



MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

Essays in Honour of
Professor Julia Boffey

Edited by Tamara Atkin and Jaclyn Rajsic

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D. S. BREWER

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We are also grateful for financial assistance from Queen Mary University of London, which, among other things, has made possible the beautiful images on the front and back covers of this book. It is a pleasure to include the image from Oxford, Bodl., MS Douce 335, which Julia tells us is one of her all-time favourites. Queen Mary also provided environments conducive to the editing of this collection. Special thanks also to Douglas Matthews for help with indexing, and to our copy-editor, Neil Sentance, and typesetter, Chris Reed, for their thorough and diligent work, though of course any errors are our own.

Our final thanks must go to Tony Edwards, who made this volume possible.

Abbreviations

BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	The British Library, London
BMC	<i>Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British (Museum) Library</i> , Parts 1–13 (London, 1907–2007)
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
EETS	Early English Text Society ES extra series OS original series SS supplementary series
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
NIMEV	<i>New Index of Middle English Verse</i> , ed. Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (London, 2005)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia cursus completus: series Latina</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols in 222 (Paris: Migne, 1844[–64])
STS	Scottish Text Society
TLS	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

Introduction

TAMARA ATKIN AND JACLYN RAJSIC

IN THE FINAL CHAPTER OF HER MOST RECENT BOOK, *Manuscript and Print in London, c.1475–1530*, Julia Boffey writes of the chronicler Robert Fabyan that he ‘resided in London for over fifty years and wrote in different contexts and forms about his city’s constitution and history’.¹ Like Fabyan, Julia’s own writing crosses different contexts and forms, both material and literary. This border-crossing is not only a hallmark of her own scholarship but has also made new forms of inquiry possible for scholars of all kinds. From her earliest work on Middle English lyrics to her most recent publications about the print reception of medieval authors, Julia’s writing is typified by a mode of expression that is subtly understated, guiding the reader through arguments that are always searching, frequently groundbreaking and very often inspirational. We mention these qualities at the outset of this introduction because it is impossible to write about Julia’s scholarship without simultaneously acknowledging her collegiality. Her generosity and kindness as a scholar are evident in her numerous collaborative endeavours, from co-authored journal articles to co-edited collections of essays and to indispensable works of reference such as *The New Index of Middle English Verse*.

For Julia, excellent scholarship is a conversation. It is work that engages, listens and responds to other endeavours in the field. This commitment to the health of the wider scholarly community is of course visible in other areas of her *curriculum vitae*. The many awards and fellowships she has been granted are a reflection of her service to the profession, and while too numerous to list here in full, they are a testament to her substantial contributions to the field. She has held visiting professorships at the University of Colorado (1998), University of Connecticut (2012) and Keio University (2018), and in 2005 she

1 *Manuscript and Print in London c.1475–1530* (London, 2012), p. 162.

was an instructor on the prestigious National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC. She has been the recipient of many fellowships from the Huntington Library, San Marino (2011 and 2016) to the Houghton Library, Harvard (2011), and has been a British Academy Research Reader (1995–97) and a British Academy/Leverhulme Trust Senior Research Fellow (2011). In 2004 she was made a Fellow of the Society for Antiquaries. She has also served on numerous boards. She was a Trustee of the New Chaucer Society between 2000 and 2004, President of the Society for Medieval Languages and Literature between 2014 and 2018 and President of the London Medieval Society between 2012 and 2015. Since 1999 she has been a member of the Harlaxton Symposium Steering Committee and a trustee of the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust since 2000. However, while all these ‘literate activities can be tracked’,² there is of course so much that her *curriculum vitae* leaves out.

On any given week night or weekend, Julia can be found participating in the London Old and Middle English Research Seminar, the Medieval Manuscripts Seminar at Senate House, a London Medieval Society conference, a London Chaucer Conference and other symposiums and events on medieval and related topics taking place both at Queen Mary and further afield, in London and beyond. We are not alone among more junior scholars to have benefitted from the penetrating questions Julia invariably asks at such forums, or from the insightful feedback she is always willing to offer. Her support is also reflected in her extensive service as an examiner of PhD theses (she has examined no fewer than a staggering forty) and in her role as an external examiner for a range of institutions including the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Sheffield, Lampeter and Royal Holloway among others. It is no exaggeration to write that Julia has been instrumental in building and fostering opportunities and in creating intellectual communities that cross both generations and disciplinary divides.

Tamara Writes

In 2003, I was an undergraduate at Trinity College Dublin, writing my final-year dissertation under the supervision of John Scattergood. I knew I wanted to write about Chaucer just as certainly as I knew I did not want to write about *The Canterbury Tales*. It was only my chance discovery of Julia’s article ‘The Lyrics in Chaucer’s Longer Poems’ on the shelves of the Ussher Library that led me to think about Chaucer’s use of intercalated lyrics, and ultimately to write a dissertation about lyric and narrative time in the *Troilus*.

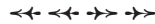
2 Ibid., p. 205.

