Early Modern Editors and the Value of Middle English Literature

by

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Abstract

This study examines the emergence of editorial figures in sixteenth-century editions of *Sir Isumbras*, Robert Henryson's *Fables*, John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's poetry. I argue that the increasing alterity of Middle English texts in the early modern period compelled editorial interventions designed to make the texts accessible as well as to identify, to emphasize, or to establish the texts' relevance to contemporary audiences. Early editors managed and controlled the contents and appearance of the books in which the older literary texts appeared in order to redefine their value and purpose for a new audience. They accomplished this with practices such as editing the primary text, collecting or contributing paratext, selecting or designing codicological features, as well as through methods I have termed "codicological translation," "gathering and framing," and "selective copying and purposeful omission." By comparing what these editors say they are doing in their prefatory writings to the results of their editorial contributions, my methodology allows me to determine what these early editors believed themselves to be doing, why, and in what context. These insights have significant implications for the study of both early modern book history and literature. Specifically, they contribute to developing academic conversations among critics like Stephanie Trigg, Tim William Machan, and A.E.B. Coldiron concerning the influence and authority of editors and craftspeople in the production of early modern books.

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Note on References

In this study, I strive for thoroughness and consistency when quoting texts and describing manuscripts and printed books. Unless otherwise identified, all quotes from manuscripts are based on my own transcriptions and cited by folio. Early printed books are cited by signature except in cases of very large books that provide sufficient foliation (e.g., John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* [1583]). Prefatory pages that do not provide suitable signatures—either no signature or symbols not reasonably reproduced—are assigned lower case letters (e.g., a1). Signatures of prefatory pages signed A when the beginning of the primary text is also assigned A are subsequently changed to lower case letters. Unless identified, signatures beyond Z in books that repeat their signatures as single letters (e.g., A) are changed to double letters (e.g., Aa). Regardless of how printed books sign double letters (e.g., AA, A2, AB, etc.), double letters are always cited as a single upper-case letter followed by the same letter in lower case (e.g., Aa). The same method is applied to signatures beyond Zz, Zzz, etc. (e.g., Aaa, Aaaa, etc.). In cases where a range of signatures are cited (e.g., Aa-Bbb), readers should be aware that most early printed books do not include "j" or "v" in their signatures, limiting the range of a single set of letters to twenty-four quires.

Quoted text is not adjusted for type unless more than one type is used in the primary source. For example, if a page of the primary text is printed entirely in italic, the italic is not reproduced in the quotation. However, if a page printed in blackletter includes select words in Roman, the Roman will be reproduced in italic in the quote. Italics in quoted text are used to represent difference, not italics. Important type distinctions are identified in-text.

When quoting primary sources, I endeavour to provide a diplomatic transcription that follows the following conventions: I convert long "s"s (ſ) to the modern short "s" (s). Abbreviations marked by a macron (e.g., cōffession) are expanded in square brackets (e.g.,

co[n]fession). Printed yoghs (ȝ) used in place of "y"s have been corrected and printed thorns (þ) have been modernized as "th." Virgules (/) are converted to commas (,). Forward slashes (/) in this thesis represent line breaks.

Abbreviated Sources

CHBB	*Cambridge History of the Book*	
STC	*Short Title Catalogue, 2nd Edition*	
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue*	estc.bl.uk
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*	https://eebo.chadwyck.com
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*	
MER	*Database of Middle English Romance*	middleenglishromance.org.uk
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*	www.oed.com
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*	www.oxforddnb.com
SRealm	*The Statutes of the Realm*, vol.3 (1509-1545)	

Introduction: Early Modern Editors and the Value of Middle English Literature

What did early modern editors think about the Middle English texts that they prepared? This question may seem paradoxical since the concept of an editor had not been fully realized in the first century and a quarter of printing in England: the earliest printers tended to edit texts themselves, the earliest editors were not explicitly associated with the text, and the term "editor" was not used in our modern sense until the early eighteenth century. However, the increasing prevalence of editorial figures and practices in sixteenth-century printed books suggests that such interventions were part of a broader cultural phenomenon of specialization in the process of book production. My study examines the editors of Middle English texts in the late fifteenth century through to the beginning of the seventeenth century. In particular, I examine the editorial figures of sixteenth-century editions of *Sir Isumbras*, Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables*, John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's poetry. My aim is to determine what circumstances prompted editorial involvement in these early print productions, how and to what extent these editors interjected in the publication of the texts, and what effects and implications their practices had on the books that they prepared. I argue that early modern editors of Middle English literature frequently employed editorial methods and practices to identify, to emphasize or to establish the modern relevance and value of their aging texts to contemporary audiences. These editors mediated and controlled the meaning of their texts and books by modifying the texts and managing the supplemental contents and physical features of the books in which those texts appeared.

My study is the first to focus on the work of multiple sixteenth-century, non-Chaucerian, Middle English editors and the first to consider their work as part of a broader phenomenon of editors preparing Middle English texts to serve and to reflect early modern purposes and values.

Other scholars have examined some of the same books, authors, editorial practices, and collaborators in the production of early modern books, and their work has influenced mine. In *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557*, for example, Alexandra Gillespie examines many of the textual and codicological features that I discuss, but her study focuses on early modern representations of the medieval author in early printed editions of Chaucer and Lydgate printed before 1558. Stephanie Trigg examines the paratext of early modern print editors of Chaucer's poetry in Chapters 4 through 6 of *Congenial Souls: Reading Chaucer from Medieval to Postmodern*, in which she identifies the development of an intimate community of gentlemanly scholars and amateur editors who share a mutual love of reading Chaucer. Gillespie's and Trigg's books are important for understanding early modern publications of Chaucer and Lydgate, but they are not representative of the literature that Tim William Machan describes as "early modern Middle English" ("Early Modern" 301). Machan addresses a wider range of Middle English printed books in his assessment of what authorizes these texts in the early modern period. My work differs from his in two important ways: I do not treat Middle English literature printed in the early modern period as a distinct *genre*; more significantly, I do not identify editors as one possible source of authorizing the text but rather as *the* source of authority over the text. In *Printers Without Borders: Translation and Textuality*, A.E.B. Coldiron examines the physical books of early modern translators by examining both their textual and codicological translations. In fact, the case could be made that her translators serve, in principle, the same function as editors, in which case our studies would differ primarily on the types of literature that we examine. Indeed, both our studies begin by looking at William Caxton's various duties in the production of his printed books. However, whereas Coldiron focuses on exposing the foreignness of the English books that she studies, I focus on how and why editors attempted to make Middle English texts more familiar and relevant to early modern

English readers. My emphasis on intention establishes early modern editors' work as an explicit reaction to the contemporary context and state of early book production. As a result, my study provides a broader context in which more specialized studies of genre (Cooper), form (Knight), textual elements (Jacobs), paratextual elements (Smith and Wilson), language and accessibility (Cook), ideology (Hutchins), and reception (Wang) might be understood.

From a disciplinary perspective, my study draws on methods associated with bibliography and book history. On the one hand, I focus extensively on the physical characteristics of the books under consideration. In this respect, I am heavily indebted to the terminology and methods of bibliographers—especially those of the analytic and descriptive branches—who focus on the book as a material object, such as Walter Greg, Fredson Bowers, and D.F. McKenzie. Throughout this study, I engage with two sub-disciplines of bibliography: textual criticism and codicology. Textual criticism, according to D.C. Greetham, is "concerned with evaluating and emending the readings of texts" (2), as well as "clarifying and elucidating a text whose features may have been obscured by the passage of time" (295). In other words, it is the critical assessment of the history of a text (Keleman 5), often in order to prepare it for publication (Greetham 295). Codicology is the study of a codex's (a manuscript's *or* a printed book's) physical features and characteristics, including but not limited to its physical makeup, materials, and contents. On the other hand, I make both explicit and speculative assertions about the people who prepared the books under my consideration based on my analyses and consideration of the historical contexts in which these editors lived. In many respects, my approach coincides with the definition of book history set forth by the editors of *The Book History Reader*. According to David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, book history "achieves its relative distinctiveness from [bibliography and social history] through its emphasis upon print culture and the role of the book as material object *within that culture*" (1, emphasis added).

Hence, I am further influenced by book historians like Jerome McGann, Robert Darnton, Roger Chartier and Harold Love. I am concerned with the book as a material object, but I study it as a means to understand the people who prepared it for publication, the society and culture in which they did so, and the readers for whom the book was prepared. Moreover, I consider the influence of ideologies—political, social, theological, or artistic—that may have shaped the practices of individual Middle English editors that I examine. Therefore, this study also engages with the fields of medieval and early modern literature and history. The texts under my consideration were first written for late medieval audiences, but the books I analyze were prepared for early modern audiences. As a result, it is often necessary that I examine the social and cultural contexts of both periods in order to understand an editor's choices and decisions in preparing the older text for a newer audience. My specific aim is to think about the book as a single unit of meaning in which all of its features—both textual and material—together articulate a meaning beyond those of the individual parts; this cohesive meaning, I argue, is initially conceptualized by an individual (an editorial figure) who brings it to fruition by performing an *editorial function* at a particular moment in history.

