tinemutensis*, pp. 166-7.

²⁶⁵ Rishanger, *Chronica et annales*, pp. ix-xlii; *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xvi, xxix, lii and lxxv; Rushbrook Williams, p. 131; Claude Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St Albans* (London, 1922), p. 65; Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles'; and 'Walsingham Reconsidered', p. 832.

²⁶⁶ This and the original structure of the manuscript is discussed in further detail by Carley: Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles', pp. 85-9 and 90-3; idem, *Chronicon Tinemutensis*, p. 167.

²⁶⁷ Carley, *Chronicon Tinemutensis*, pp. 167-72.

example of this same folio decoration occurring in an addition to Nero D I.²⁶⁸ Yet such an approach assumes that the scribe had no say in or opinion on manuscript production, a stance we know was not the case at St Albans. In fact, Carley has identified Claudius D VI as being a later composition of different booklets by Robert Cotton in the seventeenth century, meaning that we cannot state continuity, or in this case similarity of design as a direct, connecting factor.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, the same page design is also found in Julius D VII, which begs the question as to whether or not this design should be attributed to Paris at all. Such a shared feature across three manuscripts suggests instead a common antecedent. In other words, the chronicle of William Rishanger should not be overlooked or considered inferior because it contains a similar design to a work of Matthew Paris, nor because it survives in manuscripts with other chronicles; Rishanger's chronicle served an integral role in developing and continuing historiographical production at St Albans and bolstered the reference works within the library.

It is not just the continuations of William Rishanger that can be found in Cotton Claudius D VI; the manuscript also contains the work of two other chroniclers, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanford, further developing the writing of historiography at the abbey.²⁷⁰ Both authors were writing after 1330 and produced significantly less than Rishanger: Trokelowe's chronicle covered the years 1307-1323, while Blanford's work covered 1323 and 1324.²⁷¹ The works of Trokelowe and Blanford are unique to Claudius D VI. Whilst in itself, a lack of transmission is not necessarily an indicator of the value of a work, it is somewhat indicative of external popularity, and, in this instance, the writers were very much continuing the institution-specific historiographical tradition set by Matthew Paris. Yet, as with the work of Rishanger, Trokelowe and Blanford's historiographical writing feeds into the idea of continuity at St Albans. This record-keeping though was perfunctory and of a very different style and character to that which had gone before. Both Trokelowe and Blanford helped to create an unbroken tradition at St Albans, but their work should not be thought of in the same way as that of Matthew Paris because their historiography was produced with record keeping in mind. As with Rishanger's chronicle, Trokelowe and Blanford's work became a point of reference within the monastic library, and thus a valuable source, but at St Albans historiography was not just about recording information. Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham used their historiographical manuscripts to

²⁶⁸ BL Cotton MS Nero D I, f. 196.

²⁶⁹ Carley, 'Rishanger's Chronicles', pp. 88.

²⁷⁰ BL Cotton MS Claudius D VI, ff. 194r-217v.

²⁷¹ Trokelowe and Blanford, *Chronica*, pp. xv-xix.

contribute to wider institutional issues and motivations. The chroniclers that came in between have largely been forgotten because they failed to do this: they just recorded contemporary events.

The work of William Rishanger also reached audiences outside of St Albans. A single example survives in a historiographical manuscript from Tynemouth Priory, a cell of St Albans and also a centre of history writing in its own right. Yet again, in this manuscript Rishanger's work is acting as a continuation, but this time at the beginning of the chronicle. London, BL, Cotton MS Faustina B IX is an unintended and incomplete miscellany containing several historiographical works. Other histories, such as the Melrose Chronicle, were included with the St Albans material at a later date and the manuscript was in its present form by the time it was acquired by John Leland when he went to Tynemouth Priory in 1534.²⁷² Whilst the manuscript will be addressed more fully in the following chapter, it is important to pause on the authorial attributions of the manuscript at this stage. Although Rishanger's work is referenced in Faustina B IX as a source, in this manuscript it forms part of the Tynemouth Chronicle and is therefore not directly attributed to him in the manuscript itself. It seems odd, then, that this manuscript is commonly considered as part of Rishanger's corpus.²⁷³ There is a direct connection between the two works but only in the same way that Paris' *Chronica maiora* relates to Ralph Diceto, William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon, all of which were his sources, yet we do not think of the *Chronica maiora* as part of their corpora. For consistency in approach, therefore, Faustina B IX should not be considered as a Rishanger manuscript; it is the Tynemouth Chronicle, an 'entirely derivative' work to quote Carley, which happened to draw on Rishanger as a source.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, the section commonly attributed to Rishanger (ff. 76r-145v) is presented in a style most frequently seen in the manuscripts of Thomas Walsingham's work.²⁷⁵ Whilst Faustina B IX is useful in that it provides an example of the reading and utilization of Rishanger's work, it also just reasserts the value of the reference library at St Albans and the role of Rishanger and other history writers within that institution.

William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanford were the unknown and uncelebrated continuators of thirteenth-century chronicles. Rishanger is the best known of

²⁷² Carley, '*Chronicon Tinemutensis*', pp. 170-2.

²⁷³ Rishanger, *Chronica et annales*, pp. xx-v.

²⁷⁴ Carley, '*Chronicon Tinemutensis*', p. 166.

²⁷⁵ See Chapter 3.

the group but all served an important function in developing and continuing historiographical production at the abbey. These works connected Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham and had a presence in far more historiographical manuscripts than is often acknowledged. St Albans manuscripts, such as the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal MS 14 C VII), that had continuations added at a later date all utilised the work of their institutional chronicle writers to bridge the gaps between other major works. Indeed, when we think of chronicle writing and production it is largely a matter of compilation and in this regard the work of these chroniclers was invaluable. By documenting contemporary events, recording useful information and creating an established tradition at the abbey, the likes of William Rishanger guaranteed the continuing value of their work as sources. Yet conversely these historiographical works survive in fewer manuscripts and have fewer authorial attributions. Once again, it is the importance of these manuscripts as reference documents to the institution and their retention in the monastic library that ensured their re-use. The historiographical works of William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanford may not have had the wider circulation of the *Flores*, or the experimental presentation of Paris' autograph manuscripts, but they contained the necessary information on which later historiographical traditions could be built or existing works could be continued; it is this that ensured their posterity.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to understand what historiographical production was like at St Albans Abbey in the thirteenth century. Following on from the study of the *Flores historiarum*, which showed a manuscript tradition that circulated broadly across the South-East of England, this chapter has studied manuscripts that represent a very different type of production: localised, specialised manuscripts. In part there has been an aim here to reposition Matthew Paris, by studying the manuscripts he produced and the wider context in which they were made and used, within a more representative and accurate context than that in which he is usually discussed. As we have seen, his reputation is well-earned from the extravagant *Chronica maiora* manuscripts that remained at St Albans until the Dissolution and his use of innovative features, such as heraldry and extensive cross-referencing systems. Yet there was more to thirteenth century historiographical production at St Albans than Matthew Paris, and Paris was not alone in his creative ability. As we have seen by studying Julius D VII, John of Wallingford was certainly Paris' equal and was experimenting with innovative approaches to presenting historiographical material. We must, therefore, not be so quick to attribute great skill exclusively to one individual when it is evident that St Albans

in the thirteenth century was an environment in which such skill was fostered more broadly. Moreover, in this sense Paris's manuscripts should be considered as representative of St Albans manuscript production during this period. The modern reputation of Matthew Paris also forgets that the most successful text associated with Paris, in terms of broad dissemination and transmission, was actually the *Flores historiarum*, the tradition of which the *Chronica maiora* was part. Indeed, this makes Matthew Paris a problematic, and at times contradictory, individual when studying this period of monastic manuscript production. His manuscripts represent something that was truly unique during this period, a level of customisation and innovation in historiography not seen anywhere else outside of St Albans, yet he was not alone in this level of skill at St Albans itself and should not be considered special within the monastery. In comparison to the broader monastic world at this time Paris was an innovator, yet within a St Albans context he was part of a group of similar individuals; not unusual on a domestic level, yet innovative on a national one. A more nuanced approach therefore is needed when studying Matthew Paris's manuscripts that acknowledges this level of individual complexity.

In studying the historians that came after Paris at St Albans, the contrast is startling: the work of William Rishanger, John of Trokelowe and Henry of Blanfordre remains largely unknown. These later writers were continuing the historiographical works of Paris, continuations that would later be used by Thomas Walsingham and for the St Albans *Polychronicon*, but because it was not presented in the same visually distinctive way and thus lacked some contemporary value (of no use for patronage or benefactions) they have been forgotten. Indeed, here we see the priorities of the institution in which these manuscripts were produced. Paris's manuscripts, especially the *Chronica maiora*, served a purpose beyond being purely archival and as such largely retained their value for at least 150 years. In contrast, the manuscripts of Rishanger, Trokelowe and Blanfordre, lacking any visual distinctiveness, became purely archival documents for use in the library. The works of Rishanger, Trokelowe and Blanfordre, building on the groundwork laid by Paris, were essential for the future development of historiographical production at St Albans and their role in the history of the abbey needs to be reconsidered as part of this continuum of historiographical compilation and production. Historiographical production at thirteenth-century St Albans is, therefore, a complex narrative; one in which the needs of the institution start to become evident in the manuscripts that are being produced and would ultimately shape how scholarship has approached the manuscripts for centuries to come.

Historiographical Manuscripts in the Fourteenth Century

The heydays of historiographical production at St Albans are commonly considered to be the early thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries, correlating with the writings of Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham respectively. Walsingham's chronicles, running from 1380-1420, are best known as sources of information for medieval historians, especially those interested in the politics of Ricardian England. Yet Walsingham's chronicles follow on from a more influential text, the *Polychronicon*, and continued work on historiographical traditions from the monastic community at St Albans in the intervening period, such as the compilations of William Rishanger in the late thirteenth century and William Wintershill in the mid-late fourteenth century.²⁷⁶ Historiographical writing in the fourteenth century in England was dominated by the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden. The *Polychronicon* itself survives in around 125 manuscripts and was a popular text in and outside of monasteries.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, this extensive tradition became interlinked with historiographical production at St Albans Abbey, which produced one of the more widely spread *Polychronicon* continuations. Although written around 40 years after the *Polychronicon*, the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham built on and developed this textual tradition.²⁷⁸

This chapter will explore the visual relationship between the historiographical manuscripts of Thomas Walsingham, including the institutional historiographical texts produced while he was active at St Albans, and the *Polychronicon*. None of the surviving *Polychronicon* manuscripts with a St Albans continuation were produced at St Albans itself, and it is important that this group of manuscripts are studied to establish how they connect to the abbey and its sphere of influence. Furthermore, by studying the design and production of these *Polychronicon* manuscripts and the institutional manuscripts from St Albans Abbey,

²⁷⁶ See Galbraith, 'Walsingham', 26; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 25, 43-5, 158-60 and 167-9; 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 845-6.

²⁷⁷ John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 2-3, 134-48; V. H. Galbraith, 'An Autograph MS of Ranulph Higden's 'Polychronicon'', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1959), pp. 1-18 (pp. 1-2).

²⁷⁸ Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, pp. 16, 124-8; Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', p. 22.

it will be argued that not only did the *Polychronicon* loom large on the textual landscape at St Albans but that there were some visual similarities too. While a comparison with the manuscripts of Walsingham's historiographical works demonstrates a vastly different picture; chronicles that were produced mostly in lower-quality manuscripts. Furthermore, the St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts offer an alternative route into studying the St Albans historiographical material from this period. In studying the manuscripts of the *Polychronicon* tradition then, manuscripts associated with St Albans through textual variant but without a direct connection, we will look at St Albans from the other end of its manuscript output. Taking the same approach as in Chapter one with the dissemination of the *Flores historiarum*, adopting the visual methodology will allow us to understand the role of the St Albans's monastic, episcopal, and patronal networks, especially that of Norwich Cathedral Priory which seemed particularly active in producing high-quality manuscripts of St Albans texts during this period, as well as other monastic connections within this wider intellectual network. In addition, this chapter will briefly study the manuscripts of Thomas Walsingham's chronicles, as well as the institutional historiography from St Albans during this period, and will show how and why the traditions differ. What will be shown is that history writing as a genre had become more fragmented by this period and now served a variety of purposes; these different purposes shaped the way the manuscripts looked and the texts were presented.

The Polychronicon at St Albans

The production of historiography in England had progressed significantly between the years 1320–1370, whilst original composition and production at St Albans lay somewhat dormant. In the early 1320s the *Polychronicon* was compiled, a universal chronicle commonly attributed to Ranulf Higden of St Werburgh's abbey in Chester (c. 1280-1364) and a work that was widely copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁷⁹ The defining factor in the

²⁷⁹ Due to its contemporary popularity and proliferation, the *Polychronicon* has been much discussed in research. Though interest is often in the textual tradition as a source, there is also notable scholarship on the tradition as a whole, see Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*; A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Influence and Audience of the Polychronicon: Some Observations', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 17 (1980); Jane Beal, *John Trevisa and the English Polychronicon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); James Freeman, *The Manuscript Dissemination and Readership of the 'Polychronicon' of Ranulph Higden, c.1330-c.1500* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013).

Polychronicon's popularity, and a point of difference with all St Albans historiography to this juncture, was its status as a world history that focused on ancient Rome and classical civilisation. Only a small amount of the chronicle, the final book (of seven), relates to post-conquest and contemporary events. Popularity of the work was further buoyed by its translation into the vernacular in 1387 by John Trevisa, thus allowing the chronicle to circulate to an audience outside of monastic communities.²⁸⁰ The monks at St Albans were actively engaged in the *Polychronicon* tradition. Like many other Benedictine houses, St Albans continued the chronicle, creating its own recension; however, unlike other houses, the St Albans continuation of the *Polychronicon* was disseminated outside of the home institution and is a known variant of the original *Polychronicon* text.²⁸¹ Indeed, it was through other monastic houses connected to St Albans, monasteries that can be classed as being part of the St Albans wider intellectual network, that this continuation disseminated, was copied, and found popularity. A further example of this continuation of external material at St Albans is found in the *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors* by Martinus Polonus, another popular medieval historiographical text.²⁸² The core text finished in the 1270s but a continuation was added at St Albans covering the period 1305-1389. Once more, this recension circulated outside of St Albans.²⁸³ Therefore, even when not engaged in creating historical narratives from scratch, the compilers and writers of St Albans still exerted a certain amount of influence on the production of historiographical manuscripts.

Although the *Polychronicon* has a strong connection to St Albans through the textual continuation, the provenance of the manuscripts containing the text is much less clear. The continuation is attributed by Taylor to St Albans because 'St Albans is placed before Westminster in the account of the General Chapter at Northampton', and the connection is further cemented by the role *Polychronicon* manuscripts with this continuation played in Walsingham's historiographical compilations, where they acted as a source.²⁸⁴ Taylor has also identified seven *Polychronicon*s containing a St Albans continuation, classifying manuscripts with this continuation as a distinct dissemination group, and a further three manuscripts with a close connection to both the *Polychronicon* and Walsingham's historiographical works that may originally have been compiled as alternative continuations for the *Polychronicon* at St

²⁸⁰ Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, pp. 17, 134-42.

²⁸¹ Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 29-34; idem, *Universal Chronicle*, pp. 118-27.

²⁸² Ikas, 'A Medieval Best-Seller', pp. 327-8, 330-3 and 340-1.

²⁸³ Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, *Fortsetzungen zur Papst- und Kaiserchronik Martins von Troppau aus England*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 19 (Hannover, 2004), pp. 38-43.

²⁸⁴ Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 28-33.

Albans.²⁸⁵ It is important to point out though that none of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts can be established, with certainty, to have been copied in St Albans itself despite the textual connection.²⁸⁶ It is also not completely clear how the St Albans continuation circulated. As has been established in previous chapters, St Albans was the centre of a large intellectual network of connected monasteries and circles of patronage, that spanned the entire South East of England – London not being the natural centre in earlier periods – and the St Albans continuation could have been disseminated via multiple different networks.²⁸⁷ Elements of presentation and design demonstrate the extent to which ideas were moving between the *Polychronicon* and St Albans historiography, and the geographical spread of these manuscripts. By utilising the methodology adopted in Chapter One, certain strands of the dissemination of the *Polychronicon* manuscript with the St Albans continuation can be reconstructed through the shared design features, while other elements of manuscript design and production values indicate a different type of usage for other *Polychronicon* and associated manuscripts.

There seems to have been a level of consistency in the production values and quality of manuscripts (not produced at St Albans) with the St Albans continuation of the *Polychronicon*. The manuscripts most closely associated with St Albans, are high-quality, customised, and richly decorated manuscripts.²⁸⁸ In addition, a couple more manuscripts can be associated on account of their particular features with this high-status group and demonstrate design transmission within the St Albans *Polychronicon* tradition.²⁸⁹ These manuscripts contain specific features that are characteristic of the *Polychronicon* and the text's distinctive approach to historiography: indices, running headers and chronological border navigation. These elements combined with high-quality production created manuscripts that were not only suitable for important patrons but also remained easily

²⁸⁵ BL Add MS 12118, BL Harley MS 3877, Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 529, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 89, BnF Mss. Latin 4922 and 4923, TCD MS 487. Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, pp. 110-33. Taylor also lists Bodl. MS Bodley 316 as a *Polychronicon* manuscript, though commonly catalogued as the *Short Chronicle*. The continuations of the *Polychronicon* were further expanded by Taylor and various grades and definitions of the different continuations added, see Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 29-34.

²⁸⁶ Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', p. 30.

²⁸⁷ *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 111-12, 120-3 and 166. For more details on the localised production of St Albans historiographical manuscripts see Chapters 1 and 2.

²⁸⁸ Harley 3877, BnF 4922 and 4923, and TCD 487. See Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, p. 119.

²⁸⁹ CCCO 89 and Bodley 316.

usable. This combination is distinctive and demonstrates that such manuscripts were still intended for usage as well, a matter to which we will return later in the chapter when looking at the St Albans institutional and historiography. Nevertheless, the consistently high quality of these manuscripts is unique within the St Albans historiographical corpus and these *Polychronicon* manuscripts should be viewed as a benchmark for high-status historiographical manuscript production during this period in England.

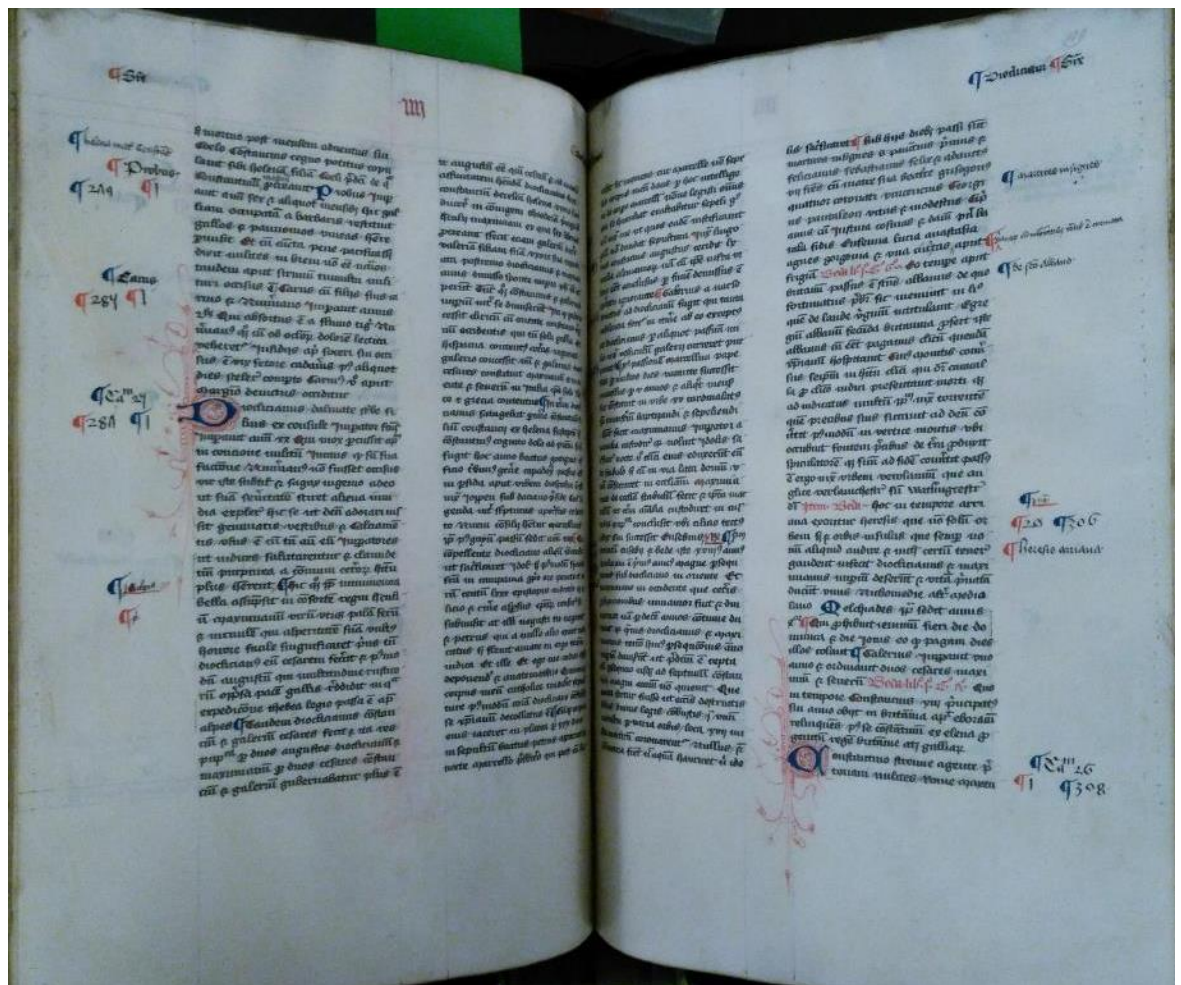


Figure 3.1: BL Harley MS 3877, f. 108v-109r, Book 4 – the rule of Diocletian (© British Library Board).

The *Polychronicon* manuscripts offer one of the most consistent examples of navigable features in a historiographical tradition from this period. The alphabetical indices, running head and chronological border navigation commonly occur in the wider *Polychronicon* corpus, not just the manuscripts containing the St Albans continuation, though

for the purposes of this chapter the focus will remain on the latter.²⁹⁰ Such elements were common in other types of manuscripts by this time but were not always present in history writing.²⁹¹ These features are present in all *Polychronicon* manuscripts with the St Albans continuation and some of the associated manuscripts too.²⁹² BL Harley MS 3877 is a prime example of this high-quality *Polychronicon* group: a large manuscript (381 x 276 mm) of good quality parchment, each new book within the manuscript is marked with an illuminated initial in gold, and written in a well-executed textualis rotunda throughout. It also contains all the navigation features present in the high-status *Polychronicon* manuscripts. The importance of these features should not be understated; indices were still not commonplace in manuscripts at this point, nor were other paratextual navigational features, with the running head being one of the more frequently used.²⁹³ As stated by Robert Bringhurst, ‘if the

²⁹⁰ See for example BL Royal MS 14 C IX, Bodleian MS Douce 138, CCCC MS 21, CCCC MS 117, Chetham’s MS 11379 (Mun. A.6.90), and Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin MS 170. Many of these features, especially the indexes in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts, will be discussed further in James Freeman’s forthcoming monograph on the tradition, based on his unpublished doctoral thesis, Freeman, *Manuscript Dissemination and Readership*.

²⁹¹ Clanchy, *Written Record*, pp. 179-83.

²⁹² In addition to the core St Albans continuation corpus: Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 152, Bodley 316 and TCD 511.

²⁹³ Navigable features like indices are underrepresented in research on medieval manuscripts. Notable contributions include Mary and Richard Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991); ‘The Verbal Concordances to the Scriptures’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 44 (1974), pp. 5-30 and ‘Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century’, *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, 2 (1976), pp. 123-34; Francis J. Witty, ‘Early Indexing Techniques: A Study of Several Book Indexes of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries’, *The Library Quarterly*, 35 (1965), pp. 141-8; Hans H. Wellisch, ‘The Oldest Printed Indexes’, *The Indexer*, 15 (1986), pp. 73-82; idem, ‘Incunabula Indexes’, *The Indexer*, 19 (1994), pp. 3-12; Bella Hass Weinberg, ‘Indexes and Religion: Reflections on Research in the History of indexes’, *The Indexer*, 21 (1999), pp. 111-118; eadem, ‘Book Indexes in France: Medieval Specimens and Modern Practices’, *The Indexer*, 22 (2000), pp. 2-13. Indexes have also been discussed by Malcolm Parkes, see M. B. Parkes, ‘Folia Librorum Quaerere: Medieval Experience of the Problems of Hypertext and the Index’, in *Fabula in Tabula: Una Storia Degli Indici dal Manoscritto al Testo Elettronico*, ed. by Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli and Francesco Santi (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 23-42.

text has many layers or sections, it may need not only heads and subheads but running heads as well, reappearing on every page or two-page spread, to remind readers which intellectual neighbourhood they happen to be visiting'.²⁹⁴ In defining the purpose of the running head, Bringhurst perfectly describes the reason as to why such navigable features were required in *Polychronicon* manuscripts; the amount of varied historiographical information contained within the text would prove problematic to access without multiple different navigation aids, and each served a different purpose. The running head reminds the reader which book of the text they are in, the index provides details of specific topics, such as 'de bello macedonia', 'de Willelmo Rupho', or 'de ethiopia terra' (see **Figure 3.3** for more examples of index contents), followed by book and reference number, and provides a way for those topics to be quickly and easily accessed. The final method of navigation connects to the index, a series of notes in the external margins providing years, reference numbers next to pertinent points and a running head of the contemporary ruler (**Figure 3.1**). High-status medieval manuscripts are not usually thought of as being practical usable texts too, but the St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts show otherwise: functionality was not in opposition to prestige. What is interesting, moreover, is that these practical elements that make the text so functional are not retained in any of the contemporary or subsequent St Albans historiographical manuscripts, other than those associated with the *Polychronicon* tradition. This perhaps emphasises where the focus lay at St Albans. Although the monastery produced a distinct continuation of a well-established historiographical work, there was little interplay of shared ideas beyond the textual content. The St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts, especially the high status ones as discussed here, epitomise usable manuscripts and show that functionality and quality are not mutually exclusive, yet these ideas and approaches to information management are not seen in the contemporary or subsequent historiographical manuscripts associated with St Albans, as will be discussed further below. Indeed, the monks at St Albans contributed to a vastly popular tradition but this did not translate into changes within their own approach to history production, unlike in the previous century. The St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts therefore remained a distinctive tradition within the abbey's intellectual network and managed to retain their relative uniqueness within historiographical production as manuscripts of high status and high usability.

²⁹⁴ Robert Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style*, 3.1 (Point Roberts, WA: Hatley & Marks, 2005), pp. 20-1.



Figure 3.2: BnF Latin MS 4922 f. 11^r and Bodleian, Bodley MS 316 f. 8^r (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

Despite having little influence on domestic historiographical production, the *Polychronicon* manuscripts with the St Albans continuation, like the *Flores historiarum* tradition, offer a window into manuscript dissemination during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, especially within the monastic network connected to St Albans itself. BnF Ms. latin 4922 contains all the same high-quality and paratextual features as Harley 3877 and BnF Ms. lat. 4923 but can also be directly connected to two other St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts: CCCO MS 89 and Bodley MS 316.²⁹⁵ As with the *Flores* manuscripts, it is the continuity of specific design and decorative elements that allow us to map this relationship. BnF Ms. lat. 4922 is the earliest of the three manuscripts according to script and the largest, with a page height of 450 mm. Like all *Polychronicon* manuscripts in this group, it is of high status, containing a heavily illuminated opening page and large puzzle initials to mark the

²⁹⁵ For Bodley 316 also read BL Harley 3634: the two manuscripts were originally part of the same whole and split once in later ownership. See Ker, ‘Manuscripts from Norwich’, pp. 18-19; and Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, pp. 125-6

beginning of each new book within the text. What is distinctive, however, is that the decorative schema of BnF Ms. lat. 4922 is nearly identical to that of Bodley 316 (**Figure 3.2**). There is no provenance data recorded for BnF Ms. lat. 4922 but if the opening pages are compared it is clear that the two manuscripts share several decorative features: both contain the figure of a praying Benedictine monk in the bottom left corner, the Plantagenet sigil (with similar oxidisation of silver) in the middle of the bottom border flanked by aquilegia, and a scene of the Crucifix inside the opening historiated initial. Ker and Kathleen Scott have suggested that Bodley 316 is a product of Norwich Cathedral Priory with Scott saying that '[Norwich] produced more than one copy of the same text'.²⁹⁶ It seems highly likely therefore that BnF Ms. lat. 4922 was also produced at Norwich priory and during a similar period to Bodley 316. This connection with St Albans material is a further indication of the relationship between the two houses – it was not just the *Flores historiarum* that travelled to Norwich priory but other texts too – and indeed Norwich was evidently well provisioned to take advantage of these connections for its manuscript production. It may not be possible to attach the production of any of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts with St Albans continuations to the abbey itself, but this connection with Norwich Priory demonstrates a clear and established route of dissemination from the abbey.

²⁹⁶ Ker, 'Manuscripts from Norwich', pp. 18-19; Scott, *English Manuscript Borders*, pp. 26-7; For more on the creation of Bodley 316, see Jill C. Havens, 'A Curious Erasure in Walsingham's Chronicle', in *Fourteenth Century England*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), II, pp. 95-106 (pp. 101-6).

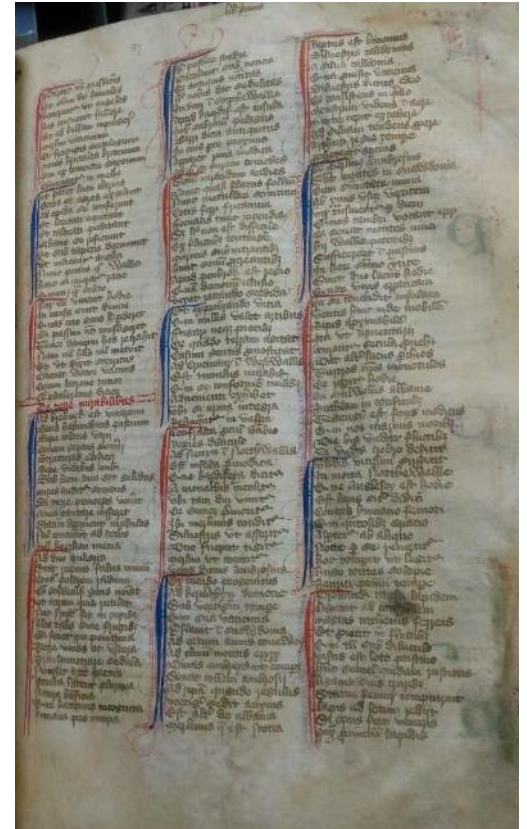
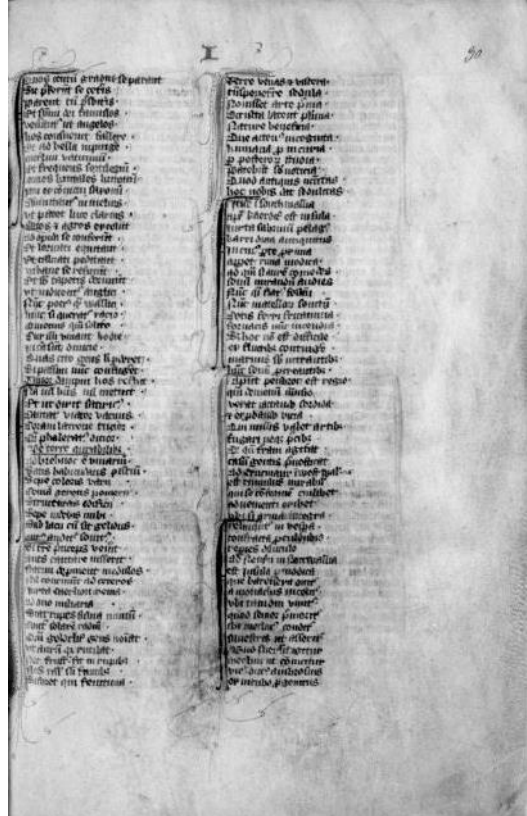
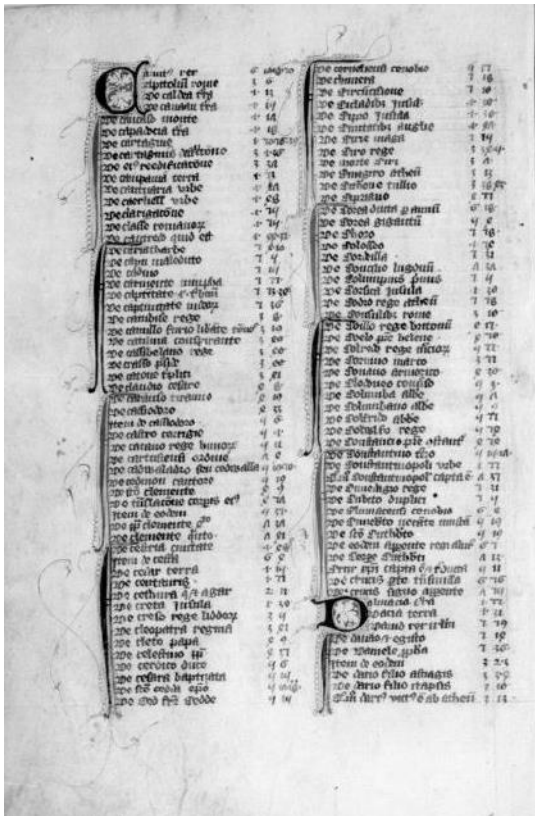


Figure 3.3: Above, BnF Ms. Latin 4922, ff. 3v and 30r, and below, Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 89, ff. 10v and 27r.

The vitality of the St Albans *Polychronicon* tradition also allows us to see the breadth of the intellectual network in which these manuscripts circulated. Norwich Cathedral Priory has already been established as a key location for the production of St Albans material, but it would seem that the *Polychronicon* manuscripts also spread further afield. Although these manuscripts have no direct connection with the abbey, this broader relationship between the manuscripts and within this recension is seen in the similarities BnF Ms. lat. 4922 shares with another *Polychronicon* manuscript: CCCO MS 89. These elements differ from those shared with Bodley 316 but are part of the general decorative schema in the manuscript. In the indices of both BnF Ms. lat. 4922 and CCCO 89 an identical form of decoration is used: flourished and decorative bars in alternating red and blue (**Figure 3.3**). The same feature is also found further in book one of both manuscripts to demarcate the topographical description of Wales, ff. 29^r-31^r and ff. 26^v-27^v respectively, and the manuscripts share identical style decorative initials throughout. BnF Ms. lat. 4922 and CCCO 89 do not just share decorative features though: these are the only two St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscripts to contain maps. Again, maps are a feature of the wider *Polychronicon* tradition, building on the earlier historiographical works and itinerary maps of monks like Matthew Paris, but they are not uniformly present across the manuscript corpus. As can be seen from **Figure 3.4** (below), the maps in the two manuscripts are remarkably similar. The rough contours and general plotting demonstrate a consistency between BnF Ms. lat. 4922 and CCCO 89, and the differences that occur between the two maps are small and likely characteristic of changes in the copying process. Despite these obvious connections, the origin and geographic relationship of BnF Ms. lat. 4922 and CCCO 89 remain mysterious; unlike the Norwich connection with Bodley 316, there is no immediately evident shared production centre or location for the two manuscripts. We know that CCCO 89 was owned by St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, but do not know where it was made; conversely the production of BnF Ms. lat. 4922 seems clear (that it was produced at Norwich priory) but there is no evidence of further provenance.²⁹⁷ Textually these manuscripts differ too, albeit in a related way: CCCO 89 contains the same text as in BnF Ms. lat. 4922 but with additional material from Walsingham's chronicle, *Chronicon angliae*, which suggests that CCCO 89 was a development from the BnF Ms. lat. 4922 template.²⁹⁸ Adopting the visual methodological approach of Chapter one, it seems evident that the two manuscripts are indeed closely connected and likely created through the same intellectual network. Furthermore, this was a network that traversed the

²⁹⁷ Ownership marks for the monastery can be seen on f. 12C^r of CCCO 89. See also Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', p. 32.