Some years later, while working on my DPhil, I met Julia for the first time when she came to speak to the Oxford Medieval Graduate Seminar about ‘Verse and Worse in Middle English: Definitions of Doggerel’. On that occasion, I recall the restraint and subtlety of her argument, the way it invited further reflection. What impressed me then was her elegant and quietly tactful way of suggesting ideas that I had never so much as considered seem as though they had always and irrefutably been true. These qualities are a feature of all Julia’s work, and remain for me the hallmark of scholarly excellence. Even when all I knew of her was her work, she was something of an academic role model, but since 2008, when I took up a lecturing post at Queen Mary, I have been lucky to call Julia not only a colleague, but also a mentor and friend. It is a convention to think of *Festschriften* as honouring their dedicatees, but when Tony Edwards, Julia’s regular collaborator, suggested that I co-edit this volume my overwhelming sense was not just that I would be honoured to do so, but that the labour involved would represent only a small fraction of the time and care that Julia has taken over my own work. Kindness and generosity are not epithets common in accounts of academic success, but Julia’s own career is testament to their rightful place at the heart of the very best scholarly practice.

Jaclyn Writes

I first encountered Julia when I was an MA student at the University of York. Julia had journeyed up from London to give a talk on household books in one of our seminars. We had been thinking about medieval miscellanies and owners and readers of books. We were told that Julia was the expert, which of course she is. I still remember listening to Julia speak so graciously and so engagingly. By the end of her talk, everyone in the room was thinking differently about the concept of household books. In this way, my first experience with Julia echoes Tamara’s: Julia’s work encourages us to question what we think we know, and she has a way of opening up a range of lines of inquiry we had not seen before but which fundamentally change how we think about literature and book history. It would be several years before I would meet Julia again, when I had moved to London and was beginning work on a postdoctoral project to explore the reception and influence of England’s Prose *Brut* chronicle on the Continent. My DPhil supervisor, Laura Ashe, recommended that I write to Julia, and I am very glad that I did. Julia instantly took an interest in my work. She introduced me to Alfred Hiatt at Queen Mary, and together they welcomed me into the London medievalist community. In the years that followed, whenever I gave a talk in London and whenever Julia and I were at the same conference, it seemed to me that she made a point of being

in the room to hear me present. But I am far from alone in having experienced such kindness and support from Julia. Julia goes above and beyond in every possible way for her colleagues and students. I have always been struck by how generous, dedicated and encouraging she is, particularly to students and early career scholars. I feel deeply honoured, and incredibly fortunate, to have been able to work alongside Julia since becoming a lecturer at Queen Mary in 2015. She is an inspiration to me in so many ways, and I would not be where I am without her.



What both of our reminiscences share is a recognition that Julia's personality and the importance of her work, which have been so informative for us both, are in fact inseparable. From the Afterword by Derek Pearsall, who knew Julia when she was a student, to two of her most recent PhD students, Joel Grossman and Matthew Payne, the contributors to this volume have worked with and been influenced by Julia and her work at all stages of her career. Taken together, we hope the essays collected here will appeal to Julia and will be a worthy tribute to her distinctive brand of scholarship. Certainly, their variety should be understood as reflective of the scope of her research, which works across and between periods, forms and methods.



The volume begins with seven essays on the production of texts. Throughout her career, Julia has sustained an interest in late-medieval and early-sixteenth-century literature, and the essays in this section share that focus, offering insights into the various ways that literary texts were given material form. They also consider the reception of literary texts by historical readers, examining extant copies for the material traces that reveal reading habits and forms of use. R. F. Yeager revisits Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98, which includes several works of John Gower, notably the *Vox Clamantis*. Bound at the beginning of the manuscript, and immediately before the Latin poem, a dedicatory letter to Archbishop Thomas Arundel records the delivery both of a gift of an unnamed written work and the poet's person into the hands of the archbishop. Yeager reassesses G. C. Macaulay's influential view that corrections to the dedication were made in Gower's own hand, and that both the letter and the *Vox Clamantis* marked the poet's pledge of loyalty to Arundel, and hence also to the new regime of the usurper, King Henry IV. Following a detailed study of the manuscript, Yeager argues that 'neither manuscript nor *Epistola* supports ownership at any time by Archbishop Arundel', and suggests that the book sheds fresh light on Gower's views of Arundel and of Lancastrian rule. Martin Camargo's essay also involves close study of a Latin text in its material context.

Camargo examines the *Tria sunt*, a late-medieval Latin treatise designed to teach the art of poetry and prose, focusing on one manuscript – Oxford, Bodl., MS Laud misc. 707 – in which the *Tria sunt* is glossed extensively by a certain ‘Maunshull’, likely the John Maunshull of Coventry and Lichfield diocese who was a fellow of Eton College from 1447 until the 1460s. Camargo finds that the sections of the *Tria sunt* annotated most heavily by Maunshull ‘are those from which his everyday teaching would have derived the greatest and most immediate benefit’. Camargo’s analysis of the *Tria sunt* in this manuscript not only reveals some of the ways in which the treatise was used by teachers at Oxford and Eton, Maunshull in particular, but also ‘explains why the *Tria sunt* came to be the most widely used of the rhetorical treatises composed in England from the second half of the fourteenth century through the first few decades of the fifteenth’.