Middle English Editors in Early Modern England

In this study, I use the anachronistic term *editor* to identify individuals who were responsible for the preparation of texts and books for production. Although the term was not used in the sixteenth century, and the role of editors had not yet been established at that time, there was an increasing number of individuals in the period who performed practices that correspond with those we associate with modern editors today. These practices might include editing texts, supplying or writing paratext, selecting and designing codicological features, and/or organizing and arranging content. These contributions inevitably transform earlier representations. Gary Taylor identifies people who perform such transformations as *editors*

(122). For Taylor, anyone who performs an act that alters a text (or other forms of representation, such as paintings or plays) performs an *editorial function* (123). I agree and adopt these terms; however, because many people were involved in a book's production and each one inevitably transformed it in one way or another, I restrict my use of the term *editor* to the individual who was *most* responsible for mediating a text's or a book's meaning through its preparation. Likewise, I use the term *editorial function* only to describe the editor's act of preparing the text and/or book such that its appearance and content produce the editor's desired meaning. By accepting Taylor's terms and restricting their use, I account for both instances in which the printer performed the editorial function, as William Caxton did, and instances in which an individual was recruited solely for the purpose of performing the editorial function in the production process, as was the case of Thomas Speght.

The increasing number of people whom we might recognize today as editors of Middle English literature throughout the sixteenth-century is indicative of both the growth of the vernacular printed book market and the increasing alterity of Middle English texts in the early modern period. While most printers of the late fifteenth century closed their presses due to their inability to produce inexpensive, high-quality French and Latin texts that could compete with imports from the Continent, Caxton had success publishing vernacular prints that were cheaper than English manuscripts. Most of Caxton's vernacular selections were either translations or popular fictions written by English poets in the late fourteenth to mid fifteenth centuries. Later printers followed Caxton's successful lead. However, the rising number of Middle English texts being printed became increasingly difficult to access—in terms of both language and content—for early modern readers. For their part, early modern poets tended to shy away from print publication. J.W. Saunders claims that "gentleman" scholars, in particular, ridiculed print and the impoverished poets who sought to earn money from it (141). Gillespie suggests that some

poets were concerned with claiming ownership over their work, wishing to prevent printers from either altering their texts or printing them without authorial consent (*Print* 7). Moreover, poets in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries might have been focused on gaining or maintaining patronage from aristocrats, as earlier poets had been. As a result, Middle English literature remained an important product for printers and book sellers in England who wished to offer a cheaper and more widely available vernacular alternative to manuscripts. Yet, Middle English texts required various kinds of intervention and preparation in order to make them accessible and relevant to contemporary public consumers.

Early modern editors of Middle English literature seem to have had three often overlapping concerns: accessibility, value, and criticism. When I speak of accessibility in this study, I am often referring to both the language and content. The English language continued to change at a relatively rapid pace in the sixteenth century, and early modern readers were often not familiar with its older linguistic forms (including its orthography and grammar) and vocabulary; even in 1483, Caxton acknowledged that people might have difficulty understanding his own English (including his dialect), much less that of Chaucer, who wrote nearly a hundred years earlier ([*Canterbury Tales*] 1483; STC 5083, Sig. A2^{v}). Therefore, editors had to make Middle English texts more accessible, either by modernizing the language or providing other forms of support, such as marginal glosses or glossaries. Their choice was inevitably influenced by early modern debates among authors and scholars over the English language and the pursuit of a recognizably English literature. Catherine Nicholson begins her examination of late-sixteenth-century poetic language and style by acknowledging that "vernacular writing took a turn for the eccentric" as some authors' "extravagant ornamentation, obscure archaism, and violent bombast" seemed to position them "at seemingly deliberate remove from the tongue whose reputation they helped to secure" (1). In the preface to Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes*

Calender (1579; STC 23089), for example, "E.K." provides an extensive justification for Spenser's use of "auncient" words in imitation of earlier poets, including Chaucer. Among a great number of poets and rhetoricians through the century—especially in its final decades—there was an impulse to develop a uniquely English poetics and history (Nicholson 2). However, the extent to which this and similar debates influenced editors of Middle English printed books largely depended on the individual case: authors recognized for their significant literary contributions to English poetry (Chaucer) were more likely to be "restored"; romances (*Isumbras*), foreign authors (Henryson), and prose treatises prepared to address contemporary issues (Lydgate) were more likely to be modernized to varying degrees. The editor's own goals and audience were important factors influencing their decisions.

The passing of time also affected the relevance and value of texts. Because the texts were from another historical context, their subject matter was not always familiar to readers or did not serve its original social purpose. For example, the chivalric ideals and morals of medieval romances were not always as applicable to early modern readers, but the stories could nevertheless be emphasized for their entertainment value (see Chapter 3). Similarly, political commentary might no longer have allegorical value to a later reader, but it could be relevant as a political *exemplum* (see Chapter 4). Editors were required to make the older texts that were no longer relevant serve a new purpose in order to renew their value, and this was accomplished by altering the context in which those texts were found. Various forms of paratext could be added to influence readers or to instruct them how to read the older texts. Alternatively, codicological features of the book could be altered to point readers towards a new perspective with which to engage the text and to determine its value. Such value, though, was also dependent on people's acceptance of the texts. Through the sixteenth century, Middle English texts were subject to increasing negative criticism for their language, their content, and their morality. Some humanist

writers, like Roger Ascham, believed romances were the products of Catholic monks (see Chapter 1); some Protestant writers, like John Wharton, associated medieval texts with immorality and base values (see Chapter 5); and some poets, like Thomas Nashe, found the archaic language of Middle English texts distasteful and obtuse (see Chapter 3). Editors frequently addressed these concerns in order to prepare suitable texts for the growing number of consumers who called for more English content (see Chapter 2), and I examine their different strategies in the following chapters.

Identifying the Editor in Early Modern Books

The books that I examine in this study were chosen as a diverse selection of texts broadly categorized as secular Middle English literature. Each book provides clear examples of specific editorial principles, methods and practices. Together, they represent a diverse selection of editorial purposes and goals. Although I address all relevant editorial practices when discussing each text, each chapter emphasizes a particular area of editorial focus, such as textual editing or codicological features. The selected texts also represent scales of perceived value in relation to authorship and genre. The selection includes an anonymously authored medieval romance, fables "compiled" by a foreigner, a political treatise authored by a monk, and courtly poetry authored by the "father" of English poetry. They also reveal common concerns shared among editors of all kinds of Middle English texts. The scope of these texts allows me to identify similarities and differences in editorial principles, methods and practices in a representative selection of Middle English literature and to avoid the limited claims that scholars have made in the past by focusing, most commonly, on Geoffrey Chaucer alone.

My work is distinct from other examinations of early modern editors because it compares and contrasts what editors say they are doing and what they actually did. Through sustained analysis of prefatory material and other paratext, I identify the intentions and goals that each

editor claims to have for his edition and use those to guide my assessment of his book. This approach enables me to evaluate the extent to which the ideals that early editors write about in their prefaces were met in reality. It also provides insight to how editors perceived their texts and how they understood the purpose of their interjections. For editors who do not provide a preface, I compare their books to earlier editions and consider additional influences, such as social criticism, biographical information, and historical context, in order to infer the editor's intentions and goals.

Paratext, especially prefatory material, often includes direct addresses from the editor to the reader in which the former might identify what he had done, justify his actions, justify a text's value, assert his own authority, or provide reading instructions. For example, in his preface to his first edition of *Piers Plowman* (1550; STC 19906), Robert Crowley provides readers with instructions for reading William Langland's alliterative verse and historical details about the author and text. Crowley explains that "it pleased God to open the eyes of many to se hys truth [...] as did John Wicklefe [...] and this writer" (Sig. a2^{r}). Crowley, who would be ordained one year later and subsequently left England as a Marian exile, identifies in *Piers* a universal truth that is as applicable to early modern Protestants as it was to the people who lived when the text was written:

> Nowe for that whiche is written in the .l. leafe, co[n]cerning the suppression of Abbaies: the scripture there alledged, declareth it to be gathered of the iuste iudgment of god, whoe wyll not suffer abomination to raigne vnpunished. Loke not vpon this boke therfore, to talke of wounders paste or to come, but to amende thyne owne misse, which thou shalt fynd here moste charitably rebuked. The spirite of god gyue the grace to walke in the waye of truthe, to Gods glory, & thyne owne soules healthe. (Sig. a2^{v})

Perceiving *Piers* as a literary work that presents the truth of God and exposes the corruption of the Church, Crowley provided paratextual directions to inform readers how to access the unfamiliar poetic style in order to encourage their spiritual growth through the spiritual *exemplum*. In later editions of the same work, Crowley would attempt to highlight for readers the more relevant passages by added marginal glosses, which could also be used to index passages for study. Like Crowley, most of the editors I examine provide insight into their goals and motivations in prefatory material, some more explicitly than others. These insights can also be found in other forms of paratext, such as prefatory poems, dedicatory letters, title pages, epilogues, and others.