²⁹⁸ Taylor, 'Polychronicon Continuation', pp. 29-31.

width of the country, not just being isolated to the South East of England, as was seen earlier in the thesis. Though the production of these manuscripts cannot be pinpointed exactly, the shared features allow us to locate them to within the same broader St Albans sphere of influence, and thus demonstrate how the abbey retained its role in the production and dissemination of historiographical writing.



Figure 3.4: BnF Ms. Latin 4922, f. 2r, and Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 89, f. 12Bv

Not all *Polychronicon* manuscripts associated with St Albans contained the features mentioned above, and several in fact are significantly lower-quality manuscripts. Importantly, though, these manuscripts are either *Polychronicon* adaptations, for instance the *Polychronicon* plus a particular text, or contain texts used by Walsingham to develop his *Polychronicon* continuation and other historiographical works. As will be seen, these manuscripts are closer in style and production values to those of the main Thomas Walsingham corpus and lack some of the distinctive features of the high-status *Polychronicon* manuscripts like indices and maps. Nevertheless though, these are manuscripts that remained practical and as a result all retain navigational elements. Visually, as well as textually, then, these lower-quality *Polychronicon* and associated manuscripts mark a halfway house between the high-status St Albans *Polychronicons* and the Walsingham tradition and

are a useful group to study in charting the development, changes, and differences of the two traditions and how and why these differences exist.

The period in which a manuscript was produced seems to have influenced how the *Polychronicon* and associated manuscripts were presented. Two of the related *Polychronicon* manuscripts contain a chronicle that was used as a source by Walsingham when compiling his historiographical works and according to Taylor have ‘strong associations with St Albans’.²⁹⁹ Both Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 152 and Trinity College Dublin MS 511 contain the same text, which Taylor has suggested to be a *Polychronicon* continuation created at St Albans before Walsingham but not in wider circulation. Taylor gives this textual attribution based on its connection to other manuscripts that can be attached to the St Albans scriptorium or Walsingham’s compilations.³⁰⁰ The content of these manuscripts is loosely defined in modern library catalogues as one of Thomas Walsingham’s chronicles, but this is quite a confusing corpus of historiographical works, as will be discussed later, so for clarity these works will retain Taylor’s attribution of St Albans works associated with both Walsingham and the *Polychronicon*. But it is not just text that these manuscripts share. Rawlinson B 152 and TCD 511 are much smaller manuscripts than those of the high-quality St Albans *Polychronicons*, 176 x 124 mm and 221 x 141mm respectively, and have production values to match. These are manuscripts of significantly lower quality: both are written in a single text column, in a hybrid cursive script, with limited use of colour. The production quality is further indicated in the choice of materials. The Rawlinson manuscript was written on poor quality parchment, often containing hard patches and holes, while TCD 511 was written on a mixture of parchment and paper; some quires are all paper, some have paper inners with a parchment outer leaf, and the final quires on low-quality parchment. These are all characteristics that will be seen again later in the chapter when studying the Walsingham manuscripts and are indicative of manuscripts produced at low cost for personal use. Nevertheless, both Rawl B 152 and TCD 511 maintain some of the usable features of the *Polychronicon* corpus associated with St Albans, such as the marginal navigation system. Indeed, both of these manuscripts share qualities with a more highly decorative manuscript with a St Albans *Polychronicon* continuation: BnF Ms. latin 4923. BnF Ms. lat. 4923 sits in between the two groups of *Polychronicon* manuscripts discussed above: on the one hand it contains high quality decoration on the opening page and for each new book, and has a generous use of space, but it was also produced on parchment of mixed quality, contains lots of corrections and no rubrics. The similarities of these manuscripts perhaps owe more to the period of production

²⁹⁹ Taylor, ‘Polychronicon Continuation’, p. 30.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

than anything else. Rawl B 152, TCD 511 and BnF Ms. lat. 4923 are all fifteenth-century manuscripts and show how manuscript production during this period was changing. In comparison to the higher-status *Polychronicons*, these manuscripts do not contain rubrics, instead just underlining the existing script or writing in a slightly larger script. This is a format that will be seen again in an exaggerated form in the following chapter in the manuscripts of John Whethamstede. Such a small change or difference may seem insignificant, but it marks a step away from the more decorative, and even traditional, methods of presenting historiographical writing. By not adding rubrics scribal time was saved and this could be spent on adding useful features elsewhere. These lower-quality manuscripts, then, should not be dismissed out of hand: they represent a different type of production with different motives that have shaped the end result. In this instance, the navigable features of the *Polychronicon* were considered useful enough to adopt, and far more useful than surplus decorative elements.

Reg. Johes

16	Menaio regis francie	32	Papa dap namt alina nati bejca en & libellu joachim	10	in vacula	26	Epi p tior may tnsigt	20	capu mya bilis
17	Ru rex angf diffort papa traje			11	Supachiqab bas noit m angf faaco mlta mpaala	21	Concordia tamo	21	Alind mya bile
18	Capao ru jest anst	33	Impator ex tortat	12	idigun	28	Bex cot cley malignat	22	De r baco regis sacroy
19	De th beli end epo	38	Frng rex fr ac & mlta de gms cap ti oit p ic se angf	13	Arthury ne pos regis johis occidi	24	Inepo aspi ma cu gelu acimn	23	Pet's qda de rege jobe p phetant
20	Inbet q luffimeno T aslem ca tray celti			18	Wortalitas magna	30	Bex jebes magna p omna exat sic	24	Duo legati missi oit i anglia ad sefermadi fac it je se & scdm ccliam
21	De epd bal delino	34	De morte jest Biri	14	Capo aybis cortanapob	31	Bex anglic misit edati guc thibi	25	Excoicao lata i rege
22	Redepao p gis Biri		De Rege jobe	15	joh rex pd de flaman	32	Bex angf ai exati ista sp' oca ap fiatit	26	Bepposio regis
23	Bex Biri an alia veres dimo toto nat	1	Coronato rex johis	11	joh cardia f vest i an glia	33	Bex jo. exta sic a religio sis dombi est tas eis dappo sas	27	Nota de p mlegio dngli
24	De me man tio	2	Tringe codi conales it leges fric & angf	18	ca & passy i ducato an glie	34	Bex jo. obe dit Wallia	28	Beisi oit legati ad pim
25	De a' demo ne cosulca	3	Comes flau dne dencit ho ligi johis jest anst	19	Stephan' de langeron e lect' & cofina r' e aslem canay	35	Nota de hi bina roca & Wallia	29	Scipit p lega fricoy & pncipib; ut tot rege anglie ip gerent
26	De duce Aus tue	4	Bex reliquit ex ca una ogore & ar cepit alt'a	20	Bex resistit hinc el ton	36	Prncip p' ni anglia f' it venit	30	Bex jebes pau se & suos ad jehit ad unu d
27	De skillo cu lega bayba no passu	5	Tartaroy i cepit domi nat	21	Wothi jonia cia adent	37	Unvabte p's gim	31	Bex jo. obim f' se ordiaon ip
28	Nota de th fliaib; jest Biri. impou t dno	6	Capao vrbis cortanapo lis	22	Bex qm plu mos flatos Toxilii jete git	38	Log' f'io it ganos & ca latenos		
29	Obit Bafis pncaps bal lic	7	Medicno pator de port' est	23	hen' p'acn jest johis na t' e not' d'n				
30	Equalitas ponden & mesu	8	Tepestas i an dita	24	P'as data e epd angf i d'ia di				
31	Renonano ca t'ay	9	Sec' hugo lincolmen obit	29	joh rex jono m' occidi				

Figure 3.5: Bodleian MS Laud Misc 529, f. 3r (reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford).

The difference between manuscript production quality when viewed within specific textual traditions and across the broader genre can be glaring. Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 529 is another of the lower-quality *Polychronicon* manuscripts with a St Albans continuation, though a manuscript that by most other monastic chronicle standards would be considered as quite decent. It is written in a clear hybrid textualis cursive script on reasonable parchment throughout, with a page measuring 254 x 173 mm. Laud Misc. 529 is presented in a relatively traditional way for a chronicle – adopting the alternating red and blue flourished display initials for new sections with red and blue pilcrows in the text itself – and does not contain the structure and normal emphases found in the other *Polychronicon* manuscripts, including the division by different books. Yet again though the navigable features have been retained. Indeed, Laud Misc. 529 does not just contain marginal rubrication, but also its own unique index compiled according to a chronological structure (**Figure 3.5**). The index is divided by ruler and then each issue/subject is given a number; this number is then reset with the beginning of the next king's rule. Using this index would be quite simple and in some respects easier to use than the original *Polychronicon* index: the ruler would need to be located within the running marginalia around the main text and then the subject can be found by the associated numbers. Laud Misc. 529 is the one example from the manuscripts with a St Albans continuation of how principles of the *Polychronicon* were modified to work with different texts and approaches: the idea of the index was adapted from the original *Polychronicon* form, alphabetical and by book and number, to one that is simpler within a chronological monastic chronicle. This manuscript may seem visually indistinct within the wider St Albans *Polychronicon* tradition, but it charts something of particular importance: the transmission of design ideas across manuscripts that contain texts derived from different branches of the textual tradition.

The *Polychronicon* manuscripts associated with St Albans provide a significant insight into the production of historiographical manuscripts and movement of ideas during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. So little is known about these manuscripts that it is impossible to present a full account of the networks in which they were presented. What we can do, however, is sketch the broad outlines of how these manuscripts relate to each other and where the connections in production can clearly be established. As we have seen, most of these manuscripts were high-status products designed for patrons or prominent positions within a monastic library. These manuscripts may not be direct products of the St Albans scriptorium, but they are connected to the abbey through the textual relationships and sources of the continuations, as well as the wider network in which they were produced.

Again, as in chapter one, manuscript design features are crucial in establishing these wider connections to the abbey. Although the high-status *Polychronicon* manuscripts associated with St Albans show little connection to the wider corpus, a visual comparison has demonstrated a close relationship within the production of three manuscripts in this group, and indeed these manuscripts were produced within the wider St Albans network, at Norwich Priory. The lower-quality *Polychronicon* and associated manuscripts offer a different perspective, however; one of compromise and adaptation. These manuscripts display the *Polychronicon* and associated St Albans texts through a different lens, changing the presentation to match changing fashions or make the text more functionally accessible. It must be noted though that the *Polychronicon* presentation was so specific that such adaptations were not the norm. Indeed, as will be shown in the next section, the influence of the design and presentation of this text on contemporary St Albans history manuscripts was minimal. St Albans may have compiled a continuation to the *Polychronicon* text and disseminated it through its monastic network, but in little other way did St Albans shape or mould the *Polychronicon* tradition.

The manuscripts of Thomas Walsingham

To gain some perspective on the St Albans *Polychronicon* continuation and the manuscripts of this text, it is useful to look at other contemporary historiography from St Albans Abbey. The most prominent figure in St Albans historiographical production during the latter part of the fourteenth century was Thomas Walsingham († c.1420). To modern historians Walsingham is best known for his chronicle compilation and production, providing an insight into the reign of Richard II and contemporary reactions to the Lollard movement.³⁰¹ He was and is still considered to be the first 'Royal Historian', even though he was documenting events of local and national significance, often with a critical eye on the Crown and its activities.³⁰² Walsingham was producing historiography at St Albans over a century after

³⁰¹ *Historical Writing*, ii, pp. 131-4 and 157; 'Walsingham Reconsidered', pp. 850-1, *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 247-57; G. B. Stow, 'Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles' *Speculum*, 59 (1984), pp. 68-102; Havens, 'Curious Erasure', pp. 95-106; *Lollards and their influence in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens and Derrick G. Pitard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

³⁰² St Albans, though geographically close to Westminster and the monarchy, had no direct connection to the Crown. The difference between the monasteries of St Albans and

Matthew Paris, yet he was writing during a period in which the manuscripts Paris produced remained significant to the abbey as an institution and historiography was still a genre of significance within the broader Benedictine community. It is generally accepted, by scholars such as Taylor, Galbraith, Chris Given-Wilson and Gransden, amongst others, that Walsingham was consciously continuing Matthew Paris' historiographical work, though such a convenient connection has meant that Walsingham's historiography has often been overlooked for critical analysis in its own right.³⁰³ Thomas Walsingham is commonly cited as the monk whose responsibility it was to reinvigorate and revive the struggling historiographical tradition at St Albans. Indeed, such a stance has become the default introduction to a discussion of Walsingham's work.³⁰⁴ Yet as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, historiographical production was still going strong at St Albans when Walsingham started writing, such as the works of William Wintershill and William de Wyllum earlier in the fourteenth century.³⁰⁵ Furthermore, the manuscripts of Walsingham's chronicles add little to our understanding of St Albans production during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century as little is known about their provenance and many were created

Westminster, especially with historiographical writing, has started to be discussed, see *Historical Writing, i*, pp. 417-21, 439-44 and 453-63. The relationship between the two monasteries is also discussed in Chapter 1. Walsingham's chronicles are often cited in scholarship as if he had an official position at court. See in particular Stow, 'Richard II', pp. 68-102; and Christopher Guyol, 'The Altered Perspective of Thomas Walsingham's *Symbol of Normandy*', in *Law, Governance and Justice: New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism*, ed. by Richard Kaeuper (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 189-210. Gransden has suggested that the *Flores historiarum*, originally compiled at St Albans, was as close as Britain came to 'official' chronicle production in the vein of St Denis, Paris, but resisted classing Matthew Paris as a royal historian, see Gransden, 'Propaganda', pp. 368-70.

³⁰³ Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, p. 18; Galbraith, *Abbey of St Albans*, pp. 28-30; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 59; *Historical Writing, ii*, pp. 118, 123-4. See also Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xliix-xlix; Walsingham, *Chronica maiora*, pp. 10, 13 and 16.

³⁰⁴ Gransden, for instance, analyses Walsingham largely through comparison with Matthew Paris, see *Historical Writing, ii*, pp. 118, 123-31, 136 and 144. See also Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 59-62, 76-7; Walsingham, *Chronica maiora*, p. 13; Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 17 and 19.

³⁰⁵ Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 61, 67. Clark's research has been important to raising the profile and role of William Wintershill during this period, see *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 25, 43-5, 158-60 and 167-9.

after the original composition in the fifteenth century. Instead the manuscripts associated with Walsingham can be studied to understand how visual elements were disseminated within monastic book production. Indeed, to understand Walsingham more fully, and the difference of the *Polychronicon* tradition, we should briefly consider the other manuscripts associated with his work. Walsingham used the *Polychronicon* as a base and this section will explore the relationship between these manuscripts and to what degree the design and production of *Polychronicon* manuscripts with a St Albans continuation influenced the production of other, later historiographical material from the abbey.

Twenty-seven manuscripts survive that contain work attributed to Thomas Walsingham and connected to him in previous scholarship: six of the *Chronica maiora*; two of the Short Chronicle (or *Historia Brevis*); three are historiographical works produced for the abbey; six contain a mixture of the preceding historiographical works; the seven *Polychronicon* manuscripts with St Albans continuations and three manuscripts of the generically titled *St Albans Chronicle*.³⁰⁶ It must be noted though that these historical works are heavily interrelated and the divisions between them are not as clear-cut as these specific titles would suggest, nor can any be directly attached to Thomas Walsingham other than through authorship (unlike the autograph manuscripts of Paris, for instance).³⁰⁷ These historiographical manuscripts are fragmentary in structure, with different versions, continuations and passages all present in individual manuscripts, making it hard to establish a firm manuscript corpus.³⁰⁸ Scholars such as Taylor, Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss have suggested a timeline for Walsingham's manuscript production to provide further clarity on issues of authorship, although such timelines are challenging to implement when multiple

³⁰⁶ The most up-to-date discussion of manuscript attribution can be found in the critical edition, see Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xxvii-lxx.

³⁰⁷ Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 65-70. The *Chronica maiora* and *St Albans Chronicle* are used interchangeably by modern historians, providing a descriptive title rather than a specific textual attribution. Other titling issues were created by antiquarian printers in the sixteenth century who used the generic titles *Chronicon Angliae* and *Historia Anglicana* (discussed further in chapter 5). See also Walsingham, *Chronica maiora*, p. 21; Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xxxii-li and lxxv-lxxvii; and Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 17-19. To try and maintain a level of clarity though, this chapter will, if titles rather than manuscript numbers are needed, use the title attributed to manuscripts in Taylor, Watkiss and Childs's critical edition.

³⁰⁸ Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xxxv-xli; Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 64-70.

scribes were involved in the production process.³⁰⁹ In their recent critical edition, Taylor, Watkiss and Childs dated Walsingham's production between 1380 to 1420, and it was noted by Taylor in his earlier study that Walsingham's work after 1390 was significantly less accomplished.³¹⁰



³⁰⁹ Taylor, Childs and Watkiss are open about the lack of evidence in this regard and fiercely debate studies that cite Walsingham as author with little or no evidence. See Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xviii-xxvii and xli. In the critical editions, Henry Riley and E. M. Thompson also disputed some of Walsingham's authorship, see Riley, *HA II*, p. ix-xv; idem, *Chronicon Angliae, ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388*, ed. by E. M. Thompson (London, 1874) ed. by E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series 64 (London: Longman, 1874), pp. xxxi-xxxiv. See also Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 12-3 and 25-8.

³¹⁰ Walsingham, *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xix-xxvii; Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 61-2.

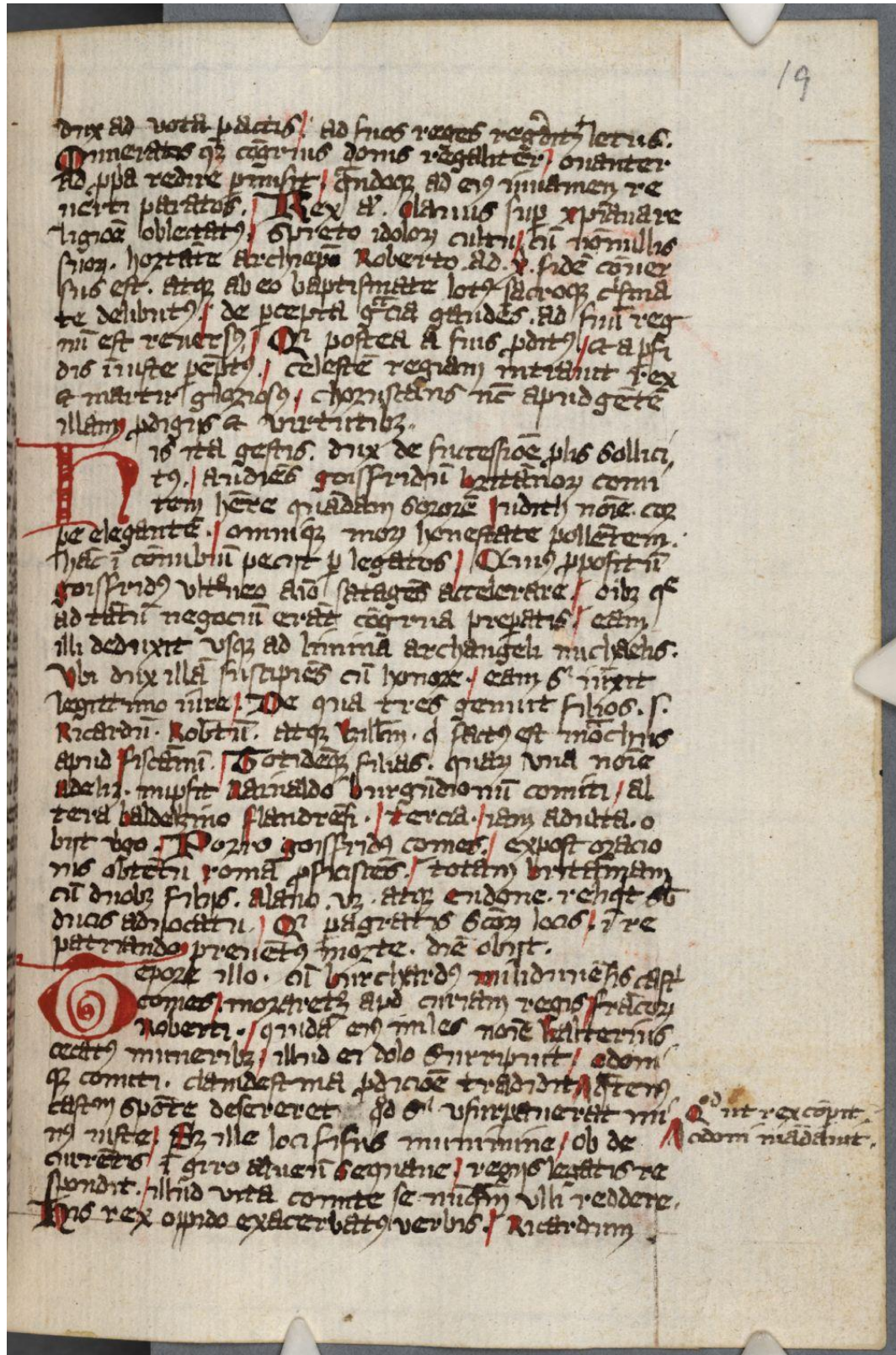


Figure 3.6: BL Harley MS 2693, ff. 78v-79r (© British Library Board) and the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 240, f. 19r.

The historiographical manuscripts attributed to Thomas Walsingham's authorship differ significantly from most of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts containing the St Albans continuation. The reason for such a difference in production values must lie in the different audiences and purposes of the two works: Walsingham's historiographical compositions were primarily domestic chronicles in the traditional monastic chronicle form, which narrated historical events chronologically (with an emphasis on the contemporary period) from the perspective of a single institution, whereas the *Polychronicon* presented a universal history through a more miscellaneous lens that included other areas of interest such as topography and theology, and placed as much emphasis on biblical and classical times as the contemporary period. The study of these manuscripts shows that location-specific monastic chronicles like those of Thomas Walsingham were starting to change in how they were used, in the late fourteenth century they were starting to become works of personal reference. Of the twenty-seven historiographical manuscripts with works attributed to Thomas Walsingham, six are in a format and script indicative of personal use.³¹¹ These manuscripts are smaller, an average page measuring 211 x 148 mm, and of a lower general standard of production. Of the seven manuscripts, BL Harley MS 2693, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 152, and CCC MS 240 (**Figure 3.6**) are the smallest in size, measuring 146 x 110 mm, 176 x 124 mm, and 197 x 142 mm respectively. Harley 2693, as the smallest manuscript in the entire Walsingham corpus, defines this change in usage and appearance. It is an intended miscellany manuscript, containing the *Chronica maiora* (ff. 5^r-130^v) and commentaries on Classical works (ff. 131^r-202^v), written by one scribe. It has been argued that Harley 2693 was copied at St Albans due to the manuscript containing colophons that state the work or section was by 'frater Thomas Walsingham', but there is little else in the manuscript to connect it to the abbey.³¹² The Harleian manuscript was produced on paper (in the octavo format), a clear choice of economy in fifteenth-century manuscript production, written in a gothic hybrid script with annotations and marginal navigational notes by the same scribe.³¹³ The script

³¹¹ CCC MS 240, Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. 510 and 511, BL Harley MS 2693 and Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 152.

³¹² ff. 131^r and 177^v. Harley 2693 is generally accepted in scholarship as a St Albans manuscript, see *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 167.

³¹³ Little is currently known about the extent of paper usage in England in the fourteenth century, though it is thought to be more extensive than previously realised, see Orietta da Rold, 2016, *From Pulp to Fiction: Our Love Affair with Paper*, <http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/from-pulp-to-fiction-our-love-affair-with-paper> [accessed 15/03/2018]. For more on the difference in the usage of paper and parchment,

itself is chaotic, initially lacking consistency in the height of the letterforms and is combined with uneven line-spacing across the page. CCCC 240 demonstrates similar characteristics and appears to have been written by the same scribe as Harley 2693. Though general presentation meets a minimum competency, as in Harley 2693, the manuscript was written on paper (quarto in format) and the script was quickly written and contains errors of performance, such as multiple smudges and drips. Indeed, the script in general lacks legibility for a gothic hybrid script hand, with poorly constructed letterforms. Again, annotations and navigational marginalia are present and in the main scribe's hand. CCCC 240 is commonly cited as being intended for Henry V based on the prologue addressing the king on f. 1, yet the quality of production does not indicate this at all.³¹⁴ Instead, as the only surviving copy of the *Ypodigma Neustriae* – a historiographical compilation on the history of Normandy, from Rollo to the later fourteenth century – it is far more likely that what we are seeing here is a personal, working copy of the text and some other explanation for the inclusion of a prologue addressing Henry V must be sought.³¹⁵ Although CCCC 240 mimics higher-status presentational features, such as large puzzle initials, the general quality of the manuscript is low, in-line with what would be expected for a more affordable manuscript. The manuscripts

see Orietta da Rold, 'Materials', in *The Production of the Book in England, 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 12-33 (pp. 22-7); Rodney Thomson, 'Technology of Production of the Manuscript Book: I – Parchment and Paper, Ruling and Ink', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney Thomson, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), II, pp. 75-84, here pp. 75-8; Lucien Febvre and Henry-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book* (London: Verso, 2010), pp. 30-9; Christopher De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 2009), pp. 16-7.

³¹⁴ The connection to Henry V was originally made by Riley in 1876 and remains present in library catalogues and online encyclopaedia entries, for original attribution see Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae, a Thomas Walsingham, quondam monacho monasterii S. albani conscriptum*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, Rolls Series 28 (London: Longman, 1876), pp. viii-xi. See also *Historical Writing*, ii, p. 126 and 143; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), I, p. 539; Galbraith, 'Walsingham', 26; Walsingham, *Chronica maiora*, p. 12; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 167, 187 and 265-6.

³¹⁵ For more on the textual compilation of the *Ypodigma Neustriae* and textual analysis, see Guyol, 'Walsingham's Symbol of Normandy', pp. 189-210; *Monastic Renaissance*, pp. 166-7 and 265-7; Federico, *Classicist Writings*, pp. 164-6.

just discussed may be atypical of the Walsingham corpus as a whole, but they do nevertheless reflect what can be identified here as a growing trend in the monastic chronicle: one of affordable manuscripts for personal usage. Indeed, private book ownership was on the increase even in the monastic orders during this period.³¹⁶ It is not coincidental though that none of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts with the St Albans continuation were presented in this way. With the exception of Rawlinson B 152, all manuscripts in this group are miscellanies, further emphasising the personal component of these manuscripts; as a miscellany they provided customised content for the user. Although the *Polychronicon* could have been used in this way, because of how it was compiled there was little need (it was already ‘universal’), and it may have been for this reason that it avoided the same change of purpose that can be seen in other monastic chronicles in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.



Figure 3.7: College of Arms, Arundel MS 7, f. 52^v (reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms), the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 370, f. 58^v and BL Cotton MS Otho C II, f. 15^r (© British Library Board).

A strong sense of tradition is also present within the Walsingham and *Polychronicon* manuscript corpus. A further six out of the twenty-seven historiographical manuscripts were produced to the same display and navigational standards of thirteenth-century manuscript production, as seen in the *Flores historiarum* tradition: a plain text block punctuated by

³¹⁶ Clark, ‘Print’, pp. 80-2.

flourished initials (**Figure 3.7**).³¹⁷ This presentation style is relatively ubiquitous throughout this period and, in many respects, could be considered as a standard form of presentation. Indeed, 'standard' is a practical way to describe these manuscripts. Though larger than the historiographical manuscripts of personal reference, at a mean page size of 273 x 188 mm (based on the four manuscripts without fire damage), none of the manuscripts with traditional presentation are grand in size and all adhere to what would be loosely catalogued as a quarto format book.³¹⁸ Such a strong visual tradition may be due in part to the continuous St Albans historiographical narrative, present in the earliest manuscripts in this group: BL Cotton MS Faustina B IX, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX and BL Cotton MS Otho C II. While these manuscripts will be discussed in further detail below, they were written between 1360-1425, and represent manuscripts produced with one foot firmly in fourteenth-century manuscript traditions of St Albans. This is most evident in Vitellius A XX, a historiographical miscellany, which contains a copy of the *Flores historiarum*.³¹⁹ The core St Albans historiographical work is then supplemented with two fourteenth-century chronicles, one of which is connected to Thomas Walsingham. Manuscripts Faustina B IX and Otho C II share similar construction and design, each containing an earlier St Albans historiographical work that was then continued during the fourteenth century. These manuscripts suggest, then, that the traditional St Albans approach to historiographical presentation was transmitted to other manuscripts associated with Walsingham, most likely when copied from a St Albans exemplar. As has been shown, and will continue to be shown, throughout this thesis, the design and presentation of more popular texts or texts with a perceived standard presentation, such as annals, was often transferred through the copying process and it should therefore be no surprise that these manuscripts associated with Walsingham look very similar to the St Albans historiographical manuscripts that were used as a base for his chronicle writing. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the six manuscripts that demonstrate a strong traditional presentation style are those that can be most strongly associated with St Albans itself. A distinct St Albans presentation style starts to emerge by the end of this period, but it is one heavily rooted in

³¹⁷ CCCC MS 370, BL Cotton MS Faustina B IX, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, BL Cotton MS Otho C II, College of Arms MS 7, Bodleian MS Bodley 462. The manuscripts Otho C II and Vitellius A XX were significantly damaged by the Cotton Library fire and thus codicological analysis was restricted. See Chapter One for further details on presentation style.

³¹⁸ Given by Thomson as 250-350 x 150-250 mm. Though somewhat imprecise for cataloguing manuscripts made of parchment, such defined measurements do provide useful parameters for comparison. See Thomson, 'Parchment and Paper', pp. 75-6.

³¹⁹ BL Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, ff. 77^r-108^v.

the traditional presentation seen in these six manuscripts. Manuscript production at St Albans must, therefore, be viewed as being rooted in the past production as much as in the new manuscripts being made; previous manuscripts provided a guideline for new manuscripts and with chronologically continuous works, such as chronicles and historiography, there was little impetus to facilitate a change.

On the one hand, if viewed from the perspective of a large and powerful Benedictine monastery such as St Albans, continuing to produce manuscripts in a traditional presentation is a clear indication of the esteem in which these manuscripts were held. The thirteenth century, after all, was a period of experimentation and creativity within the historiographical genre but now, in the fourteenth century with the purpose of the monastic chronicle changing, it was easier to fall back on the familiar format of traditional monastic chronicles rather than create a new approach. This is in stark contrast to the majority of the *Polychronicon* tradition, which featured an innovative index and navigational aids, as well as usually being highly decorated.³²⁰ The historiographical manuscripts of Thomas Walsingham when examined in terms of their codicology and design, were viewed as chronicles in the traditional, old-fashioned sense, in that they retained the presentation and structure of chronicles from two centuries earlier. These manuscripts were, therefore, treated accordingly. The manuscripts did not need to be decorated or presented differently because, unlike the *Polychronicon*, they were not doing anything new; simply recording contemporary events and Benedictine opinion. Innovative manuscripts were still being produced at St Albans, as will be seen later in the chapter, but this approach was reserved for manuscripts of high status and external audiences, a category into which the manuscripts associated with Walsingham did not fit.

Nevertheless, a manuscript of a monastic chronicle presented in a traditional style did still have a purpose in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: these chronicles allowed smaller and dependent houses to begin their own historiographical tradition. Both Faustina B IX and Vitellius A XX are manuscripts that contain Walsingham's *Chronicon anglie* in addition to other historiographical works that were relevant to the house that owned them. Faustina B IX can be connected to Tynemouth Priory, a dependent cell of St Albans, and

³²⁰ For additional information on the presentation of the *Polychronicon*, see James Freeman, *The manuscript dissemination and readership of the 'Polychronicon' of Ranulph Higden, c.1330-c.1500* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013).

Melrose abbey.³²¹ The manuscript as it exists now is an unintended miscellany; the Melrose and Tynemouth sections, folios 2^r-75^v and 76^r-244^v respectively, form two separate volumes that were later bound together, most likely for reasons of shared historiographical content. If the Tynemouth section alone is studied, what we see is a continuation composed almost entirely from Walsingham's two chronicles, the *Chronica maiora* and the *Short Chronicle*, added to an additional composition from the earlier St Albans historiography of William Rishanger. Faustina B IX, then, demonstrates a dependent house customising the work of Thomas Walsingham to suit its needs. BL Otho C II contains a similar chronological span to Faustina B IX but follows the more common route of continuing an existing chronicle with an up-to-date recension (in this case it is all St Albans historiography), though, due to damage to the manuscript in the Cotton Library fire and prior antiquarian re-working, there is no evidence of original ownership. Cotton MS Vitellius A XX, a manuscript containing both the *Chronica maiora* and *Short Chronicle* of Thomas Walsingham written in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century hands, was produced for similar reasons to Faustina B IX and can also be attached to Tynemouth Priory. It is an unintended historiographical miscellany that was assembled into its current structure at Tynemouth, as indicated by the range of booklets produced by different scribes combined with the consistency in medieval annotation throughout.³²² Indeed, it is entirely plausible that these booklets were produced at St Albans for Tynemouth Priory.³²³ Although a cell of St Albans, Tynemouth Priory was not unambitious in its manuscript production and composition: it is from here that the *Historia Aurea*, written in the early fourteenth century by John of Tynemouth, originates.³²⁴ That said, such a composition should perhaps be viewed in a similar way to the autograph manuscripts of Matthew Paris: astounding works that were intended as such and had a purpose in addition

³²¹ Faustina B IX contains the Tynemouth Chronicle and Melrose Chronicle. This manuscript is discussed further in Chapter Two.

³²² The manuscript contains multiple sections written by eight different scribes over a 200-year period. Various sections of the manuscript appear to be in Matthew Paris' hand, including rubrics, such as ff. 77^r, 88^r, 94^r and 101^v.

³²³ Thomson, 'Book Production', p. 146.

³²⁴ Martin Heale, *Dependent Priors of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 51, 67-9, 80-1 and 98-100; Still, *Abbot*, pp. 147-56. The intellectual relationship between St Albans and Tynemouth is an interesting one, especially with regards historiographical writing, though is outside of the scope of this present study.

to recording history.³²⁵ The Vitellius and Faustina manuscripts represent a more traditional, archival use of history instead. Tynemouth was in possession of an updated version of St Albans historiography, Vitellius A XX, and then went on to produce its own composition in Faustina B IX; it seems highly likely that these two manuscripts are directly connected. The usage of these historiographical manuscripts by dependent houses was in many respects like the shift towards the chronicle as a text for personal reference. Many of these institutions were small, with only a handful of monks present at any one time, and would have wanted to maintain a chronicle in as affordable a way as possible.³²⁶ If a chronicle base existed at the institution, it would be possible to update this with new sections, like in Vitellius A XX and the Dublin manuscripts, or create an entirely individual composition, as seen in Faustina B IX. If a chronicle tradition needed to be started, manuscripts of slightly archaic presentation and economic script allowed an affordable way to achieve this. In wealthier dependencies they achieved this purpose and provided reference material for personal study. We are, therefore, looking at manuscripts that would have been used by a limited number of people but served a much wider purpose. Presenting such manuscripts according to the current intellectual or political rationale at the mother house was irrelevant: these chronicles were produced to provide the text in an affordable manuscript that was presented in a clear, legible and coherent fashion, and the 'standard' presentation style of the period suited this purpose.