The second pair of essays on the production of texts consider the work of the Scots poet Gavin Douglas, although they do so in different ways. Pamela M. King examines the relationship between the Fetternear Banner at the National Library of Scotland and Douglas, whose arms are featured on it. She suggests that both the banner and the Scottish author, translator and glossator share methods and techniques of self-presentation that raise questions about the ethics of reading in these different material texts. The banner ‘reflects the moral and cognitive practices of the wider devotional environment in which [Douglas] was embedded, and particularly in the presentation of his narrators’. King’s analysis of the Prologues of the *Eneados* reveals several meditations by the author-translator on ‘how writing is a problematic device for organising the universe’, and on anxieties of authorship and the choices of subject matter, which reflect a ‘personal inadequacy’ that calls for ‘the intervention of reader discrimination’. Her investigation of the *Eneados*, complemented by a study of the narrator-dreamer in *The Palice of Honoure*, calls for a more nuanced assessment of Gavin Douglas, as someone who is ‘more deeply thoughtful’ than biographical studies often suggest. Moving forwards in time, Priscilla Bawcutt charts the reception of Douglas’s *Eneados* in print, focusing on copies of the 1553 edition, which was probably printed by William Copland. She argues that the 1553 edition played a major part in disseminating awareness of Douglas’s poem in the second half of the sixteenth century in England and Scotland, and that its influence continued in later centuries. Bawcutt first describes some of the most striking features of the edition, showing that not all copies are identical. She then explores the reception of the 1553 edition by a range of early modern readers through a careful analysis of ownership inscriptions and annotations found in some of the copies. The edition’s owners, she reveals, include poets such as William Drummond of Hawthornden and Thomas Hudson, Yorkshire landowners such as William Bellassis, the distinguished scholar, Francis Junius,

and Sir Edward Waterhouse, the friend of Philip Sidney. Given how little scholarly attention has been paid to the 1553 edition, Bawcutt's study opens doors for further explorations of Douglas's *Eneados* and its reception in print in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Also focused on the work of a single printer, Matthew Payne's essay offers new and previously unknown details about William Caxton's life and his relationship to the Crown. Payne examines records of payments by the Exchequer, arguing that they 'form a hugely under-explored source, especially in relation to the history of the book trade'. He analyses three known entries along with three of his own discoveries in the tellers' rolls. Five of the six come from the last years of Caxton's life, yet none makes 'specific mention of Caxton's role as a printer', leading Payne to suggest that 'the later entries [may] not refer to printing work at all'. Payne asks what these records can tell us about Caxton's career at Westminster and relationships to the Crown and to other members of the book trade. Suggesting that the earliest payment on record might have been for Caxton as a book dealer rather than a printer, he argues that the later ones may be for work done on preparations for the second of Henry VII's Brittany campaigns 'and the diplomatic and military manoeuvres that preceded it'. Payne concludes that the entries 'do not seem to reflect Caxton acquiring any form of official position at the Exchequer, still less being engaged on diplomatic missions'. His study reveals fresh connections between William Caxton and other merchants and opens up new ways of approaching Caxton's career.

The last two essays in this section continue to explore activities of London readers, moving from the late fifteenth century into the sixteenth. Like Bawcutt's study, Margaret Connolly's essay treats the early reception of a textual tradition. Connolly investigates books of hours owned and used by Tudor readers in and around London, drawing attention to the variety in their content. Her study focuses on four manuscripts, particularly on the material changes that affected these books of hours after their original production, including evidence of both additions and losses. Analysing the ways in which these manuscripts were personalized by the individuals and families who possessed them, and the transformations of these books over time, Connolly argues that books of hours are 'valuable sources of information about personal social networks', and that religious practice 'formed one of the strongest continuities between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'. This practice was by no means completely changed by the English reformations of the mid sixteenth century. Joel Grossman turns to a single sixteenth-century London reader, the historian and antiquarian John Stow. He analyses the historical notes and poems found in one manuscript in Stow's collection – London, BL, MS Harley 367 – in which, he argues, Stow presents antiquarianism 'as a civic duty performed not for monetary gain but for the

public good'. Grossman examines items in the manuscript relating to Stow's famous dispute with Grafton, which provide a 'justification' for Stow's 'brand of antiquarianism'. That brand is one that 'foregrounds physical labour and discovery over the intellectual endeavour of chroniclers like Grafton'. The discussion leads Grossman to investigate how this sense of civic duty permeates Stow's own historical writings. In this, MS Harley 367 emerges as a testament to Stow's antiquarian ideals. The manuscript creates 'a version of Stow himself as a tireless public servant' whose labours have not been adequately rewarded by the London and English public for whom he worked.