For books in which the editor does not openly announce his goals or that lack a preface, I infer editorial intentions by comparing the editor's work to earlier editions and by considering the book's features in relation to the historical context. Compared to earlier editions of *Sir Degare*, William Copland's c. 1565 edition (STC 6472.5) appears intended to recreate a more accurate physical reflection of medieval manuscripts than the editions of Wynkyn de Worde (c. 1512; STC 6470 and c. 1535; STC 6470.5) and John King (c. 1560; 6472). Following King's lead, Copland removed all of the woodcuts found in de Worde's editions except for the image of a knight, which serves as a title page. Copland also removed all references to time and place found in King's edition, such as the year of publication on the title page and a reference to printing location found in King's colophon. By removing these features, Copland made his edition appear similar to manuscript versions of *Degare*, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson F.34. The reason for Copland's approach, we might surmise, was to enhance readers' experience of escapism that they sought from medieval romances; as Louis B. Wright notes, "these knightly romances provided the populace with a literature of escape analogous to that now supplied by a deluge of short stories and novels" (376). This escapism, I suggest, was enhanced

by the appearance of the pages, which were made to resemble certain kinds of earlier manuscripts. Compared to his earlier printings of other manuscripts, Copland's edition of *Sir Degare* is simplified and looks more characteristic of an average, unembellished manuscript page. These methods of inferring intention are, of course, less reliable insofar as they are conditional on extant material and the completeness of the surviving historical record; nonetheless, they provide an opportunity to better understand the editor's role in the production process. Additionally, for instances in which an editor does announce his goals in the prefatory material, the existence of earlier editions and knowledge of the cultural circumstances establish points of comparison against which to compare the editor's claims and thus provide a more dynamic understanding of the editor's practices and influence.

My theoretical perspective is based on my understanding of the book as an expressive form. Following D.F. McKenzie, I recognize the important relationship between the material form and the contents of books and the people who produce them; books are the product of agency, and therefore result from human intention—whether a book fulfills the intentions of those who made it is another matter. This formula is true of both the nineteenth-century books from New Zealand that McKenzie examines in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* and the medieval manuscripts and early modern printed books that I examine in this study. McKenzie describes how "the material forms of books, the non-verbal elements of the typo-graphic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning" (17). My work examines how these forms are selected, prepared and coordinated by an individual, the editor, for the purposes of articulating a meaning that comes about through the synthesis of their *expressive functions*. This approach rests on my assumption that human intentionality is a factor in the design of a book. As McKenzie explains, "any history of the book which excluded study of the social, economic, and political motivations of

publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed to die, would degenerate into a feebly degressive book list and never rise to a readable history" (13). Books are made by people; furthermore, they are prepared for people, sold by people, shared by people, and read by people as material objects.

Given the importance I have placed on the physical book, I have consulted at least one physical copy of each of the primary printed books and manuscripts discussed in each chapter; specific library copies are identified when relevant. However, I quote the text of most early printed books from digital copies accessed from the online database Early English Books Online.

Chapter Outline

My study is an examination of the relationship between people and books. Although I take a different approach in each chapter when examining individual editors, their practices and their books, there are several underlying principles that govern my analyses. In Chapter 1, I establish the theoretical perspective and methodological principles that guide my study of individual editors. I begin by establishing a working definition of early modern editors and outline their position in relation to other people involved in book production. I then outline my approach for examining their editorial goals and intentions, and the practices by which their success can be measured.

In Chapter 2, I examine the relationship between William Caxton's paratext and the growth of the English printed book market in order to provide an initial overview of the print culture that sixteenth-century editors inherited and an introduction to some editorial uses of paratext. I begin the chapter by outlining the context in which vernacular printed books rose to prominence in early modern England in order to provide the background in which to better understand both the rise of sixteenth-century editors in general and the uniqueness of the roles played by English editors of Middle English literature. Caxton's decision to focus on vernacular

texts, I argue, was the result of economic circumstances that made English books the most viable point of entry into a market that was already dominated by products from international printers. To increase the appeal of his vernacular books, Caxton made a concerted effort to justify the value of the English literature that he introduced into a market that centred on Latin and French books; his success depended on his ability to grow the demand for vernacular works, which meant encouraging the growth of new classes of readers beyond those already established. Therefore, Caxton used his paratext as a means to make his case about both the validity of English literature and the value of reading to people regardless of their estate. His use of paratext to engage directly with readers is an early example of how early modern editors would contribute their own writings to provide readers with relevant information.

Chapters 3 through 6 examine individual sixteenth-century English editors of Middle English literature, evaluating their goals against the practices that they performed in order to shape the meaning of their books. In Chapter 3, I discuss the earliest editor of the printed editions of *Sir Isumbras*, whose extensive textual-editing practices combined several early tools of textual criticism in order to create a version of the Middle English verse romance that simultaneously appealed to the tastes of early modern readers and altered plot elements critics of romances found distasteful or immoral. The chapter is a hybrid study that combines a more traditional approach to textual criticism—like Nicholas Jacob's study of the manuscripts and print editions of *Sir Degare*—with a historically specific close reading of *Sir Isumbras*. By collating its early print editions with earlier manuscript versions, I reveal the *t*-editor's (so named after the stemma branch that he represents) sophisticated textual-editing practices and his approach towards creating a story that attempts to satisfy the preferences of both early modern readers and critics of the romance genre. These preferences were in many ways at odds; material evidence suggests that readers enjoyed the chivalric elements of romances while critics found the

secular form of entertainment vain and vulgar. By accounting for both perspectives and examining them in relation to the collated texts, I am able to understand better the editor's textual choices and, thus, infer his goals for his own edition. The *t*-editor combined readings from multiple manuscripts and added over a hundred new lines in order to both retain and develop the didactic elements of *Isumbras* while also enhancing the imagery and activity of its battle scenes and highlighting common romance tropes. His edition reveals the extent to which early editors might alter the text of even popular fictions in order to make them appealing to an early modern readership.

In Chapter 4, I develop the concept of "codicological translation" in my examination of Edward Allde's 1590 edition of John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* (STC 17029) and Richard Smith's 1577 edition of Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables* (STC 186.5). Building on Coldiron's conception of "Englishing," I propose my own formulation of the concept whereby the content and features of books were "translated" or familiarized in a such a manner that English readers would be willing to read books that might otherwise be dismissed for religious and cultural reasons indirectly related to the text. Smith, I argue, performed a codicological translation to prepare his edition of Henryson's *Fables* because, according to his own paratext, some English readers perceived Scots as brutes and were therefore uninterested in Scottish books. In order to encourage English readers to read the moral *exemplum*, Smith Anglicized and modernized the text while also adding paratext that explain and justify his work. Smith set these textual elements within a book that he had prepared by Englishing its codicological features. As a result, the book and its contents looked more aesthetically familiar and inviting to English readers than Smith's source. Although Henryson wrote the *Fables* in Early Scots, I include him among the Middle English writers on which this study focuses because, like his contemporary Lydgate, Henryson was heavily influenced by and often imitated the style of Chaucer. Like Smith, Allde

added paratext and altered the appearance of the codicological features of his source in order to encourage his audience to read the material that he believed to be important within the political climate of the day. Whereas Smith's codicological translation was more common insofar as it translated a Scottish work into an English work, Allde's codicological translation focused on *when* it was being produced, updating a late medieval text and presenting it as an early modern work. Although the text was originally written by Lydgate as a political *exemplum* upon the death of Henry V, Allde's paratext highlight's his belief that *Serpent* could be used to allegorize the precarious nature of Elizabeth I's succession and to warn people about the dangers of civil strife. However, after Elizabeth succeeded her sister, Mary I, the work of Lydgate became unpopular and many people viewed the work of a Catholic monk with suspicion. In order to make his book a desirable product, Allde further modernized his source and couched the work within paratextual material and codicological features that drew attention away from the text's author. Because both Allde and Smith used earlier print editions as their sources, direct comparisons between the editions provide a clearer sense of what features each editor determined necessary to change in order to achieve their goals.