The manuscripts studied above represent roughly half of the corpus of historiographical manuscripts attributed to Thomas Walsingham and, as can be seen by these sub-groups, the corpus differs dramatically in presentation and approach from the *Polychronicon* manuscripts discussed in the previous section. In the manuscripts associated with Walsingham, as outlined above, presentation is very much a secondary concern. Indeed, if looking only at these manuscripts there seems to be little overlap at all with the *Polychronicon* tradition, though that is not to say the influence of the *Polychronicon* was not felt at St Albans: it just existed elsewhere, as will be shown below. The differences present in the manuscripts studied so far are simply representative of the changes in the historiographical genre during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; changes driven by usage that caused a divergence in the presentation of history writing. As other genres were expanding and new intellectual interests were being explored, especially the rise in humanist scholarship,

³²⁵ See Chapter 2 for more on the role Paris's historiographical manuscripts played at St Albans.

³²⁶ Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, p. 105.

historiography changed to fit these new criteria and ways of thinking. New types of historiographical texts, such as the *Polychronicon*, adapted useful features and presentation styles from other genres while the monastic chronicle largely stayed unchanged. Although St Albans was involved in the production of the *Polychronicon* this did not result in large-scale improvements in manuscript design, such as the wider adoption of navigational features in manuscripts or indices. Indeed, the monastic chronicles remained much as they had before: simple historical chronological accounts with design and usability as secondary considerations.

Institutional History

The greatest similarity with *Polychronicon* manuscripts containing the St Albans continuation is seen with the institutional manuscripts produced at the abbey, although the St Albans institutional historiographical manuscripts are more similar in spirit than adopting specific features from the *Polychronicon* tradition. Domestic and institutional history served a vital purpose at St Albans, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, and by the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries St Albans had perfected the way in which it used this genre to promote the interests and identity of the abbey itself. In the late fourteenth century, though, it was no longer enough for large monastic houses to add marginal illustrations or embellishments to a chronicle manuscript to secure patronage, as had been the case in the thirteenth century.³²⁷ Indeed, with historiographical manuscripts now consistently demonstrating the higher production values of display manuscripts, such institutional histories needed to either match these standards or surpass them. At St Albans a new approach was adopted: high quality, highly decorated, institution-specific historiography. Taking inspiration from widely popular visual traditions that came before, such as that exemplified in the manuscripts of the *Polychronicon*, institutional history was now more closely documented, had developed a specific presentation style, and had become a genre in its own right.

St Albans, as one of the wealthiest monasteries in England, was also one of the most forward-thinking when it came to strategies of presentation, and domestic and institutional history played an essential part in maintaining and developing the abbey's status. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the monks at St Albans developed two approaches to

³²⁷ See previous chapter for more discussion on customising chronicles, in particular the *Chronicon Roffensis* and *Chronica maiora* manuscripts.

recording institutional historiography: the *Gesta abbatum*, recording the deeds and actions of the abbots of the monastery and in part an internal record, and the *Liber benefactorum*, which celebrated the contributions to the monastery by a range of benefactors, from the Pope to local merchants. These two manuscripts, part of the wider well-established textual genres of deeds of abbots and books of benefactors, developed out of the high status and customised chronicle manuscripts, as discussed with the *Polychronicon* earlier in this chapter and the experimental manuscripts of Paris in other sections of the thesis. Both the *Gesta abbatum* and *Liber benefactorum* are very large display manuscripts (measuring an average of 419 x 297 mm), luxuriously decorated, and would most certainly have been on display at the abbey. Indeed, It is commonly accepted that the *Liber benefactorum* was displayed on the High Altar at St Albans.³²⁸ By the time the *Gesta abbatum* and *Liber benefactorum* were produced in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the purpose, audience and expectations of these manuscripts had become embedded; these two manuscripts served different agendas and were targeted at different audiences. Indeed, the presentation, content and compilation of these manuscripts was specifically driven by the purpose they served. For this, St Albans sought inspiration in lots of different manuscript works, but it remained its own domestic tradition that provided the foundations required for this new approach to institutional history.

³²⁸ See Galbraith, 'Walsingham', 14; *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 107.

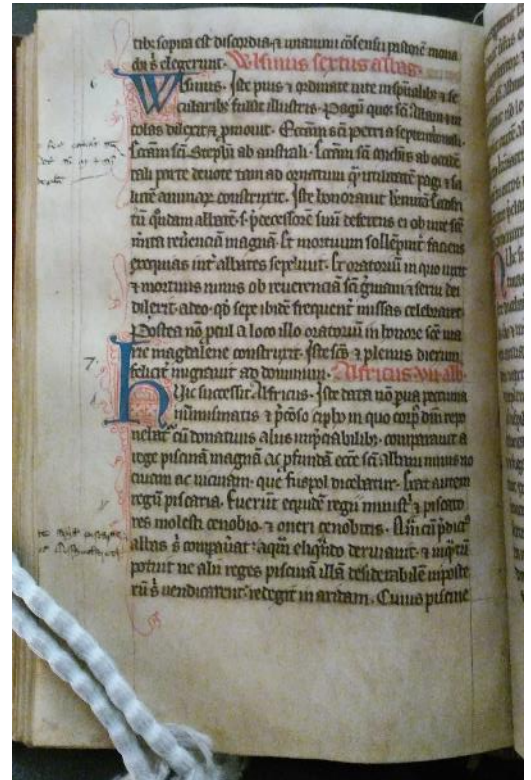


Figure 3.8: *Gesta abbatum* – BL Cotton MS Claudius E IV, f. 232^r and BL Add. MS 62777, f. 94^v (© British Library Board).

The *Gesta abbatum*, found in three versions in the manuscripts BL Add. MS 62777, BL Cotton MS Claudius E IV and CCC MS 7 (Figure 3.8), is a reflection of the political and economic power of the abbey and is the institutional history that retained an element of the traditional chronicle form. In part, this is due to the origin of the *Gesta abbatum*. The fifteenth-century manuscripts all used the *Gesta abbatum* first written by Matthew Paris, found in manuscript BL Cotton MS Nero D I, as their base, from which the record type was tweaked, adapted, and perfected. Of the three manuscripts, Add. MS 62777 is the oldest, covering the lives of the abbots up to 1308 but completed towards the end of the century. It is a close copy of Nero D I with an updating continuation and, although it contains the same core text as the Claudius and Corpus manuscripts, it differs substantially in its size: this manuscript is small, measuring 201 x 130mm, is presented in the personal reference style seen in the historiographical manuscripts outlined above, and has no supporting illustrations.³²⁹ The final sentence of the incipit on f. 1^v lists the manuscript as being '*De studio domini Abbatis*', therefore confirming Add MS 62777 was intended for personal usage. In contrast to the Abbot's personal copy, the two other *Gesta abbatum* manuscripts, Claudius E IV and CCC MS 7 – produced approximately a century later, are the largest of the institutional

³²⁹ Clark, *Intellectual Life*, p. 85.

historiographical works. These different approaches to presenting this text represent the two different audiences for the *Gesta abbatum*: external visitors and guests, and personal reference (internal). By the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, though, the *Gesta abbatum* was only produced as a display manuscript, indicating the power the abbot wielded on a local and national level, as well as the importance placed on these manuscripts for the benefit of the institution.³³⁰ This period also saw the updating of institutional historiography and the abbots of the abbey seized this opportunity to enhance, upgrade and improve its manuscripts intended for an external audience. The *Gesta abbatum* manuscripts were the cornerstone of this objective. CCC MS 7 provided the opportunity for an initial update. Though not as comprehensive as the later *Gesta* manuscript, CCC MS 7 provided a high-quality update that would later be used as a visual template for an even grander version of the manuscript. By combining both the *Gesta*, the *Liber benefactorum* and a copy of Walsingham's *Chronica maiora*, the Corpus manuscript was a more flexible artefact that would have been useful for entertaining high-status guests and donors and facilitating patronage, as Matthew Paris' manuscripts had done over a century before.³³¹ Indeed, at 435 x 330 mm CCC MS 7 was large enough to be impressive but small enough to be moveable, and this meant that the manuscript could have catered for a range of external audiences as the abbots and monks required. It is also plausible that such a manuscript was used outside of the abbey, perhaps finding use in the abbey's townhouse in London.³³² Institutional manuscripts like the *Gesta abbatum*, therefore, were essential for maintaining the abbey's image and reputation both within and outside the abbey itself. Grand manuscripts were important in achieving this goal, but flexibility was also useful, allowing the abbots to make use of these manuscripts as they best saw fit.

Maintaining the image of the abbey and abbot within the monastery was one of the main purposes for updating the institutional and domestic history manuscripts. Claudius E IV took the baseline text and presentation of CCC MS 7 and significantly expanded it to a manuscript that remained informative in content but was altogether a higher-status product. The role of the abbot in commissioning these manuscripts becomes especially apparent in Claudius E IV. For instance, the section on Thomas de la Mare, the Abbot at the time of the

³³⁰ For more on the role of the abbot within Late Medieval England, see Still, *Abbot; The Prelate in England and Europe, 1300-1560*, ed. by Martin Heale (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014); idem, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

³³¹ Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, pp. 17 and 167-70.

³³² *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 28.

manuscript's production, is presented in a completely different style to the rest of the *Gesta* text, highlighting his abbacy above the work of his predecessors. De la Mare's section starts cleanly on a new page, unlike previous abbots who are presented sequentially in the text block, allowing the top third of the page to be dedicated to a lavish illustration of De la Mare in prayer to St Alban.³³³ Indeed, here the manuscript adopts and develops a presentation style first seen at St Albans in *Historia Anglorum* and *Vita duorum Offarum* of Matthew Paris.³³⁴ De la Mare, though not himself the producer of the manuscript, was evidently aware of the role manuscript presentation played in shaping memory and posterity, and as the concepteur of the manuscript designed his entry accordingly. But the abbots of St Albans were not solely pursuing their own agenda; the primary focus was to maintain and improve the monastery's status and reputation through the deeds of its abbots. In this way, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *Gesta abbatum* manuscripts continued to function as originally conceived by Matthew Paris. These were manuscripts intended for an external audience, such as high-status guests and patrons, and worked to strengthen and highlight the role of the abbot and the power of the monastery to its peers. The abbey was only as effective as its abbot and, as a significant political and ecclesiastical figure, valuable historiographical manuscripts like the *Gesta abbatum* provided an important platform to reinforce, reiterate, and even celebrate the abbot's work, thereby indirectly bolstering the monastery's reputation.

³³³ BL Cotton MS Claudius E IV, f. 232r.

³³⁴ BL Royal MS 14 C VII, f. 8v-9r and BL Cotton MS Nero D I, ff. 2r-25r.

Elphelinus fidelis minister
ethelredi regis contulit
deo et sancto albano rey
iam de Codecote

Olulfus et Adeliza vxor
sua dederunt deo et sancto
albano regiam que froscha
viciu et conventu propter castitatem
quanso suscepit hereditatem huius
domus viginti solidos. predictam vero
regiam dicta Adeliza. dicitur prociavit
hinc esse pro anima prioris prioris man
ti sui vfa.

Olf quidam datus prepo
tus minister ad eswardi
regis. filij ethelredi regis
Anglie dedit nobis regiam que vocatur
esward. cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus
et Oxwicu. Arq. vniu. calicem. et v
ni missale et vniu. vofale.

Edwynus de Cadvingtone
dedit hinc monasterio regiam
que vocatur Watey
fordo et Beoroulesau et legavit vniu.
viginti boves et viginti vacas.

Elfricus rex swaret
dedit deo et sancto albano
tempore regis eswardi vniu. ante con
questum. Beoroulesau. Genebysse. Lau
geleyam. Thibau tuam et vniu. fletu
vxi. eiusdem. dedit hinc esse vniu. can
pauu. que sui vocabatur campana
pream. moxius vero temporibus fra
ta. cessit in augmentu campanie que
vocatur. esward.

Elfricus nobilis matrona
sancto albano contulit
regiam que vocatur. Ga
tesdene. in monachi eadem regiam. corres
fneientu. et villam de Etandou et
alian. nomine. Ofseleam. et triginta
manusus. Arq. et triginta boves. et
viginti vacas et ducentas et quingua
ginta. ones et gregem porcor. et
hnbulau. cum ipsi. et duos tiphos
argentes et duo canis. et vniu.
libru. et vniu. cortina et vniu. baneale.

Elfricus quidam datus no
bilis. denotus et prepo
tus. egi. sui. albani
affectus. dedit hinc in monasterio. hehstan
fuitam.

Ad quidam homo nobil
et christia. vxor. eius. de
dedit. sancto albano. p. aiaz
sua. fuita. vniu. vniu. et vniu. d. f. h.

Omnifona dedit nobis schein
leam et. Sudeam. i. petu. m.

Elfricus quidam potens
et nobilis in diebus suis de
dit nobis. etiam. f. d. pro. b. h. u.
te. que. a. u. i. u. e. et. sed. em. p. d. n. e. f. u. t. a. z. s. u. a. z.

Wulficus quidam datus mag
nus et dices dedit. esen
deus. sancto albano. et. vniu.
eis. huius. loci.

Wulficus temporibus suis
homo honorabilis dedit. f. d. a.
albano. es. d. e. h. a. m. et. a. r. e. d. e. h. i.
es. f. t. a. m. s. v. i. d. e. o. d. e. n. o. t. u. s.

Wulficus dedit. sancto alba
no. et. monachis. sibi. f. a. m. i. l. i. a. u. t.
h. i. n. o. v. i. l. l. a. m. d. e. e. n. e. c. e. l. l. a. m.

Wulficus minister. ethelre
di. regis. dedit. hinc. monas
terio. regiam. que. v. a. l. d. e. u. e. v. u. l.
g. a. n. t. e. n. o. u. m. i. a. n. t. u. r.

Matildis de Estuna. dedit
hinc. ecclesie. regiam. suam.
de. W. r. u. g. e. s.

Oschardus de Tokamstide
contulit. sancto albano
viginti. g. m. g. i. n. e. a. q. u. a. s. r. e. s. s. e. m.
i. n. e. a. d. e. m. v. i. l. l. a.

Walterus de vailonis de
dit. hinc. ecclesie. v. i. l. l. a. m.
de. r. e. n. e. i. e. p. e. p. e. r. t. e. m. i. n. p. e.
p. o. s. s. e. d. e. m.

Wulficus de veylosse. et. p. o.
hays. vxor. eius. dederunt
hinc. monasterio. v. i. l. l. a. m. d. e.
v. u. l. f. i. n. g. a. t. o. r. e.

Rigellus de westone de
dit. hinc. monasterio. d. e. e.
s. o. l. i. d. a. t. u. s. r. e. s. s. e. m. e. n. t. a. r. e.
l. o. n. d. o. n. a. z.

Ricardus de eioheste dedit
hinc. eccle. octoginta. g. m. g.
a. n. o. r. a. q. u. a. s. r. e. s. s. e. m. i. n. v. i. o. b. u. s. b. a. l. l. e.

Rogerus de vailonis dedit
sancto albano. quandam
regiam. in. G. i. n. e. s. t. b. o. r. p. t. i. n.
v. a. l. s. p. r. i. n. g. a. m. e. t. i. n. v. i. l. l. e. s. t. t. d. i. u. m.
d. i. a. m. r. e. p. e. r. e. m. i. a. m.

Respurgensis de totouero
et. Al. d. y. c. o. a. vxor. eius. de
dedit. hinc. eccle. r. b. o. r. p. e. t.
d. e. m. u. s. d. e. s. e. d. e. y. n. u. l. t. o. r. e.

Rigellus de albenero et
amicia. vxor. eius. de. d. e.
dedit. hinc. eccle. v. i. l. l. a. m. d. e.
b. e. n. e. d. i. e. t. e. c. c. l. i. a. m. y. p. i. d. e. v. a. l. o. n. g.
f. o. r. d. e. t. d. i. u. d. i. a. m. a. l. i. a. m. i. n. h. o. n. o. r. e.
s. a. n. c. t. e. m. a. r. i. e. c. o. n. s. e. c. r. a. t. a. m. e. t. e. s. t.
v. e. l. l. a. m.



Figure 3.9: The two manuscripts of the *Liber benefactorum* - The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 7, f. 107^v and BL Cotton MS Nero D VII, f. 90^v (© British Library Board).

The *Liber benefactorum*, extant in manuscripts BL Cotton MS Nero D VII and CCCC MS 7 (Figure 3.9), presents a different facet of institutional interests and was intended primarily

for a public audience. Though not presented in the familiar chronicle style like the *Gesta abbatum*, as a manuscript recording history the *Liber benefactorum* should still be thought of as historiographical. Here the focus is to encourage individuals, regardless of status in society, to commit their support to St Alban, the protomartyr and a saint commonly associated with courage and compassion, and to the monastery itself.³³⁵ Throughout the later Middle Ages, the abbots of the abbey were absorbed in raising the profile of St Alban's shrine and encouraging public engagement with the saint.³³⁶ As the monastery of the first English martyr, St Albans placed great importance on the pilgrimage, benefactions and hospitality, and were looking to expand this area, especially in comparison to major rivals like Canterbury.³³⁷ The way the abbots approached this problem was typically multi-faceted. Throughout the fourteenth century, Abbots Richard of Wallingford and Thomas de la Mare were involved in large infrastructure projects at the abbey, improving the cloister and library respectively.³³⁸ Further investments were made in monastic education, with increasing numbers of monks continuing their study at Oxford University (Gloucester College) before returning to the monastery.³³⁹ A renewal of domestic and institutional manuscripts, then, provided a way of uniting these various improvements. Indeed, Clark suggests that the earliest of the two manuscripts, Nero D VII, was produced to coincide with restoration work at the abbey, undertaken by Abbot Thomas de la Mare, that was intended to raise the profile of the shrine of St Alban.³⁴⁰ Great lengths have been taken in the decoration of both manuscripts to make it clear that even individuals of lower status in society can achieve a

³³⁵ Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints* (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 37.

³³⁶ Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priors of Medieval England* (London: Chancellor Press, 1984), pp. 22 and 75-92; Still, *Abbot*, pp. 11-9, 26-3 and 82. For techniques used in the thirteenth century, see Chapter 2.

³³⁷ Hostility between different religious houses was frequent. St Albans, for instance, had an issue with Ely Cathedral over the relics of St Alban, which the monks of Ely claimed to have had stolen from them, see Hagger, '*Gesta Abbatum*', pp. 374-98. For more on religious disputes and rivalry between orders and monasteries, see Platt, *Abbeys and Priors*, pp. 124-6 and Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 161-70.

³³⁸ 'St Albans Abbey: The Monastic Buildings', in *A History of the County of Hertford*, ed. by William Page, 4 vols (London: Constable, 1908), II, pp. 507-10; Clark, *Intellectual Life*, p. 81-2.

³³⁹ Still, *Abbot*, pp. 108 and 175-7.

³⁴⁰ Clark, *Intellectual Life*, p. 85.

lasting legacy at the abbey. In Nero D VII the artist, Alan Strayler – a salaried professional – depicted over 60 portraits of nobles, merchants and freemen (and women), all of whom are unique.³⁴¹ This demonstrates quite clearly to the audience, who would not have had to be literate to understand the message, that St Albans recognises and values the individuals who have contributed to the abbey, and the value placed by St Albans on the cultivation of personalised remembrance. Furthermore, these images also act as a form of navigation within the manuscript, as marginalia had for centuries prior. Such an approach shares little with the nearly contemporary *Polychronicon* tradition and is more in the spirit of the institutional works of Matthew Paris nearly two centuries earlier: elevating a standard decorative element to become a navigational feature. In this instance, the type of image allows the user to navigate between different strata of benefactor, and find orientation accordingly within the manuscript. The message created by these profile images also works in tandem with the location of the manuscript within the monastery. Clark has suggested that Nero D VII was presented on the high altar for all visitors to be able to view.³⁴² Such a location would allow for maximum exposure to an external audience. CCCC MS 7 was the lower quality of the two manuscripts and, as outlined above, was added to a manuscript containing the *Gesta abbatum* to serve a dual purpose.³⁴³ Nevertheless, it adopts a similar approach to presentation as found in Nero D VII, showing the importance of individuals to the abbey.³⁴⁴ In the *Liber benefactorum* and *Gesta abbatum* manuscripts, St Albans had two types of manuscript that complemented each other well. Both catered for an external audience, though only the *Liber benefactorum* was purely public in aim. Targeted at anyone interested in investing in the abbey's reputation and the benefits of St Alban, the *Liber benefactorum* presented an opportunity for individuals to become connected to this religious community in an accessible and easily comprehensible way.

³⁴¹ Galbraith, 'Walsingham', p. 14; Federico, *Classicist Writings*, pp. 14, 19-20, 25 and 27; *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 113.

³⁴² Galbraith, 'Walsingham', p. 14; *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 107.

³⁴³ The production of CCCC MS 7 is also discussed by Galbraith: Galbraith, 'Walsingham', p. 15.

³⁴⁴ The *Liber benefactorum* portion of CCCC MS 7 is found on ff. 102^r-132^v.

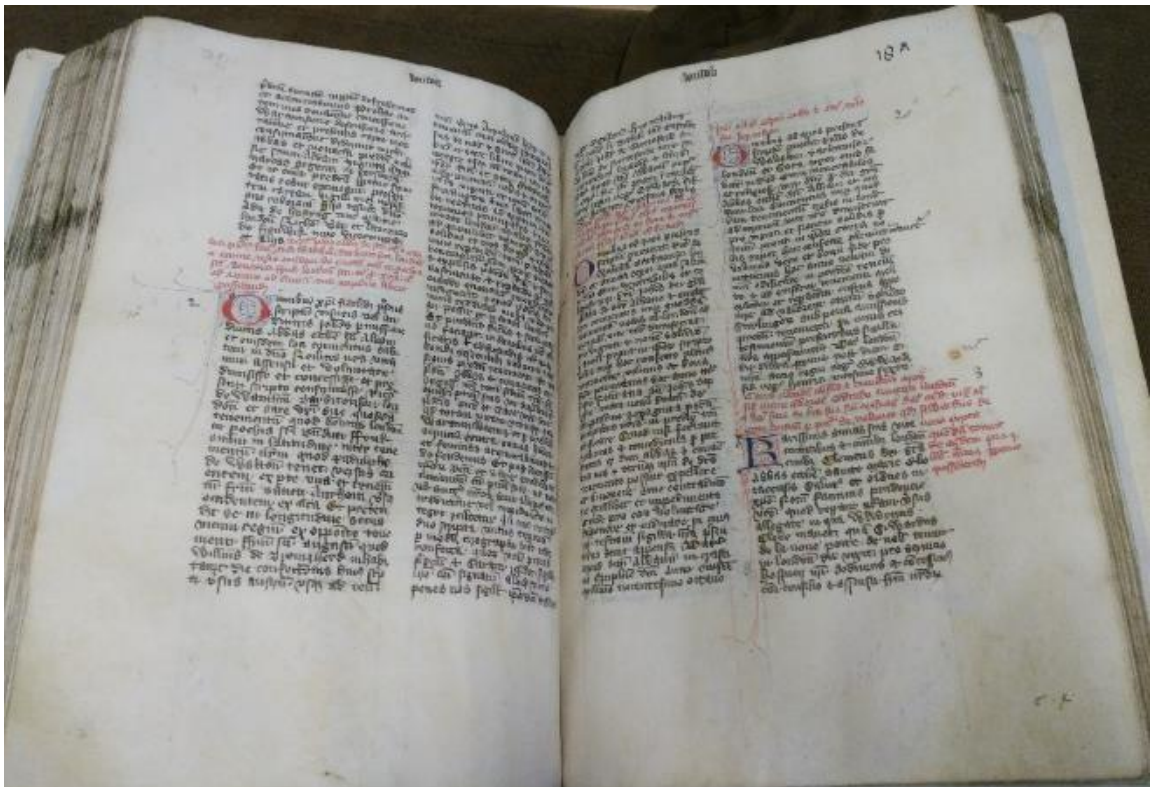
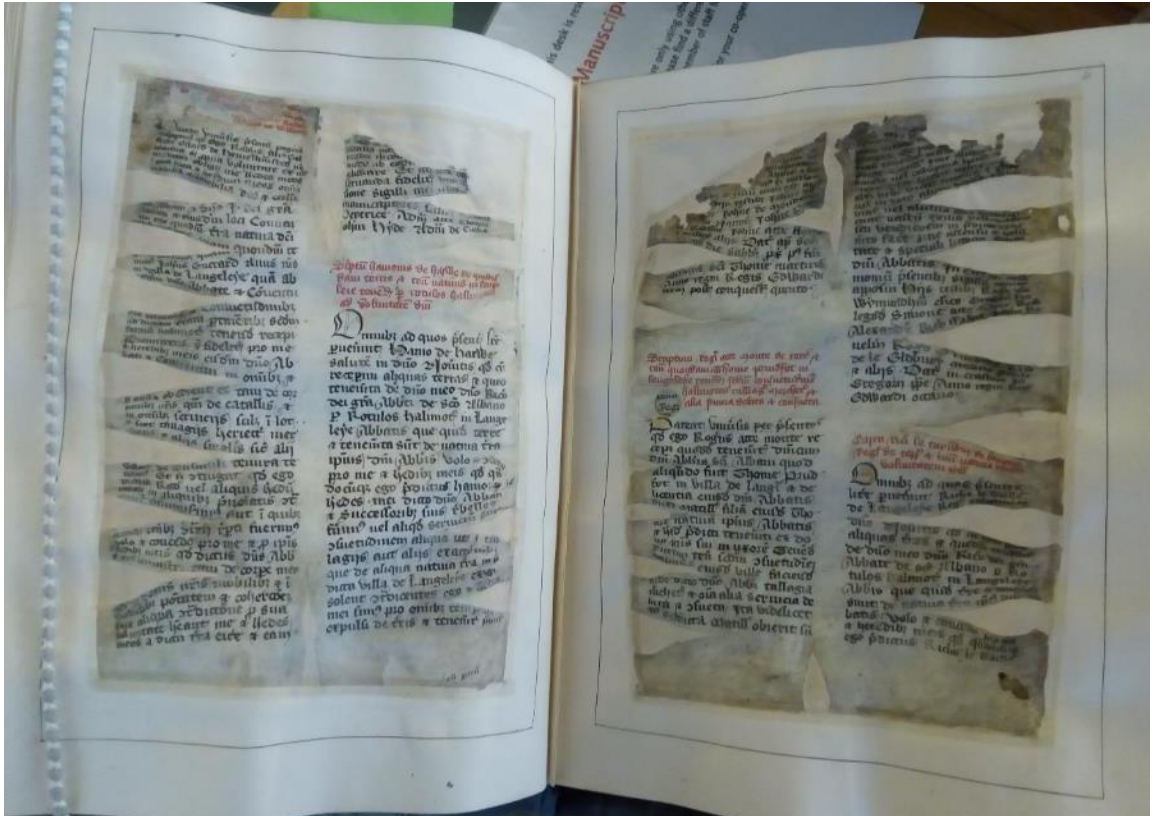


Figure 3.10: BL Cotton MS Otho D III, f. 64^v-65^r, (© British Library Board) and the St Albans Cartulary, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, ff. 183^v-184^r.

As we have seen above, the Abbots of St Albans were distinctly aware of the role that manuscripts could play in its image and engagement with the wider community, and a brief study of the domestic history not intended for public consumption further confirms this very conscious distinction. The abbey's cartularies from the fifteenth century survive in two manuscripts, the St Albans Cartulary manuscript, part of the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, and BL Cotton MS Otho D III (**Figure 3.10**). In many respects, the presentation of these cartularies is quite traditional. Not only do both manuscripts adopt the familiar usage of alternating red and blue flourished initials for new sections, combined with rubrics that are poorly anticipated and regularly spill into the margins (a feature commonly seen in Paris' autograph manuscripts), but the manuscripts also adopt the presentation of earlier thirteenth-century records. In the *Liber additamentorum* manuscript of the thirteenth century, BL Cotton MS Nero D I, Paris re-wrote 'ancient' charters adopting the traditional iconography of charter presentation: crosses for signatures next to names, opening display script and deliberately archaic initials.³⁴⁵ In the St Albans Cartulary at Chatsworth, the charters have been copied like-for-like from Nero D I, using identical presentation and emphasis as in the original.³⁴⁶ This reveals that Paris's manuscripts had come to serve an entirely archival function within the abbey library by this time and fourteenth-century scribes and monks were using his manuscripts as a viable source for contemporary record-keeping. It is most likely that the St Albans Cartulary and Otho D III manuscripts were intended to update the abbey's existing cartulary records. Indeed, in much the same way that these manuscripts were copying and continuing Paris' records in the *Liber additamentorum*, these manuscripts were also intended to sit alongside the other newly updated institutional historiography. While the abbey's cartularies were not formally presented as public documents, an important distinction needs to be drawn here: these cartulary manuscripts were documents produced with public intentions and would be used to qualify the abbey's claim to various rights and property since the rule of Offa, but these manuscripts were not intended for permanent public display or to be read by general guests or visitors. There were, then, various considerations about what made a manuscript 'public' and the abbey was experienced at creating material for the correct purpose and audience.

³⁴⁵ See Chapter 2 for more discussion on the *Liber additamentorum*. It is likely that most of the St Albans charters dating from before the Conquest are forgeries, see Keynes, 'Lost Cartulary', pp. 257-63 and 271-5; Crick, *Charters*, pp. 1-35; Still, *Abbot*, pp. 31-2.

³⁴⁶ St Albans Cartulary, Chatsworth House, ff. 1^r-47^r. Standard of presentation starts to deteriorate from f. 48^r onwards.

What changed in the recording of monastic institutional history was its reliance on other forms of historiographical writing, in part due to the changes of usage and perception of the monastic chronicle during this period. If we consider the contemporary historiographical production discussed earlier in the chapter, even manuscripts closely associated with St Albans and known to have been produced at the monastery demonstrate miscellaneous, yet related, content, such as BL Royal MS 13 E IX, which contains the *Chronica maiora* and sections on miracles, visions and various other historiographical works.³⁴⁷ The chronicles compiled by Thomas Walsingham were general works, designed to complement other material and, as such, were not specific enough for institutional usage. Indeed, the historiographical tradition most closely comparable in status with the St Albans institutional manuscripts is the *Polychronicon*, and even from these manuscripts we see little direct influence, albeit a similar style of approach. The institutional historiographical manuscripts produced at St Albans instead demonstrate a range of influences. Without doubt they are most strongly associated with high-status manuscripts, like the *Polychronicon* tradition, but they were also deeply rooted in internal St Albans manuscript production. Here the creativity of Matthew Paris lives on; the portraits of abbots in Claudius E IV echoing the presentation seen in the Nero D I and the individual portraits of benefactors reminiscent of Paris's use of heraldry as a navigational feature in Royal 14 C VII. Historiographical production at St Albans, therefore, remained relatively self-contained and free from external influence, relying instead on the creativity of approach of specific individuals, albeit if these figures were sometimes from the past.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to assess the St Albans *Polychronicon* manuscript tradition and examine its wider influence on historiographical production at St Albans Abbey. What has been shown may perhaps be surprising; there proves to have been extraordinarily little overlap between the *Polychronicon* and domestic historiographical works when it came to presentation, production and design. While the manuscripts containing Thomas Walsingham's works became increasingly standardised and simplified for personal reference use during this period, the *Polychronicon* manuscripts with the St Albans continuation largely fell at the opposite end of the scale and were large, display copies, albeit manuscripts that were still intended to be used. Indeed, as mentioned above, the manuscripts with the most similarities

³⁴⁷ Additional works include the *Chronicles of Popes and Emperors* (ff. 102-143) and John of Tynemouth's *Historia aurea* (ff. 144-159). Galbraith, 'Walsingham', pp. 16-7.

to the high-status *Polychronicon* books were the institutional historiographical works from St Albans, and yet even these manuscripts demonstrate little direct relation or connection in terms of general design and navigation features. Moreover, the manuscripts containing the St Albans *Polychronicon* continuation do not reflect any St Albans specific design, but rather continue the strong visual presentation of the *Polychronicon* tradition as a whole. What becomes quite clear in the production of historiographical works in fourteenth century then, specifically at St Albans and within its broader intellectual network, is that these manuscripts were becoming increasingly specialised within the broader genre of history and produced with particular audiences and purposes in mind; these different types of manuscripts, tailored to more particular functions, had very little overlap or influence on each other and retained their text-specific manuscript design. Nevertheless, adopting the visual methodology used throughout this thesis has illuminated connections between the manuscripts that were not previously known and that highlight other relationships with St Albans and manuscript production. For instance, three of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts with the St Albans continuation are directly related to each other, with two certainly being created within the same scriptorium, at Norwich Cathedral Priory, as part of the wider St Albans intellectual network. Furthermore, the manuscripts in this study have expanded the geographical range of the St Albans monastic network, as established in Chapter one, to include monastic houses in the southwest of the country. This chapter demonstrates, then, a shift towards a more expansive approach to book production that will be seen to continue until the Dissolution of the monastery: it was not just about St Albans producing manuscripts within its own scriptorium, but also about working with centres in its wider network to produce manuscripts for different purposes and of different quality.

Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Production and Early Printing at St Albans

The fifteenth century saw a series of significant changes to both religious and secular life in England, and England was not entirely divorced from the patterns of pre-Reformation reform and technological developments that were happening across Europe during this period. Monasteries across the country were subjected to review and reform, with the review body being led by Abbot John Whethamstede of St Albans, and there was an informal softening of monastic rules about personal property when it came to books and learning.³⁴⁸ Indeed, monasticism itself was increasingly coming under pressure from external and secular influences. The fifteenth century was also marked by a shift in English intellectual pursuits: from the mid-1400s scholars in England became involved with the continental movement of humanism, an intellectual and cultural trend that emphasised a renewal of interest in Classical literature and rhetoric, as well as the development of fields such as art and science.³⁴⁹ Important technological developments occurred during this period too. Book production started to become mechanised, at first by Johannes Gutenberg's invention of moveable type and his setting up a printing press in the early 1450s. Again, as with other trends, this technology swept rapidly across Europe and into England approximately 25 years

³⁴⁸ C. E. Hodge, *The Abbey of St Albans Under John Whethamstede* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 1933), pp. 10-48; D. R. Howlett, *Studies in the Works of John Whethamstede* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1975), pp. 2-6; James G. Clark, 'Humanism and Reform in Pre-Reformation English Monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (2009), pp. 57-93; idem, 'Print', pp. 80-2.

³⁴⁹ For more general works on humanism, see *Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by Albert Rabil Jr., 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1988); *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. by Anthony Goodman and Angus Mackay (London: Routledge, 1990); Jonathan Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Zachary Schiffman, *Humanism and the Renaissance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002); *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006); *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by David Rundle, Medium Aevum monographs 30 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2016).

later, when in 1476 a press was established by William Caxton and the technology was subsequently embraced by some of the larger English monasteries. St Albans Abbey was deeply involved in all of these fifteenth-century developments (humanism and printing) and during this period was undergoing significant change; it is against this backdrop that the final era of historiographical production at the abbey will be studied.