Part 2 of the volume concerns both authors' readings of earlier writers' works and the reception of literary texts by historical readers. The essays brought together here therefore celebrate Julia Boffey's long-standing interest in the reception of texts in their myriad forms both in and after the Middle Ages. This section begins with two essays on literary influence. Corinne Saunders explores the complex ways in which *The Book of Margery Kempe* draws on other devotional texts, particularly those by Walter Hilton and Richard Rolle, on the lives of holy women and on Kempe's own social and cultural contexts, in order to shape a unique and vivid account of her life. Saunders draws on the insights of the Wellcome Trust-funded research project 'Hearing the Voice', which explores the phenomenon of hearing voices without external stimuli; she is particularly attentive to the multi-modal sensory quality of Kempe's visionary experience and to the privileging of voice across the *Book*. Saunders argues that, when 'read as an inner life', *The Book of Margery Kempe* is 'newly animated' – 'the *Book* is shaped by the struggle to discern the cause and meaning of such experience, and the challenge to interpret and convey it'. Like Saunders, Robert R. Edwards traces echoes and connections across different works, also looking backwards and forwards through time, but working backwards 'toward a Chaucerian retrospect'. Chaucer 'stands in a chain of reception and revision' which connects a range of authors and readers both during and after his lifetime, from John Lydgate to William Shakespeare. Edwards examines this chain in relation to Chaucer's Theban poems, the 'Knight's Tale' and *Anelida and Arcita*. He argues that 'the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers who retell Chaucer's Theban stories are in the first instance critical readers': they look to find 'what remains undeveloped or unexpressed in their sources and intertexts'. Their works can be approached as the 'products of a critical interpretation' which Edwards suggests was 'a necessary step in invention and revision'. The ways in which late-medieval and early modern writers interpret, adapt and respond to Chaucer's Theban poems contribute in important ways to current critical understandings of Chaucer's many lines of influence.

Alfred Hiatt maintains the focus on the classical past and on textual receptions and revisions over time, but he does so by turning to a very different

textual form: the map. Hiatt analyses a ‘cryptic reference’ to Dido’s journey from her homeland of Tyre to north Africa (her emigration was well-known in classical antiquity and in the medieval period) in medieval manuscripts of Gaius Sallustius Crispus’s *Bellum Iugurthinum*, a map of the world. The inscription is not original to Sallust’s work. Hiatt asks why the inscription was added in the Middle Ages. An investigation of Virgilian and Ovidian Didos and some of their medieval counterparts illuminate his examination of the inscription, yielding insightful reflections on migration, foreignness and virtue in relation to the queen of Carthage, and enabling him to track Dido’s movement through both space and time. Hiatt suggests that the inscription likely emerged when Sallust’s histories rose in importance ‘as school texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, when they were also studied alongside Virgil’s *Aeneid*. His essay here complements Martin Camargo’s work on the *Tria sunt*, a later school text, and its annotations. Hiatt concludes that the Dido inscription speaks to the ‘cultural significance of human movement’ – to ‘the importance of narratives of racial mixing and narratives of not mixing’. In this, Dido, an emigrant, sees a range of interpretations, as her story was reshaped in literature alongside its circulation in the Sallust maps.

Essays by Susanna Fein and Barry Windeatt continue to trace patterns of influence, moving from the high to the late Middle Ages. Fein investigates how the biblical Susanna story took shape in a range of vernacular lay narratives of different genres that were produced in late-medieval England. She seeks to explore which meanings of the biblical Susanna story resonated most deeply for medieval English laity, particularly as they used the apocryphal text in either liturgical or vernacular settings. Fein combines this comparative, textual study with a reading of the manuscript reception of the alliterative poem, *The Pistel of Swete Susan*. Although viewed by many critics as ‘little more than a paraphrase of the story of Susanna and the Elders in Daniel 13’, Fein argues that the poet’s subtle changes to the biblical story ‘quietly impart a doctrinal lesson to a fourteenth-century audience: that God in Trinity abides as the supreme third party in a sanctified Christian marriage’. The trinitarian piety ‘infused’ into the poem serves ‘as a gloss on its meaning and an aid to devotion’. Fein’s discussion of the five extant copies of *Susan* develops her argument about devotion and reveals ‘a picture of continuous readership for nearly a century’. Like Fein, Windeatt offers a long view of the reception history of a particular and influential textual tradition, writings about St Veronica. He identifies ‘at least three “Veronicas”: her legends; reports of the Vernicle as a relic in Rome; and traditions of replicating the relic’. Each of these traditions ‘accommodates remarkable variation’. Windeatt analyses such variety with a focus on later medieval English devotions to the Vernicle, ‘which are among the most significant in its development’. He considers and compares an impressive range

of sources, from the works of St Albans Abbey historian Matthew Paris to the Middle English translation of Roger d'Argenteuil's *Bible en françois*, to the *Golden Legend*, *Siege of Jerusalem*, *Titus and Vespasian* and the *Northern Passion*, along with a wealth of shorter and scattered references in other texts. Windeatt concludes that 'the sheer variety in such English responses suggests that the Vernicle's very multiplicity is its cultural significance': it transcends 'any human attempt at artistic representation, and was hence irreplaceable and unrepeatable', seeing continuous reinvention and reinterpretation over time.

The final essay in the volume, by Laura Ashe, turns again to the sixteenth century, focusing on a late poem by Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, extant only in *Tottel's Miscellany*. Ashe explores Surrey's poem in the context of his family history and his eventual fate, in a discussion that probes questions about the purpose and power of poetry, the role of poets and patrons and the importance of ancestry and identity as represented in heraldry. Ashe points out that 'it was for heraldic "treason" that Surrey was condemned and executed in 1547, when it was claimed that he had displayed the royal arms as his own'. She suggests that 'the nobility of Surrey's bloodlines and the political claims of his poetry, represented in his chosen heraldic art and imagery, amounted to a grand act of symbolic treason'. All of this informs her fresh reading of Surrey's poem beginning 'the stormes are past', which, according to the account by his younger son, was the last poem Surrey wrote before his death. In this poem, Ashe finds a 'vision of stability', a tone of despair and reflections on the mind and on true love. For Ashe, the poem exemplifies Surrey's inner nobility and the high status of his family's ancestry, both of which 'outrank' those of the king.