I end my examination of early modern print editors of Middle English literature in Chapter 5 by looking at the work of Thomas Speght, whose work on Chaucer represents arguably the first critical edition of an English author. In response to the growing criticism concerned with the increasing alterity of Chaucer's work, Speght simultaneously attempted to establish an authoritative text that had been restored from centuries of corruption while also introducing several reading resources in order to enable readers to sufficiently engage with and comprehend the 1598 (STC 5077, 5078, 5079) and 1602 (STC 5080, 5081) editions of *Chaucers Workes*, printed by Adam Islip. Speght's paratext reveals what and how he contributed to the editions and identifies several forms of negative criticism directed toward Chaucer's texts. My

analysis of the sources of Speght's paratextual contributions reveals that he employed a methodology that I call "gathering and framing" because of its similarities to the humanist scholarly practices of the same names described by Mary Thomas Crane. Among the editors that I examine in this study, Speght has received far more attention from scholars due to his innovations and Chaucer's revered position in early modern England; however, no previous study has considered Speght's work as a response to negative criticism (likely) because even those who criticized Chaucer in the sixteenth century often did so by couching their concerns and grievances within enthusiastic praise. The tension created by these ambiguously positive and negative critiques reinforce my assertion that Speght's books are meant to monumentalize Chaucer's original (restored) and revered texts while also making them accessible by a new generation of readers and scholars.

Finally, I reinforce my arguments concerning sixteenth-century editors of Middle English literature by looking outside the main sample and examining another early modern Chaucer editor who, around 1600, attempted to restore an early-fifteenth-century manuscript with content copied from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*. Joseph Holand, then owner of Cambridge, University Library MS Gg 4.27, had scribes copy select material from Speght's text in order to supply missing text and supplemental paratext to the heavily damaged manuscript, an early effort to collect Chaucer's corpus within a single codex, much like the *Workes*. In addition to employing many of the same editorial practices I explore in this thesis, Holland made use of a practice that I have named "selective copying and purposeful omission." By carefully selecting the material that he wished to keep and omitting specific material, Holand was able to copy selections of Speght's paratext verbatim in order to shape a reader's perception of Chaucer and his ideologies in very specific ways. Holand's selections also extend to Chaucer's text, wherein he selectively chose to restore certain poems but not others. I argue, based on topical and

thematic patterns that I find in both the material copied and omitted, that Holand uses this methodology in order to justify Chaucer's poetry and to align Chaucer's values with his own sixteenth-century values (influenced by Protestantism, humanism, and nationalism), which I have determined, in part, through biographical study. Despite restoring the manuscript, Holand, like the print editors examined in this study, recontextualized his texts in order to revise the meaning of his book and to alter readers' perception of its value and relevance.

Chapter 1: The Phenomenon of Sixteenth-Century Editors

This study focuses on editors in the sixteenth century even though the word *editor* only came to be used in 1649 (*OED*). I justify my use of this anachronistic term because there are clear examples of sixteenth-century individuals performing practices commonly associated with modern editors even if they would not have used this word to describe their work. Whatever their title, the individuals under my consideration performed an *editorial function*, altering the contents and appearances of their texts and books in order to transform them: in some cases, these individuals intervened in the process in order to make texts more accessible, either in terms of language or content; in other cases, they altered works in order to refine or to revise them for a social or cultural purpose. Ultimately, each of the editors under my consideration had to establish the value of a Middle English book for early modern readers. In this chapter, I present a working definition of an early modern editor and outline some of the key elements of early modern English society and print culture that most influenced editors' choices and practices. I then examine early modern editors in relation to other positions found within printing houses and account for some of the difficulties of studying the not-yet established position of the editor. Finally, I outline the process by which I determine editorial intentions and goals, which I follow with a brief survey of some of the more common practices that editors might use to accomplish their goals.

Sixteenth-Century Editors: a working definition

I begin with the premise that sixteenth-century editors are best defined by what they did: mediate the meaning of texts and books through editorial intervention. The editor served as an intermediary between the text, the physical book and the reading experience. He asserted control over a text's meaning by recognizing how the material context in which the text is placed

influences the readers' reception of it.[1] The editor defined a text's meaning, whether it be the meaning that he perceived the *original* text as having (i.e., the author's meaning) or the meaning that he wished to introduce into it by altering, supplementing, censoring, and/or manipulating the text and its codicological context. In order to control the text's meaning, the editor managed the book's paratext and codicological features. He worked with the printer to mediate the process of producing a physical object that could contain said meaning. The editor subsequently endeavoured to make that meaning accessible—both linguistically and intellectually—for the reader. Broadly speaking, editors attempted to make texts relevant and to establish their value, acts that were increasingly justified, I suggest, as those who performed the editorial function in the production of sixteenth-century books proved themselves to be increasingly knowledgeable in the subjects and authors that they edited.

Early modern editors do not conform entirely to modern definitions of "editor" because the role of the editor was less clearly defined in this period than any other roles associated with early modern book production and publishing. Other positions, such as printers, compilers, and correctors, were better defined because their practices (tradecraft) were necessary to the physical production of books. Editors, however, did not have a list of pre-set skills or duties, and their practices were fluid and inconsistent during the formative years of print. As Stephanie Trigg notes, "the word 'edit' and its cognates [were] not used in the modern sense regularly before the eighteenth century" (123). Indeed, the earliest dated uses of the words "editor" and "edit,"

[1] Through this study, I refer to editors and printers with male pronouns because few women seem to have been involved in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century book production. The few examples that are known were widows who took over their husbands' printing presses or bookshops. These include: "a Widow Warwick," who is mentioned in an account record from 1527 (Kreps 1053); Elizabeth Pickering, who took over her husband's (Robert Redman's) press and became a printer of law books in 1540 (see Kreps, "Elizabeth Pickering"); and "the Widow Perrin," who took over John Perrin's bookshop after his death c. 1592, according to the title page of the third printing of Henry Smith's *The Trvmpet of the Soule, sounding to Judgement* (1593; STC 22709).

according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, were 1649 and 1791, respectively. The relevant definitions for each word focus predominantly on the act of publishing, or provide a very general reference to preparing a work:

> editor, *n.* "One who edits. // 1. The publisher of a book [...] // 2. One who prepares the literary work of another person, or number of persons for publication, by selecting, revising, and arranging the material; also, one who prepares an edition of any literary work."
>
> edit, *v.* "1. To publish, give to the world (a literary work by an earlier author, previously existing in MS.) [...] // 2. a. To prepare an edition of (a literary work or works by an earlier author) [...] // b. To prepare, set in order for publication (literary material which is wholly or in part the work of others)." (*OED*)

These definitions tend to blur the lines between different professions from the sixteenth century. With respect to publishing, early modern printers and publishers (commonly booksellers) were predominantly responsible for bringing books to market. While some printers and publishers may have performed an *editorial function* during the production of these works, such activities were distinct from their other duties. As for the act of preparation, the second definition of "editor" offers some sense of how editors prepared books and texts, sharing some practices with editors of the sixteenth century. However, the definition is not only vague, it does not explain why or to what end the editor prepares his text, nor is it able to account for the several other workers who might have prepared a work in one capacity or another during the early printing process. A printer might review and adjust the copy before a compiler creates a copytext; a corrector might revise an early copy after the typesetter has completed a new set of formes; etc.[2]

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[2] Except where noted, I use Joseph Dane's definitions in *What Is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* for all technical terms related to early modern printing and book production.

Additionally, given the variety of practices found in early modern books, it is evident that editors used a range of methods to prepare the works and performed those practices differently to produce different results.

Two prefatory poems highlight editors' understanding of their function as mediators between their texts and readers. In his 1577 edition of Robert Henryson's *Fables* (STC 186.5), Richard Smith—who both printed and edited the book—encounters Aesop in an allegorical poem titled "The argument betweene Esope and the Translatour." In the poem, Aesop, who dresses in "Scottish guise" (Sig. a3^{r}) to symbolize Henryson's verse, requests that Smith "translate" his "Scottish bookes" (Sig. a3^{v}) so that English readers can learn to "treade their way aright, / to blisse, from paines of hel" (Sig. a4^{r}). English readers, Aesop explains, "do not care for Scottish bookes, / they list not looke that way" (Sig. a3^{v}). In turn, Smith translates the Middle Scots of Henryson into early modern English and transforms several of the codicological features of earlier Scottish editions that he believed English readers would have found distasteful. More direct is the praise that Thomas Speght, editor of the 1598 (STC 5077, 5078, 5079) and 1602 (STC 5080, 5081) editions of *Chaucers Workes* printed by Adam Islip, receives from Chaucer in a poem signed by H.B. and titled "The Reader to Geffrey Chaucer" (1598 Sig. a4^{v}). Responding to the Reader's questions about "who is he that hath thy books repar'd," Chaucer identifies Speght as the man who "made old words, which were vnkown of many, / So plaine, that now they may be known of any." Whether "H.B." was the real contributor or a pseudonym for Speght himself is uncertain. Regardless, the poem asserts that Speght, like Smith before him, prepared his book so that readers would be willing and able to read it.