The first part of this chapter will study the manuscripts of Abbot John Whethamstede. As a scholar as well as an abbot, Whethamstede has often been considered by modern scholars as a key figure in English humanism, expanding the intellectual scope of the library at St Albans as well as acting as a central figure linking Italian humanists with English bibliophiles, yet such an approach has meant the specifics of Whethamstede's manuscripts have often been ignored.³⁵⁰ Indeed, so little is known or understood about his main work, the multi-volume *Granarium*, that at present scholars are still undertaking the work of assessing the contents.³⁵¹ Taken as a standalone item outside of the context of historiography and within the context of fifteenth century humanism, the broad text-type is encyclopaedic, but if we consider it within the St Albans context, and generic content, then there is a strong argument to consider this work as historiographical, or as a conduit for historiography being taken up into a new text type. Part of the issue here is that Whethamstede's work defies easy definition. While generally accepted as 'encyclopaedic',³⁵² in defining it in that way the particular content of the *Granarium* is lost within the general encyclopaedic concept, a text-type that aims to 'present the universe of knowledge, or a substantial part of that universe, in a systematic way'.³⁵³ Instead, this chapter will study Whethamstede's *Granarium* as an extension of the historiographical works produced at St Albans, which will allow for other features of the manuscripts, such as the visual elements, to be the primary focus. The contents

³⁵⁰ Hodge, *Whethamstede*, pp. 165-223; Ricardo Weiss, 'Piero del Monte, John Whethamstede, and the Library of St. Albans Abbey', *English Historical Review*, 60 (1945), pp. 399-406; Grady Smith, 'Books and the Development of English Humanism', *Fifteenth Century Studies* (1983), pp. 227-51 (pp. 230-1). Increasingly this view of key 'elite' individuals directing English humanism is being challenged, for discussion of the historiography see Daniel Wakelin, 'England: Humanism Beyond Weiss', in *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, David Rundle, Medium Aevum monographs 30 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2016), pp. 265-305 (pp. 268-72).

³⁵¹ Valiant work has been done on this by Alfred Hiatt, see 'Granarium', pp. 13-33.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁵³ Francis J. Witty, 'Medieval Encyclopedias: A Librarian's View', *The Journal of Library History*, 14 (1979), pp. 274-96 (274).

of the *Granarium* can in no way all be classed as historiographical, also containing material such as ethical, theological, and moral discussions as well as scientific topics, and the attribution to sections of the work as historiographical is by no means exclusive. Indeed, the representation of different departments of knowledge and genres of writing was itself a familiar feature of the encyclopaedic tradition reaching back at least to Isidore of Seville. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that a significant portion of the *Granarium* contents relates to historical figures and events, and contains extensive information from previous historiographical sources.³⁵⁴ In fact one of the *Granarium* manuscripts, BL Cotton MS Nero C VI, is described as being ‘a history of histories’ and contains mostly entries on British and ecclesiastical history, such as Bede, Brennius and Brutus, all individuals that have been discussed in more traditional chronicles like the *Flores historiarum*, *Brut*, or *Polychronicon*.³⁵⁵ Furthermore, this manuscript of the *Granarium* also, perhaps unsurprisingly given the content, utilises a great deal of historiographical source material as well as providing summaries by Whethamstede of the works of particular historians.³⁵⁶ Although a different way of presenting the genre, these works should not be excluded from a discussion on historiographical production simply because format of presentation has changed. Indeed, the *Granarium* was one of the vehicles through which historiographical content was transported to a contemporary audience, in fact making it easier to access historical information. Furthermore, in many respects the eclectic content of the *Granarium* reflects the nature of some of the historiographical works that had come before. Taylor highlights Higden’s *Polychronicon* as a chronicle in which ‘every conceivable kind of subject was discussed’ and Matthew Paris and his contemporaries similarly included a great variety of material.³⁵⁷ The *Granarium*, then, being encyclopaedic in format does not put it at odds with some of its historiographical content. Far from it; the *Granarium* should be viewed as the latest development in re-presenting history (as part of re-presenting knowledge more generally) for a contemporary audience. In this sense, history writing was a flexible genre, one that has

³⁵⁴ ‘Granarium’, pp. 26-33. A full survey of the contents of the *Granarium* manuscripts has been compiled as part of this study, but will be published separately as further discussion of contents is beyond the scope of the current research.

³⁵⁵ ‘de historiis et historiographis’, see ‘Granarium’, p. 17. BL Cotton MS Nero C VI, Bede: ff. 25^v-27^v; Brennius: ff. 30^v- 31^v; Brutus: ff. 32^r-33^r.

³⁵⁶ ‘Granarium’, pp. 17-18.

³⁵⁷ Taylor, *Universal Chronicle*, p. 46. See Chapter 2 for further discussion on Paris’s work.

itself proved difficult to define within the medieval period.³⁵⁸ The *Granarium*, then, fits within this broader context of the communication of historical knowledge in the later Middle Ages. The *Granarium* may be an encyclopaedia in form, but as history is a significant element within its content, the manuscripts must be considered within the wider historiographical tradition at St Albans, a tradition that was in itself adaptive, malleable, and not limited by strictly defined concepts of genre or text-type.

The most complete extant volumes of the *Granarium* manuscripts were intended as high-status, display books. We know rather more about the circumstance of Whethamstede's manuscript production, in terms of costs, timescale, scribes and patrons, than other historiographical manuscripts produced at St Albans thanks to the work of David Howlett and the *Rolls Series*, and this may enable us to see the reasons behind Whethamstede's manuscript production. The production of the *Granarium*, for instance, was completed at Whethamstede's behest with the aim of the multi-volumed manuscripts becoming a standardised reference work and is believed to be the work of external scribes.³⁵⁹ Indeed, we know from a surviving register that Whethamstede spent lavishly on books. The four volumes of the *Granarium* commissioned by Whethamstede for his personal library were some of the more expensive books commissioned during his abbacy, at twenty marks (or approximately twelve pounds) for all four – roughly sixty shillings per manuscripts.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, it has been established that four volumes of the *Granarium* were given as gifts. Three volumes of the *Granarium* manuscripts were given to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who donated the works to the University of Oxford in 1443, and one to John, Duke of Bedford.³⁶¹ Whethamstede, therefore, was deliberately creating the high-status *Granarium*

³⁵⁸ Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2010), pp. 88-108 (pp. 88-92). The struggle to define 'history' in a clear and coherent fashion and its inherent mutability is well displayed in John Burrow, *A History of Histories* (London: Penguin, 2009).

³⁵⁹ Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*, p. 170. Further information on the production of the *Granarium* can also be found in *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by Richard Sharpe, James Carley, Rodney Thomson, and A. G. Watson, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4* (London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996), pp. 563-81.

³⁶⁰ *English Benedictine Libraries*, p. 569.

³⁶¹ *English Benedictine Libraries*, p. 579. Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*, pp. 9-22; 'Granarium', pp. 13-15 and 23-4; James G. Clark, 'An Abbot and His Books in Late Medieval and Pre-Reformation England', in *The Prelate in England and Europe, 1300-1560*, ed. by Martin

manuscripts to expand his status as an intellectual and individual within this group of like-minded scholars and patrons. Furthermore, it would appear from the patronage of Duke Humphrey that Whethamstede hoped these manuscripts would become central reference works at the University of Oxford. This chapter will show that the high-status *Granarium* manuscripts met some of these ambitions, while also exploring how the lower-quality *Granarium* manuscripts relate to the high-status exemplars. St Albans Abbey and its scriptorium owned and produced several high-quality historiographical manuscripts during this period, as well as being associated with the *Polychronicon* tradition as discussed in the previous chapter, and in this respect as well the *Granarium* sits comfortably within the broader manuscript context. Indeed, as with many of the St Albans manuscripts studied in this thesis thus far, the *Granarium* was produced as an outward-facing work, albeit as part of a deliberate personal project designed by Whethamstede himself. These personal works were no less strategic, as already mentioned three of the *Granarium* manuscripts were intended for the Duke of Gloucester and John of Bedford, and continued the Abbey's tradition of courting patronage by producing or selling manuscripts.

This first part of this chapter will study all manuscripts containing the *Granarium* text, not just the high-status products, and question where they fit within the St Albans manuscript context. Indeed, very little is known about a lot of the *Granarium* manuscripts and only a few – the high-status manuscripts – can be attached to St Albans with any certainty. By viewing the *Granarium* through a historiographical lens, it will be possible to chart changes in information management and book usage well into the fifteenth century, but also the development of a more stable approach to manuscript design. Moreover, the *Granarium* manuscripts will provide a further insight into the inter-relationship between different quality grades of manuscript, demonstrating that elements of design were transmitted through the copying process even between manuscripts with different purposes and audiences. Indeed, the *Granarium* offers an insight into manuscript production within a much wider network than other St Albans historiographical works, including Whethamstede's humanist connections and education establishments like Oxford University,³⁶² and it will be seen that it is through this interaction that the development of a particular approach to manuscript presentation could expand.

Heale (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 101-26 (p. 117); idem, 'Humanism and Reform', p. 87.

³⁶² 'Granarium', pp. 13-15; Weiss, 'Whethamstede', pp. 399-406; Wakelin, 'Humanism Beyond Weiss', p. 292.

The second part of this chapter will turn to examine the end of the fifteenth century at St Albans and the foundation of a printing press in the town. The introduction of the printing press to England brought about slow but unprecedented change to the domestic book industry, of which St Albans played a part. In 1479, two years after William Caxton started printing in Westminster, St Albans established a printing press and was one of the few locations outside of London to do so: a notable and expensive endeavour. Yet much remains unclear about this press. It is not evident, for instance, whether the abbey itself was the main driver of this venture, or if it was involved to a lesser extent, though it is commonly assumed by scholars that there was a connection.³⁶³ Furthermore, it is not clear as to where the press acquired their manuscript exemplars, and again a connection with the abbey has yet to be explored. This section of the chapter will assess in detail the printed editions of the St Albans press and how the topics chosen relate to the broader audience and market of printed books, as well as where these books fit within the larger historiographical tradition at St Albans. As will be shown, the two phases of printing at St Albans reflect very different commercial mindsets in book production, though there were nevertheless shared approaches with previous centuries. St Albans Abbey was a centre of creative, experimental and intellectual manuscript production that carried over into print.

The printing of St Albans material was not just limited to a local press, with Wynkyn de Worde, William Caxton's successor based in London, printing the work of Thomas Walsingham and the *Book of St Albans*, a book containing practical treatises on hunting, hawking and heraldry as well as related information. In fact, the connection of early printing to the St Albans tradition and an interest in historiographical material has yet to be fully explored, nor considered in the wider context of printing historiographical texts. This chapter will demonstrate that the dissemination patterns of the Walsingham edition mimics dissemination patterns of historiographical works in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, especially viewed in the wider context in which the *Polychronicon* remained dominant. Such dissemination and subject matter allows for deeper insight into the contemporary printing trade and audience; far from being a revolution in book circulation and dissemination, many of the early printed historiographical editions were catering for exactly the same audiences as manuscript production a century before.

³⁶³ Clark, 'Print', pp. 82-8; and Hellinga, *Early Printing*, pp. 55 and 90-9.

John Whethamstede's Manuscripts

Whethamstede's *Granarium* was a broad, encyclopaedic work containing content from a lot of different genres, such as philosophy, science and theology, but also history. Poetry was also a major component of this work. These topics and writing styles were compiled together in (sometimes condensed) entries presented alphabetically in multiple manuscript volumes. It is important to note at this stage that there is no 'complete' *Granarium* exemplar text and this will be explored in more depth below. The historiographical elements of the *Granarium* acts as a form of deconstructed chronicle: the structure allowing users to pick out key events and individuals and presenting them in an easier to access alphabetical format rather than chronologically. By viewing the *Granarium* as part of the larger historiographical tradition at St Albans, it will be possible to assess how the usage, purpose and format of history writing had changed and what impact this had on manuscript production. As with previous chapters, this study will also focus on the shared visual presentation found within this textual tradition. What this chapter will show is that the *Granarium* marks a shift towards manuscripts of more user-controlled content and therefore a more personalised production of manuscripts, while also demonstrating a strong connection to and connection within the wider St Albans intellectual network.

Compared to the other dominant figures associated with St Albans, little research has been done on John Whethamstede, his abbacy and the manuscripts he created. Whethamstede was the Abbot of St Albans twice in the fifteenth century, from 1420-1440, when he resigned from his post, and later from 1451-1465.³⁶⁴ Under Whethamstede's abbacy the monastery continued to enjoy a growing library and relative financial success, though this often came at the expense of the dependent houses.³⁶⁵ The majority of modern research has focused on Whethamstede as a humanist and his role within humanism in fifteenth century England, including his interests in Classical works, developing the library at St Albans and his communication with prominent Italian humanist scholars.³⁶⁶ This has included close analysis

³⁶⁴ *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 14.

³⁶⁵ *Monastic Renaissance*, p. 79-85 and 90-1.

³⁶⁶ Weiss, 'Whethamstede', pp. 399-406; D. R. Howlett, 'The Date and Authorship of the Middle English Verse Translation of Palladius "de re rustica"', *Medium aevum*, 46 (1977), pp. 245-52; David Carlson, 'Whethamstede on Lollardy: Latin Styles and the Vernacular Cultures of Early Fifteenth Century England', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 102 (2003), pp. 21-41; and Andrew Galloway, 'John Lydgate and the Origins of Vernacular Humanism', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 107 (2008), pp. 445-71.

of his relationships with prominent figures, such as Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and others within the religious community that reflected his bibliographic interests.³⁶⁷ The seminal work on John Whethamstede still remains Howlett's unpublished doctoral thesis from 1975.³⁶⁸ Howlett's study focused primarily on the texts attributed to Whethamstede, the texts being considered as apart from their manuscripts, and the wider text-critical analysis. Research has also been undertaken by C. E. Hodge on Whethamstede as the Abbot of St Albans and the state of the abbey during this time, including the nature of the archdeaconry and fraternity admissions.³⁶⁹ Hodge's work did much to position Whethamstede within the monastery's administration, but with only a small discussion on his manuscripts and textual compositions.³⁷⁰ The work that has been undertaken on John Whethamstede thus far, then, is patchy and Whethamstede and his manuscript compositions remain relatively understudied, let alone considered within the larger manuscript tradition of St Albans. This chapter will offer an analysis of his historiographical writing, positioning Whethamstede's largest work, the *Granarium*, within wider historiographical trends and traditions. What will be shown is that Whethamstede's seminal work offered a different way of accessing traditional historiography content via the encyclopaedic format, providing traditional historical material in bitesize, contextualised chunks, rooted firmly within the intellectual climate of St Albans Abbey at the time.

³⁶⁷ *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. by Tilly de la Mare and Richard Hunt (Oxford, 1970); David Rundle, *Of Republics and Tyrants: Aspects of quattrocento Humanist Writings and their Reception in England, c. 1400 – c. 1460* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997), pp. 102-59.

³⁶⁸ Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*.

³⁶⁹ Hodge, *Whethamstede*.

³⁷⁰ Hodge, *Whethamstede*, pp. 165-223.



Figure 4.1: BL Cotton MS Nero C VI, f. 102r (© British Library Board).

The main *Granarium* manuscripts were high-status manuscripts and mark the pinnacle in terms of quality of historiographical manuscripts at St Albans. This should come as no

surprise, as it has already been mentioned above that the *Granarium* manuscripts commissioned by Whethamstede were some of the more expensive manuscripts he had produced during his abbacy.³⁷¹ The first two volumes of the *Granarium* have been identified as BL Cotton MS Nero C. VI and BL Cotton MS Tiberius D. V, volumes one and two respectively.³⁷² The *Granarium* was not multi-volumed in the way that modern readers would think; instead of being organised alphabetically across the volumes and divided accordingly, with one volume covering A-H, the next H-L and so on, each manuscript has a full alphabetical range of material covering A-Z. This means that although Nero C VI and Tiberius D V are two different volumes, both contain entries on a full alphabetical range of topics. It is these entries and the topics discussed that change with each volume. Though there is no overlap in contents, both demonstrate the same production values. Nero C VI is quite a large manuscript, measuring 340 x 231 mm, but is produced to a very high standard (**Figure 4.1**): the parchment is of excellent quality, it is written by a single scribe throughout, and each new entry is decorated with an illuminated initial and floriated border. The Tiberius manuscript is of a similar, if slightly lesser, standard, and seems to have been a larger manuscript but unfortunately has suffered damage in the Cotton library fire of 1731. Both manuscripts can be dated to 1440-1450 based on the script and decoration, and were produced at St Albans, though the involvement of Whethamstede with each is uncertain; Howlett considers both manuscripts to be Whethamstede's master copies based upon the number of marginal annotations.³⁷³ The Nero and Tiberius manuscripts, then, mark a change in historiographical production at St Albans. In the past, high-quality historiographical manuscripts have exclusively been related to the monastery as an institution, such as the *Gesta abbatum* in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the *Liber benefactorum* discussed in previous chapters. Here we see a historiographical text that is not primarily concerned with the history of St Albans itself, albeit an encyclopaedia with strong humanistic roots, being produced to the highest of standards and as a work that would have appeal to external patrons. Although manuscripts containing similar subject matter were by no means unique at St Albans, the standard in which these *Granarium* manuscripts were produced sets them apart and it is the first-time manuscripts containing more generic historiographical information were produced to this standard. This marks a significant change in emphasis and intellectual direction at St Albans Abbey.

³⁷¹ *English Benedictine Libraries*, pp. 563-71; in particular p. 569.

³⁷² 'Granarium', p. 16.

³⁷³ Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*, pp. 174-5.

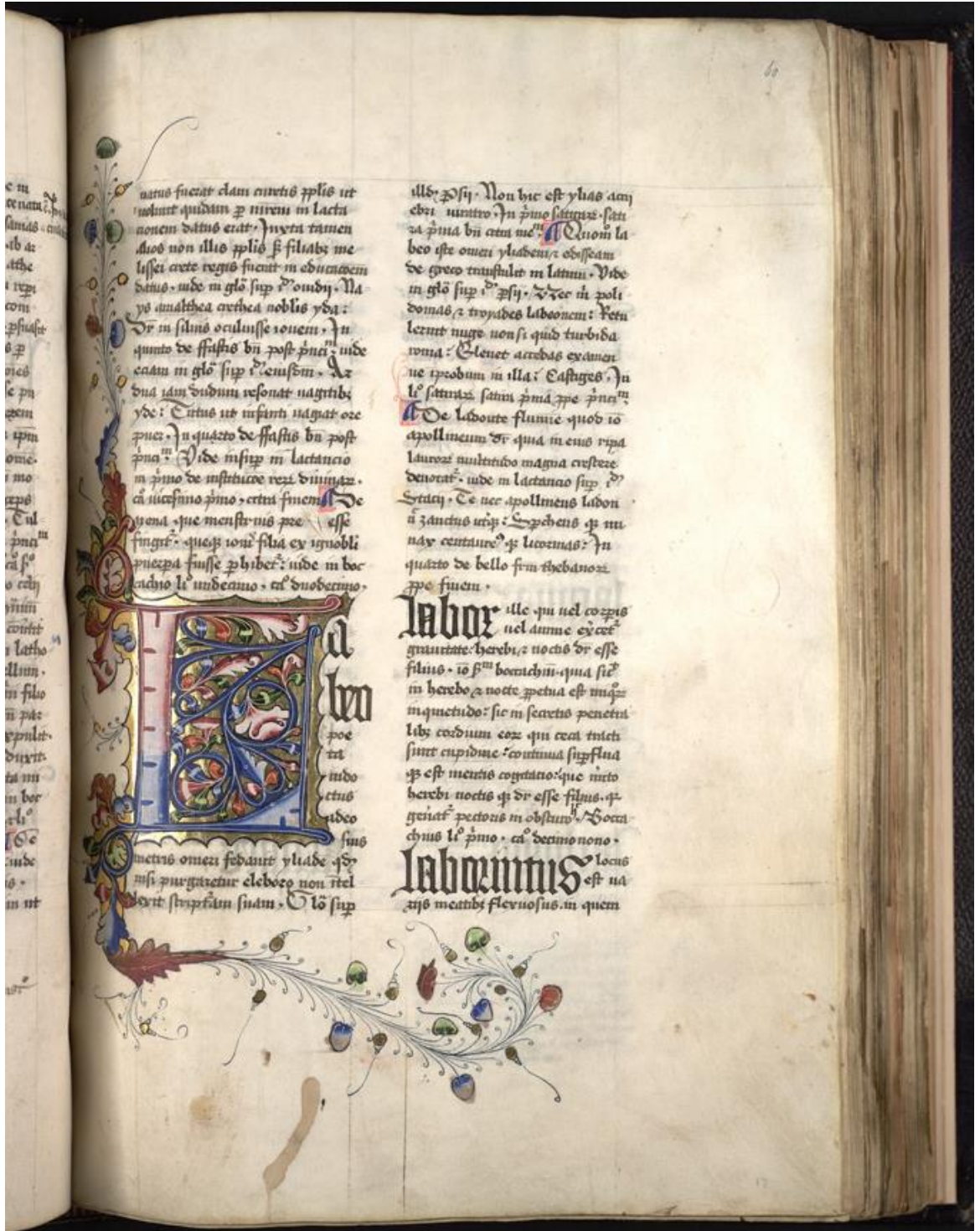


Figure 4.2: BL Additional MS 26764, f, 60r (© British Library Board).

It is not clear how many volumes the *Granarium* was originally intended to encompass, beyond the two known volumes outlined above. There is some debate as to whether Add. 26764 can be classed as the fourth part of the *Granarium* or whether it is indeed the separate work, the 'Palaerium poetarum' as identified originally by Walter Schirmer, an

attribution based solely on the length of the entries in Add 26764.³⁷⁴ As stated by Hiatt, there is nothing in Add. 26764 to confirm the attribution as either a *Granarium* or 'Palearium poetarum' manuscript, especially as the manuscript starts and finishes imperfectly, but is considered as part of the *Granarium* corpus because of its related content of Classical and medieval topics and similarity of approach to the subject matter.³⁷⁵ Moreover, the visual similarities between the Additional manuscript and the original two volumes indicate they should be thought of as part of the same tradition, which will be discussed further below. Add 26764 has nearly 800 individual entries, of which 76 are found in other *Granarium* manuscripts; this sharing of subject matter further emphasising the additional manuscript's role within the *Granarium* tradition. In terms of size, Add 26764 is similar to Nero C VI, measuring 343 x 240 mm, yet the script of the manuscript is very different. In contrast to the slightly traditional textualis rotunda script of the Nero manuscript, which is clearer to read and closer to humanist scripts,³⁷⁶ Add 26764 is written entirely in a more contemporary anglicana formata script with strong cursive elements included. Nevertheless, these three *Granarium* manuscripts (Nero C VI, Tiberius D V and Add 26764) retain an overall coherence through being decorated by the same person and rubricated in a similar display script throughout. There is a consistency of visual language here too; each alphabetical section begins with a large historiated initial, and subsequent new entries are highlighted by the entry title being written in a 2-line majuscule display script (for example, compare **Figure 4.1 and 4.2**). These manuscripts may contain different contents, but visual coherence is used to demonstrate that they are all part of the same tradition. The debate about other textual titles for Add 26764 relates to a larger issue with manuscript production; namely how we view and understand the composition of medieval manuscripts. The Additional manuscript has been termed as a separate text because this one manuscript does not clearly fit with the two volumes of Nero C VI or Tiberius D V, but there is no reason why it should – this is a manuscript from St Albans where there were already high-quality copies of those other works in its library: there would have been no need for another. Instead, the difference in Add 26764 demonstrates the culmination of active compilation and expansion, something that has been evident throughout the larger St Albans historiographical tradition. The manuscript is different in content and length of entries because it is a step in the developmental process, an addendum to what has come before, but its similarity of topic in broad terms and identical

³⁷⁴ 'Granarium', pp. 15 and 20-2; and Walter Schirmer, *Der englische Frühhumanismus* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1931), pp. 92-3.

³⁷⁵ 'Granarium', pp. 20-2.

³⁷⁶ Brown, *Western Historical Scripts*, pp. 126-7.

presentation to other *Granarium* manuscripts indicate that it was very much part of the same manuscript tradition. Moreover, it is the visual tradition of the *Granarium* that this manuscript encompasses, demonstrating yet again that shared visual presentation can be as much an indicator of shared influences and traditions than text alone.

Despite what we have seen above, though, the majority of the nine extant *Granarium* manuscripts are not high-quality products, many utilising the *Granarium* as part of a miscellany. Indeed, Hiatt has even gone as far as classing these as two distinct manuscript groups.³⁷⁷ These other manuscripts containing the *Granarium* contain no evidence linking them directly to St Albans Abbey, other than through the textual connection. It is clear from their production that these other *Granarium* manuscripts were intended for different purposes and audiences than those of the high-quality works discussed above, yet there is enough continuity of presentation to indicate a strong connection between the two types of manuscripts. It must be pointed out, though, that the variation of quality and content within this sub-group of manuscripts is significant, lacking completely the uniformity of the presentation-grade *Granarium* volumes, and therefore making it impossible to understand these manuscripts without further individual analysis. Indeed, many of these manuscripts are likely to be draft compilations or working copies. Aside from the three presentation volumes, British Library MS Arundel 391 contains the most *Granarium* entries of the remaining manuscripts and is the only other non-miscellany in the *Granarium* corpus. The Arundel manuscript differs significantly in quality from the other three complete *Granarium* manuscripts: the page size is much smaller, measuring 218 x 146 mm and the script is a quickly-formed cursive with very little display script throughout the manuscript; what display script there is in the manuscript is a larger version of the main hand. The contents of Arundel 391 differ from the other complete *Granarium* manuscripts too, which has caused Hiatt to suggest it may be an alternative version of the *Granarium* Part 2.³⁷⁸ Another explanation seems more plausible though. This manuscript was not intended to be a grand version of the *Granarium*, like Nero C VI and Tiberius D V, but instead represents a different usage of the *Granarium*. The production qualities of the manuscript, combined with the heavy user annotation throughout, suggest a personal or working copy. The *Granarium*, therefore, was not a composition without an intended purpose; in its display manuscript form it demonstrated visually the intellectual rigour and humanism of John Whethamstede and demonstrated his scholarly credentials to the intellectual circle of fellow scholars and patrons that he was hoping to develop, while Arundel 391 and all of the other occurrences in

³⁷⁷ 'Granarium', p. 17.

³⁷⁸ 'Granarium', p. 16.

miscellaneous manuscripts, that are unlikely to be directly connected to St Albans by production or usage, indicate it was a text that had a practical purpose too, the breadth of subject matter covered in the text allowing for complementary uses with other Classical or historiographical material.

The fragmentary nature of the *Granarium's* textual structure should not be thought of as a hindrance when unpicking this manuscript tradition. Instead, the various entries allowed new and distinct miscellany manuscripts to be created that themselves then form part of the broader *Granarium* tradition. One such miscellany is Bodleian Bodley MS 585, a manuscript containing St Albans material that originated from the abbey, as indicated by the ex libris on f. 1^r. Indeed, the manuscript is considered to be a compilation of two parts, ff. 1-48 and ff. 49-104, and it is the first St Albans portion that will be considered here.³⁷⁹ The miscellany contains the *Life of St Alban and Amphibalus* (ff. 1^r-9^r), *Vita duorum Offarum* (ff. 9^v-17^v), the *Granarium* (ff. 18^v-47^v), and a later addition on ff. 49^r-104^v of the *Rule of St Clare* written in English. Like many of the other *Granarium* miscellanies, Bodley 585 is a relatively small manuscript, measuring 210 x 145 mm and is short in length at only 104 folios in total. The manuscript also contains entries not found elsewhere, such as the opening entry 'Anglia' (f. 18^v), but this manuscript is also distinctive for containing the fewest *Granarium* entries in the whole corpus; only three topics are found in Bodley 585. Nevertheless, this is a prime example of the *Granarium* being used as part of a deliberate miscellany copied from the St Albans library. In this instance, the *Granarium* entries have been deliberately chosen to fit within a themed miscellany. The entries of 'Anglia', 'animal' and 'Cirus' all connect to the wider topics of the protomartyr, ideal kingship, and establishing a historical past within the first part of Bodley 585. These entries also complement the manuscript from which the *Granarium* portion of Bodley 585 originated, Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd. 6. 7 (the remaining part of the original Cambridge manuscript miscellany, containing a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia britonum*).³⁸⁰ Such usage indicates that the *Granarium* was not just a text produced by Whethamstede for his own intellectual circle, but known and used by the wider monastic community at St Albans. In Bodley 585, the *Granarium* extracts are used in the same way as the other St Albans historiographical extracts: to confirm the monastery's connections to topics occurring in the *Historia britonum*, complementing the hagiographies of St Alban and Amphibalus, as well as the *Vita duorum Offarum*, and thus creating a

³⁷⁹ Howlett, 'Historical Miscellany', p. 195. See also the catalogue entry for MS Bodley 585, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1603 [accessed 30/04/2019].

³⁸⁰ A more detailed description of how these topics connect can be found in Howlett, 'Historical Miscellany', pp. 196-9.

historiographical manuscript with a St Albans focus. The *Granarium* had therefore become as complementary to miscellaneous manuscript production as the historiographical works produced at the abbey centuries earlier, but it was easier to use and integrate than these older texts. We should understand the *Granarium* not as a fixed work, but in its encyclopaedic form as a collection of short texts, an open resource from which others could draw their own selection and augment that selection with new material, each time creating a 'new' work that was nonetheless part of the *Granarium* tradition.



Figure 4.3: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 230/116, ff. iv-1^r.

Although the *Granarium* manuscripts had a variety of different uses and audiences, as discussed further above and below, there is a consistency in presentation that unites this manuscript tradition and suggests the *Granarium* helped to establish a particular presentation style within the networks to which these manuscripts were accessible. The *Granarium* manuscript in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 230/116, is another example of this text being used within a miscellany, but this time in a manuscript that reflects a broader, personal interest, rather than a strictly thematic or complementary collection of material. It also happens to be the smallest manuscript in the corpus at 146 x 102 mm. The

manuscript contains *Granarium* entries interspersed with more varied content, such as fragments of musical manuscripts used as end papers, medical recipes, formulae and passages of verse, giving the impression of a commonplace book, or personal copy.³⁸¹ Gonville and Caius 230/116 also contains some complementary material that relates to topics discussed in other *Granarium* manuscripts, like the letters of Abgarus, the king of Edessa who corresponded with Jesus, on f. 62^v and a section on Brutus from f. 11^v, though these additions are far outweighed by the other miscellaneous content. This additional material is written mostly in the same hand on blank sections of the manuscript left between the *Granarium* entries. Despite this additional material, the presentation of the entries conforms to the same style seen in all other *Granarium* manuscripts: a large majuscule script used as a heading for each new entry, in this case two lines in height, often in darker ink and with a display first initial, followed by the text body in a standard paragraph presentation (**Figure 4.3**). The *Granarium* manuscripts, then, all largely adopt the same presentation style and it is this visual characteristic that unites the various manuscripts containing this text. If these manuscripts are compared to other contemporary St Albans manuscripts, such as Bodleian MS Auct. F. inf. 1. 1 and some of the historographical manuscripts containing Waslingham's compilations (discussed in the previous chapter), all of which adhere to the large display script for new entries with an even bigger opening initial, then it seems likely that this was a contemporary house style at St Albans, at least amongst the reference works.³⁸² As shown with the Gonville and Caius manuscript, despite other miscellaneous content the *Granarium* sections stand out for their similarity of presentation; a presentation style that connects straight back to the high-quality St Albans editions of Nero C VI and Tiberius D V.

³⁸¹ Transcriptions of the medical recipes in this manuscript can be found here: Kari Anne Rand Schmidt, *Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), pp. 53-4.

³⁸² For Bodleian MS Auct. F. inf. 1. 1 see the Bodleian's digital catalogues: 'MS Auct. F. inf. 1. 1' (2018), https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_725 [accessed 18/07/2021] and 'Bodleian Library MS Auct. F. inf. 1. 1' (2018), <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/bb4d59f6-6205-432e-9c8b-cfc2e41793d6/> [accessed 18/07/2021].

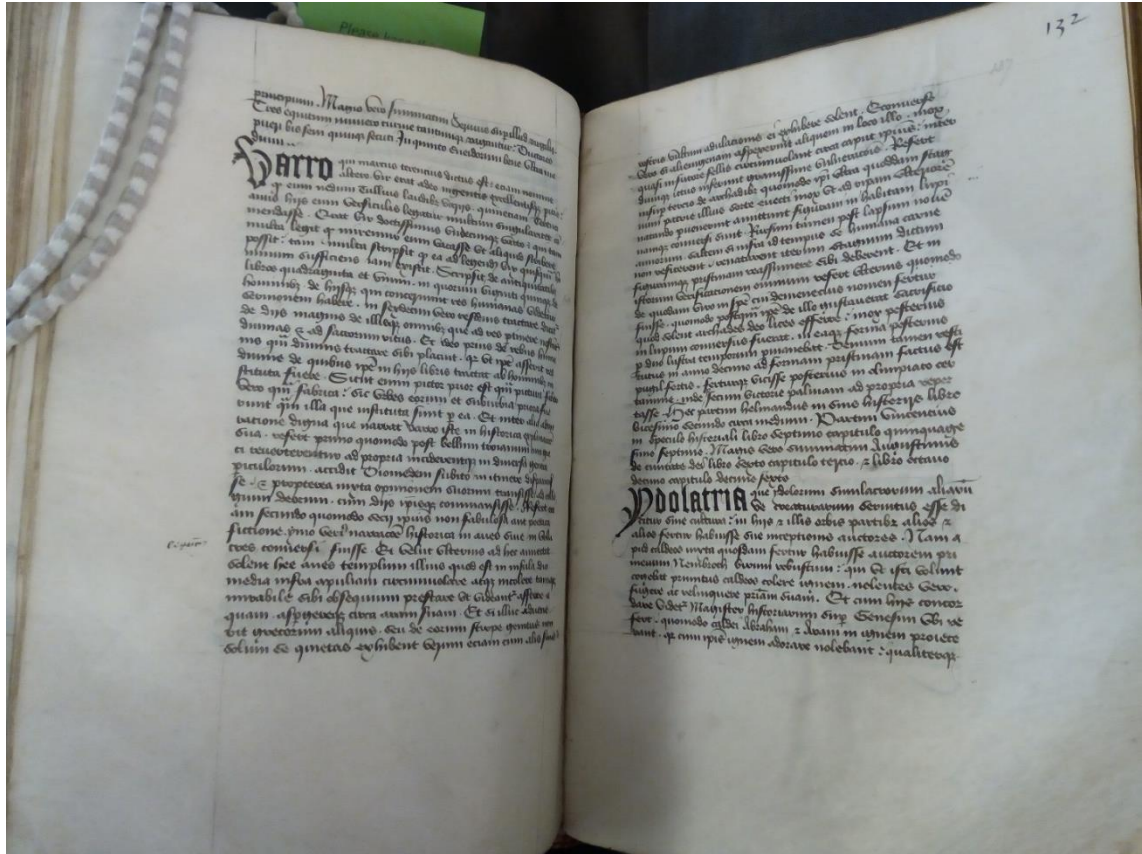


Figure 4.4: BL Arundel MS 11, ff. 131^v-132^r (© British Library Board).