Each of the thirteen essays offers new evidence or interpretations, whether of a specific manuscript, author or narrative. Several of the contributions move between the late-medieval and early modern periods, and some even earlier or later, thus reflecting the cross-chronological scope of the volume and of Julia's own research. At the same time, they cross boundaries of language, genre and subject area, taking interdisciplinary approaches to their studies, for which Julia's work has always been a model. In many ways, these essays represent the ways in which Julia Boffey has inspired us all: they are written by her colleagues, students and friends. We hope this collection will honour her outstanding contributions to the field and will be taken as a small token of our thanks for everything she has done for us.

PRODUCING TEXTS

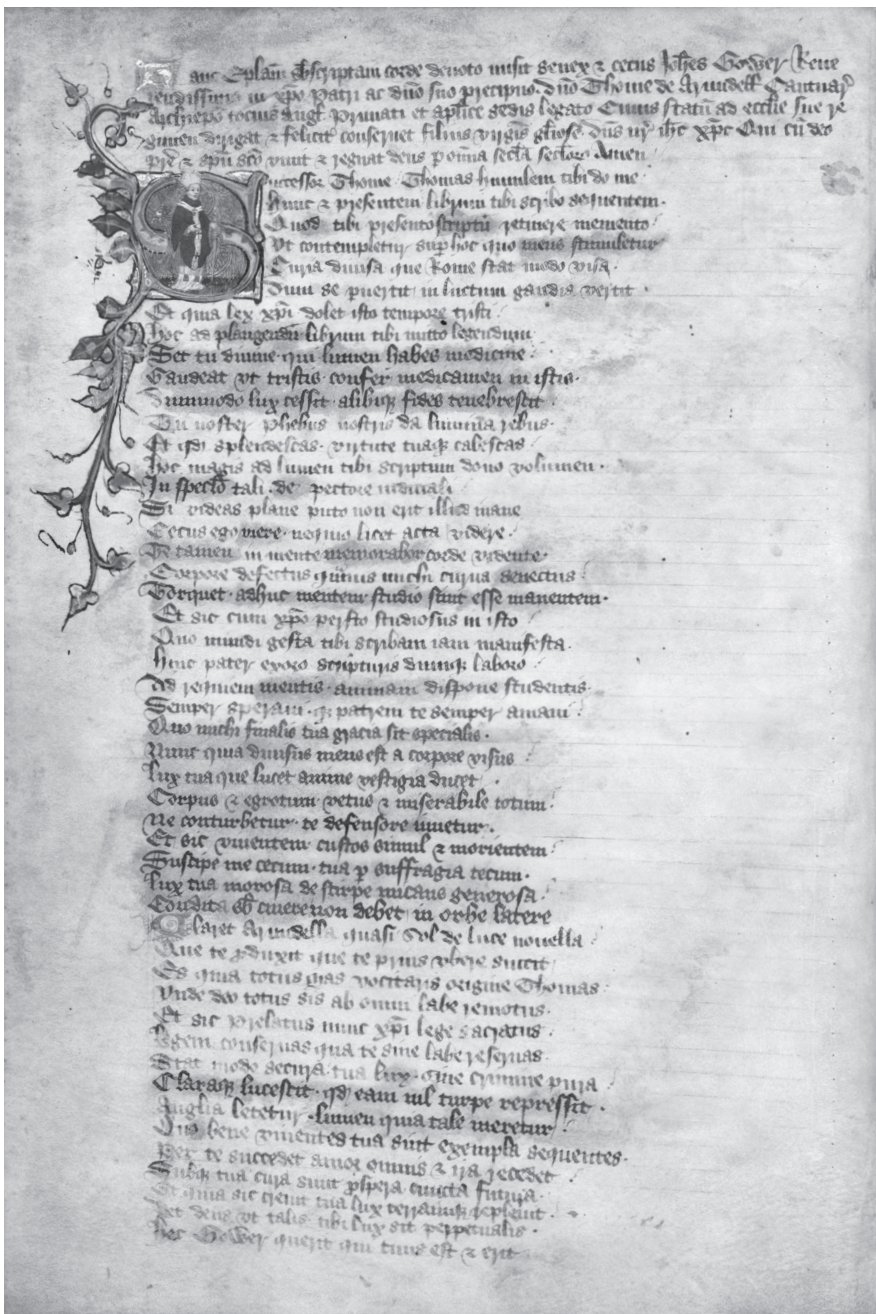


Figure 1.1 The 'Epistola' to Archbishop Arundel in Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98, fol. 1v.