Smith, Speght, and other sixteenth-century editors faced challenges and opportunities unique to Middle English literature. In addition to the difficulties inherent with the changing language, the shift from manuscript culture to print culture brought new challenges as a result of

the changes in book-production technology. Because print technology was new, it took time for people to find ways to replicate the features of manuscripts. Complex poetic forms like that of John Skelton's *Speke Parrot* or Chaucer's graphic-tail rhyme in *Sir Thopas* appear to have posed technical problems for the earliest printers due to the restrictive nature of type layout and book sizes.[3] Early English printers seem not to have mastered the practices and techniques required to replicate the range of layouts available in manuscripts. William Caxton, for example, is known to have outsourced work to the French printer Guillaume Maynyal due to Caxton's lack of skill printing in multiple colours of ink (see Chapter 2). At the same time, editors had license to experiment with the new media. Because they did not have to answer to the authors—who were deceased by this time—they had the opportunity to change the meaning of their texts (through textual editing, censorship, or by changing the context in which it was situated). In turn, editors could experiment with new forms of paratext and codicological features. For instance, in the middle of the sixteenth century, new designs of printers' flowers—a kind of fleuron—were developed so that they could "be used not as single units, but as composed into serial patterns" (Flemming 48). These new designs could be used both aesthetically and/or practically (Flemming 48-52); the serial patterns created new banners that were often used as organizing tools to demarcate divisions between poems or book sections. Speght, for example, occasionally used them as physical markers between longer poems in his 1602 edition of *Chaucers Workes*.[4]

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[3] At the same time, the work of some late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century poets appears to mimic the forms of earlier poets because printers similarly copied their work from manuscripts. For this reason, Maura Nolan explains, it is "easy to see how early sixteenth-century poets were stylistically and thematically akin to the Lancastrian and Yorkist predecessors. Indeed, when the poetry of Wyatt (for example) was copied from its manuscript sources, it looked very much like the work of fifteenth-century lyricists—though that resemblance had been hidden by modern editing practices" ("New" 174). Printing was less of a break or shift from manuscript production than a continuation and evolution of the older practice. See, for example, the work of David McKitterick, Adrian Johns, and Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin.

[4] Although Adam Islip—the printer of Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes*—had used fleuron banners as decorations in some of his previous productions, I attribute the use of fleuron banners

The new technology of print gave sixteenth-century editors some degree of freedom, but this freedom was often curtailed as a result of shifts in the prevailing ideologies that dominated early modern England.

In addition to the challenges presented by the new technology, these editors had to engage with the textual alterity created by significant changes between the social, intellectual, political and theological contexts of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. For example, during the sixteenth century, scholars in England became increasingly interested in the value and potential of humanist scholarship.[5] Although England's humanism differed somewhat from that of the continent, it nonetheless had an important impact on scholars' and editors' values and practices. One practice that was not adopted by English humanists until much later than humanists elsewhere was textual criticism. According to Tim William Machan, "textual criticism only gradually spread northward [from Italy], next establishing itself in France with the work of Muret and becoming widespread in Germany first with the work of Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus and in England, perhaps, not until the efforts of Richard Bentley late in the seventeenth century and afterwards" (*Textual* 16). Machan's assessment is accurate with respect to established, systematic approaches wherein the goal was to recreate an authoritative text, such as was practiced by Poggio Bracciolini, for example. That said, many early English editors made a point of describing their efforts to restore texts that they deemed corrupt either by scribes or printers. The attempt to restore the complex language of Chaucer, for example, was a particular concern for many editors in the period. At the same time, the century saw a surge in the number of English vernacular readers (see Chapter 2). In order to make these texts accessible to the new

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as an organizational tool in the 1602 edition of *Chaucers Workes* to Speght because Islip had not used them in this manner in his earlier books *or* the 1598 edition, which was largely prepared before Speght's involvement in the project (see Chapter 5).

[5] See Carroll.

readers, some editors needed to modernize much of their language. As a result, editors had to make important decisions regarding their treatment of their texts as they prepared them for a new and growing consumer market.

Editors also had to be conscious of the contents of their book due to shifting attitudes among readers and the government resulting from theological matters. The Reformation, for example, led to significant changes in many readers' perceptions toward particular forms and genres of literature. Middle English texts were written at a time when Catholicism was dominant in England, so its forms and genres went in and out of vogue after the Middle Ages, depending on the reigning monarch. When Mary I was crowned in 1553, for example, her efforts to restore Catholicism as the religion of the nation recast the preceding period of the Reformation as one of difference; during Mary's reign, many books previously out of fashion in the past decades were reprinted and the work of notably Catholic writers, like John Lydgate, experienced a brief revival (see Chapter 4). At other times, the same texts were banned or censored for being suspected of spreading malevolent ideas. In 1543, for example, the "Acte for thadvauncement of true Religion and for athabbolisshment of the contrarie" (34 & 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1) was passed, in part, because

> malicious myndes willes and intents intending to subverte the veraye true and p[er]fecte exposic[i]on doctryne and declarac[i]on of saide Scripture, after theyre p[er]vers fantasies, have taken upon them not oonelie to preache teache declare and set foorthe the same by woords sermons disputac[i]ons and arguments, but allso by printed bokes printed balades playes rymes songes and other fantasies, subtellye and craftelye instructing his Hieghnes people and speciallye the youthe of this his Realme, untruelie and otherwyse thanne the scripture ought or shoulde be taught declared or expounded, and contrarye to the veraye sincere and godlye meaning of

> the same [...]: For reformac[i]on wherof his Majestie most vertuouslye and prudentlye considereth and thinketh, that it is and shalbe moste requysite expedient and necessarye not oonelie by lawes dredfull and penall to take awaie purge and clense this his Highnes Realme terrytoryes confynes domynions and Countreys, of all suche bokes wrytings sermons disputac[i]ons arguments balades playes rymes songes teachings and instrucc[i]ons [...] (*SRealm* 894)

Only select vernacular books were safe from this statute: "all bokes in Englishe printeed before [1540] intytled the Kings Hieghnes proclamac[i]ons injunctions, translac[i]ons of the Pater noster, the Ave maria and the Crede, the psalters prymers prayer statutes and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles Canterburye tales Chaucers bokes Gowers bokes and stories of mennes lieves" (*SRealm* 895). This particular law was repealed a few years later during the reign of Edward VI (1 Edw. VI, c.12), but some Middle English texts (and their readers) remained under suspicion or scrutiny due to the period when they were written.[6]

Sixteenth-century editors of Middle English literature often appear to be responding to negative criticism directed towards literature written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Reform-minded authors often express suspicion and fear that entertaining forms of literature were being used subversively to direct people towards sinful actions as part of a conspiratorial agenda. Broadly speaking, the criticism came first from theologians, then educators, and finally from readers who had difficulties understanding the language of Middle English authors. Their criticism generally focused on three areas of concern: the difficulty of the language or style, inappropriate or base uses of language, and the cultural relevance or the morality of the content.

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[6] Notable exceptions do exist, such as *Piers Plowman*, due to its perceived proto-Protestant ideas and anti-corruption values. People's acceptance of *Piers* was, in part, due to a sudden increase in the number of plowman poems written around the same time the statute was passed (Dane and Beesemyer 124-125).

For example, William Tyndale, who first translated the New Testament into English for print, attacks Middle English fictions in his book *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528; STC 1528):

> Fynally that this thretenynge and forbiddynge the laye people to reade the scripture is not for love of youre soules & which they care for as y^{e} foxe doeth for y^{e} gysse […] is evide[n]te & clerer the[n] the sonne, in as moch as they permitte & so fre you to reade Robyn hode & bevise of ha[m]pto[n], hercules, hector a[n]d troylus with a tousande histories & fables of love & wa[n]tones & of rybaudry as fylthy as herte ca[n] thinke to corrupte y^{e} myndes of youth with all, clene co[n]trary to the doctrine of christe & of his apostles. (Sig. C4^{v})

Tyndale characterizes a range of literary genres as being morally corrupt and detrimental to young Christian minds. He condemns English ballades, romances, and, through what appears to be a reference to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, courtly histories (though Tyndale may have meant Classical texts, in general, given the preceding reference to Hercules). Similar claims are leveled directly toward individual genres, especially the romances. Roger Ascham, a humanist educator, famously condemns Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* and other romances in *The Scholemaster* (1570; STC 832):

> In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauyng certaine bookes of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, *Morte Arthure*: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open manslaughter, and bold bawdrye. (Sig. I2^{r})

Ascham was among many who condemned Middle English romances based on associations that he suspected they had with Catholic monks. Yet, the Protestant educator also praised the work of Chaucer, referring to him as the "English Homer." Many other readers agreed with Ascham on the poet's significance and value, but nevertheless found Chaucer's poetry frustrating to read. In his 1586 *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, William Webbe, a critic and translator educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, acknowledges that the poems of Chaucer, "the God of English Poets," require a significant amount of contemplation to appreciate:

> Though the manner of hys stile may seeme blunte and course to many fine English eares at these dayes, yet in trueth, if it be equally pondered, and with good judgment aduised, and confirmed with the time wherein he wrote, a man shall perceiue thereby euen a true picture or perfect shape of a right Poet. (qtd. in Spurgeon 1.129)

Webbe continues by lauding the poet, yet this particular passage acknowledges that the language of Chaucer's poetry was less aesthetically pleasing to some audiences of the sixteenth century than it was to earlier audiences. Editors both responded to the criticism that this short sampling represents and justified the printing of such texts in the sixteenth century.