Despite the similarities in content across manuscripts, the *Granarium* should not be thought of as a static text, a problem that is perhaps responsible for the lack of scholarly work on this composition. It is not possible to reconstruct an ‘original’ form of the *Granarium*; instead, an estimate of what the multi-volumed work should contain has been reconstructed from the extant manuscripts, taking the presentation-grade manuscripts as the standard.³⁸³ This approach has proved problematic for aligning the other *Granarium* manuscripts into one corpus, as no two manuscripts are the same in content. BL Arundel MS 11 is one such manuscript. The majority of the entries in Arundel 11 match ‘part one’ of the *Granarium* (Cotton Nero C VI), but it also contains entries unique to this manuscript, such as sections on ‘Leonardus Arretinus’, ‘Ordo’, and ‘[Lucius] Paulus Emilius’, and entries found in other *Granarium* manuscripts, like ‘Monachatus’ which is also found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 230/116. The manuscript itself is presented to a good standard and adopts the same presentation style as found in the higher-quality *Granarium* manuscripts (see Figure 4.4). Although a miscellany, also containing Whethamstede’s letters and various

³⁸³ This is the approach taken by Hiatt, see ‘Granarium’, pp. 26-33.

extracts from religious and astrological tracts, over half of the manuscript is the *Granarium*.³⁸⁴ Arundel 11 is a manuscript of relatively good production values, similar to that of earlier St Albans historiographical manuscripts: parchment is not always perfect, sometimes edge pieces are used, but it is often of decent quality and is written throughout by multiple well-controlled secretary hands. The *Granarium* section, ff. 9^r-138^v, is of a consistent standard throughout and written by three hands, with two different hands for the display script. It has been suggested by Hiatt that manuscripts like Arundel 11 offer a glimpse at what the 'complete' *Granarium* text would have looked like. Nero C VI only contains entries up to 'L', which has encouraged scholars to assume there was more to this compilation than perhaps now survives.³⁸⁵ Yet the *Granarium* tradition contains a degree of variation in most of the manuscripts that suggests this text was less static than we might assume, and this all hinges around the intended purpose of such a work. In these complete forms, the *Granarium* manuscripts act as reference work – indeed, many of the individuals discussed in the *Granarium* are obscure and unlikely to be relevant to all but the keenest specialists – but this is not the true purpose of the text. As a reference work the *Granarium* was without doubt intended to support other compositions, act as a source, and stimulate wider learning. The fragmentary nature of the *Granarium* meant that relevant sections could be picked and chosen to suit and complement other texts; this was an encyclopaedic text that outside of the original two-volumed work lacked a definitive form because that is how it was designed to be used. The content and form was deliberately mutable and the *Granarium* would have been intended to be copied in its entirety. Indeed, the transmission of the text is subtle, with sections copied here and there, and added to miscellanies, and it is only made more obvious through the shared presentation that occurs in these manuscripts.

The *Granarium* provided textual support in miscellanies and could be used to complement a range of material, and indeed reflect the broader interest in humanism during this period. This role in miscellaneous production is shown clearly in BL Cotton MS Titus D XX, a varied miscellany attached to the *Granarium* corpus, containing a range of historiographical material from John Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England* to a regional English chronicle. The various parts of Titus D XX all have their origins in different locations and periods, meaning this manuscript is a later composition of constituent parts, although it must be stated that there is no evidence of a direct connection with St Albans Abbey. For instance, the first part of the manuscript that contains Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus*

³⁸⁴ Arundel MS 11, http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-002039291 [accessed 11/04/19].

³⁸⁵ 'Granarium', pp. 16 and 26-33.

utensilium, ff. 3^r–50^v, was written in the late thirteenth century, while another section, the *Chronicon abbatis* (ad annum 1462), ff. 68–92, is a later production and connected to Walden abbey, Essex.³⁸⁶ A further issue with Titus D XX is that the section of the manuscript that contains the *Granarium*, ff. 104^v–197^v, is unrecognised as such in the library catalogue because the contents are taken from the antiquarian list on ff. 1^r–2^r, which has caused it to be discussed in scholarship as if it were an unidentified text.³⁸⁷ Seven of twenty entries in Titus D XX are found in other *Granarium* manuscripts, while the remaining thirteen entries are unique to this manuscript.³⁸⁸ The defining feature of the Titus manuscript is that unlike all others in the *Granarium* corpus it is not presented in a strictly alphabetical list, indicating it was compiled from multiple *Granarium* exemplars. There are two distinct chunks of alphabetised material, suggesting the relevant entries were copied as they come encountered in the exemplar manuscript before moving onto the next, rather than compiling all entries alphabetically into another document and then copying.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, Titus D XX is noticeably smaller than all other *Granarium* manuscripts, measuring 150 x 105mm, and its size indicates it was produced solely for personal use. The contents suggest a distinct interest in Classical individuals and authors from different periods, including the late Middle Ages. In many respects, these contents reflect contemporary intellectual interests, both monastic, theological and humanist. In Titus D XX, then, the *Granarium* is being used in a way that is representative of the contemporary intellectual climate, and indeed the new entries unique

³⁸⁶ Provenance given in the *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* online catalogue, see: 'Chronicon abbatis ad annum 1462' <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/5538> and 'Misc. Theologica' <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/240> [accessed 05/04/2019].

³⁸⁷ See the British Library catalogue: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS041-001103590 [accessed 05/04/2019]. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, 'Medieval Miscellanies and the Case of Manuscript British Library Cotton Titus D. XX', in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use*, ed. by Lucie Doležalová and Kimberly Rivers (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 2013), pp. 14–33.

³⁸⁸ Shared entries: hymeneus, Lucanus, Perseus, philosophus, poeta, Seneca, Sibilla, sompnium. Unique entries: Anticlaudianus, Architrenius, argonaute, Bernardus Silvestris, Claudianus, Marcialis Cocus, Martianus Capella, Petrus Riga, potestates, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Rufus, sedes, senator.

³⁸⁹ The order these entries are presented in Titus D XX is as follows: Martianus Capella, Bernardus Silvestris, Lucan, Perseus, Petrus Riga, Rufus, Seneca, sompnium, Marcialis Cocus, Argonaute, hymeneus, Claudianus, antecclaudianus, Architrenius, poeta, potestates, senator, sibilla, sedes, Quintus Curtius Rufus.

to this manuscript were created to further complement this topical selection. The *Granarium* was therefore able to be used to reflect a variety of intellectual interests; from the humanist topics that interested John Whethamstede, to a more traditional range of literary-historical topics.

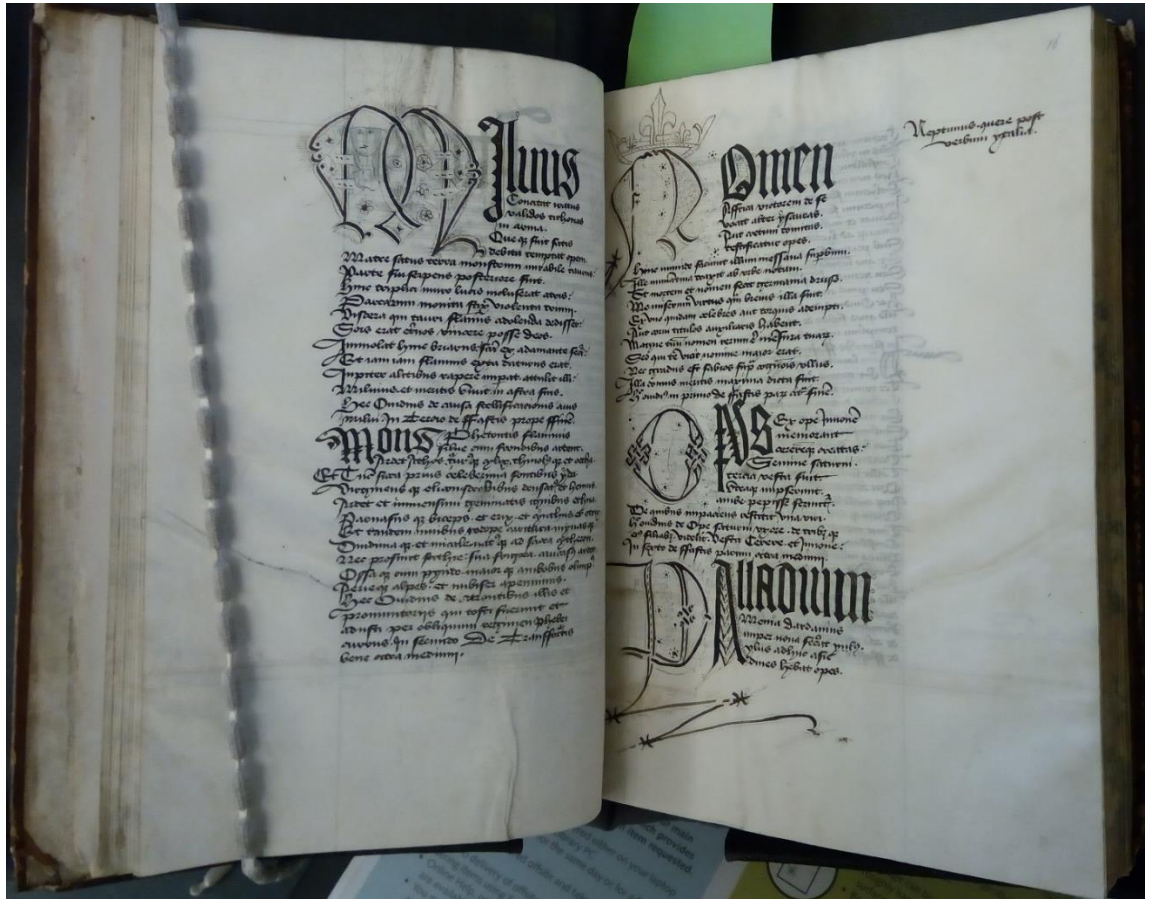


Figure 4.5: BL Egerton MS 646, ff. 15^v-16^r (© British Library Board).

The influence of the *Granarium* extended beyond manuscripts with direct textual relationships, and the distinctive presentation style extended into other manuscripts and compositions produced at St Albans Abbey. An example of this is another one of Whethamstede's works: British Library MS Egerton 646, commonly known as the 'Pabularium poetarum', a verse florilegium in four sections.³⁹⁰ Although textually different from the *Granarium*, due to its similarity of visual presentation and the topics presented within the manuscript, for this study Egerton 646 will be considered at one remove from, but

³⁹⁰ Hiatt does not discuss Egerton 646 within his study of the *Granarium*, even though it is closely related to the textual tradition. For the library catalogue entry see http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS032-001983698 [accessed 06/04/2021].

nonetheless related to, the larger *Granarium* tradition.³⁹¹ Egerton 646 presents an anthology of poetics, with a particular focus on Ovid, as well as various topics discussed in the *Granarium* itself and with new topics that do not appear in other *Granarium* manuscripts;³⁹² in fact, 97 of the 471 topics in Egerton 646 are found in other manuscripts of the *Granarium*. The similarities of entries are most closely seen with Add 26764, but the Egerton manuscript also shares topics with Nero C VI, Tiberius D V, Arundel 391 and Arundel 11, such as *Liber*, *Nomen*, *Pecunia* and *Sacrificium*, making it the most inter-related manuscript in terms of content. It must be stressed though, as the shared topics indicate, that the content of Egerton is far from exclusively historiographical. Although a detailed textual study will not be undertaken at this stage, it seems clear from content alone that Egerton 646 was not produced in isolation from the rest of the *Granarium* tradition. A further connection to the other *Granarium* manuscripts is seen in the production values and appearance of Egerton 646. Made out of excellent quality parchment, the Egerton manuscript utilises large display lettering, all majuscule characters being roughly 4-lines high, with detailed puzzle initials at the beginning of new alphabetical entries (**Figure 4.5**), therefore adopting the same presentation strategy found in the three presentation-grade *Granarium* manuscripts. Indeed, adopting a visual methodology, combined with the similarity of topics, makes it clear that the Egerton manuscript was interrelated with the *Granarium* tradition. Egerton 646 contains an exaggerated form of the visual presentation seen in the other manuscripts discussed in this chapter, suggesting it was produced later, allowing for the well-established presentation style to be developed accordingly. The *Granarium*, then, was a useful and practical text, as we have already seen, but it also served a valuable purpose in establishing and transmitting a distinctive presentation style; a presentation style that was not limited to *Granarium* manuscripts alone. In this sense the *Granarium* encapsulated intellectual life and manuscript production at St Albans, providing a visual and textual template from which other works could be created and adapted.

³⁹¹ This similarity of content and approach has been noted where different volumes of the *Granarium* and 'Pabularium poetarum' exist in compiling critical editions. See Elias (of Thirplow), *Patronius Rediuius et Helias Tripolanensis*, ed. by Marvin Colker (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 45-7.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7. For discussion on Ovid in these works see James Clark, 'Ovid in the Monasteries: The Evidence from Late Medieval England', in *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, ed. by James G. Clark, Frank T. Coulson and Kathryn L. McKinley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 177-96.

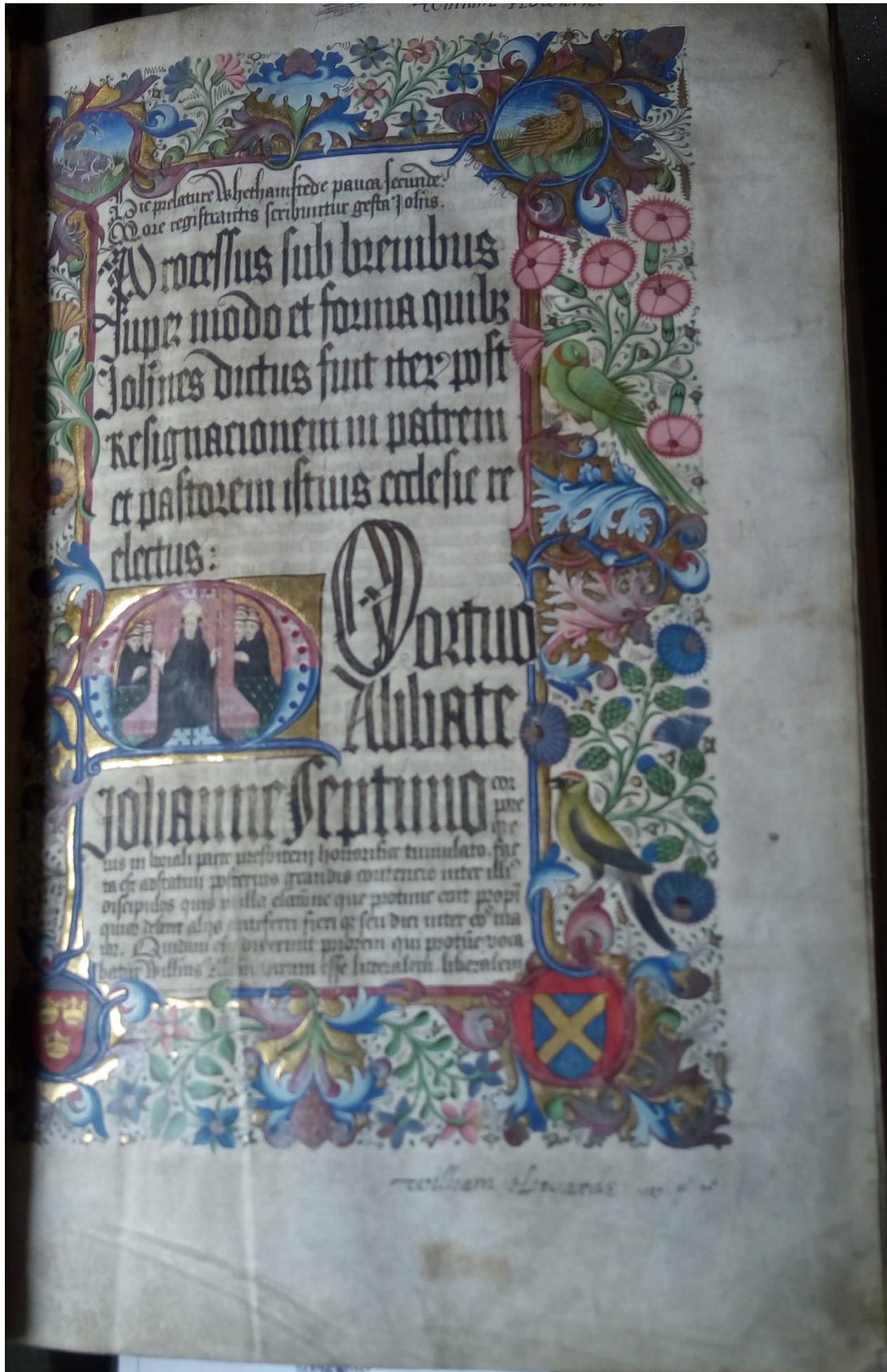


Figure 4.6: The opening page of Whethamstede's *Gesta*. College of Arms, Arundel MS 3, f. 1^r (reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms).

As well as being a practical, useful text, the *Granarium* also communicated a specific approach to manuscript presentation that would be found in other manuscripts attached to John Whethamstede. Indeed, what makes the display *Granarium* manuscripts so distinctive is the specific and consistent presentation style adopted throughout. To fully understand where the visual tradition seen in the *Granarium* sits we must consider it in relation to this broader historiographical production and other manuscripts being created and commissioned by Whethamstede. Whethamstede's era saw a couple of domestic historiographical manuscripts being produced, albeit with a focus on his abbacy.³⁹³ College of Arms, Arundel MS 3 contains a *Gesta abbatum* specifically for Whethamstede's abbacy, while BL Cotton MS Claudius D I is a miscellany that contains a further set of Whethamstede-specific annals. Both of these historiographical manuscripts were produced to the high standards of the presentation *Granarium* manuscripts (**Figure 4.6**); the manuscripts are large, 371 x 230 mm and 350 x 240 mm respectively, feature detailed illumination and decoration that includes lots of gold, and are written in well-formed *textualis semi-quadrata* and *anglicana formata* scripts. These manuscripts very much fit within the wider production of institutional historiography, rather than connecting to the intellectual elements of the *Granarium* manuscripts, but despite the differing content in these manuscripts there remain similarities. In fact, what is perhaps most striking about these historiographical manuscripts is just how similar they are in appearance to the *Granarium* manuscripts. As has already been discussed, this specific way of presenting new entries or topics in a large, clear majuscule script is a key characteristic of the *Granarium* tradition. What is clear is that there was a uniform approach to the production of presentation manuscripts attached to John Whethamstede. Indeed, there is a consistency of presentation across all St Albans manuscripts discussed in this chapter that suggests a distinct house style during Whethamstede's abbacy, or at least cohesive style within his own personal library.³⁹⁴ All manuscripts use the same style of large display script for the majuscule writing at the beginning of new entries, usually occupying several lines, as well as adopting similar schemes of illustration and illumination. The *Granarium*, therefore, marked a step towards establishing a coherence across text-types within one library. The similarity of production of manuscripts all intended to be in the same location confirms a localised 'style', one that Whethamstede was likely deliberately developing to create a consistent visual language across the manuscripts that he commissioned.

³⁹³ Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*, pp. 51-5, 60-1, 64-82.

³⁹⁴ Whethamstede's personal library has attracted a fair amount of attention, see Howlett, *Works of John Whethamstede*, pp. 9-22, 47-63; Weiss, 'Library of St. Albans Abbey', pp. 399-406; *English Benedictine Libraries*, pp. 563-81.

The *Granarium* was an ambitious work produced at St Albans in the late Middle Ages, which was partly Whethamstede's aim when compiling it. The text incorporated many of the characteristics that made previous St Albans historiographical works so popular, such as flexibility of content and size, previously seen in the *Flores historiarum*, and a strong and consistent visual presentation, a common feature of the institutional historiographical works. Yet the *Granarium* also stood apart from the historiographical tradition at St Albans by including humanist and contemporary interests within the text, as well as a large range of other subjects of relevance to the encyclopaedic form, and very much adhering to the broader intellectual scope that John Whethamstede himself enjoyed. Indeed, the *Granarium* was produced during a time of change within textual genres and reading in monastic communities; texts were becoming increasingly specialised and genres more fragmented to allow for these changes, such as in England and other European countries where city chronicles were developing out of earlier historiographical writing.³⁹⁵ It is a testament to the *Granarium's* usefulness as a reference work that it survives in more miscellaneous manuscripts than as an entire text. Indeed, it is this role as a text that could be copied, reworked and adapted that has meant this is the case, the *Granarium* not having to exist as a consistent text to remain relevant. Yet what is evident from this initial study into the *Granarium* and its usage, one of only a few thorough studies to exist, is that much further work is required to fully understand the range and scope of Whethamstede's *magnus opus*. As we have seen in manuscripts like Titus D XX, the *Granarium* has gone unidentified in some manuscripts and catalogues, which suggests the text could be present in more medieval miscellanies than those of which we are currently aware. Nevertheless, John Whethamstede's *Granarium* was a work truly reflective of its time; a text that reflected contemporary intellectual trends but also invited the user to engage with it in a way that suited their individual purposes.

Although the *Granarium* text and manuscripts still require much work and further research to fully understand them, what this study has shown is a continuity of presentation that has not been evident in any of the previous St Albans historiographical traditions. Indeed,

³⁹⁵ Caroline M. Barron, 'What did Medieval London Merchants Read?', in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, ed. by Martin Allen and Matthew Davies (London: University of London Press, 2016), pp. 43-70 (pp. 51-7); Susanne Rau, 'Geschichten von Stadt, Land und Universum: Räume der Stadtchroniken und Stadgeschichten seit dem späten Mittelalter', in *Geschichte schreiben: Ein Quellen- und Studienhandbuch zur Historiografie (ca. 1350-1750)*, ed. by Susanne Rau and Birgit Studt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), pp. 459-74; Burrow, *History of Histories*, pp. 274-95

the *Granarium* presentation style is even used in one of the manuscripts containing Walsingham's work (Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 152). The bulk of the *Granarium* manuscripts were produced in unknown locations, and it must not be assumed that this lack of information means they were by default produced at St Albans; far from it. As has been mentioned several times, the presentation-grade *Granarium* manuscripts did not remain at St Albans, so while it is possible to speculate about other copies within the monastic library and so forth, evidence shows that the display copies (BL Cotton MS Nero C. VI, BL Cotton MS Tiberius D. V and BL Additional MS 26764) were given to Duke Humphrey and later to Oxford University library. It seems most likely, then, that the *Granarium* facilitated more copying and scholarly development in its new, relatively more accessible location at Oxford. Indeed, instead of thinking of the *Granarium* as a work that created a localised house style at St Albans, it actually needs to be viewed as a trend in manuscript presentation within a larger network of institutions. The *Granarium* manuscripts were part of a wider contemporary trend in manuscript presentation and the variety of manuscripts containing the text sit within a broader intellectual network, in which St Albans was a main player.

Printing at St Albans

The involvement of St Albans in book production did not cease with manuscripts. In 1479 a private press was established in the town, three years after Caxton established a press in Westminster, and it is most likely that this was connected to the abbey itself.³⁹⁶ At this point in England, the printing press was still an emerging industry; with large amounts of imported books, mostly Latin texts, arriving from the Continent there was little obvious reason to set up a new venture in an increasingly competitive market unless you were already a producer of books.³⁹⁷ Indeed, Caxton himself only set up shop in Westminster with the support of the abbey.³⁹⁸ English printed books were still heavily indebted to the patronage system at this time, reliant on wealthy patrons to either cover the upfront costs of printing an edition, or supporting the business with other financial contributions, and until the early sixteenth century there was no defined audience within England for vernacular books; the audience

³⁹⁶ Duff, *English Book Trade*, pp. xi.

³⁹⁷ Alan Coates, 'The Latin Trade in England and Abroad', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 45-58 (especially pp. 45-7).

³⁹⁸ Hellinga, *Early Printing*, pp. 53-5.

had to be created.³⁹⁹ St Albans, therefore, already had much more going for it as a centre of print: a wealthy monastery as patron, a ready supply of manuscripts and source material, and a pre-existing network of high-status and potential monastic clients. Further evidence of the connection between the printing press and abbey is seen in the closure of the press; there is no record of printing in St Albans after 1539, the year in which the abbey was dissolved by Henry VIII.⁴⁰⁰ Yet, despite being in operation for 50 years, although perhaps intermittently, there has been no in-depth study of the St Albans press or its output. This chapter will offer a starting point from which further study can be undertaken, and from looking at the material printed will offer some initial conclusions on the level of monastic involvement with the St Albans Press. By collating all of the material printed by the press, we will start to get a picture of what books were being printed and why, comparing the material being printed at St Albans against other books being produced in other parts of the country. What we will see is that the town press provided St Albans Abbey with a way of continuing its pre-printing book production, focusing on books for monastic audiences as well as some books of interest to secular patrons. In short, the monks at St Albans saw the printing press as a tool for expanding their current book production, rather than undertaking radically new and different literary projects with this new technology.

Material printed at St Albans:

- Augustinus Datus, *Elegantiolae* (St Albans, 1479), ISTC id00066600, GW 08065
- Thomas von Erfurt, *De modi significandi* (St Albans, 1480), STC (2nd edn.) 268, ISTC it00356900, GW M46657.
- Lorenzo Traversagni, *In novam rethoricam* (St Albans, 1480), ISTC it00427760, GW 12071.
- Johannes Canonicus, *Quaestiones super Physica Aristotelis* (St Albans, 1481), ISTC ij00264000, GW M13140.
- Nicolas de Hannapes, *Exempla Sacrae Scriptae ex utroque Testamento* (St Albans, 1481), ISTC in00107000, GW M26458.
- Antonius Andreae, *Scriptum in logica sua* (St Albans, 1483), STC (2nd edn.) 582, ISTC ia00593500, GW 01673.

³⁹⁹ For further discussion on the creation of an English vernacular audience, see Jessica Coatesworth, 'The Design of the *Golden Legend*: English Printing in a European Context', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 91 (2015), pp. 21-49 (pp. 22-35 and 42-5).

⁴⁰⁰ Duff, *English Book Trade*, pp. 17 and 70.

- Anon, *Chronicles of England* (St Albans, 1485), STC (2nd edn.) 9995, ISTC ic00479000, GW 06672.
- Juliana Berners, *The Book of St Albans: The Book of Hawking, Hunting and Fishing* (St Albans, 1486), STC (2nd edn.) 3308, ISTC ib01030000, GW 04932.
- John Lydgate, *Life of St Alban* (St Albans, 1534), STC (2nd edn.) 256, ESTC S108894.
- Breviary: *De adventu. Primo sciendum et quod de omnibus festis* (St Albans: John Hertford, 1535), STC (2nd edn.) 15793.5, ESTC S124933.
- John Frith / John Gwynneth, *A confutation of the first part of Frith's book: with a disputation before whether it is possible for any heretic to know that himself is one or not* (John Hertford: St Albans, 1536), STC (2nd edn.) 12557, ESTC S103590.
- *Introduction for to learn to reckon with the pen and with the counters* (St Albans: John Hertford, 1537), STC (2nd edn.) 14117.7, ESTC S96064.
- *Gospel* (St Albans: John Hertford, 1539), STC (2nd edn.) 6456.5, ESTC S3378.

The list of printed material from the St Albans press is longer than might be expected for a regional press, which generally did not do well in comparison to the printing companies based in London.⁴⁰¹ As evident from the list above, the production of printed books at St Albans can be grouped into two distinct periods: 1479-1486 and 1534-1539.

Printing phase 1: 1479-1486

St Albans was the third press to be founded in England, after Caxton's press in Westminster in 1476 and a press in Oxford in 1478. The press lasted seven years, until 1486, in which eight full editions were printed at St Albans.⁴⁰² The types of books that were printed during this phase, especially at the beginning of this period, were largely religious and academic texts, and it is highly likely that these editions were printed from manuscripts held in the abbey's library or from manuscripts or books the abbey had access to. For instance, St Albans had a copy of Nicolas de Hannapes' *Exempla Sacrae Scriptae*, the fifth book published by the press, within the monastic library as part of Whethamstede's expansion of the collection.⁴⁰³ The

⁴⁰¹ Andrew Pettegree, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (2008), pp. 101-28 (pp. 114-15).

⁴⁰² Hellinga, *Early Printing*, pp. 90-9.

⁴⁰³ BL Royal MS 2 F VII. 'Nicolas de Hannapes, *Exempla Sacrae Scriptae*', <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/4855/> [accessed 08/08/2019].

Chronicles of England printed in 1485, while partly a copy of Caxton's editions produced in 1480/2, was edited from the original print to include more elements from Thomas Walsingham's chronicles and other universal histories, the manuscripts of which were held at the abbey.⁴⁰⁴ This direct connection to the abbey suggests some monastic involvement with the press. Indeed, this would mean St Albans was involved in yet another historiographical tradition, this time the *Chronicles of England* that was edited by Caxton from the *Brut*.⁴⁰⁵ The press, therefore, was willing to make use of the abbey's library resources if appropriate but was also not limiting itself to utilising only this existing material. St Albans might have made the decision to print particular titles as it was cheaper than buying the quantity of books it required from the Continent. The first edition produced by the press, Agostinus Datus, *Elegantiolae*, was already a well-established text for European printers, having been printed around 30 times before the St Albans edition of 1479. An important educational text, used in writing composition, it perhaps makes more sense for a monastery such as St Albans, that sent monks to university and had multiple dependent cells, to be producing its own textbooks and thus reducing its costs. Furthermore, both the edition of the *Rhetorica Nova* and the *Chronicles of England* were printed by Caxton first, before being used as exemplars at the St Albans Press.⁴⁰⁶ In these cases having a printed exemplar would have saved composition time in the printing process, with these texts having already been edited and adapted to the printed medium, allowing the printer to typeset these editions more quickly and efficiently. The St Albans press, then, was a pragmatic venture. Printing material from a variety of sources, including the monastic library at St Albans and other printed editions, the press was able to establish a coherent range of editions during this first period of production that was also cost-effective to print where possible. The press seems to have operated for a localised market, most likely the abbey and the abbey school, where there was a big enough

⁴⁰⁴ Hellinga, *Early Printing*, p. 96; Neil Weijer, 'Re-Printing or Remaking? The Early Printed Edition of the *Chronicles of England*', in *The Prose Brut and Other Late Medieval Chronicles*, ed. by Jaclyn Rajsic, Erik Kooper and Dominique Hoche (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), pp. 125-46. Anon, *Chronicles of England* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1480/2) ISTC ic00477000/ ic00478000, GW 06670/1.

⁴⁰⁵ Lister M. Matheson, 'Printer and Scribe: Caxton, the *Polychronicon*, and the *Brut*', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), pp. 593-614 (pp. 593-601).

⁴⁰⁶ Guillelmus Saphonensis, *Rhetorica nova* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1478) ISTC it00427750, GW 12070. This author listed by the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke is the name given in the text itself but there are other attributions. I have chosen to use the authorial attribution given in the ISTC and USTC catalogues.

requirement for books in the long run that made the establishment of a printing press the most financially viable option.

The choice of material printed without doubt had an impact on how many books from the St Albans press survived. Six of the eight editions printed during this period survive in very few copies. Although it is tempting to connect such survival rates to St Albans directly, suggesting fewer copies produced per edition, or low patterns of dissemination and circulation, this survival is perhaps indicative of educative texts as a genre, which in general demonstrate a significantly lower survival rate than other types of books, as well as the small editions that were produced during this period.⁴⁰⁷ Indeed, the decision behind printing educational texts makes sense for a press associated with the abbey; as mentioned above, such texts would have been used by monks pursuing further study and were a key part of the academic arts syllabus. It should not be assumed, though, that such editions were limited to just the abbey itself. Instead it was likely that these editions were intended for use by the abbey and those within its larger sphere of influence, such as the distinct regions of the country outlined in previous chapters, like East Anglia, the university colleges associated with Benedictine monks, and other monastic houses within its broader network.⁴⁰⁸ Contemporary library catalogues can provide further insight into the locations in which these printed books were used and reflect their role within further academic study. The *Quaestiones super Physica Aristotelis* of John Canonicus, for example, is recorded as being owned by several Oxford and Cambridge colleges.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, the surviving ownership records of manuscripts and printed copies of Nicholas de Hannapes indicate that this text was used by secular canons, monastic libraries and the university colleges.⁴¹⁰ Furthermore, the press's edition of Thomas of Erfurt survives bound in a manuscript with Alexander of Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* and

⁴⁰⁷ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 216-17; and Eric White, *Toward a History of Early Printing Used as Binding Waste*, 'Something for my Native Town' Conference, Blackburn Museum & Art Gallery 07/11/2017.

⁴⁰⁸ St Albans and its 'network' has been discussed in all previous chapters, though most in-depth in Chapter 1.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Johannes Canonicus [early 14th century]', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/browse/I/#entry1622_anchor [accessed 09/08/2019].

⁴¹⁰ 'Nicholas de Hannapes', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/results/?search_type=advanced&go_button_start=Go&text=&author=+Nicholaus+de+Hanapis [accessed 28/08/2019].

Johannes de Sacro Bosco's *Sphaera*, both university texts.⁴¹¹ The St Albans press, therefore, was printing texts for which there was an established educational and academic audience, but this genre of material also happened to be heavily used and thus little evidence of usage and transmission of the St Albans editions survives.

The characteristics displayed by the St Albans press during this time, though, are nevertheless those of risk-taking, experimentation and the supporting of learning, continuing the common themes that we have seen in the abbey's book production since the thirteenth century. This is evident in the keenness with which the press adopted and brought familiar features from European printing to the English market. The St Albans press was, for instance, the first English press to use a printer's mark in the 1485 edition of the *Chronicles of England*.⁴¹² Furthermore, as stated by Lotte Hellinga, its creation of typefaces in this first phase of printing was far more ambitious than any other print start-up in the country at the time.⁴¹³ The St Albans Press used four typefaces between 1479-86, many of which had similarities with the founts used by William Caxton.⁴¹⁴ Yet despite taking inspiration from existing founts, the press demonstrated a significant investment by having three of its four typefaces cast within the first two years of operating.⁴¹⁵ More evidence of the forward thinking of this press is in the material that was printed. Although educational texts became a highly saturated market as printing expanded across Europe, St Albans produced the earlier known copies of some of these texts. The 1480 edition of Thomas of Erfurt, for instance, was the first of six editions produced across Europe before 1500.⁴¹⁶ The Johannes Canonicus edition of 1481 was the first printing run of *Quaestiones super Physica Aristotelis*, which would

⁴¹¹ Kristian Jensen, 'Text Books in Universities: The Evidence from the Books', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 354-79 (pp. 356-60).

⁴¹² Frank Schechter, 'Early Printers' and Publishers' Devices', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 19 (1925), pp. 1-28 (p. 12).

⁴¹³ Hellinga, *Early Printing*, p. 94.

⁴¹⁴ Barker, 'St Albans Press', pp. 262-8 and 271-8. 'Founts' refer to the entire collection of characters a printer had at their disposal for any given typeface. Not to be confused with the modern usage of 'font' which has come to be used instead of 'type' or 'typeface'.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-5.

⁴¹⁶ 'Editions of Thomas of Erfurt's *De modis significandi*', <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/THOMERF.htm> [accessed 08/08/2019].

go on to be printed three more times in Venice during the fifteenth century.⁴¹⁷ The print of Antonius Andreae's *Scriptum in logica sua* was the only edition of this text to be printed during this period.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, the St Albans Press first printed the highly popular *Book of St Albans*, starting a textual tradition that would remain in print for a further 45 years. The St Albans press was, then, in a sense, operating outside of conventional business constraints by producing material for the abbey, larger monastic community, and the abbey school. It had the freedom to print texts that it needed, knowing it had the audience already established without the concern of unpredictable sales, and had a solid income stream, presumably from the abbey, that allowed it to invest in new founts and devices when necessary and gave it an element of creative freedom.

The first phase of printing at St Albans was, therefore, a relatively experimental affair that continued the values of book production from the abbey itself even though this ultimately proved unsustainable. It seems likely that the press was attempting to print for profit in the final two editions that were produced in folio, *The Chronicles of England* and *The Book of St Albans*: both titles that proved popular with a range of audiences and likely the abbey's patronage network too.⁴¹⁹ Nevertheless, the press ceased printing in 1486, towards the end of William of Wallingford's abbacy (Abbot from 1476-1492). It is not clear why printing ceased at St Albans, but it did, and printing did not restart for just under a further fifty years.

Printing phase 2: 1534-1539

More is known about the latter phase of printing at St Albans, although there is still only limited scholarship on the St Albans press during this period. After a 48-year gap in printing, John Hertford started a new press in 1534, which lasted until 1539, the same year the abbey

⁴¹⁷ 'Editions of Johannes Canonicus's texts', <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/JOHACAN2.htm> [accessed 09/08/2019].