Gower's 'Epistle to Archbishop Arundel': The Evidence of Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98¹

R. F. YEAGER

IN HIS EDITION OF JOHN GOWER'S LATIN POETRY, G. C. Macaulay noted as part of his formal description of Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98, that 'from the *Epistola* at the beginning, which occurs here only and seems to relate to this volume in particular, we may gather that it was eventually presented to Archbishop Arundel'.² Subsequent scholarly discourse very quickly transformed into certitude the tinge of equivocation detectable in Macaulay's statement. John H. Fisher, whose 1964 study of Gower's work exerted a determining influence on scholarly opinion for half a century, expressed no doubt that Macaulay's speculation was the fact. For Fisher, not only did 'the *Epistola* ... relate to this volume in particular', but both codex and letter were presented *ensemble* to the archbishop as a fealty gift: 'The All Souls manuscript of the *Vox* went eventually to just such a recipient, Thomas of Arundel ...'.³ So frequently trustworthy in his judgements about Gower, Fisher's settled view on the matter not surprisingly set the measure most others have danced to ever since.⁴

- 1 I am most grateful to Gaye Morgan, Librarian in Charge and Conservator of the Codrington Library, for her many extraordinary kindnesses and ever-thoughtful advice during the writing of this chapter.
- 2 *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford, 1899–1902), IV, p. lxi. Unless otherwise specified, all quotations from Gower's poetry will be taken from this edition.
- 3 John H. Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York, 1964), pp. 105–6.
- 4 I include myself in this group, for many years.

A careful reconsideration of All Souls MS 98 suggests, however, that both assumptions of Fisher and Macaulay are wrong, the latter to a lesser degree, commensurate with his hinted uncertainty. Contesting their views about what the manuscript can tell us seems particularly important: a host of half-truths – and some complete misprisions – have been based on them, by literary scholars and historians alike. All Souls MS 98 is often cited in witness of Gower's fulsome commitment to Arundel in 1400, and hence also as proof of his ardent support for the usurpation of Henry IV. Neither conclusion lacks consequences. Attitudes toward Gower's perceived politics have deeply coloured much contemporary belief about his character. More broadly, because his poetry – Gower's Latin writing in particular – is quoted frequently to exemplify contemporary attitudes to important events, All Souls MS 98, its contents and how we read them, have contributed their share toward modern understandings of public response to Henry's *coup d'état*, and to Archbishop Arundel's sanguinary solutions to Lollardy. Yet thoughtfully re-examined, All Souls MS 98 and the *Epistola* to Arundel shrug off most common claims about how they should be interpreted. Based on their content, and on any inherent physical evidence, neither manuscript nor *Epistola* supports ownership at any time by Archbishop Arundel. Indeed, each offers evidence that the contrary is more likely true.

To begin with the codex content: in addition to the *Epistola* to Arundel, All Souls MS 98 contains Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, *Cronica Tripartita*, the shorter poems *Rex celi deus*, *H. aquile pullus*, *O recolende*, *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia*, *De lucis scrutinio*, *Est amor*, *Quia unusquisque*, *Eneidos Bucolis*, *O deus immense*, *Quicquid homo scribat* and the eighteen French *balades* of the *Traitié pour les amantz marietz*. Some of these poems help to establish the date of the manuscript's compilation as 1400 or after. *Rex celi deus*, *H. aquile pullus*, *O recolende* and *O deus immense* all recognize the new reign of Henry IV.⁵ Similarly, the *Cronica Tripartita*, which draws heavily on the Lancastrian case against Richard (the so-called 'Record and Process') presented in the 'parliament' that deposed him in 1399, is difficult to imagine complete before 1401.⁶ *Quia unusquisque*, *Quicquid homo scribat*, and *Eneidos Bucolis* (most likely by Gower) are necessarily very late work,

5 E.g., Fisher, *John Gower*, p. 99, terms these poems 'the laureate group', dedicated to Henry IV.

6 On the 'Record and Process' and the *Cronica*, see Paul Strohm, *Huchon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), pp. 75–94, especially pp. 89–90; David R. Carlson, ed., *The Deposition of Richard II: 'The Record and Process of the Renunciation and Deposition of Richard II (1399) and Related Writings'* (Toronto, 2007), pp. 9, 66–7; and more recently, *John Gower: Poems on Contemporary Events: The Visio Anglie (1381) and Cronica Tripartita (1400)*, ed. David R. Carlson, trans. A. G. Rigg (Toronto, 2011), pp. 12–13.

since they announce Gower's retreat from writing, and summarize his career. Conceivably – and this seems to be what Macaulay, Fisher and most modern readers accept – Gower chose these pieces, bundled them together, along with the *Epistola*, into a gift manuscript for Arundel within two or three years immediately following the latter's restoration to the primacy by Henry's coup in 1399. Bound together with the *Epistola* in All Souls MS 98, it is these that have in the past been used to date the letter also. Yet the more important poems in All Souls MS 98 complicate this picture in several significant ways. Both the *Vox Clamantis* and the *Traitié* existed before 1390, the *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia* was likely composed in 1396–97, and *Est amor*, though thought by many to have been composed coincident with Gower's marriage in 1398, has been shown, based on metrical evidence, to contain even later work.⁷