In their capacity as mediators, early modern editors of Middle English texts responded to criticism against the material with which they worked as they found themselves in a position of authority over the text. This authority largely came about from the editor's knowledge of literature and language and his ability either to identify or to invest a modern relevance in the older works that spoke directly to such criticism. Robert Crowley, a poet, publisher and subsequently ordained Protestant clergyman among Marian exiles, spoke to concerns regarding the moral and spiritual validity of *Piers Plowman* in the preface of his three editions of *Piers Plowman* (1550; STC 19906, 19907, 19907a):

> [William Langland,] in whose tyme it pleased God to open the eyes of many to se hys truth, giuing them boldenes of herte, to open their mouthes and crye oute agaynste the workes of darckenes, as dyd Iohn Wicklyfe, who also in those dayes translated the holye Byble into the Englishe tonge, and this writer who in reportynge certayne visions and dreames, that he sayned hym selfe to haue dreamed, doth most christianlie enstructe the weake, and sharplye rebuke the obstynate blynde. There is no maner of vice, that reygneth in anye estate of men, whyche thys wryter hath not godly, learnedlye, and wittilye, rebuked. (Sig. a2^{r})

This passage firmly positions both Crowley and Langland on the side of Protestants, identifying Langland as one of the first of whom "it pleased God to open the eyes." Speaking to the first sentence of this passage, Larry Scanlon accurately observes, "There is no doubt that this sentence claims for Crowley's Protestant present a categorical privilege over England's Catholic past, nor that Crowley equates Langland and Wyclif, claiming them both as Protestants *avant la lettre*, or more literally, *voces clamantium*" (59). In this manner, Crowley authorizes *Piers* as part of the Reformation's history, narrated as the "visions and dreames" that Langland himself (as narrator of *Piers*) claims to have witnessed. Aware that the alliterative poetic style of *Piers* was uncommon for the sixteenth century, Crowley explains to his reader how the long poem is written: "He wrote altogither in miter: but not after y^{e} maner of our rimers that wryte nowe adaies (for his verses ende not alike) but the nature of hys miter is, to haue three wordes at the leaste in euery uerse which begyn with some one letter" (Sig. a2^{r}). By explaining the unfamiliar poetic form and subsequently providing an example, Crowley establishes that he is familiar with the older work and sufficiently skilled to prepare it for early modern readers. Crowley's authority as an editor derives not only from the content that is appended to the text—as it is for

some editors—but also through his demonstrable knowledge of Middle English poetic forms and language.

Editorial Authority and the Printing House Craftsmen

Despite editors' influence and authority in the production of books, scholarship of the period has tended to privilege printers over editors due to the prominence of the former's names in the published material and their position within the printing house.[7] This privileging has resulted in frequent attribution of textual agency to the printer even when such circumstances are unlikely. This practice seems to occur largely due to convenience as a result of the present lack of information known about the dynamics of the early modern printing house. Additionally, there is precedent of some English printers of incunables—books printed prior to 1501—to announce their own editing practices in prefatory material.[8] The best-known example of such claims pertaining to the earliest printed English texts is Caxton's declaration of his textual-editing practices in his 1483 second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, wherein he announces that he has used another manuscript to improve the current edition (1483; STC 5087). Caxton's large corpus of prefaces reveals the significant role he played in the preparation of the texts that he printed, but later printers were less transparent. In many other cases, the only clue to identifying the people involved in the production of many early printed books is found in a colophon or, for books printed after c. 1530, a title page, both of which usually only provide the name of the printer and sometimes the location of either his printshop or his bookstand (Bennett, *English* 209).[9] William Copland's c. 1560 edition of *Bevis of Hampton* (STC 1988.8) provides an

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[7] Notable exceptions include Stephanie Trigg, Tim William Machan, A.E.B. Coldiron and Alexandra Gillespie.

[8] The practice becomes less common for books printed later in the century, especially with respect to texts of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Lydgate printed after the deaths of Richard Pynson (d. 1529) and Wynkyn de Worde (d. c. 1534).

[9] H.S. Bennett's date of 1530 for the regular addition of title pages is a little late by my estimation. Several of de Worde's and Pynson's books are printed with title pages before this

example of a typical colophon: "Imprynted at london in the vinetre-vpon the thre Crane wharfe, by William Coplande" (Sig. S3^{v}). Title pages, which were first common among larger folio editions like Thomas Berthelet's 1532 first edition of John Gower's *Confessio amantis* (STC 12143), generally provide the same information: "Imprinted at London in Flete strete by thomas Berthelette Printer to the kingis grace, AN. M.D.XXXII. CVM PRIVILEGIO." Beyond the names of printers, however, the publishing information remained quite limited and rarely identified the editor, much less other workers from the printing house. Since the printer's name was often the only name available in the book's publishing information, his name was also representative of his printing house.[10]

Comparing the printer to a company figurehead is not historically inaccurate. H.S. Bennett helpfully reminds his readers, "We naturally hear most about the printers themselves, although they were necessarily assisted by a number of helpers about whom we are far less clear" (*English* 179). How many people each printer had to assist him is unclear. The number of apprentices and journeymen likely grew for successful printers over the course of their careers, and larger printing houses in the latter half of the sixteenth-century likely had more assistants than those active in the earlier half. Bennett examines printers' wills to get a sense of the numbers; de Worde, who was extremely active at the beginning of the century, refers to six employees and two recent apprentices in his will (*English* 179). Some printers had sufficient

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date. However, it is fairly accurate in relation to the practice of placing the printer's name on the title page instead of in a colophon.

[10] Near the mid sixteenth century, it became more common for printers to include the name of a publisher and/or bookseller (commonly the same person) along with their own in the publishing information. For example, the title page of Richard Lant's c. 1545 edition of *Certayne Bokes Compiled by Mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat* reads: "Printed at London by Richard Lant, for Henry Tab, dwelling in Pauls churchyard, at the sygne of Iudith." Following the Company of Stationers receipt of a royal charter in 1557, it also became common practice among some printers to avoid placing their own names in the books and only providing the booksellers; John Day and William Copland are both known for doing this, though they also placed their names on other works (see the records of the ESTC).

demand to run multiple presses, each of which needed to be staffed. Edward Allde, for example, operated two presses by 1615, a likely result of being "one of five appointed printers responsible for the printing of all ballads" between 1612 and 1620 (*ODNB*). Regardless of the number of employees, however, each worked under the supervision of the printer, and thus under his name.

The editor's authority over the book and its text(s) should not be mistaken for authority within the printing house; that role fell to the "master printer," who may or may not be the editor of the books that he printed. Despite their title, printers like Allde performed a wide range of duties, foremost among which was the running of a business. Due to the increasing day-to-day demands of those businesses, printers became less involved in the individual activities of the production process, including editing. Early printers like Caxton and Pynson were necessarily involved in the production and publishing of their books, engaging with the product from editing, to printing, to sales because of the industry's infancy. Later printers, however, were not in a position (either by need or desire) to overlap duties with other positions as often, if at all. Joseph Moxon's second volume of *Mechanick Exercises: Or, the Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing* (1683) introduces "the Office of a *Master-Printer*" as "the Directer of all the Work men [;] he is the Base (as the *Dutchmen* properly call him) on which the Workmen stand, both for providing Materials to Work withal, and successive variety of Directions how and in what manner and order to perform that Work" (9). Moxon describes the master printer as the authority figure of a print shop, the person responsible for providing all of the equipment, materials, and necessary training required to enable employees to do each of their parts within the production process. Although Moxon's book describes printing houses in the second half of the seventeenth century, it provides relevant insight to what late-sixteenth-century printing houses might have looked like. While a printer at the end of the sixteenth century might still

perform multiple roles on occasion, the practice became less common as the demands of all positions required increasing specialization to meet changing demands.