⁴¹⁸ 'Editions of Antonius Andreae's works', <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/ANDRANT.htm> [accessed 09/08/2019].

⁴¹⁹ George Keiser, 'Practical Books for the Gentlemen', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Lotte Hellenga and J. B. Trapp, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 470-94 (pp. 470-2 and 488-91).

was dissolved, when the printer moved to London.⁴²⁰ Hertford only printed five books while at St Albans and this period of printing demonstrated a more obvious connection to the abbey and its interests. This relationship is demonstrated strongly with the first edition produced during this second phase, Lydgate's *Life of St Alban*, printed in 1534 and the first ever print of this text. Lydgate's text was originally commissioned by Whethamstede in 1439, as an updated and translated version of Paris's *Vita sancti albani*, and the manuscript was part of the abbot's personal library.⁴²¹ The 1534 edition was also a commission by the monastery's Abbot, Robert Catton (1529/30-1538), who no doubt intended this book to advertise and highlight the importance of St Albans Abbey and its patron saint during politically uncertain times for monastic institutions.⁴²² Further connection between the abbey and press is seen in some of the other printed editions. The *Breviary* printed in 1535, a long and technically more advanced edition featuring two-colour printing, contains a large section on Saint Alban on pp. 740-774, while two of the remaining three editions were religious texts. The first two editions off the newly formed press also featured usage of a new printer's device that directly associates these editions with the abbey: a woodcut of Saint Alban in fifteenth-century dress (**Figure 4.7**). A press returned to St Albans, then, under the abbacy of Robert Catton with a renewed focus on printing material relevant to the abbey itself and demonstrating the connection to the abbey as part of John of Hertford's marketing strategy, and the press continued while religious life was maintained in the town. The link between monastery and press was far more evident in this second phase of printing, with both material and printer's devices directly connecting the press to the abbey.

⁴²⁰ Duff, *English Book Trade*, p. 70.

⁴²¹ Galloway, 'John Lydgate', 458; J. E. Van der Westhuizen, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 22-5.

⁴²² Clark, 'Print', pp. 86-8.



Figure 4.7: The woodcut of Saint Alban as first used in the 1534 edition of the *Life of Saint Alban* and the reuse of this woodcut as a printer's device in the 1535 *Breviary*. (Early English Books Online).

The material printed during this second phase differed slightly from the first period of printing at St Albans. As mentioned above, there was more of an emphasis on religious material, but this is not to say that educational texts were entirely absent from the editions printed. Indeed, Clark has stated that most of these editions in the second phase were produced in close collaboration with Richard Stevenage, the prior at St Albans Abbey until 1538 when he became Abbot.⁴²³ In addition to the *Life of St Alban* and the *Breviary* printed 1534-5, the press produced two other religious works, one a copy of John Gwynneth's work *A confutation of the first part of Frith's book: with a disputation before whether it is possible for any heretic to know that himself is one or not*, a book challenging the work of the contemporary protestant John Frith, printed in 1536. This was followed by commentaries on the Gospel in 1539 and the educational text, *Introduction for to learn to reckon with the pen and with the*

⁴²³ Clark, 'Print', p. 87

counters, printed in 1537.⁴²⁴ A similarity with the previous phase of printing at St Albans is the originality of the material chosen. Neither of the religious works mentioned had been printed before and, apart from the *Breviary*, which although demonstrating customisation for St Albans was a common type of printed book, all other editions contained texts that were being printed for the first time. The education text is of particular interest as it is the earliest surviving arithmetic textbook in the English language, indicating that Hertford's press at St Albans was thinking outside of the box with its choice of material. Prior to this point arithmetic textbooks existed but were printed in Latin, the 1539 St Albans edition then marking a significant step forward in vernacular-language education; this text would go on to be printed a further seven times that century.⁴²⁵ It seems most likely that the arithmetic book was initially printed for use in the abbey school, suggesting the press was still being used to fulfil the educational textbook needs to a certain extent at the monastery, though the amount of further editions could indicate a larger audience. Surviving in a single copy, the arithmetic book also mirrors the survival rates of other St Albans editions, a further similarity between the first and second phase of printing in the town. In fact, all printed editions from the second phase at St Albans survive in even fewer copies than the first, indicating that print runs remained small at the press.⁴²⁶ The St Albans press, therefore, demonstrated more similarities in the two phases of production than differences, even though phase two was run by John Hertford. The general traits of being experimental, notably in the material printed, and producing small editions is common to both periods of printing, and such similarities suggest a constant influence; in this case, the abbey.

The second phase of printing at St Albans may not have proved any more successful than the first, though it is hard to truly establish this when the Dissolution of St Albans in 1539 played an integral part in the press's closure. Under John Hertford's control the St Albans press maintained a close relationship with the abbey, especially in choice of material

⁴²⁴ John Frith / John Gwynneth, *A confutation of the first part of Frith's book: with a disputation before whether it is possible for any heretic to know that himself is one or not* (John Hertford: St Albans, 1536), STC (2nd edn.) 12557, ESTC S103590; *Introduction for to learn to reckon with the pen and with the counters* (St Albans: John Hertford, 1537), STC (2nd edn.) 14117.7, ESTC S96064; and *Gospel* (St Albans: John Hertford, 1539), STC (2nd edn.) 6456.5, ESTC S3378.

⁴²⁵ A. W. Richeson, 'The First Arithmetic Printed in English', *The History of Science Society*, 37 (1947), pp. 47-56 (pp. 47-9); P. Bockstaele, 'Notes on the First Arithmetics Printed in Dutch and English', *The History of Science Society*, 51 (1960), pp. 315-21 (pp. 315 and 319-21).

⁴²⁶ *The Life of Saint Alban* survives in 4 copies, the edition of John Gwynneth in 3 and all other editions survive in a single copy only.

to be printed, which remained both practical for the classroom, or theological in scope. Indeed, these text choices were innovative and in some instances were the start of a printing tradition. Nevertheless, the closure of the press was the result of the changing political and religious landscape: the press ceased because John Hertford was sent to London in 1538 for printing heretical documents by his collaborator at St Albans, Abbot Richard Stevenage.⁴²⁷ The following year the abbey closed. In a different context Hertford's press may have proved more successful, but ultimately the venture was a victim of the contemporary climate.

Printing St Albans material outside of St Albans

Printers outside of St Albans also had an interest in St Albans material. Despite the wealth of the abbey's library and its historiographical tradition, it seems to have been *The Book of St Albans: The Book of Hawking, Hunting and Fishing* that proved most popular with the London-based printers, who printed this book a further four times before 1550.⁴²⁸ Although this text will not be discussed in any depth here, the success of this text largely lay in the hunger for relevant and interesting texts in the burgeoning lay audience.⁴²⁹ This was the same audience which was also interested in historiographical works. Instead of traditional monastic chronicles, city chronicles had started to become popular during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with lay audiences as well as vernacular chronicles like the *Brut*, marking a shift in historiographical consumption; St Albans' historiographical material therefore did

⁴²⁷ It is not clear what these documents were as they do not survive, though they are alluded to in a letter from abbot Stevenage to Thomas Cromwell. Duff, *English Book Trade*, p. 70.

⁴²⁸ Juliana Berners, *The Book of St Albans: The Book of Hawking, Hunting and Fishing* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496); Eadem, *The Book of St Albans* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1518); Ea., *The Book of St Albans* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1530); and Ea., *The Book of St Albans* (London: William Copland, 1547).

⁴²⁹ Keiser, 'Practical Books for the Gentlemen', pp. 470-94. For more on the *Book of St Albans*, see Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscripts to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 395-409; Rachel Hands, 'Juliana Berners and The Boke of St. Albans', *The Review of English Studies*, 18 (1967) pp. 373-86; Eloise Pafort, 'Notes on the Wynkyn de Worde Editions of the Boke of St Albans and its Separates', *Studies in Bibliography*, 5 (1952), pp. 43-52; Alan Binns, 'A Manuscript Source of the Book of St Albans', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 33 (1950), pp. 15-24; E. F. Jacobs, 'The Book of St Albans', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 28 (1944), pp. 99-118; and Juliana Berners, *The Boke of St Albans*, ed. by William Blades (London, 1901).

not enjoy the same success in early print as such chronicles, or texts like *The Book of St Albans*.⁴³⁰ During this period of re-printing medieval history, the *Brut* proved to be a much more popular source of history and was used by William Caxton to create *The Chronicles of England* text, while the *Polychronicon* was used to create the *Description of Britain*, which was printed in fewer editions.⁴³¹ After the St Albans press printed its own edition of the *Chronicles* in 1485, the text went on to be printed a further eight times by Wynkyn de Worde, Julian Notary and Richard Pynson.⁴³² All of these were high-quality, folio editions, that maintained a relatively uniform presentation despite being printed by several different printers. Indeed, only minor changes such as woodcuts were made between the editions since De Worde's first run in 1497. Such uniformity between printers suggests that either there was an established audience for this text who expected the material to be printed a particular way, or that the editions were so successful that printers were in a hurry to produce their own versions of De Worde's original and thus just copied his 1497 edition. Regardless of which is the case, it has been established in recent studies by Caroline Barron and Kathleen Scott that chronicles were commonly found in the libraries of London merchants.⁴³³ The popularity of the genre continued later into the late-sixteenth century too, with chronicles such as the works of John Stow proving just as popular with lay audiences.⁴³⁴ The character of popular historiography,

⁴³⁰ Barron, 'Medieval London Merchants', pp. 51-7; Bennett, *English Books*, pp. 126-7; and F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1967), pp. 9-18 and 21-6.

⁴³¹ Matheson, 'Printer and Scribe', pp. 593-614.

⁴³² *The Chronicles of England* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1497) STC (2nd edn.) 9996; *The Chronicles of England* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1502) STC (2nd edn.) 9997; *The Chronicles of England* (London: Julian Notary, 1504) STC (2nd edn.) 9998; *The Chronicles of England* (London: Richard Pynson, 1510) STC (2nd edn.) 9999; *The Chronicles of England* (London: Julian Notary, 1515) STC (2nd edn.) 10000; *The St Albans Chronicle* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1515) STC (2nd edn.) 10000.5; *The Chronicles of England* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1520) STC (2nd edn.) 10001; and *The Chronicles of England* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1528) STC (2nd edn.) 10002.

⁴³³ Barron, 'Medieval London Merchants', pp. 44-5, 51-7 and 62; and Kathleen Scott, 'Past Ownership: Evidence of Book Ownership by English Merchants in the Later Middle Ages', in *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A. S. G. Edwards*, ed. by Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 150-77 (pp. 152 and 156-73).

⁴³⁴ Barrett L. Beer, 'English History Abridged: John Stow's Shorter Chronicles and Popular History', *Albion*, 36 (2004), pp. 12-27 (pp. 12-16 and 26-7).

then, had undergone significant change during early printing and the sixteenth century. This new audience wanted a text that was relevant to it, and the traditional monastic chronicles were not compatible. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the sixteenth century saw monastic chronicles limited to scholarly and antiquarian audiences.

Although St Albans historiography did not sustain its popularity into the early-sixteenth century, an appetite for history and chronicle writing developed within the new expanding lay audiences. The St Albans press had attempted to be involved with this new type of history when it first came to market, but it did not maintain an involvement with historiographical production in print. The new audience for history writing and chronicles wanted more relevant material, and it seems likely that these broader lay audiences were simply too diverse for a small press such as St Albans to cater for. It was the London printers that had the finance, equipment, capacity and routes to market that made a success of the rapidly expanding English language readership.

Conclusion

The fifteenth century saw distinct changes in book production at St Albans Abbey. Both the influences of humanism and new technology impacted on what was written and how it was produced, making fifteenth-century book production at St Albans different from previous centuries. Under the abbacy of John Whethamstede, the abbey's library received new, intellectually current, texts, including many of his own composition. Whethamstede adopted a different approach to manuscript composition than those that had gone before, utilising the encyclopaedic format to explore individuals and topics of historical relevance. His *Granarium* was unlike any work produced before and the distinctive format allowed for flexible usage of the text, meaning it was used in historical miscellanies and other personal manuscripts to support additional material. Furthermore, for the first time a distinctive 'house style' is present in the manuscripts, albeit a style that dispersed among the wider intellectual community of which St Albans was a part. Whethamstede, then, not only produced a historiographical work relevant to the intellectual and educational climate but also established a clear method of presenting St Albans manuscripts during the mid-fifteenth century. This experimental and creative approach to book production continued until the Dissolution. St Albans was an early adopter of printing, reflecting the monastery's keen involvement in book production right up until the Dissolution. The printing press offered a way for the abbey to reduce its expenditure on books for domestic use while also allowing for the recoup of some costs through selling within its well-established intellectual network of

monasteries and patrons. The coming of the printing press, however, marked an end to historiographical production at St Albans Abbey. Indeed, this was a trend mirrored more broadly on a national scale. Although history writing and chronicles were still of interest, monastic historiography was not, and thus after the Dissolution these great traditions easily died out, having not established their relevance before the monasteries closed.

The Critical Editions of Matthew Parker and the Sixteenth Century Manuscripts of St Albans Historiography

The interest in St Albans historiographical material continued well into the sixteenth century, both in its original medieval manuscript form, as well as in the production of modern manuscripts copies and of printed editions. This chapter will focus on the critical editions created by Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575), as well as studying the contemporary manuscript copies of St Albans historiographical works. Many others worked with medieval historiography in the sixteenth century, such as Raphael Holinshed a printer who took over the compiling of a national history in the mid-late sixteenth century after his master's death and whose historiographical composition heavily utilised medieval sources,⁴³⁵ or John Stow, who collected, edited and printed a variety of medieval chronicles, adapting them for a contemporary audience.⁴³⁶ Parker's direct involvement with the St Albans chronicles, though, marks him out as having played a distinctive role in the dissemination of these works during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, as will be shown in this chapter, Parker's editions and source manuscripts created a new contemporary manuscript tradition that utilised its own visual language, heavily influenced by print. Not only did Parker keep the St Albans historiographical tradition alive, he created a new period of circulation and transmission for these medieval texts.

The antiquarian book collectors of the sixteenth century have been the subject of much study and their collecting practices thoroughly debated, yet little attention has been

⁴³⁵ Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577), STC (2nd edn.) 13568. See also *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed Chronicles*.

⁴³⁶ *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 150; *Routledge Revivals: Medieval England*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 147, 176 and 186.

paid to the books that they made and printed themselves.⁴³⁷ As custodians and acquirers of lost monastic heritage the antiquarians' role was a significant one, but we also have to understand how the scholarship produced by these circles has affected modern knowledge of historic texts and documents. Medieval historiography did not pass through the hands of antiquarians without alteration; it is the how and why of sixteenth century book production that remains unanswered and that will shed light on the motives of the antiquarians for collecting, studying and copying medieval material. The St Albans' historiographical works offer a unique position for studying book production, rather than the collection of existing books (for whatever reason) in this period. After being overlooked for printing by William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, the *Flores historiarum*, *Chronica maiora* and *Historia brevis* all became the subjects of antiquarian interest in the late sixteenth century. This interest resulted in several printed editions and manuscript copies being produced, whilst also ensuring the survival of the original manuscripts, albeit perhaps not in the state the antiquarians acquired them in. By adopting the same method of visual analysis from previous chapters we will see how various sources were used in constructing the sixteenth-century manuscript corpus and the role of print in shaping textual perception.

It is essential to view sixteenth-century book production in the context of the English Reformation and antiquarian study, the driving force behind the popularising of printed editions and the reprinting of classical works. Here, the figure of Archbishop Matthew Parker played a significant role and it is his re-working of medieval history, in the printing and

⁴³⁷ Seminal works on antiquarian scholarship include: Levy, *Historical Thought*, May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); and R. I. Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books: Sanders lectures in bibliography delivered on 14, 16 and 18 May 1990 at the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Parker Library, 1990). The surviving libraries have also been the subject of much study, particularly the work of C. E. Wright and Timothy Graham: C. E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies: Matthew Parker and his Circle: A Preliminary Study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1951), pp. 208-37; Timothy Graham, 'Matthew Parker and the Conservation of Manuscripts; The Case of CUL MS li. 2. 4.', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1995), pp. 630-41; idem, 'Matthew Parker's manuscripts: an Elizabethan Library and its Use', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, pp. 322-42; and id. and Andrew G. Watson. *The Rediscovery of the Past in Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

editing of the original manuscript and creating and sharing the sources for contemporary hybrid manuscripts, that demonstrates the changing role and purpose of book production in the sixteenth century most instructively with regards to St Albans. Although several other notable antiquarians were engaged with medieval manuscripts during this period, including individuals like John Leland and John Bale, both of whom were involved with cataloguing manuscripts for the crown and historiographical rediscovery, it is Matthew Parker and his editions that will be the focus of this chapter because in editing and re-printing the St Albans chronicles Parker not only re-presented these medieval works for a contemporary audience but also started a new strand of transmission. Furthermore, this chapter will highlight the contrary nature of sixteenth-century antiquarianism, a form of scholasticism that favoured the original material and yet was happy to make modern additions to medieval manuscripts to fit with their antiquarian perceptions, and will debate the role of printed text in shaping attitudes towards the book and textual authenticity.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries in England, which was complete by 1540, dealt a massive blow to monastic learning. The libraries of great monastic houses were divided, rehoused, stolen and sold; a large quantity of the manuscripts, particularly religious texts, were shipped to continental Europe, whilst many of the most attractive and richly-decorated manuscripts were seized by the crown (now part of the Royal collection at the British Library) or royal officials.⁴³⁸ Antiquarianism and antiquarian collectors in England emerged at the Dissolution. At the Dissolution there was no public national library or archive in which to deposit the monastic collections, much to the upset of antiquarians like John Dee who championed such a move, although the royal library came close, and many of the remaining books in the monasteries were left in situ, in many instances later to be looted and dispersed.⁴³⁹ Thus, the antiquarians wanted to rebuild these collections, as well as create their own reference

⁴³⁸ Many of the religious manuscripts, such as primers, missals etc. were shipped abroad. C. B. L. Barr and David Selwyn, 'Major Ecclesiastical Libraries: from Reformation to Civil War, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, pp. 363-99 (p. 367); Levy, *Historical Thought*, p. 126; James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* (London: British Library, 2004), p. 96.

⁴³⁹ James Carley, 'Monastic Collections and their Dispersal', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), IV, pp. 339-47 (pp. 339-41); Idem, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London: British Library, 2000), pp. xxxii-iii.

libraries, and set about collecting as many monastic manuscripts as possible.⁴⁴⁰ It was to be a challenging task, primarily because it was difficult to know exactly what was held in each monastic library prior to Dissolution.⁴⁴¹ Assets were documented by the crown, although books were not included in this survey, and there were several instances of important manuscripts disappearing in the years preceding the Dissolution, suggesting that monks attempted to preserve certain works or avoid them changing hands; for instance, the two volumes of the *Chronica maiora* (CCCC 26 and 16) were not at St Albans during the Dissolution and would almost certainly have been seized by the crown if they had remained.⁴⁴² Such piecemeal and undocumented removal of books continued until the end of the Dissolution and beyond.⁴⁴³ A catalogue of the manuscripts that did remain was completed by John Leland in his role to the crown as cataloguer of the monastic libraries, assets and antiquities between 1533 and 1542.⁴⁴⁴ Further and more complete attempts at cataloguing monastic libraries were made by the antiquaries John Bale and John Joscelyn, both of whom utilised Leland's work.⁴⁴⁵ Despite the challenges they faced, Leland, Bale and Joscelyn all spent significant intellectual effort on the task at hand; indeed, John Bale had catalogued and collected nearly 400 manuscripts into his personal library by 1552/3.⁴⁴⁶ The antiquarians, then, began a mammoth cataloguing task that would take hundreds of years to get close to completion, and a question that is still relevant today: exactly what manuscripts were held in these great monastic libraries?

The crown was not an entirely disinterested party in the redistribution of medieval manuscripts though. Henry VIII was a learned individual with a keen interest in books and is believed to have inherited and retained a significant library of over a hundred books at

⁴⁴⁰ Barr and Selwyn, 'Ecclesiastical Libraries', pp. 371-3.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 363-4.

⁴⁴² *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xvi, xvii and lvi-lvii; see also Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. xxxii-iii.

⁴⁴³ Barr and Selwyn, 'Ecclesiastical Libraries', pp. 368-9.

⁴⁴⁴ Levy, *Historical Thought*, pp. 129-30; Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. xxxiii-vi; John Leland, *The laboryouse iourney [and] serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kyng Henry the viij. in the. xxxvij. yeare of his reygne, with declaracyons enlarged: by Iohan Bale* (London: S. Mierdman, 1549), STC (2nd edn) 15445.

⁴⁴⁵ Graham and Watson, *Elizabethan England*, pp. 1-14.

⁴⁴⁶ Honor McCusker, 'Books and Manuscripts formerly in the Possession of John Bale', *The Library*, 16 (1935), p. 145.

Richmond Palace.⁴⁴⁷ During Henry's reign, three further royal libraries were expanded and modernised, at Greenwich, Hampton Court Palace, and Westminster Palace, and it was into these libraries that the bulk of the acquired monastic collections would be housed.⁴⁴⁸ As stated by James Carley, who has worked extensively on the libraries of Henry VIII, the crown's involvement with monastic libraries began when the king was preparing his Great Matter and lasted until the break from Rome; manuscripts from monastic collections were combined with the King's personal collections resulting in a substantial library of over 900 books at Westminster Palace.⁴⁴⁹ St Albans Abbey, as one of the closest monasteries with a large library, lost around 20 books to the crown: quite modest compared to the overall library size, which must have been nearly 100 times that in quantity.⁴⁵⁰ The royal interest in monastic libraries was therefore temporary and one of need. These books were serving a purpose for the crown and once that need was satisfied the monastic libraries were left to the interested antiquarians to try and restore, maintain, and look after for posterity.

Antiquarians and antiquarian collectors were also driven by their own interests, which impacted accordingly on manuscript survival. The manuscripts collected complemented the contemporary intellectual climate, a climate that placed great emphasis on science and humanities: these collectors were interested in subjects such as philosophy, classics and topography.⁴⁵¹ For some antiquarians, particularly ecclesiasts such as Archbishop Matthew Parker, the history and development of England, in particular its religious history, was just as important and they focused on rediscovering and reframing England's past.⁴⁵² Such ecclesiastical collectors also realised the value of old learning. Parker, for instance, was particularly focussed on amassing all the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

⁴⁴⁷ Carley, *Books of Henry VIII*, pp. 25-6.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7. Carley discusses the organisation of the Westminster library in depth, see Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. lxvi-lxxiv.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31 and 92-6; Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. xxix-xxxxi. For more on this subject see also James Carley, 'The Royal Library Under Henry VIII', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 274-82.

⁴⁵⁰ Carley, *Books of Henry VIII*, p. 92; Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. xxxi and xxxxi. See also Introduction, p. 16, for brief discussion on the size of the St Albans library.

⁴⁵¹ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 253-5, 260-1 and 265-6; Levy, *Historical Thought*, pp. 145-7 and 159-61.

⁴⁵² Carley, 'Monastic Collections', p. 343.

regardless of subject matter.⁴⁵³ The dubious collection practices of these antiquarians has been well documented and will not be explored further here – indeed, the antiquarian collectors were often at odds with the royal library, with many medieval manuscripts changing hands in somewhat suspicious circumstances during this time – but what is clear is that the antiquarian movement lessened the overall damage of the dissolution and reignited an interest in medieval intellectual pursuits.⁴⁵⁴ It is the libraries and efforts of antiquarians such as Laurence Nowell, John Stow, Matthew Parker, John Whitgift, Thomas Bodley and Robert Cotton, in addition to the royal collection that form the basis of most of England's modern special collections. John Stow in particular worked extensively on St Albans historiographical manuscripts, transcribing and translating the fourteenth-century monastic chronicles and adapting them into contemporary historical texts.⁴⁵⁵ The legacies of these antiquarians are notorious and unpalatable to some modern scholars but the survival rate of monastic manuscripts in these collections far surpasses that of manuscripts that remained in cathedral libraries.⁴⁵⁶ In the sixteenth century medieval manuscripts were antiquated: written in a script and language few people were used to reading and covering topics that were no longer considered relevant. Furthermore, the parchment many manuscripts were written on had value. There were many alternative uses for parchment: it could be boiled down for glue, used in the clothes industry or reused in book production, and Catholic religious manuscripts were particularly susceptible to this fate. If it were not for antiquarian collectors the loss of medieval manuscripts during this period would have been significantly larger.

⁴⁵³ Felicity Heal, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), pp. 109-32 (pp. 122 and 125); Catherine Hall, 'Matthew Parker as Annotator: The Case of Winchester Cathedral MS XXB', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1995), pp. 642-5 (p. 645); Levy, *Historical Thought*, p. 80; Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech'", p. 1067; and Page, *Parker and his books*, pp. 55 and 87-107.

⁴⁵⁴ Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, pp. lxxviii-xc; Barr and Selwyn, 'Ecclesiastical Libraries', pp. 371-3; Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech'", pp. 1067-72; Graham, 'Parker's manuscripts', pp. 324-8; and Carley, *Books of Henry VIII*, p. 144-51.

⁴⁵⁵ Beer, 'English History Abridged', pp. 12-27.

⁴⁵⁶ Barr and Selwyn, 'Ecclesiastical Libraries', pp. 365-6, 370-1 and 385-8.

Historiographical manuscripts actually survived quite well in this difficult climate.⁴⁵⁷ Medieval historiography was seen as a tool to legitimise the present and confirm the position of the Church of England within its Catholic past. The majority of protestant antiquarians sought such confessional material in medieval chronicles, such as the St Albans' historiographical texts, because as a source these works offered a historic perspective largely separate from scripture and were thus easier to appropriate to the Reformers' cause.⁴⁵⁸ The result was a renewed period of interest in the medieval past, the manuscripts that recorded it and contemporary re-workings. Matthew Parker was a central figure in sixteenth-century antiquarianism and set about editing and printing some of the monastic medieval manuscripts, the work of which can still be seen on the manuscripts themselves. It is clear from Parker's choices, including printing the text in Latin for an established scholarly readership, that he was not printing for profit. In his role as Archbishop of Canterbury he was driven largely by the confessional agenda, but by the time he came to print editions of medieval historiography Parker's attitudes had softened, perhaps from his years of navigating the great Protestant and Catholic debates but also partly due to the influence of John Bale.⁴⁵⁹ These works were reprinted to make the manuscripts accessible to others, especially within scholarly and antiquarian circles: St Albans' historiography benefitted in particular from the Archbishop's attention.⁴⁶⁰ Furthermore, this chapter will demonstrate how Parker's editions established a consistent method for presenting historiographical works in print. Yet in printing these works not only did Parker confirm the place of St Albans' chronicles within the medieval historiographical corpus but he also triggered interest in the historians themselves, such as Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham. This increasing focus on the individuals changed how the St Albans historiographical works were perceived, as has been discussed throughout this thesis, and has had lasting effects on scholarship. As well as being re-written and re-presented for the sixteenth-century audience, the St Albans historiographical texts were now given new authorial constructs to match.

The production of manuscripts was similarly piecemeal. Increasing research by modern historians into manuscripts of this period indicates that copying from printed editions was a common practice and as valid a source to sixteenth century antiquarians as

⁴⁵⁷ Carley, *Libraries of Henry VIII*, p. xxxiii.

⁴⁵⁸ Heal, 'Appropriating History', pp. 111-5, 118 and 128; Hall, 'Parker as Annotator', p. 642; and Levy, *Historical Thought*, pp. 80, 101-3 and 117-23.

⁴⁵⁹ Levy, *Historical Thought*, pp. 80-98 and 114-23.

⁴⁶⁰ Greg, 'Books and Bookmen', p. 247; Wright, 'Monastic Libraries', pp. 225-6; and Levy, *Historical Thought*, p. 120.

the original manuscripts.⁴⁶¹ Whilst in itself indicative of how broadly editions circulated within a select audience, in this period printed text emerged as an authoritative medium. It was after all through print that new laws, news and the Bible were circulated. The increasing authority commanded by printed text meant that popular printed editions were as likely to be copied and shared as popular manuscripts between monastic institutions. As will be shown in this chapter, the sixteenth-century manuscripts of St Albans' historiography demonstrate a combination of exemplar being used: original medieval manuscript, sixteenth-century manuscripts, and contemporary printed editions. Antiquarian collectors took another approach to finishing collections too. Antiquarian collectors wanted their manuscripts to be complete, a desire that led collectors, such as Parker and William Cecil, to employ forgers to fill in the gaps or erase and remove unsightly passages.⁴⁶² If an original manuscript was unavailable for the desired section of their manuscript then a printed edition would be used as an exemplar: the status of printed text meant that this was not an issue. Indeed, this thesis will argue that the printed text was perceived to be as authoritative as the medieval manuscript original. Sixteenth century manuscripts and the contemporary additions made to the medieval historiographical manuscripts lacked the visual interest of the medieval sources. Not only do we see a desire to control and complete historiographical works, but manuscripts were now being copied in ways that mimicked the printed page. By the end of the sixteenth century learned audiences were so used to printed text that their manuscripts resembled printed editions.

The sixteenth century was a confusing period in which to attempt a reconstruction and re-presentation of medieval history. The Dissolution had scattered monastic libraries far and wide, resulting in widespread destruction and collection for personal gain. Antiquarian scholars were limited by a lack of knowledge about what monastic manuscripts remained; as stated by F. J. Levy, 'their accessibility decreased to such an extent that for a time men were

⁴⁶¹ Frans A. Janssen, 'Manuscript Copies of Printed Works', *Quaerendo*, 41 (2011), pp. 295-310 (295-7); Ann Blair, *Script, Type, and Byte - Manuscripts after Gutenberg (reflections on technological continuities)*, Inaugural lecture of the John Rylands Research Institute, John Rylands Library, Manchester, 31 March 2014.

⁴⁶² Clemens and Graham, *Manuscript Studies*, pp. 111-3; Graham, 'Conservation of Manuscripts', pp. 631-2; Greg, 'Books and Bookmen', p. 274; Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech'", pp. 1076-7; Page, *Matthew Parker*, pp. 7-8 and 46-8; Graham, 'Parker's Manuscripts', pp. 328-31. Carley outlines some of the more extreme practices in manuscript 'conservation' used by the antiquarian collectors, some of which have been attested to in this thesis, see Carley, 'Monastic Collections', pp. 346-7.

content merely to compile lists locating them'.⁴⁶³ Therefore the ways in which monastic learning was approached had to change. Buoyed by their own collecting, antiquarians produced manuscripts and printed editions of the original manuscripts owned by themselves and their peers. The antiquarians also wished their original medieval manuscripts to be complete and would add insertions into any gaps that they found. Sixteenth-century historians, prelates and antiquarians were interested in how medieval history could be used to define Protestant ideology and create a historic base from which to argue the rules and structure of Protestant Christianity, from which a genuine appreciation for the material developed. Yet they themselves retained medieval characteristics in their motives, practices of information appropriation and manuscript creation, such as fusing multiple narratives of different ages and credibility and adopting sources to suit the grand, in this case confessional, narrative. Above all, they sought to control the information and authors at their disposal. Thus the pool of medieval knowledge developed and changed in character: as will be shown, once committed to print, antiquarian alterations acquired a permanence not present in the medieval manuscript form.

Printed editions

Historiography was still a popular genre in the sixteenth century, but new texts were predominantly being written by secular authors; medieval historiography, appealing to ecclesiastical and antiquarian audiences, had to be printed to find its place within the contemporary book trade. Yet monastic historiographical manuscripts did not conform to sixteenth-century sensibilities and thus required editing and reprinting. Much has been made of how monastic chronicles were at odds with the intellectual and ecclesiastical climate of the reformation, and this will not be repeated here, but one should not underestimate the role of visual difference in distancing these manuscripts from contemporary audiences.⁴⁶⁴ At over 300 years old when they entered Parker's ownership, the manuscripts of Matthew Paris were far from current and required updating: gothic script was converted to roman type, rubrics to printed marginalia and decorative features were entirely removed. Blackletter was still being used as a printed type in the sixteenth century but was the preserve of English language books, especially bibles and cheaper educational books. Roman type therefore was what was used for medieval historiography: the typeface of antiquarian learning and foreign language texts because of its clarity and use by other intellectual movements, such as Italian humanism.

⁴⁶³ Levy, *Historical Thought*, p. 126.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

The way in which readers navigated books had also changed: audiences had become accustomed to consuming text via print and utilising the associated layout features. Marginalia now acted partly as a quick-reference navigation tool. It is here where dates, in Arabic numbering, ran alongside the text and summary rubrics were placed. Although these elements exist occasionally in the medieval manuscripts, print allowed these navigable features to become consistent, permanent elements of printed historiography. The inclusion of line numbers further suggests the new usage of medieval historiography as reference. The change from two-column text to one must have largely been driven by cost and time considerations for the printers when converting the original manuscripts, making a text cheaper and easier to print, but it is possible that it could also indicate a lower reading level of Latin among the new audience.⁴⁶⁵ To do anything other than convert and update the manuscripts in print would have resulted in the St Albans' historiographical works falling into obscurity.

Source manuscripts

As Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker was heavily involved in book production and censorship and had the resources available to him to print his edited texts. In many respects we are lucky that it was Matthew Parker who undertook this endeavour: he utilised his position to seize and request manuscripts from people outside his network, but many manuscripts borrowed by Parker were returned to their owners and not left in the printer's workshop (even though some were mistreated while there). Manuscript borrowing between antiquarian peers was commonplace. As stated by Catherine Hall, among fellow antiquarians such manuscripts 'were freely made available' and Parker returned manuscripts he had borrowed from friends and peers and used in editing and printing process, although debatably not always in the condition he received them, including Eton 123 and BnF Ms. lat. 6045.⁴⁶⁶ This chapter will show that three of the manuscripts discussed in earlier chapters can be attached to particular editions: Eton 123 (*Flores historiarum*), CCC 16 (*Chronica maiora*) and CCC 195 (*Short chronicle* or *Historia brevis*). As a result, by studying St Albans historiographical manuscripts into the sixteenth century we can gain an insight into the printing and editing practices of the

⁴⁶⁵ Text in columns is easier to read for more advanced readers, who are better able to skim read vertically, whereas the longer text lines of one text block is more accessible for less-able readers. Bringhurst, *Elements of Typographic Style*, p. 163.

⁴⁶⁶ Carley, 'Monastic Collections', p. 346; Hall, 'Parker as Annotator', p. 642; and Graham, 'Parker's Manuscripts', pp. 326-7.

time. Benedict Scott Robinson stated that ‘the Parkerians treated their manuscripts like copy-text’.⁴⁶⁷ Indeed, they reworked the medieval historiography to confirm the role of the Church of England utilising the previously Catholic framework. Antiquarians were also concerned with authenticity and many of the *Flores* manuscripts contain their marginal cross-references to other historiographical works, such as those of Ralph Diceto, Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁴⁶⁸ Once a text had been edited in this way it was fit for print. Parker was extensive in his desire for knowledge of medieval historiography and the notorious red chalk and cross-referencing of both him and his various assistants can be found in five of the *Flores* manuscripts.⁴⁶⁹ We do not know Parker’s criteria for selecting sources for the printed editions. He chose to base the *Flores* printed edition of 1567 on Eton 123, which was the earliest *Flores* dating manuscript available to him. Indeed, we must remember that antiquarians did not have the same number of monastic manuscripts at their disposal as we do today. It is unlikely he had access to more than three or four complete manuscripts of each St Albans’ text. What we see in Parker’s editorial practice is the desire to convert manuscripts he considered to be rare and important into a medium fit for contemporary society: the printed edition. He had respect for the original manuscript, even if others did not, and it is because of these strong antiquarian and collecting ideals that the manuscripts of St Albans’ historiography survived both the Dissolution and the printer’s workshop.