The chronological span of composition of the work in All Souls MS 98 thus opens possibilities for its history rather more complex than the simpler, holistic assessment – an obsequious 'gift for Arundel' – of Macaulay and Fisher. Although the manuscript's parts were, at a specific moment, brought together, all nevertheless were written at different times, in response to different circumstances, to serve separate purposes. No known evidence supports a view that any one was composed with the others in mind – or, indeed, that it was Gower himself who oversaw the assembly of the codex. These points are obvious, but nonetheless salient. They urge the question, among several, of how suitable the individual poems could have seemed to Gower for the purpose now so widely assumed – a propitiatory gift for Thomas Arundel in or not long after 1399. Would Gower have chosen this group of poems for the Archbishop's gift, especially in such portentous times? Would they all have pleased Thomas Arundel, had he received All Souls MS 98 in, say, 1401–02? Seen through that lens, many – especially the *Cronica Tripertita* and those so-called 'laureate poems' lauding Henrican authority – look obvious as choices. They were composed, if not of a piece, then certainly to fit the politics, the men and the moment following the deposition and Henry's ascension. Others, however, seem at least problematic. One such is *Est amor*, certainly. Another is the *Traitié pour les amantz marietz* – eighteen *balades* that exalt marriage and condemn adultery. Neither subject would, perhaps, suggest itself to most now as likely a profound interest of the archbishop's.⁸

7 See David R. Carlson, 'A Rhyme Distribution Chronology of John Gower's Latin Poetry', *Studies in Philology* 104 (2007), 15–55, especially 32–3.

8 Yet remaining records from cases brought before the consistory court and the bishop's own court at Ely show Arundel in the late 1370s and early 1380s as unusually involved, for a bishop, in hearing cases himself. Many of his judgments involved issues of matrimonial infelicities, including infidelity. Gower may indeed have known his man. See

From the crucial viewpoint of Arundel's possible reception, however, the *Vox Clamantis* becomes the most difficult case to reconcile with the common view of All Souls MS 98. In the manuscript, the poem is placed first, following the *Epistola*. Presumably, if he were personally assembling the codex as a gift to promote himself, the ordering of its contents would reflect Gower's own decisions, and so indicate his expectation (or at least his hope) that the archbishop would read the *Vox* first. Yet had Arundel done so, he might not have enjoyed all he found. In the *Vox Clamantis*, Gower delivers a scathing critique of the Three Estates, beginning with more than 1,300 lines flaying – especially – the prelacy.⁹ Contrasting contemporary episcopal misbehaviour with the virtues exemplified by Christ, he accuses the highest-ranking clergy – archbishops and bishops – of systematic commission of all seven cardinal sins.¹⁰ Arundel easily could have seen himself mirrored there – not happily, one must assume. Paternal influence saw Thomas advanced to the See of Ely at the age of twenty – ten years below the canonical age, and the youngest English prelate to date. By papal license he was ordained deacon, priest and bishop in a single ceremony, on the same day.¹¹ It is difficult to conjure up a 'Caesarian' prelate worthier of the epithet – and the condemnation – than Thomas Arundel. Other than unchastity and the aversion to labour, Gower's list of the prelacy's cardinal failings could easily have seemed to the archbishop a case of 'J'accuse'. And if, according to the common thought, Gower's *Epistola* introduced a gift of All Souls MS 98 presented in the shadow of Arundel's active roles in Henry's conquest and Richard's deposition, certainly the most topical (and perhaps most piercing) critique for Arundel might have been the *Vox*'s condemnation

Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 35–40.

- 9 His subsequent critiques of other clerical figures combined total just 830 lines. The imbalanced attack on prelates is striking.
- 10 'Inter prelatos dum Cristi quero sequaces, | Regula nulla manet, que prius esse solet, | Cristus erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro; | Hic pacem dederat, hii modo bella mouent' | Cristus erat largus, hii sunt velut archa tenaces; | Hunc labor inuasit, hos fouet aucta quies; | Cristus erat mitis, hii sunt tamen impetuosii; | Hic humilis subiit, hii superesse volunt; | Cristus erat miserans, hii vindictamque sequuntur; | Sustulit hic penas, hos timor inde fugat; | Cristus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici ...'. ('As I seek for followers of Christ among the prelates none of the rule remains which used to be in force. Christ was poor, but they are overloaded with gold. He used to make peace, but they now wage war. Christ was generous, but they are as close as a money-box. Work occupied Him, but plentiful rest pampers them. Christ was gentle, but they are violent. He suffered humbly, but they desire to be superior. Christ was compassionate, but they seek after vengeance. He endured his torments, but fear of such torment puts them to flight. Christ was a virgin; they are rarely chaste ...') There are three extant versions of VC III.1–28. I quote here that of All Souls MS 98. The translation is Stockton's.
- 11 Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, pp. 4–10, remarks, 'So it was that at the age of 20, after hardly any visible effort on his part, Thomas Arundel really began his ecclesiastical career.'

of prelates seeking vengeance by making war. On balance, then, much about its contents suggests that All Souls MS 98, in which the *Vox Clamantis* prominently occupies pride of place, would have been an unlikely – even potentially an unwelcome – gift for the newly restored archbishop in 1401–02.