Moxon's volume also provides detailed insight into two other positions, compositors and correctors, that are occasionally mistaken for the editor due the editor's lack of defined practices and his irregular employment by printers and publishers. Whereas editors generally engaged with the text *prior* to production when copy was being prepared—either before the printer received copy or after—both the compositor and the corrector worked closely with the text *during* the printing process. Of the two, the Compositor was more likely to have an editorial influence since it was his job to set each forme. Occasionally, the compositor may have cast off the copies.[11] However, Moxon insists that a "*Compositor* is strictly to follow his *Copy*, viz. to observe and do just so much and no more than his *Copy* will bear him out for; so that his *Copy* is to be his Rule and Authority" (198). The compositor set type in accordance with the copy given to him by the printer, selecting as appropriate the relevant letters, style, symbols, etc. Since errors could easily occur during this process (because the letters were inverted for the press, the forme appeared backwards, and type could easily be mixed up in the trays), an initial printing was brought to a corrector:

> The *Compositer* either carries [to] him [the corrector] a *Proof*, or sends the Boy with it to his Appartment, which is commonly some little Closet adjoyning to the *Composing-room*: And the *Master-Printer* appoints him some one that is well skill'd in true and quick Reading, to Read the *Copy* to him, whom I shall call the *Reader*.
>
> This *Reader*, as I said, Reads the *Copy* to him, and the *Correcter* gives attention; and at the same time carefully and vigilantly examines the *Proof*, and considers the

[11] See Moxon, Section 9 (250-257).

> *Pointing*, *Italicking*, *Capitalling*, or any error that may through mistake, or want of Judgement be committed by the *Compositer*. (261)

The corrector, in short, was a proof reader. He examined the compositors' proof for language and spelling errors, as well as mistakes in type, layout, and similar features.[12] Like the compositor, the corrector was in a position to influence a text, but he was not the primary source of editorial decisions.

My efforts to distinguish the work of the various positions involved in printing should not obscure the fact that the production of books is a collaborative act that involves multiple people whose individual roles may or may not come in conflict as they all contribute to the book's meaning to some degree. While an editor might believe that textual accessibility requires marginal glosses or a glossary, a compiler might believe that it requires changes to spelling and orthography; while a printer may wish to save money by adding additional lines to a column, an editor may be more concerned about the visual presentation of stanza layouts. Printing, as Alexandra Gillespie states, consists of "complex processes and relationships" (*Print* 25) wherein the decisions and practices of each individual involved may have some influence on a book's creation and meaning, either positively or negatively. In this respect, the process shares many similarities with manuscript production. In manuscript culture, Anthony Bale explains, "authors had little control over the meaning that their texts might be given by their readers" because they "had little control over the material form that their texts took" (919). Rather, the material form of the text was determined by those involved in their reproduction, including scribes, translators, compilers and others who might "play a significant role in the production of narrative and the

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[12] For additional discussion of compilers, see Moxon, Vol. 2, 197-267. For more information on correctors, including their shorthand abbreviations, see Section 23 (260-265). For a description of the printing process more specific to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Bennett, Chapter 9 (*English* 198-238).

rewriting of the text. Responsibility for 'meaning' was not invested in any one person" (919). Bale's assessment of manuscript production is accurate, and I assert the same can be said about early modern printing, especially of Middle English texts since the authors of these texts were deceased and subsequently held no influence in the production process. Although I acknowledge the potential influence of anyone who contributed to the reproduction of these texts, I privilege the editor insofar as I assert it is his conception of the book's meaning that is collectively executed. I consider the editor's primary concern to be the mediation of the book's meaning, and I contend that it was the editor who determined the purpose of the *editorial function* as well as the best means of successfully implementing it.

Middle English Editors' Intentions, Goals and Practices

My study examines what editors claim to be doing in their own words and evaluates these claims in relation to their edited book's comprehensive meaning and the historical contexts in which they worked. I am primarily interested in how editors, in their own paratextual writings, describe their goals, and I evaluate those claims against the results of their editorial function. Of course, such a comparison is not always a direct assessment, and the claims of editors must be considered in relation to external social, historical and literary factors. Caxton's apologies for the rudeness of his speech seem less sincere once readers recognize how frequently they appear in his other books; a reader might question why Caxton did not employ someone with stronger language skills to prepare his texts, especially given his propensity to explain the value of each text. However, the frequency with which Caxton offers these apologies implies that he was employing a humility trope that was commonly used by late medieval writers. Caxton possibly believed that by demonstrating his knowledge of the trope, readers would see his familiarity with

the literature and accept his literary and textual authority. Hence, I read the paratextual material of editors through the same critical lens with which I read their texts.[13]

Prefatory material is the primary source of information for understanding an editor's goals and against which to test them. Cathy Shrank refers to prefaces and dedicatory epistles as "crucial platform[s] for display" ("Scribal" 304) because they embody an intimacy that is otherwise lost in the transition from manuscript culture to print culture.[14] In Shrank's terms, "the prefatory matter of early modern books was a site of negotiation" ("Scribal" 302). In particular, prefaces written to the reader are the most common space wherein editors declare their intentions, either explicitly or implicitly. Within the prefatory matter, the editor could simultaneously identify what he had done, justify his actions, justify the text's value, assert his own authority, provide reading instructions, etc. In his preface addressed to Henry VIII in his 1532 edition of *Chaucers Workes* (STC 5068),[15] William Thynne describes his interest in Chaucer, his efforts to collect manuscripts containing Chaucer's works, and his collation of multiple texts in order to identify the many errors in each. He then states:

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[13] Since I am making claims about editors' beliefs—and, therefore, their intentions—I qualify these claims by acknowledging that absolute certainty is not possible. However, I do believe that allowing myself to analyze the evidence in order to infer what editors were most likely thinking (or even possibly thinking) provides valuable insights with which to better understand early modern producers of books that would otherwise not be possible by avoiding such questions. If nothing more, the physical presentations of these texts reveal how editors wished their audiences to see those particular contents; this is not a claim about authorial intent, but rather about acknowledging the editor as a reader, as well. According to D.F. McKenzie, bibliography "can, in short, show the human presence in any recorded text" (29). Indeed, books are made by people and, therefore, they are made with agency.

[14] See Shrank ("Scribal" 295-96). See also Chapter 2 in which I discuss the concept of "the editorial voice."

[15] Ironically, Thynne's preface was actually written by Brian Tuke. See Trigg, 128fn.41. On one hand, this fact may be dismissed because, as the editor, Thynne still authorized Tuke's preface. On the other hand, since they are the words of another writer, this may be sufficient reason to reject the claims outright with respect to Thynne's intentions. Regardless, the example demonstrates the imperative need to be critical when examining the specific language of paratext.

> I thought it in maner as pertenant vnto my dewtie, and that of very honesty and loue to my cou[n]try I ought no lesse to do tha[n] to put my helpyng hande to the restauracion and bringynge agayne to lyght of the said workes, after the trewe copies and exe[m]plaries aforesaid. (1532; Sig. a2^{v}-a3^{r})

The preface reveals that Thynne is not simply collecting and correcting Chaucer's poems, but also that he believes his doing so serves a patriotic duty. Aside from Thynne's additional reverence for Chaucer and England in the editor's preface, however, very little about Thynne's book gestures toward this patriotic agenda. One potential indication of this plan, though, is Thynne's decision to position the *Canterbury Tales*, a story about English people of various status and occupations travelling through England, in the privileged position of the first text of his collection. Previous efforts to collect Chaucer's corpus, including Pynson's 1526 collection of Chaucer folios[16] and the manuscript Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27, positioned *Troilus and Criseyde* ahead of the *Canterbury Tales*, likely due to its courtly appeal to earlier audiences. Thynne's interest in Chaucer's works about England is likewise indicated by his placement of the *Book of the Duchess*, a tale written upon the death of John of Gaunt's wife Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster (Benson 329), ahead of all of the other minor works. Nevertheless, Thynne's preface reveals the significance of critically reading editors' prefatory matter. Other paratextual sources that may contain similar information include dedicatory letters, epilogues, or title pages.

The editor's goals and intentions may also be inferred from three other sources of information: multiple editions, historical context, and contemporary criticism of Middle English

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[16] The collection, which is frequently extent as a bound collection, includes *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The boke of fame made by Geffray Chaucer: with dyuers other of his workes* and the *Canterbury Tales*. I am basing its order on the copy held in the British Library: General Reference Collection G.11584 (1-3).

texts and genres. My efforts to infer an editor's intentions by these methods, however, are limited to the materials that have survived, so readers should bear in mind that the processes that I am advocating for is a heuristic one. The implied goal that the editor achieved is not necessarily that which he intended, but potentially an unforeseen result of the production process or the editor's failure to perceive the analytic results of his work. The absence of prefatory material prevents the possibility of learning the editor's thoughts prior to, during, or after his interventions. Nonetheless, for cases in which multiple editions are available, the intentions of an editor of a later edition may be surmised based on the differences between the later text (and/or its paratext) and its source (regardless of whether the source is a manuscript or a printed book); these efforts are often aided by taking into account differences in the historical and cultural contexts in which the different editions were published. Because they often lack editorial prefaces, Middle English metrical romances are suitable examples for examining intention in this manner. Nicolas Jacobs's study of *Sir Degare*, for example, reveals that the romance underwent significant revision prior to Wynkyn de Worde's sixteenth-century printed edition. Jacobs's study of *Degare's* variants in the later editions reveal both efforts to correct and to clean up years of corruption as well as new errors typical of "copyists untrained in composition or literary appreciation to trivialize their text" (85). Jacobs believes that by the time early modern printers first considered publishing the romance, *Degare* "must have been as trashy in both form and content as any Middle English romance ever was" (86). Not surprisingly, then, the quality and value of romances were particular concerns for many critics in the sixteenth century; in his *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589; STC 18364)), Thomas Nashe refers to romances as "fantasticall dreames" (Sig. A2^{r}) composed of crude verse ("what scambling shyft [the poet] makes to ende his verses a like" [Sig. C1^{r}]). Publication of *Degare* in its fifteenth-century state surely would have confirmed and validated claims similar to those made later by Nashe. In turn,

the revisions made by de Worde's editor in the preparation of the c. 1512 edition suggest that he made a concerted effort to improve the quality of its verse ("not over-demanding in terms either of length or of complexity") and to "combin[e] fantasy and wish-fulfilment with a modicum of moral instruction" (Jacobs 87). Arguably, the editor of *Degare* attempted to appease both critics of romances—who thought the genre morally corrupt—and readers—who enjoyed the "fantasticall" elements of fiction.