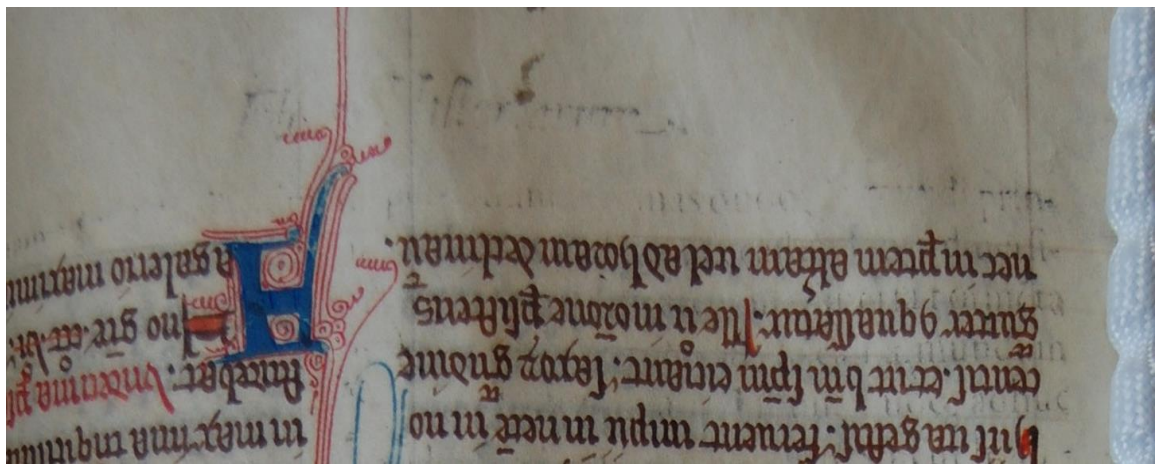


Figure 5.1: Eton College Library MS 123, f. 48^v (reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College).

⁴⁶⁷ Scott Robinson, “Darke Speech”, p. 1077.

⁴⁶⁸ See Eton 123, Arundel 96, Otho C II, CCCC 264 and Claudius E VIII.

⁴⁶⁹ For manuscripts see previous note. Scott Robinson, “Darke Speech”, pp. 1075-6; Hall, ‘Parker as Annotator’, p. 644.

Flores Historiarum.

Fol. 67.

tunica, quam ei fecit propriis manibus gloriosissima mater sua, iniquus iste vestitus, omnem hominem ad se placat. Tunc Cæsar, ipsum illa tunica expoliari fecit, & contra cum ferocitatem animi mox resumpsit. Cumque de hoc imperator plurimum admiraretur: dictum est sibi, quod illa tunica fuisset domini Iesu.

cum nimis præfatis infestationibus grauarentur, à se remouerunt, & in quodam puteo montibus circumsepto immerferunt, vbi adhuc, relatione quorundam, quædam diabolicæ machinationes ebullire videntur. In historiis scholasticis legitur, quod Pilatus accusatus est apud Tyberium de violenta innocetum interfectione, & quia Iudæis recla-

De exilio & morte Pilati.

Figure 5.2: Matthew Paris, *Elegans, illustris, et facilis rerum, præsertim Britannicarum, et aliarum obiter, notatu dignarum, a mundi exordio ad annum Domini. 1307* (London: Richard Jugge, 1567), f. 67^v (Early English Books Online).

It is a rare occurrence to be able to identify the precise manuscript from which a printed edition was type set; for the editions of St Albans historiography all of the source manuscripts can be identified. Each manuscript exemplar retained the evidence of being prepared for print and because they were used by different printers highlight the varied attitudes towards exemplars, regardless of how well produced the editions were. We also see a variation in Parker's editing practice. Eton 123 was the first manuscript containing St Albans historiography to be printed by Parker and there are cross-references to other medieval historiographical works throughout in the margins. The folios of Eton 123 retain traces of printed text from its use in Richard Jugge's workshop as an exemplar. Printed text appears on eight pages and at a variety of angles. On every page where this occurs there is a slight 'slip' in the print, suggesting the manuscript leaves were placed onto an inked forme, containing a type-set page of the 1567 edition, and later removed. This text was not deliberately printed onto the manuscript; rather the pages of the manuscript were placed onto another surface once they were no longer being used; it appears to have been immaterial that on that other surface there was also an inked, or semi-inked, forme. On f. 48^v of Eton 123 (**Figures 5.1 and 5.2**) the text transfer is clear enough to identify the edition being printed.

Further examples of careless treatment can be seen throughout the manuscript. Eton 123 was unbound whilst being used as an exemplar and the leaves on the exterior of each quire have a higher concentration of oil, ink and inky fingerprints than the remainder of the

manuscript.⁴⁷⁰ One of the quires was then re-bound in the wrong order.⁴⁷¹ It is not clear why the printers in Richard Jugge's workshop were so careless with the exemplar but, as we will see later, this lack of attention to detail carried through to the printed edition too. The manuscript was just another exemplar littering the printer's workshop; without Parker's involvement in the process it seems unlikely that Eton 123 would have been rebound and preserved. The rarity of exemplar survival from printers' workshops in comparison to general printed output further suggest that this was the case,⁴⁷² with the St Albans' historiographical manuscripts occupying a distinctive position in comparison to the contemporary usage of other exemplar manuscripts.

Not all printers were so careless with their manuscript exemplars. CCCC 16 was also used as a source for printed editions but demonstrates none of the heavy usage seen in Eton 123. The manuscript text has been marked by the compositor into pages for the edition and the number of that page is noted next to the pencil mark. Very few pages are covered in the level of filth seen in Eton 123 and at no point is there transfer of printed text. It is impossible to say whether it was down to the printer alone that these manuscripts were treated more favourably than others, as there are too many variables. What we do know, however, is that CCCC 16 was owned by Parker, who perhaps paid more attention to the printing process after a poor first edition of the *Flores* and when manuscripts from his own library were being used as the source.

By the time the third manuscript was used for printing St Albans historiography, very little wear is evident at all from the printing process. Indeed, like CCCC 16 discussed above, CCCC 195, containing the *Chronica maiora* of Thomas Walsingham, displays little evidence of having been in a printers workshop other than tell-tale inky fingerprints on pages 37 and 56, as well as at various points in the latter half of the manuscript, and a general level of grubbiness and dark marks on some of the pages. The only printer's notes are found on pp. 274-81 and occasionally thereafter. As a paper manuscript it is perhaps surprising that CCCC 195 does not show more damage, but it was evidently treated with care with only a handful

⁴⁷⁰ See in particular ff. 26^v-7^r, 38^v-9^r and 123^v-4^r.

⁴⁷¹ Quire 4: 56^r-65^v.

⁴⁷² Surviving manuscript exemplars were even rarer from the early stages of printing in England, see Hellinga, *Texts in Transit*, pp. 37-66; Daniel Wakelin, 'Caxton's Exemplar for the Chronicles of England?', *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*, 14 (2011), pp. 75-113.

of damaged pages.⁴⁷³ The manuscript is not exclusively medieval, though. CCCC 195 contains an extensive 150 pages of antiquarian addition to the manuscript, roughly a third of the content, which was incorporated prior to its being printed, seen by the same level of grubby marks present in all sections of the manuscript.⁴⁷⁴ Such additions are familiar in manuscripts in antiquarian ownership during this period, where gaps in the original manuscript were completed with sections from others, usually borrowed from a peer or friend. CCCC 195 differs from the other source manuscripts then in not being exclusively original, although the additional material will have come from other Walsingham manuscripts. Nevertheless, the manuscript has been kept in good condition and shows little evidence of the printing process.

The three manuscripts above show a marked contrast in the approach of both editor and printer, but it is the printer who proved most damaging to the original manuscript. Eton 123 was badly treated at Richard Jugge's workshop whilst in contrast the only proof that CCCC 16 and CCCC 195 were used as print exemplars are found in the pencil marks in the margins that show where the page breaks would occur when type-setting from the manuscript text. If a publisher or editor was not heavily involved in the printing process, how a manuscript exemplar was treated depended solely on the printer and it is evident that not all printers held the source material in the same regard. It is rare that several exemplar manuscripts for printed editions survive, yet it is clear from Eton 123 how such a loss could occur. That manuscript survival of this type is so rare highlights just how involved Parker was in the printing process. These St Albans manuscripts evidently survived because the value Matthew Parker placed on the original documents saved these manuscripts from more mistreatment and further damage. Indeed, such manuscript survival, and the evidence these manuscripts contain, offers a unique vantage point on the entire process of book and manuscript production in the late sixteenth century as they allow us to see how the medieval material was re-worked for a new audience.

The editions

Between 1567 and 1573, five editions of St Albans' historiography were printed: three editions of the *Flores historiarum*, one of the *Chronica maiora* and one of the *Short Chronicle*

⁴⁷³ A chunk is missing from the exterior margin of pp. 53/4 and pp. 163/4.

⁴⁷⁴ The manuscript is 445 pages long in total. Antiquarian additions: pages 79-138 (60), 141-58 (18), 215-20 (6), 229-38 (10), 247-64 (18) and 309-46 (38).

or *Historia brevis*.⁴⁷⁵ Parker collaborated with different printers on each of these historiographical editions, resulting in an inconsistent standard and presentation. As mentioned above, Parker's edition performed a useful task in making accessible texts that at that point were thought to survive in few manuscripts, yet the editions also over-emphasised the roles of Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham in monastic historiographical production in England, an imbalance that survives to this day. It is still the case that few manuscripts of the *Chronica maiora* of Paris and Walsingham survive whilst 29 manuscripts and fragments of the *Flores historiarum* are extant. No other medieval historiography was printed by Parker, which gave the impression that little else of historiographical importance was written in post-Conquest England. Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham were elevated to prominence not because of the importance of their historiographical works within their own time, in which they were just two writers among many and enjoyed limited manuscript circulation of their works, but because their works were deemed of particular significance to the Protestant rediscovery of English history in the sixteenth century. Parker not only over-emphasised the roles of Paris and Walsingham, but also introduced errors into his editions. Imperative in modern book production is a concept of authorship and unique titles that medieval manuscripts lacked: Parker had to create these. Thus it is from Parker's 1567 edition of the *Flores historiarum* that the fictional author 'Matthew of Westminster' first appears: an author to whom medieval manuscripts are still attributed and is still referenced in library catalogues. The 1571 edition of the *Chronica maiora* was called the *Historia maiora* which further confused the already-complex dissemination patterns and inter-relationships of the St Albans historiographical manuscripts.⁴⁷⁶ When Parker, backed by the authority of the archiepiscopal

⁴⁷⁵ Matthew Paris, *Elegans, illustris, et facilis rerum, praesertim Britannicarum, et aliarum obiter, notatu dignarum, a mundi exordio ad annum Domini. 1307. Flores historiarum scripsit* (London: Richard Jugge, 1567) STC (2nd edn.) 17652; idem, *Flores historiarum* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1570), STC (2nd edn.) 17653a and 17653a.3; id., *Historia maior à Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij* (London: Reginald Wolfus, 1571) STC (2nd edn.) 19209; and id., *Flores historiarum* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1573) STC (2nd edn.) 17653a.7; and Thomas Walsingham, *Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham, ab Edwardo primo, ad Henricum quantum* (London: Henry Binneman, 1574) STC (2nd edn.) 25004.

⁴⁷⁶ 'Matthew of Westminster' was originally attributed to the work by John Bale but is still debated by historians. Parker also entitled the source manuscripts CCC 26 and 16 as the *Chronica maiora* even though they are called the *Flores historiarum* in the incipit – this is discussed further in Chapter 2. See *Historia Anglorum*, p. xx; and Scott Robinson "'Darke Speech'", p. 1074.

see, edited, printed and legitimised these editions he also enshrined the errors he had created. His printed editions of St Albans' historiographical manuscripts may have made the text accessible to a larger, yet specific, audience but they also established inaccuracies in scholarship and perception that still remain.

The initial challenge faced by Richard Jugge, the printer of the first edition of the *Flores historiarum* in 1567, was to convert a medieval manuscript to a printed form.⁴⁷⁷ Printing was no longer in its infancy by 1567, yet the first printed edition of the *Flores* retains some of its manuscript character. The translation from manuscript to printed edition was more onerous than one might imagine: text had to be spaced and arranged to fit the page, rubrics converted into one-colour printed space and decoration level decided upon. Much of Jugge's edition indicates this was a challenging exercise. The printer chose to follow the two-columned presentation of the manuscript original, which would have made type setting more onerous. This created inconsistent spacing between entries and headings resulting in a confused overall appearance. A printed page in the book corresponds to more than a single page in the source manuscript (Eton 123), meaning such poor spacing is not the result of following the manuscript layout of the text.⁴⁷⁸ If this is combined with the treatment of Eton 123 in the printer's workshop then it suggests the 1567 edition was rushed and not considered a priority, most likely indicative of a poor working relationship between Parker and Jugge. Yet regardless of such errors in printing, this edition shows how the different layers of information in the source manuscript were converted for a contemporary audience. A distinctive feature of medieval manuscript conversion is the placement of rubrics in the new copy or edition. In this edition, where the original manuscript has rubrics in the text body the printer converted them to inter-lineal-italic headings. Such headings offered an effective alternative to the in-text rubrics of the manuscript original for both printer and audience, and would also have allowed for easier compositing from the original manuscript than other rubrication alternatives, such as two-coloured printing or marginalia, where the rubrics are separated from their original position in the text. Jugge's 1567 edition of the *Flores historiarum* may allude to the prickly nature of printer-publisher relations at the end of the sixteenth century, but more than that it offers an insight into how medieval manuscripts were approached and converted by printers. By studying shared visual characteristics, as is being

⁴⁷⁷ Matthew Paris, *Elegans, illustris, et facilis rerum, praesertim Britannicarum, et aliarum obiter, notatu dignarum, a mundi exordio ad annum Domini. 1307. Flores historiarum scripsit* (London: Richard Jugge, 1567) STC (2nd edn.) 17652.

⁴⁷⁸ There is a conversion ratio of roughly 1 manuscript page to 1.16 pages in the printed edition.

done throughout this thesis, it is possible to identify direct connections between manuscript exemplar and printed edition. The basic layout was the same, yet space and typography replaced colour to create visual difference. As has been shown, manuscripts were a more complex medium and needed to be simplified to work in print.

The successful prior print run of the *Flores historiarum* demonstrated an interest in the material that allowed for the second imprint to tweak form and function, while also adding more practical elements. Following a successful first edition, the *Flores* was printed a further two times in two imprints in 1570 and 1573 by Thomas Marsh.⁴⁷⁹ Marsh's edition was of a longer length – almost double in size at 924 pages including index – yet it retained the practical considerations of the first edition: it was printed on paper of the same size which produced a quarto book and used typography rather than colour to create emphasis and reduce costs. The continuity between the two editions is explicit in the presentation of additional verse, originally included in the 1567 edition by Matthew Parker, where the same layout is retained even though the text layout has changed from two columns of text to one. The change from two-column text to one is significant, though, and reflects reading practices. In the late-sixteenth century only ecclesiastical and legal texts were consistently printed in multiple columns. Tall, thin columns are of more use to advanced readers who read in a vertical motion, which suggests the audience of the *Flores* either did not have an advanced reading level in Latin, or, as is more likely, were accessing these texts as reference documents and therefore were dipping into the text at appropriate points.⁴⁸⁰ This is further supported by the inclusion of line-numbers, which indicates an academic or student audience. The 1570 and 1573 imprints marked an improvement and stream-lining of production. The books became easier to navigate with the addition of a dated running head and were more visually coherent than Jucge's edition. Printing the text in one-column may have benefited the audience, but more importantly it also resulted in the book being easier, and cheaper, to print and thus in fewer general errors. The *Flores* had already been successfully converted to the contemporary academic standard and thus, when the second imprint was produced, no further large changes were required.

Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora* posed a new challenge to the printers because of its size. At nearly 1500 pages including the index it was one of the thickest books in production

⁴⁷⁹ Matthew Paris, *Flores historiarum* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1570), STC (2nd edn.) 17653a and 17653a.3; and idem, *Flores historiarum* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1573) STC (2nd edn.) 17653a.7.

⁴⁸⁰ Bringhurst, *Elements of Typographic Style*, p. 163.

at the time although the page size remained a quarto.⁴⁸¹ The *Chronica maiora* was printed in 1571 by Reginald Wolf under the different title of the *Historia maior*.⁴⁸² It did not enjoy the same contemporary success as the *Flores historiarum* editions but proved more popular later on, being reprinted in 1589 and 1606 in Zürich, 1640 and 1641 in London and 1644 in Paris, although these later editions are beyond the scope of this current study.⁴⁸³ Yet it was not just the size of the *Chronica maiora* that proved difficult; the original manuscripts are rich in marginal illustrations and navigational features that do not easily convert to print. Indeed, such features were not required for Parker's new editions, which focused on the text of these medieval chronicles. As a result though, none of what makes the *Chronica maiora* such a distinctive manuscript in its own time survived in the printed version. The 1571 *Historia maior*, then, provided the printer with an opportunity to develop at length the presentation style seen in the *Flores historiarum* editions, creating a uniform, sixteenth century presentation style of historiography. In the printed form, therefore, the *Chronica maiora* completely lost what made it unique – the layers of depth and extra information added to the manuscript by Matthew Paris. It was now just a long and perhaps overly detailed account of late medieval history.

⁴⁸¹ Although the page size was smaller, the *Historia maior* was thicker than most contemporary bibles; the Bishop's Bible, also supervised by Parker, was slightly larger at 1612 pages. *The holie Bible* (London: Richard Jugge, 1568) STC (2nd edn.) 2099.

⁴⁸² *Historia maior à Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij* (London: Reginald Wolfus, 1571), STC (2nd edn.) 19209.

⁴⁸³ Matthew Paris, *Historia maior à Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij* (Zürich: Froschoviana officina, 1589), USTC 675343; idem, *Historia maior, a Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij* (Zürich: Andreae Cambieri, 1606), USTC 2149022; id., *Matthæi Paris monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia maior* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1640 & 1641) USTC 3020853 & 3048116; id. *Historia maior* (Paris: Guillaume Pelé, 1644), USTC 6036912. See also Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 154-5.

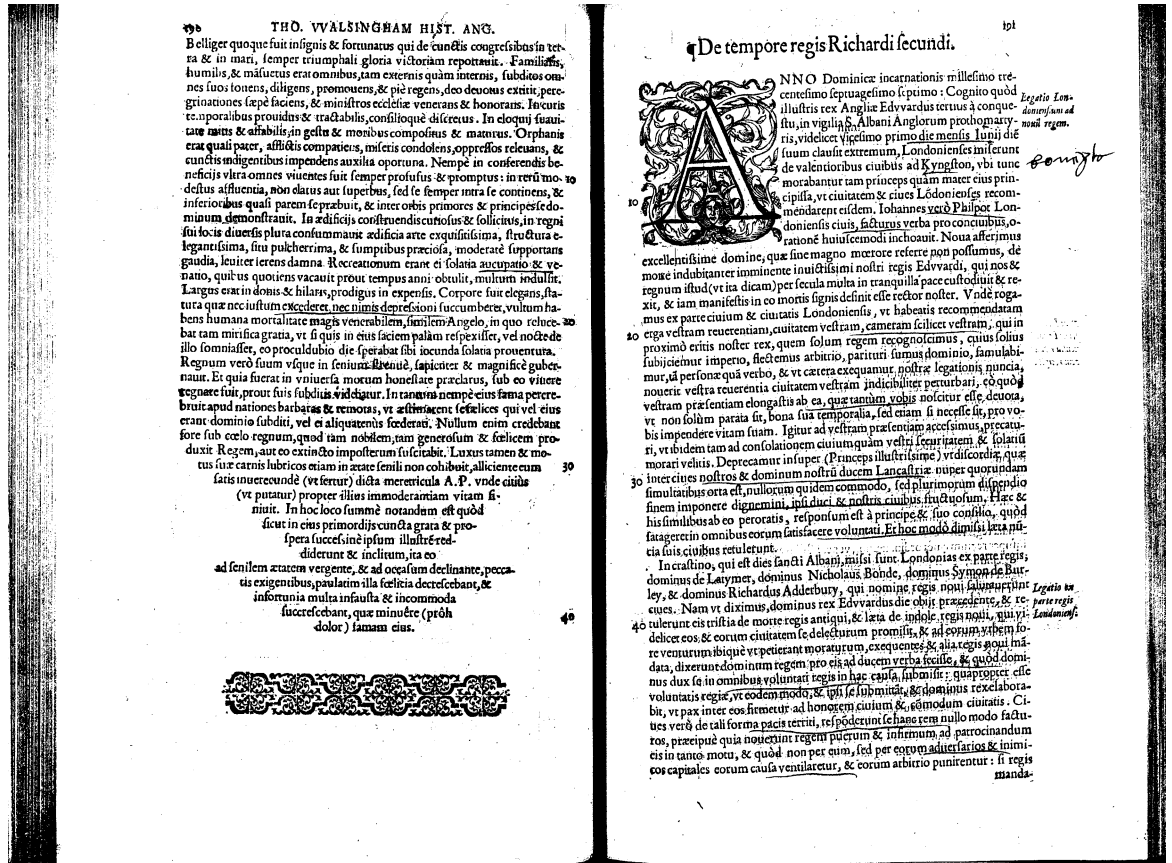


Figure 5.3: Thomas Walsingham, *Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham, ab Edwardo primo, ad Henricum quintum* (London: Henry Binneman, 1574), pp. 190-1 (Early English Books Online).

By the fourth printed edition of a historiographical work produced in 1574, the *Historia brevis* of Thomas Walsingham, the format of Parker’s editions had started to crystallise. Here we see a book sharing many of the same features already established in the previous editions of the *Chronica maiora* and *Flores historiarum*, beginning prominently with the same decorative outline for the title page, a continuation of the list of kings found in the *Chronica maiora*, covering Edward I to Henry V, and an index. In the text itself other similarities are present. The text block is accompanied by line numbers on the internal margin and rubric-style notations in the external margins. Despite the similarities, the *Historia brevis* was printed by a different printer to the other historiographical editions, Henry Binneman.⁴⁸⁴ Due to the similarities, it is highly likely that Binneman was deliberately copying the printing style of the previous editions, but he nevertheless managed to elaborate

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham, ab Edwardo primo, ad Henricum quintum* (London: Henry Binneman, 1574), STC (2nd edn.) 25004, USTC 507890.

the *Historia brevis* edition further. Special emphasis is given to the end of one monarch's rule and the beginning of the next in all of Parker's St Albans editions by tapering the text to an end in a gradual central point. Binneman takes this a step further, by deliberately elongating the length of this point and adding decorative spacers onto the page when space allowed (**Figure 5.3**). Yet this is the only change made by Binneman to this tried and tested historiographical presentation. The *Historia brevis* was of a similar length to the first *Flores* edition, at 466 pages in total, and was not sold as an individual text. Instead it was bound together with two shorter historiographical works both printed by John Day: another of Walsingham's works, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, and Asser's *Life of Alfred*.⁴⁸⁵ As with the *Historia brevis*, there is a consistency in the presentation of these two texts that does not give away the fact that they were printed separately by a different printer. For instance, the *Ypodigma Neustriae* also contains a page with seven portraits of the dukes of Normandy, followed by a quick-reference page index, while the *Life of Alfred* contains an italicised 'Praefatio ad lectorem' section, as found in all other St Albans historiographical editions from this period. The general presentation of the text adheres to that in the *Historia brevis* and other editions too: a justified block of text with line numbers on the internal margin and notation or rubrication in the external margin. Furthermore, although Day used some Anglo-Saxon textual characters in the *Life of Alfred*, creating a hybrid Roman /Anglo-Saxon type, and did not include a running head, the similarities remain overwhelming. Such uniformity would have been important within a multi-part edition but the consistency of this presentation suggests that Parker may have had a role to play here in shaping the presentation of these editions. Seven years after the first edition of the *Flores*, the presentation of medieval historiography had stabilised into an established form that was consistent regardless of the printer or age of material, with Matthew Parker being the unifying factor.

The printed editions of the St Albans historiographical manuscripts offered an updated version of the texts for a new audience and guaranteed the continuing relevance of these works. The visual richness of the original manuscripts, partly derived from what the monastic scribes thought was practical, has been entirely lost, but what was gained was textual authority and permanence. Print stabilised flexible medieval manuscripts, particularly historiographical works, in a way quite contrary to their original production; textual variants and regional difference were replaced by a uniform, homogenous text. The late sixteenth-century printed editions cemented the authors, titles, and authentic text for the

⁴⁸⁵ These are now considered as separate works: Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae vel Normanniae* (London: John Day, 1574), STC (2nd edn.) 25005, USTC 507891; and Asser, *Aelfredi Regis res gestae* (London: John Day, 1574), STC (2nd edn.) 863, USTC 507753.

next 300 years regardless of the accuracy of these attributions, and once fixed to the page via print these attributions proved difficult to shift.⁴⁸⁶ The fixative nature of print also resulted in a great deal of trust being placed in these editions, so much so that they would be used as manuscript exemplars alongside original medieval manuscripts.

Contemporary manuscripts

The antiquarian movement in the late-sixteenth century was accompanied by a renewed production of manuscripts created from a variety of sources. Antiquarian manuscripts were usually made of paper, by this point long since the standard material for book production, and more fragmentary than their monastic predecessors. Of the St Albans historiographical works only the larger *Chronica maiora* was copied, which allowed the scribes to edit and abridge the text as they saw fit. These manuscripts have caused issues for previous scholars, such as Frederick Madden, who recognised that there are strong textual similarities between the sixteenth-century manuscripts and Paris' thirteenth-century autographs but were uncertain why the text visually differs and lacks Paris' detailed marginalia.⁴⁸⁷ Manuscripts copied from printed exemplars, many of which are just starting to be identified as such by scholars, often retained the design of the book from which they were copied, in much the same way that design in manuscripts was transmitted.⁴⁸⁸ This is the case for all of the sixteenth-century St Albans historiographical manuscripts. The design features retained by the scribes are passages of text, often quotations or passages of verse, that were set differently within the main text block in the printed editions, usually indented in the text or set in italics. By following these notable design features, and the use of elements such as printed marginalia, which were retained in the manuscript copies, it becomes possible to establish how these later manuscripts relate to the corpus of St Albans' historiographical manuscripts and printed editions: a connection that hitherto textual analysis alone has been unable to establish. The combined usage of manuscript and printed exemplars was fuelled by the desire to have a 'complete' and perfect version of the text; an archetypal version that did

⁴⁸⁶ Sharpe, *Titulus*, pp. 23-7.

⁴⁸⁷ Madden notes on the flyleaf of BL Cotton MS Vitellius D II that 'the present volume was made from the Arundel MS (BL Royal MS 14 C VII) but with many alterations.'

⁴⁸⁸ Work on manuscripts copied from printed editions is still in its infancy. See Cora E. Lutz, 'Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 49 (1975), pp. 261-267; and Janssen, 'Manuscript Copies', pp. 295-310.

not exist within the corpus of St Albans historiography. It was completeness rather than textual authenticity that took priority.

Hybrid manuscripts produced from different exemplars, by the nature of their production, tell us a great deal about the need to control and shape the past during the sixteenth century. In many instances manuscripts copied from printed editions have been misidentified in later scholarship and instead connected to the manuscript exemplar of the printed edition. Frederick Madden suggested that CCCC 56 was a transcript of the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal 14 C VII) but its origin is not that simple.⁴⁸⁹ What we find in the manuscript, which covers the dates 1066-1279, is a fusion of material copied from manuscript and print exemplars. The manuscript was compiled under Matthew Parker's ownership, making it to some extent an unintended miscellany, but Parker collated the booklets and completed the manuscript. It contains several ownership marks, including his *signa* on f. 1^r, which deliberately mimics the opening page of his printed editions.⁴⁹⁰ A large amount of the manuscript was indeed copied by one scribe from Royal 14 C VII: marginalia have been added and *signa* are included at appropriate points to signify the death or coronation of a monarch or noble. On f. 77^v there is a copy of an illustration found at the bottom of f. 42^v in Royal 14 C VII depicting the Templar seal of two knights riding on one horse posed next to a standard. Yet these sections are combined with six quires copied from the 1571 printed edition, evident in the adoption of particular designs.⁴⁹¹ It is only by observation of these visual indications, rather than by textual analysis, that the change from manuscript to print exemplar becomes apparent. On f. 144^v a short passage mimics the indented text found in the printed edition, although the final line was missed, and the marginalia are also identical (**Figures 5.4 and 5.5**). CCCC 56, therefore, had two different exemplars. Conversely, the end of the manuscript, ff. 317-356 (also copied from Royal 14 C VII), contains a section that was in turn used as a print exemplar. This last quire was the source for the years 1252-1279 in the 1571 edition, a range of years that does not occur in the *Chronica maiora*. CCCC 56 represents the nature of books at the end of the sixteenth century: the combination of a traditional manuscript exemplar from a monastic library interspersed with sections copied from the printed edition. This is an approach often seen in antiquarian manuscripts and evidence of copying material held in different locations. Yet in this instance, as only one manuscript of the *Historia Anglorum* exists, the combined use of print and manuscript exemplars is indicative of a different

⁴⁸⁹ *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxix-lxx.

⁴⁹⁰ Page, *Matthew Parker*, p. 8.

⁴⁹¹ ff. 123^r-71^v.

process. Here we see an example of multiple exemplars being used to create a completed manuscript. Without the addition of sections copied from the printed book CCCC 56 would be imperfect as the exemplar manuscript did not contain the same level of detail as the printed edition – a quality undesirable to antiquarian collectors, especially Matthew Parker. The printed edition was more accessible than the *Historia Anglorum* manuscript, both visually and geographically, and covered much of the same material whilst supplementing historiography with additional material. When an original manuscript was difficult to acquire, as was the case with Royal 14 C VII, an alternative authoritative source was required and in Elizabethan England this was the printed edition.

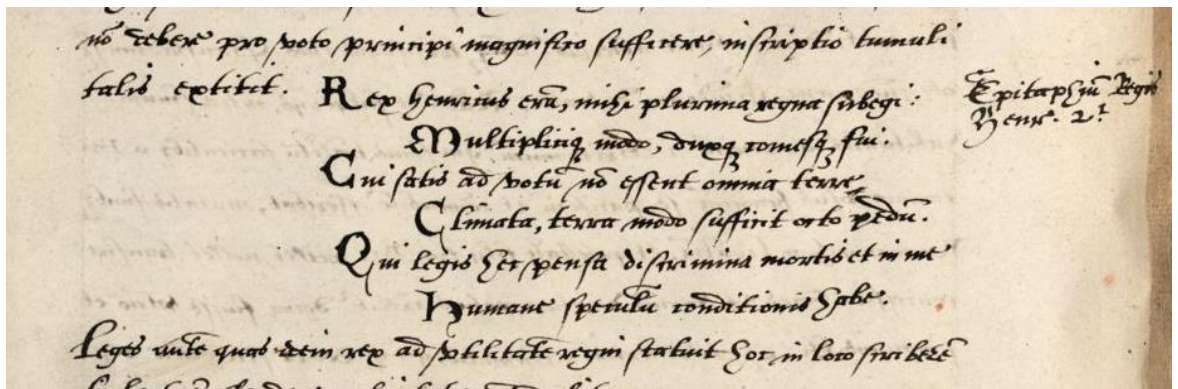


Figure 5.4: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 56, f. 144v.

ET quoniam idem Rex adhuc viuens dicere conueuerat, ex animi magnificencia, orbem vniuersum uni non debere pro voto Principi magnifico sufficere, inscriptio tumuli talis extitit.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi;
 Multipliciq; modo, Duxq; Comesq; fui.
 Cui satis ad uotum non essent omnia terra
 Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.
 Qui legis hęc pensa, discrimina mortis et in me
 Humana speculum conditionis habe.
 Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis.

Leges autem quas idem Rex ad utilitatem regni statuit, hoc in loco scriberem, si lectorem offendere pro prolixitate non dubitarem. Per idem tem

Epitaphium
 Regis Henrici
 secundi.

Figure 5.5: Matthew Paris, *Historia maior à Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij. Cum indice locupletissimo*. (London: Reginald Wolf, 1571), p. 203 (Early English Books Online).

That this manuscript is so difficult to unpick in relation to its sources reflects the variety of sources available and a lack of distinction between original material and later printed editions. As demonstrated in the analysis above, to the antiquarian a contemporary printed edition was an acceptable substitute to the original manuscript if that were not attainable. The inclusion of passages copied from the 1571 printed edition indicates further that part of the manuscript's creation was later than previously outlined a century ago by Madden and James.⁴⁹² This lack of distinction between original manuscript and later prints is also present in the autograph manuscript CCCC 16. Two sixteenth-century additions have been added to the manuscript on ff. 4^r-11^v and 233^r-234^v: one copied from the 1571 printed edition and the other from Nero D V. Each addition copies the design of its exemplar, resulting in one addition being in a single column with marginal annotations, similar to those in **Figures 5.4** and **5.5**, and the other in the same two-columned layout as CCCC 16. Sixteenth-century additions are commonplace in medieval manuscripts, including several *Flores historiarum* manuscripts such as Bodleian Rawlinson B MS 186. We also know that collectors like Parker and William Cecil had forgers on their staff and most additions in medieval manuscripts demonstrate an attempt to match the script, although usually without success. Such practice is a further example of the desire for completeness in manuscripts.⁴⁹³ It is not the textual accuracy of the addition that is important, reflective of the equal status manuscripts and printed editions occupied at this time, but rather that the manuscript, medieval or contemporary, is textually complete.

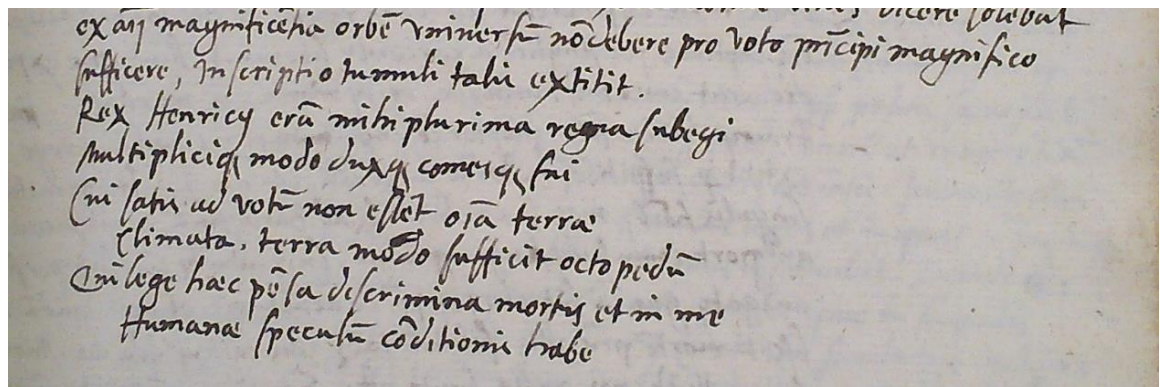


Figure 5.6: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 5007D, p. 71 (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

⁴⁹² *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxix-lxx and James, *Library of Corpus Christi*, p. 113.

⁴⁹³ See Chapter 1 and 2 for more discussion on this topic.

Manuscripts display their sources in the specificities that can be found on the page. A similar approach to manuscript production is evident in National Library of Wales MS 5007 D (NLW 5007D) and BL Cotton Vitellius MS D II (Vitellius D II) but in these manuscripts paratextual features have been copied in addition to the indented text outlined above. Both manuscripts contain the hand of the same scribe. On the flyleaf of Vitellius D II Madden identified the hand of the main scribe as Laurence Nowell but in the critical edition he suggested that the main scribe was his assistant, William Lambarde. However, the hand is actually that of William Bowyer, keeper of archives at the Tower of London in the late sixteenth century and a manuscript collector in his own right.⁴⁹⁴ Bowyer took care when writing the text and his script is highly legible. Indeed, the layout and production of the manuscript indicates a familiarity with printed text and its characteristics that is also present in his correspondence.