Moreover, this conclusion, that Arundel almost certainly did not receive All Souls MS 98 as a gift from John Gower, nor the copy of the *Epistola* presently bound therein, is reinforced by physical evidence extant in the manuscript itself, and by what can be traced of its history; Malcolm Parkes some years ago demonstrated that All Souls MS 98 never belonged to Archbishop Arundel, nor was Gower likely to have seen it.¹² Parkes identified four different scribal hands in All Souls MS 98, and showed that all had worked independently, at different times and with no centralized oversight.¹³ Parkes demonstrated unequivocally that All Souls MS 98 is an assemblage of separately produced parts: fols 2r–116r – the *Vox Clamantis* – was copied a decade or two earlier than the rest, apparently as a stand-alone text, by a single scribe (Parkes's Scribe 1) using anglicana formata; a second scribe (Parkes's Scribe 4) copied fols 116r–136r in bastard anglicana and made minor changes to the *Vox*. The *Epistola*, also in bastard anglicana, was the work of a third scribe (Parkes's Scribe 7). This scribe, who in addition made the many overwritten corrections to the letter, also added to All Souls MS 98 the poem *Quicquid homo scribat*, and further revised portions of the *Vox* and the *Cronica*.¹⁴ Two other scribes made a few minor changes to the manuscript, and one added the final poem, *Dicunt scripture*, on fol. 137r.¹⁵

Notably, Parkes also called attention to three textual *loci* in the All Souls manuscript that seemed to him to be scribal acknowledgement of Gower's death.¹⁶ From these data, Parkes inferred that All Souls MS 98 was not – as Macaulay and Fisher believed – an authorial product, but rather posthumously assembled by scribes 'not for Gower himself, but for other patrons', and

12 Malcolm Parkes, 'Patterns of Scribal Activity and revisions of the Text in Early Copies of Works by John Gower', in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 81–121.

13 'There is no evidence that any of these scribes collaborated with each other, because no two scribes appear to have worked simultaneously on any one manuscript. Since they worked in series rather than in parallel, they appear to have been working independently': Parkes, 'Scribal Activity', p. 95.

14 This same scribe apparently added the pen-flourishing from fol. 116 to the end, and also to the *Epistle*. I am grateful to Holly James-Maddox for this observation.

15 See Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 200–3.

16 These loci are: 1) '*dum vixit*' ('while he lived') in the colophon to *Quia unusquisque*; 2) '*in memoriam*' in the heading to *Eneidos Bucolis*; 3) '*adhuc vivens*' ('while living') in the heading to *O deus immense*.

piecemeal: the new owner, he thought, had received the *Vox Clamantis* ‘before the other texts were added’.¹⁷ All Souls MS 98 thus seemed to Parkes a bespoke object, accretively assembled, likely ‘made for members of the circle of Gower’s immediate friends and associates, who perhaps shared his political sympathies and formed the first audience for his Latin works’. For Parkes, the probable compiler of All Souls MS 98, who also entered extensive revisions, ‘most likely ... had the opportunity to work with Gower’ but continued generating bespoke copies of his works for select customers for some time after Gower’s death.¹⁸

About All Souls MS 98, then, Parkes’s opinion was very clear: much of it was produced after Gower’s death, and thus the codex we have could not have been the ‘librum’ mentioned in line 2 of the *Epistola*, and the ‘scriptum’ in line 3, as Gower’s very personal gift to Archbishop Arundel. About the copy of the *Epistola* itself, however, he was more equivocal. Fixing precisely when it was copied and/or revised by the scribe – whether before or after Gower’s death – wasn’t possible, Parkes felt, although he was firm that the All Souls MS 98 copy of the *Epistola* was unsuitable for high-level gifting. He cited ‘the poor quality of the initial and of the handwriting of the text ... the crude appearance of the revisions, and the fact that this copy of the Epistle could have been detached easily from the rest of this well-written copy of [the *Vox*] to be replaced by a cleaner copy’. The *Epistola* in All Souls MS 98 owed its multiple emendations and additions to an owner ‘who knew that Gower had revised his texts, or perhaps that he had revised his views’, and wanted an up-to-date version.¹⁹ In Parkes’s judgment, that owner would not have been Archbishop Arundel.

Careful reconsideration of the manuscript confirms Parkes’s assessment. It would appear that the copy of the *Epistola* had a complex life of its own, circulating independently for perhaps for as long as a century before becoming part of All Souls MS 98 sometime after 1490. The evidence is that the *dicta probatoria* – always recorded on the second folio of the first quire – noted in the All Souls Vellum Inventory produced in that year were taken from the second folio of the second quire (i.e., the *Vox Clamantis*), rather than from the *Epistola*, as would have been the case had the *Epistola* been part of the whole at that time.²⁰

17 Parkes, ‘Scribal Activity’, pp. 95–6.

18 For Parkes, Scribes 4 and possibly 7, some of whose revisions ‘over Scribe 4’s second stint in G[lasgow] and S [All Souls]... may antedate Gower’s death’ were most likely to have worked on All Souls MS 98; *ibid.*, p. 95; quote at p. 96.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 96.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 102, n. 63. That finding seems confirmed by the binding, ‘square-edged oak boards covered with smooth skin’, contemporary with, and most likely original to, the manuscript; and although this binding in its present state shows significant subsequent disturbance, ‘it is evident that the boards were in their correct positions in ss. xv and xvi’. Watson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 202, which see for discussion of bindings.