Both manuscripts demonstrate a similar level of design diffusion to other St Albans' historiographical manuscripts of this period. NLW 5007D is a heavily abridged copy of the *Chronica maiora*: superfluous Latin has been cut, set phrasing has been altered, such as *Rex Guillaume* to *Guillaume Normanorum*, and none of the rubrics or headers have been copied. The catalogue states it was "made directly from the original manuscript" but this is not completely the case. NLW 5007D is a hybrid manuscript copied from different sources by a skilled scribe who, although his level of editing drops towards the end, had a clear idea of what he wanted to copy. From pp. 224-488, covering the years 1242 to 1273, the manuscript copies Royal 14 C VII, even including some of Matthew Paris's cross-referencing images and more imaginative heraldic illustrations. The beginning of the manuscript is more complex. It seems likely that for some sections CCCC 56 may have acted as a source. In some instances the same scribal errors are reproduced; for instance the same line is missing at the end of the paragraph in **figure 5.6** as in **figure 5.4**. A similar layout is retained in some areas too; see for example **figures 5.7** and **5.8** below. Yet NLW 5007D also contains sections with clear influence from printed editions that are not present in CCCC 56. What these sections demonstrate is scribal practice reflecting printing styles rather than the copying of a specific section of design.

Scribal practice shows a strong influence of printed text and printed features and characteristics are deployed independently of particular exemplar sources. Vitellius D II shares much of the character of NLW 5007D but in size and format it varies greatly. NLW

⁴⁹⁴ For original scribal attribution see *Historia Anglorum*, p. lxx. Bowyer's hand is easily identifiable via his correspondence, see Wright, 'Monastic Libraries', 230. On his manuscript collecting, see Graham and Watson, *Elizabethan England*, pp. 10, 68, 74, 100 and 102-3.

5007D is a soft-bound, folio manuscript (a normal book block given a limp leather cover, as opposed to other soft bindings) with generous margins and writing space, whereas Vitellius D II is a quarto and thus the scribe has had to be more prudent with space. The Vitellius manuscript also contains different indented passages of verse not found in NLW 5007D, which indicates a different usage of exemplars and sources. Yet the contents of the manuscripts, whilst demonstrating clear textual variation and alternative presentation in parts, remain similar enough to allow an assessment of scribal production. There are several instances in both manuscripts of indented passages of verse that marry up to features in the 1571 edition but are not present in other contemporary manuscripts.⁴⁹⁵ Paratextual features have also been retained, such as large spacing after full stops which in the printed editions are used to justify the text but should be unnecessary for a skilled scribe. It is clear that it is not just textual features that were retained from source exemplars: the use of space could be transferred too. Indeed, in both NLW 5007D and Vitellius D II print-style spacing occurs throughout, including in passages copied from the original manuscript. As was shown with the 1567 *Flores* printed edition, the development of space was one of the main techniques used when converting medieval manuscripts to print. Here the scribe demonstrated strong spatial awareness, in passages from both printed and manuscript exemplars, indicating the extent to which printed books had started to shape the perception of text.

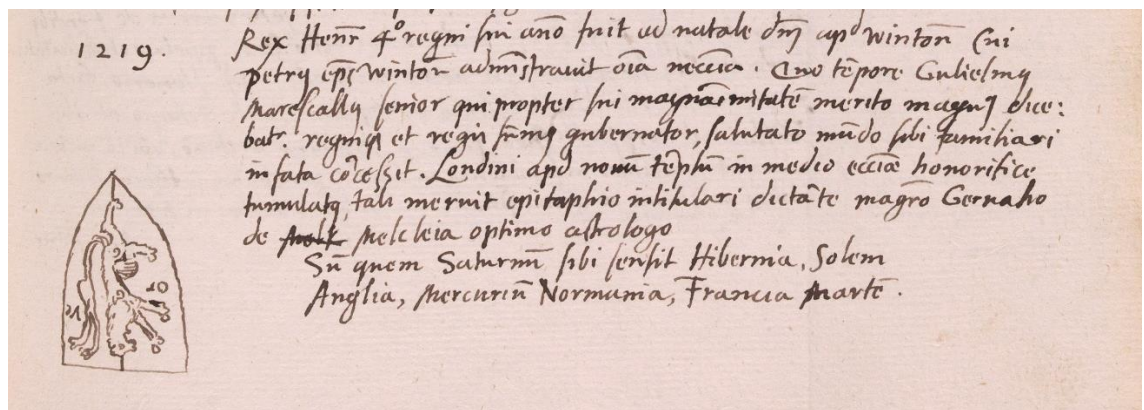


Figure 5.7: NLW MS 5007D, p. 167 (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

⁴⁹⁵ NLW 5007D p. 101 matches p. 262 in the printed edition. In Vitellius D II, f. 70^r matches p. 262 in the printed edition and p. 123 matches p. 489.

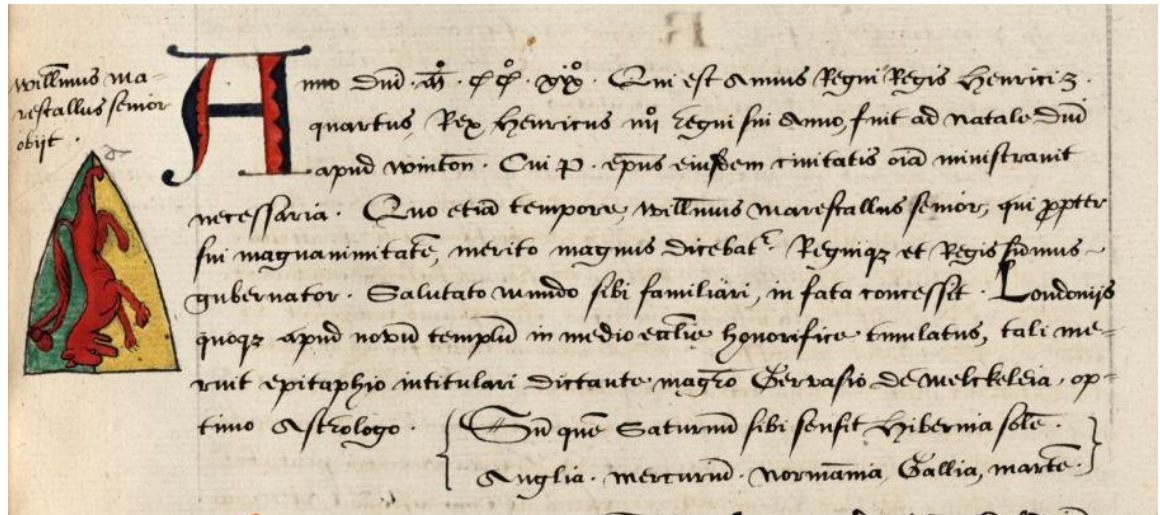


Figure 5.8: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 56, f. 208r.

Antiquarian manuscripts that were copied directly from the monastic originals give away clues as to the purpose of their production. Designs were altered to* bring them closer to the simplicity of printed editions. One example of this is Corpus Christi MS 348, a manuscript that was copied in the last sixteenth century from Royal 14 C VII, the *Historia Anglorum* manuscript of Matthew Paris. The design of this manuscript is basic: one column of text with the rubrics of the manuscripts transformed into interlineal titles. The loose style of sixteenth-century script and use of only black ink further simplify the presentation, yet despite such appearances this layout seems to be shaped by a familiarity with printed text rather than a focus on simplicity alone. The primary focus of the antiquarians who copied these works was the text and, with the majority of text now being consumed via print, scribal practice started to adopt the characteristics of the printed page. For instance, text was written in black ink only and rubrication was turned into interlineal headers or marginal notes, mimicking the more economical printing practices seen in Parker's editions. As with the 1567 printed edition, the rubrics from Royal 14 V VII are converted to interlineal lines in CCCC 348. The text was written in a single column, a practical change for both print and manuscripts: by reducing the visual requirements of a text to a single column and running head one can speed up production. The scribe may have demonstrated an influence from printed editions in this manuscript but what such a design reflects, in both print and manuscript, is efficiency. It should not be surprising that in the age of commercial printing such a design takes hold in manuscript production. CCCC 348 does not demonstrate the specific shared features of the other contemporary manuscripts that indicates a printed exemplar, instead there is a general appearance of print.

Previous scholarship, particularly that of the earlier cataloguers such as Madden and James, has struggled to make sense of the sixteenth-century manuscripts. Attaching individuals to the production of these manuscripts, especially where such attribution has been proven erroneous, has not been helpful in establishing an accurate picture of their production. Yet what is evident from the later manuscripts is a trend in copying from printed editions in combination with the original manuscripts, which we see in the transmission of design. Madden's textual analysis, where he describes Parker's efforts as 'by no means literal or faithful' or having 'been very carelessly transcribed' supports the contention that the sixteenth-century manuscripts were partially copied from printed editions, although Madden was not aware of this connection at the time.⁴⁹⁶ What Madden could not realise in his research for the critical edition was that the antiquarian collectors did not view text, textual purity and manuscripts in the same terms as modern historians. Attitudes towards printed editions had changed and printed text had developed an authenticity and authority: these attitudes towards printed text pervade to this day. As collectors, what was in their collections had to be in as good a textual condition as possible, which meant they completed manuscripts with gaps, rebinding and erasing text if necessary. Indeed, the tables had turned and manuscript production was now being shaped by the printed edition instead, even when a medieval manuscript was being used as an exemplar; in this context, the printed editions had as much authority, if not more, than the original manuscripts. It did not matter how these texts were transmitted, therefore, and by the end of the sixteenth century there was evidently a change in how texts were visualised. As has been shown in the section above, printed editions had become so accessible that they provided a framework for how to produce text in handwritten form.

Conclusion

To unpick the production of manuscripts and critical editions during the sixteenth century is to try and make sense of a period of religious, material and intellectual flux. Archbishop Matthew Parker, the figure central to the resurgence of St Albans' historiography in the sixteenth century, was himself a contrary figure: a contrary figure within a contrary movement. We have seen that antiquarian collectors both sought to restore the monastic libraries, yet also refashioned and reworked the physical and textual structure of these manuscripts as suited their purpose. During this period text was both flexible and inflexible: print had fixed text to the page whilst manuscripts offered a freedom no longer possible

⁴⁹⁶ *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xxxi-xxxvii, lxi and lxx.

within the constraints of printed media. As a static text print had also established an authenticity that in previous periods was held by manuscripts. Printed editions were edited, altered and improved versions of the original manuscripts, or so it was perceived. Whilst prolonging the life of medieval texts the antiquarian editions also introduced errors – errors caused by creating a perfect textual edition from the original source manuscripts - but these errors were necessary for the texts to conform to contemporary sensibilities of completeness and accuracy. The lasting legacy of sixteenth-century printed editions was one of fixed text and print as the authoritative version of a work. It was from this rich and fixed print culture that a different type of manuscript production emerged. Original monastic manuscripts were harder to come by after the monasteries were dissolved, and as the collections of John Bale and Matthew Parker indicate were generally in the hands of a few avid collectors, but that /was less of a problem than we may initially think. Manuscripts were no longer reliant on other manuscript exemplars for their content and scribes were keen to make and own complete books. As evidenced above, scribes turned to the new, authoritative editions, which were considered a suitable alternative to an original manuscript, and thus hybrid manuscripts were produced from a mixture of print and manuscript exemplars. Hybrid manuscripts demonstrate the extent to which scribes were influenced by print and the effect of printed media on contemporary perceptions of text. As has been shown in the antiquarian manuscripts, not only were scribes copying designs from printed books to manuscripts but they were also adopting features of print in their normal, day-to-day handwriting. The late-sixteenth century was not just a period of religious and intellectual change; it heralded lasting alterations in how text and information was perceived, produced and transmitted.

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to re-evaluate the historiographical manuscripts associated with St Albans Abbey in the late Middle Ages, and ultimately to further scholarly understanding of book production and dissemination across this period through the lens of a great centre of monastic learning and intellectual life. To do so, a new approach has been developed that allows for comparative study regardless of text type, subject matter, genre, or method of production (i.e. manuscript or print). In this thesis a visual, design-based methodology has been utilised that has allowed for new conclusions to be established, such as manuscripts disseminating more broadly than previously realised and connections and relationships between specific manuscripts that were hitherto unknown from textual-philological analysis. What this thesis has shown is that there was no single or continuous method of transmission for St Albans chronicles and history writing during the late Middle Ages; far from it, the manuscripts of each individual text served very different purposes and usages, if not always a different audience. Although there was little visual uniformity within manuscript production across the different time periods, what has been shown in this thesis is that strong visual traditions were present within the dissemination of most of these texts. Indeed, each era of St Albans historiography and the manuscripts created have a design element, paratextual feature, or method of presentation that is new to the manuscripts of that text or era of production, such as the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy in the *Flores historiarum*, the chronological marginal navigation in the *Polychronicon*, or the distinct presentation style of the *Granarium* manuscripts. Historiographical production at St Albans Abbey, therefore, should be viewed less as a continuous, passive exercise that each generation contributed to, and more as the deliberate and distinct compilation of historiographical narrative by individuals with a particular interest in documenting contemporary and past events or producing new and innovative reference documents. Each era had its own form of historiographical manuscript innovation.

The *Flores historiarum* is the St Albans text of which most manuscript copies survive, but prior to this thesis there has been no complete survey of all *Flores* manuscripts. The first chapter endeavoured to provide that overview, in some cases identifying and discussing manuscripts for the first time, as well as utilising a new methodological approach to better

understand the dissemination of these manuscripts and their textual tradition. This is a significant development for the *Flores historiarum* as previous scholarship has almost exclusively focused on the textual relationships between different manuscripts. This thesis has established that far from there being just two *Flores* versions, as outlined by Gransden in her cornerstone work on the chronicle continuations, there are actually four distinct groups of manuscript dissemination within the *Flores* tradition, each defined by a specific visual or paratextual characteristic found in the manuscripts (see Appendix A). Adopting a visual methodology, therefore, has allowed this thesis to show clearly that *Flores* manuscript production was focused in three specific regions: East Anglia (with notable centres of production being Norwich Priory and Bury St Edmunds), London, and modern Surrey/Kent. The production of *Flores historiarum* manuscripts, then, were shown to reflect monastic intellectual networks of the time rather than traditional centres of political power as was routinely assumed hitherto; the East Anglian emphasis of the manuscripts' production being particularly pertinent, as an area with strong connections to St Albans itself. That East Anglian emphasis recurs in later chapters of this thesis. In analysing the *Flores* in this way, this chapter establishes the significance of the *Flores historiarum* as a 'popular' (in the sense of widely read) chronicle within the South-East of England. In fact, rather than being the less important of Matthew Paris's chronicles, an auctorial attribution often given to the *Flores* due to its relatively formulaic presentation in contrast to Paris's St Albans-specific manuscripts, the *Flores historiarum* was the one St Albans historiographical work to be disseminated broadly and to enjoy relative popularity within a period closely contemporary to its original production.

Historiographical production at St Albans itself during the thirteenth century is dominated by the figure of Matthew Paris. His manuscripts were studied in the second chapter of this thesis, alongside the manuscripts of his contemporaries and subsequent chroniclers. These other manuscripts of Matthew Paris represent quite a different product from the *Flores historiarum*, and in some respects provide a problematic framework for studying monastic historiography during this period: history-writing was conventionally an 'archival' exercise, while Paris's autograph manuscripts (which did not leave St Albans Abbey until the Dissolution) were very much outward, public-facing objects. Indeed, although creating public-facing documents would become the norm a century or so later for institutional historiography and high-grade manuscripts, at this point such manuscripts were exceptional, and the disparity becomes evident within the chapter itself. When comparing the work of Paris with that of the chroniclers who followed him at St Albans, William Rishanger, John Trokelowe and Henry Blanford, all of whom were working within the established chronicle-writing tradition, their chronicles have largely been forgotten to modern history:

in following and continuing the work of Matthew Paris these monks were eclipsed and their work destined to remain in the archive. But Matthew Paris's St Albans manuscripts were an exception, and this should not be forgotten – in no way do they represent 'normal' historiographical production at monastic institutions during this period. All of Paris's autograph manuscripts were custom-made for St Albans Abbey and could not have worked in other locations. The *Chronica maiora*, for instance, is simply a heavily customised version of the *Flores historiarum* and was designed to be a public manuscript at the Abbey. Likewise, the *Liber benefactorum*, as the name suggests, was designed for public display and to be viewed by potential benefactors. Moreover, as the study of John of Wallingford's manuscript has shown, Paris's manuscripts shared visual similarities and were part of a particularly vibrant period of manuscript production at the St Albans scriptorium, and these manuscripts should be considered less as the product of an individual genius and more as a collective effort, one that is representative of St Albans production at the time. This thesis has, therefore, set out to reframe how we think about Matthew Paris and his autograph manuscripts, and to return them to the wider St Albans context. In studying Paris's uniqueness, as has predominantly been the focus of previous scholarship, the original purpose of these autograph manuscripts has been forgotten, and that somewhat ironically, as it is only because of the specific need and purpose that St Albans had for these manuscripts that they came to exist in the first place.

The fourteenth century marked the rise of a different approach to the monastic chronicle, one that would fundamentally change historiographical production, while traditional chronicle writing and compiling continued at St Albans. Here the thesis set out to understand how the different approaches to historiography influenced one another and the relationships between the *Polychronicon*, institutional historiography, and the works of Thomas Walsingham. What becomes clear quite quickly from studying the extant manuscripts using the visual methodology developed in this thesis is that these three areas of production remained distinct, even despite the close intertwining of Walsingham's chronicles with the *Polychronicon* tradition in terms of content; the reason for this clear separation being that each group of manuscripts were serving different purposes and made for different audiences. For instance, the *Polychronicon* manuscripts containing the St Albans continuation were produced along the high standards commonly found in the *Polychronicon* manuscript corpus, even though other historiographical manuscripts connected to St Albans in this period were mostly produced more cheaply and for personal reference. We know that St Albans was capable of producing high-quality manuscripts, as seen in the institutional manuscripts in this chapter, therefore the reason for such visual divergence between these traditions must lie in manuscript audience, usage and purpose. Adopting a visual

methodology and studying the transmission of design features has also allowed connections regarding location of production and manuscript dissemination patterns to be drawn that were hitherto unknown, such as establishing shared design features, either within a textual tradition or by location, and returned the discussion to the significance of the monastery's wider intellectual network. From shared design features, it has been possible to locate three manuscripts within a concentration of high-quality *Polychronicon* manuscript production at Norwich Priory. Indeed, when combined with the findings from the visual analysis in other chapters, in particular the evidence of the East Anglian *Flores* tradition, it can be seen that Norwich Priory was a centre for the production of high-quality St Albans-related manuscripts during the late fourteenth century. Not only that, but Norwich Priory appears to have been producing high-quality St Albans material for an external audience, unlike the high-status historiographical manuscripts produced at St Albans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which remained for internal use. Here the added value of examining manuscript production in its totality can be seen, bringing together areas of study that would normally be viewed in isolation, such as the different textual traditions, locations of production, and manuscripts of different quality and standards. The visual methodology is not just about establishing new connections between manuscripts and deepening the understanding of specific manuscript traditions, although this has often been the case in this thesis, it also allows us to see to what extent textual traditions are interlinked. Indeed, in chapter three this methodological approach clearly demonstrates that the historiographical manuscripts of these textual traditions associated with St Albans in the fourteenth century, that are interlinked textually as well, have little to no similarity of manuscript production or continuity of visual elements. The results of this visual analysis suggest that the connection of these texts is perhaps not as direct as commonly stated, or that the role of St Albans in historiographical manuscript production and dissemination in this period is a minor one.

The *Granarium* of John Whethamstede is not necessarily a natural fit within a large-scale study of historiographical writing from St Albans, as an encyclopaedic work that was heavily classicizing in its intellectual thrust and aimed to create a new standard in reference texts. Yet the original composition contains significant elements of history writing and, in some respects, adopting an encyclopaedic form for historiography reflects the innovative approaches in information management within manuscripts that Paris created two hundred years earlier and the changing format of historiography, audience and usage of history in the fifteenth century. Indeed, including the *Granarium* opens up interesting discussions about just what is classed as 'history' and how this broad and expansive topic can be defined, in the eyes of contemporaries and of modern scholars. Yet the *Granarium* manuscripts do not just open debates on genre. More significantly, these manuscripts indicate the beginning of a new

insistence upon uniformity at St Albans in manuscript design and production, if not further afield too. Although it is generally accepted that the core three manuscript volumes of the *Granarium* were produced by professional scribes, all subsequent copies of the text adopted the same style of presentation, albeit with different standards of manuscript production. Furthermore, this presentation style is also found in other St Albans historiographical manuscripts from this period, notably some of the manuscript copies of Thomas Walsingham's chronicles. It would initially seem, then, in this development of design dissemination that production practices had changed since the fourteenth century, where there is little evidence of the transmission of design features between the *Polychronicon* and other St Albans historiographical works. It is, however, more likely an indication that all these manuscripts were produced in the same location, potentially St Albans Abbey itself. Like the manuscripts of Paris and Wallingford demonstrating strong similarities, these *Granarium* manuscripts and other historiographical works all show the same characteristics regardless of manuscript quality. Indeed, these similarities of design in manuscript production demonstrate the presence of a 'house style' at St Albans, one that disseminated through the manuscripts created at the abbey and was retained in future manuscript copies. The *Granarium* manuscripts are also indicative of trends within the wider St Albans intellectual network. From the abbey itself where the original *Granarium* manuscripts were produced, to Duke Humphrey's ownership and the library at Oxford University where the manuscripts ended up, these manuscripts had a broad reach. It is only through the copying of these design features of presentation style that such influence can be evidenced, given the exceptional disparity in terms of their textual content.

The arrival of the printing press is always highlighted as a significant agent of change in the late Middle Ages, yet at St Albans it provided an opportunity to further develop current practice, such as the monastery's book production and its growing intellectual network. As with the *Granarium*, the output of the St Albans press was not exclusively historiographical in content. Given the relatively limited size of that output, it was crucial to examine it as a whole to understand the motivations and purposes for the choices of texts printed during what could be identified as two discrete phases of active production. In fact, only one of the thirteen printed editions was a chronicle, while other choices of texts were made that performed similar roles to past historiographical manuscripts, such as the printing of John Lydgate's *Life of St Alban* with its strong connection to securing potential patronage and reputation enhancement. In both phases of production, between 1479-1486 and 1534-1539, the St Albans press behaved as an extension of the abbey's normal book production, if perhaps slightly more market-oriented focused. The texts printed were either on academic syllabi (at various levels) or were books that would have relevance to a large monastic

audience and could hence be distributed through the abbey's pre-existing network. Furthermore, the St Albans press provides a tantalising insight into how a monastic press could function in such a competitive marketplace. It was during this first phase of production in 1485 that the press printed the *Chronicles of England*. This was a popular book and went on to be printed a further eight times in London, though at St Albans the edition was tweaked and expanded using the Abbey's archives and manuscripts as a source. There can be little doubt that the folio-sized *Chronicles of England* edition was conceived as a for-profit venture, intended to appeal to what was by this point a large audience interested in historiographical writing. Here St Albans was continuing the well-established practice of book production and gifting as a tool to develop patronage and benefactions, using one of the best sources that the monastery had at its disposal: historiographical manuscripts. Although a lot of unknowns still remain about the St Albans press, and this section of analysis is largely exploratory for that reason, St Albans continued to contribute to a vibrant historiographical tradition even towards the close of monastic life in England and remained a passionate producer of books and manuscripts.

An important part of this study is the consideration and analysis of how St Albans historiography was continued and interest sustained in this material long after the Dissolution of the monastery itself. In the fifth chapter the focus was on the collecting and printing of the St Albans chronicles by Archbishop Matthew Parker, who edited and reprinted what have become the three most well-known historiographical works from the abbey: the *Flores historiarum*, the *Chronica maiora* of Paris, and the *Historia brevis* of Walsingham. This may seem coincidental at first sight, but in fact modern understanding of these medieval sources has been shaped decisively by these early printed editions and the increased scholarship, awareness and understanding that access to these texts created. A prime example of this phenomenon is the name attributed by Parker to the *Flores* edition of Matthew 'of Westminster', which is still used in modern library catalogues, even though the attribution has been disproven and corrected in wider scholarship.

This chapter, its conclusions and analysis sit within a burgeoning field of scholarship, that of medievalism and the afterlife of medieval histories. This thesis takes a slightly different approach to the source material than some of the similar studies in this area, for instance Siân Echard's work on Geoffrey of Monmouth, which looks at how early-modern readers of the work have engaged with the text and why, via surviving manuscripts and marginalia, or Bonnie Mak's long study on the *Controversia de nobilitate*, which is similarly design-orientated in approach but focuses exclusively on the technology of production and transition of the text (i.e. manuscript, print, digital media), and not on the wider impact upon

a later period.⁴⁹⁷ Instead, the sixteenth-century St Albans historiographical manuscripts are studied here using the visual methodology of the thesis to understand in precise detail how contemporary manuscripts were being made, from what sources (medieval and/or contemporary), and what this meant for book production and reception in late sixteenth century England. The visual methodology once more, then, provides a new route into established subject material and allows for new conclusions to be drawn about it. Here the attitudes of the sixteenth century antiquarians towards source documents are clearly demonstrated, with a contemporary, edited printed text being of more value and use than the medieval original, in dramatic contrast to current scholarly practice. Moreover, the approach of favouring print over manuscript in manuscript production, combined with the study earlier in the chapter on Parker's printed editions, has wider implications: it was not just medieval sources that were less trusted, but manuscript sources in general. It was irrespective that Parker 'completed' missing sections in these editions with other manuscripts from the same corpus, and not always accurately: once printed these texts became static. Print had authority, it could be trusted because it did not change and established uniformity in a text, whereas manuscripts, even autograph originals, remained fatally flawed because of their uniqueness and individuality; the exact characteristics that had made the St Albans historiographical manuscripts so valuable in their own time.

This thesis, above all else, has shown how the production of books and manuscripts was intertwined with and influenced by the surrounding literary and visual culture. Such interrelationships between different sources of influence is demonstrated particularly strongly in the latter chapters, where the use of historical writing and history more broadly, as well as different types of book production, has shown how the design and presentation of text is shaped by context; for instance, the design of the grand encyclopaedic works of John Whethamstede filtered down and was retained in small, personal copies of the same text, and likewise, navigational features from the *Polychronicon* ended up in a much lower quality contemporary historiographical manuscript. This connection between manuscript presentation and influential sources is further established in the new copies of medieval manuscripts being produced in the late sixteenth century, where printed editions were more dominant in shaping the design of the end manuscript than other manuscripts, be they medieval or later. Manuscripts, texts and books did not exist in isolation, were not produced in isolation, and above all else should not be considered in isolation from other works,

⁴⁹⁷ Siân Echard, 'The Latin Reception of the *De gestis Britonum*', in *A Companion to Geoffrey Monmouth*, ed. by Georgia Henley and Joshua Byron Smith, Brill's Companions to European History 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 209-34; Mak, *How the Page Matters*.

sources, cultures and intellectual networks. This thesis has focused on the historiographical works of St Albans Abbey because it offers a material corpus that permits the observation of continuous manuscript production over a long period of time, and how these works have been influenced and developed throughout this period, but such an approach could as easily be utilised to study other elements of book culture and textual traditions to further understand how they developed in response to changes in sources and external influences. Here, utilising a visual methodology focusing on manuscript and book design has demonstrated the actual reach of the circulation of ideas, especially in the case of the *Flores historiarum* and antiquarian manuscript production, and has furthermore established that design and visual dissemination needs to be considered within manuscript studies too. Furthermore, this thesis has shown how important and consistent the role of the wider intellectual network was in determining the nature of historiographical manuscript production at St Albans itself. Far from being manuscripts produced in a single location, the take-away narrative of St Albans historiography in the late Middle Ages should be one of manuscript production in a series of connected monastic and educational institutions, piqued with sporadic localised production at St Albans itself; the monastery acted as a hub of historiographical production within a much wider network. If this approach were taken further, adopting a visual methodology more broadly and with new material would allow us to understand the relationships between different spheres of influence within book culture: for example, how monastic texts and manuscript traditions developed alongside secular influence and trends within lay literary and intellectual circles. Manuscripts and books are not just vehicles for text, but an entire object, layered with deeper meaning, use and purpose and it is not until we fully study the visual, paratextual and design elements of these objects that we will understand the wider intellectual networks and cultures in which they were created.

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Appendix A

This appendix contains a series of additional data for the *Flores historiarum* manuscript corpus, including relationship diagrams.

Figure B.1: Continuations of the *Flores historiarum*

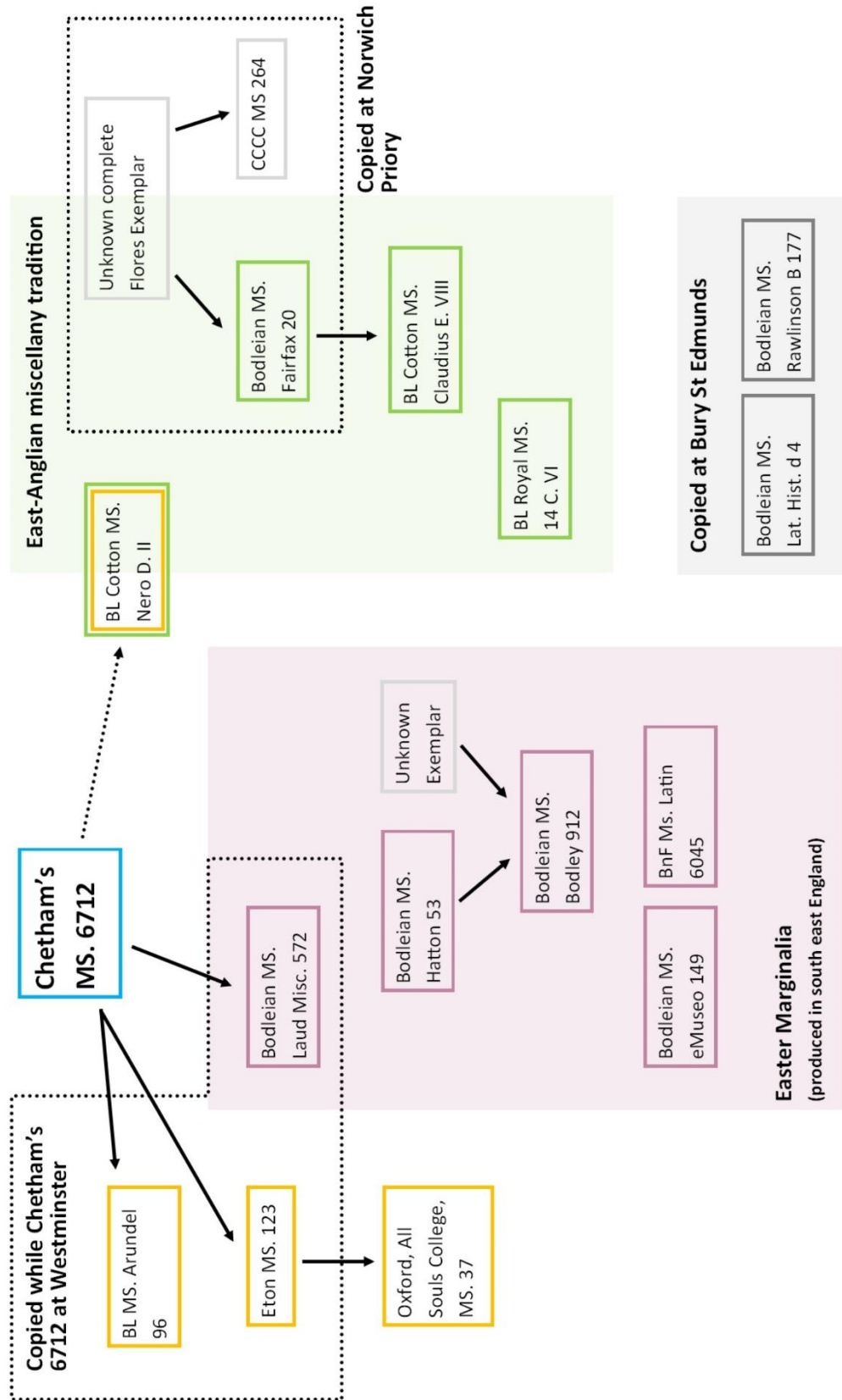
	Continuation runs to:	John de Bever (1306/7)	Robert of Reading (1325)	Adam Murimuth (1345)	John of Reading (1368)	St Albans: Rishanger/Trokelowe/Blaneforde	St Albans: Thomas Wals.
Chetham 6712	1326						
Eton 123	1306						
Lambeth 188	1309						
Lambeth 1106	1341						
Royal MS 14 C. VI	1323						
Hatton 53	1306						
e Museo 149	1305 1320						
Bodley 912	1356						
Beinecke 426	imperf						
Nero D II	1307						
Claudius E VIII	1306						
Otho C II	1378						
BnF Latin 6045	1306						
Westminster 24	1307						
Harley 641	1306						
Trinity Cam. 635	1327						
Rawl. B 186	1306						
Huntington HS 30319	1306						
Cleopatra A XVI	1367						
All Souls	1306						

Figure B.2: Illumination in the *Flores historiarum*

	Chetham	Eton 123	Laud Misc.	Royal 14 C. VI	Arundel 96	Hatton 53	Bodley 912	Otho C. II	Westminster	Harley 641	Trinity Cam.
Opening intial	Contains	Contains		Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Contains	Uncertain	Contains
Nativity		Contains			Space left			Uncertain			Space left
Arthur	Contains		Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Alfred										Uncertain	Space left
Aethelred				Contains						Uncertain	Space left
Edward (900)				Contains						Uncertain	Space left
Ethelstan (924)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Edmund (940)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Edgar (947)				Contains						Uncertain	
Edwin (955)				Contains						Uncertain	
Edgar (959)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Edward (975)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	
Ethelred / Alfred (979)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Edmund (1016)				Contains						Uncertain	Space left
Cnut (1017)				Contains						Uncertain	
Harold (1035)				Contains					Contains	Uncertain	Space left
Hardecnut (1040)				Contains						Uncertain	
Edward the Confessor	Contains		Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Contains	Uncertain	Space left
William I	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains		Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Space left	Contains
William Rufus	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Space left	Space left
Henry I	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains		Removed	Space left	Space left
Stephen	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains		Contains	Space left	Space left
Henry II	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains		Contains	Space left	Space left
Richard I	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Contains	Space left	Space left
John	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Contains	Space left	Space left
Henry III	Contains	Contains	Contains	Contains	Space left	Contains	Contains	Uncertain	Removed	Space left	Space left

Key:	
Contains	
Initial	
Space left	
Does not contain	
Uncertain	
Removed	

Figure B.3: Relationship diagram of *Flores historiarum* manuscripts, based on visual transmission



Appendix B

A chart outlining how the *Chronica maiora* manuscripts should be re-considered, in light of the discussions in Chapter 2.

<i>Flores historiarum</i>	<i>Chronica maiora</i> (St Albans customised <i>Flores historiarum</i>)	Abridged <i>Chronica maiora</i>	Unattributed annals
Glasgow, Hunter MS 332	CCCC MS 26	BL Cotton MS Nero D V	Bodleian MS Douce 384
	CCCC MS 16	BL Harley MS 1620	
	BnF Ms. latin 6048b		