To fulfill their goals, early modern print editors used a wide range of practices, several of which coincided with ones already developed by professional editors in countries like Italy. Brian Richardson's *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* is one of the most detailed and developed descriptions of the practices performed by early modern editors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and provides a useful point of comparison for this study. According to Richardson, a printer or a publisher in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Italy might hire an editor for one or more of four general reasons. First, "they might want to improve the [text's] readability" (*Print* 2). Second, the editor might look for or compile additional material for the book in order for "the edition to be as complete as possible" (*Print* 2). Third, the editor might be tasked with writing letters, commentary or dedicatory poetry "to project an image of themselves [the printer, publisher, and/or editor] as caring about accuracy" (*Print* 3). And, fourth, the editor might be hired in order "to stress that a book was up to date [because] newness was an important selling point in this period" (*Print* 3). Together, these four categories of services highlight Italian employers' distinct concerns with the presentation and desirability of their books. In other words, financially incentivized printers and publishers (craftsmen and merchants: businessmen) hired editors in order to develop a book in ways that would make it an attractive commodity.

Although Richardson's book provides an excellent starting point for examining the practices of editors in other European countries, several cultural and economic distinctions between Italy and England in the early modern period establish that the list cannot be wholly adopted. First, many of Richardson's reasons for hiring an editor stress the marketability of books based on the extreme competition of the Italian market. In England, there was far less competition among printers—especially over the same Middle English titles—until the second half of the sixteenth century. Second, Italian printers had more capital than English printers with which to hire editors to develop their books. This capital was generally the result of selling more books because Italy had a larger consumer base. Third, the larger print runs of Italian printers required more apprentices and journeymen, which meant that there was less overlap in their duties. In fact, while some printers hired professional editors who also worked as freelancers for both publishers and authors, others employed their own editors. In England, there is little evidence to suggest that *professional* editors existed, at least not until the rise of the scholarly gentleman in the mid sixteenth century.[17] In most cases, non-fiction texts were compiled and edited by a trade professional (such as an educator) who would then act as the publisher. Bennett describes the example of William Horman:

> In 1519 Pynson entered into an agreement with William Horman, Vice-Provost of Eton, to print for him a book called *Vulgaria*, consisting of aphorisms and sentences in English and Latin, compiled by Horman for the use of his pupils. It made a substantial quarto of 650 pages, and Horman asked for an edition of 800 copies, which Pynson agreed not to reprint for five years, without permission. (*English* 226)

[17] See 122-140 of Trigg's *Congenial Souls* for an examination of the rise of the gentleman scholars among readers and editors of Chaucer. Trigg does not identify a rise in professional editors, but rather an increase in amateur editors who prepared books as part of a community of like-minded readers and companions.

Horman's book serves as a reminder of the significance of an editor's knowledge in the book's subject matter. The example also confirms that printers were not the only position that might overlap with that of the editor.

Richardson's list of reasons for hiring an editor also implies that editors lacked the agency and authority that I have suggested were defining for English editors of Middle English literature to be able to achieve their goals, to address contemporary criticism and to mediate the growing alterity of Middle English texts. Although very little is known about how editors became involved in the publication of individual Middle English texts, their presence suggests that their knowledge of the content surpassed that of the printers, as Horman's did Pynson's, and that they knew best how to prepare the text and the codicological context in which it was best set. For this reason, many of the practices and contributions that I ascribe to the editor were necessary performed or implemented by others. I categorize these practices and contributions into four general categories: their treatment of the text; the addition of paratext; their treatment of codicological features; and their decisions regarding layout (*mise-en-page*) and compilation (*compilatio*).

When preparing a text for publication, editors of Middle English literature had to take into consideration both the language and content of their text. The editor's goals commonly determined how he approached the source material. He might add or remove content from the text in order to devise a story that readers would deem either more interesting, more consistent or more relevant to an audience of the period. If an editor based his copy off of multiple manuscripts, he would often have to choose an ideal copy or select from each. Thomas Berthelet describes the source of his confusion when he realized that multiple versions of the prologue to Gower's *Confessio amantis* existed: "In tyme paste whanne this warke was prynted, I can not very well coniecte, what was the cause therof, the prologue before was cleane altered" (Sig. a3^{r}).

Berthelet is dismayed at the existence of different versions but also "thought it good to warne the reder, that the writen copies do not agre with the prynted" (Sig. a3^{r}). As a result, he provides seventy lines from the alternative Prologue and associates them with other alternative lines, missing lines, misordered lines, missorted pages and changed words in order to highlight the superiority of his edition over the previous printed edition (Caxton's 1483 edition [STC 12142]). In other cases, editors chose how or whether to overcome the fragmentary nature of some Middle English texts, while others refrained from doing so for the purposes of "authenticity." Whereas all fifteenth- and sixteenth-century print editions of Chaucer's *House of Fame* (1483; STC 5087) include the twelve lines of verse that Caxton added to the end the unfinished poem, no efforts were made by the same editors to finish off the incomplete *Cook's Tale*. In other cases, though, significant efforts were made by editors to revise the content of stories, as I describe in Chapter 3 in my examination of *Sir Isumbras*.

Editors also had to decide how they wished to engage with the text concerning matters of language. Editors of Middle English had to take into consideration that many readers would not be equipped to read the changing language. According to Wendy Scase, "'Middle English' denotes the language *c.* 1100-*c.* 1500 in all its variety, as distinct from 'Old English' (or 'Anglo-Saxon'), the language used before the Norman Conquest of 1066" (11). Not only did the language greatly evolve over those four centuries, the language greatly varied among the several regional dialects. Thus, even by 1473, Caxton was concerned that readers of his translation of Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie* (STC 15375) might have trouble understanding his English since he was born in Kent in the early fifteenth century (Sig. a2^{v}). In response, editors could either modernize the language or "restore" it. Among popular fictions, such as Middle English romances, it is common to see language become increasingly modernized over subsequent editions. *Mandeville's Travels*, a text that maintained its popularity through the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is a particularly good example of this practice; a comparison of the first sentence of Thomas East's c. 1582 edition (STC 17251) and Thomas Snodham's 1618 edition (STC 17252) highlights the extent of modernization between the two editions:

> Forasmuch as the land ouer the Sea, that is to say, the holie land, that some call the land of Bihest, among all other lands is most worthie and soueraigne, for it is blessed, hallowed and sacred of the precious bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, in the which land it liked him to take flesh and bloud of the Uirgin Marie, and to enuiron that land with his owne feete [...] (East, Sig. A2^{r})

> Forasmuch as the Land beyond the Sea, that is, the Holy land, which, some call the Land of *Bihest*, among all other land is most worthy, in that Land it pleased our Lord to take flesh and bloud of the Virgin *Mary*, and to traverse that Land with his owne feet [...] (Snodham, Sig. A2^{r})[18]

In addition to the more modern orthography, spelling, capitalization, and diction, the rhetorical style of Snodham's edition is more direct and avoids some repetition. Alternatively, other editors attempted to restore the Middle English language that previous editions had either deliberatively or inadvertently corrupted. Restoration was a particular concern for Thomas Speght in his 1602 edition of *Chaucers Workes* because the superiority of Chaucer's verses depended on his original language and constructions. This approach defied critics who complained about Chaucer's language, but Speght, as I discuss in Chapter 5, responded by introducing several paratextual resources, including a glossary, to help readers overcome the reinforced alterity that resulted from his efforts to restore Chaucer's language.

[18] Stansby mistakenly signs this page "A3."

Early modern editors of Middle English literature might add paratext to their book to serve one of three primary functions: to highlight the value of the text, to help a reader access or comprehend the text; or to indicate how a text should be read. Paratext refers to any text within a book that is not part of the text(s)-proper (the prose, poetry, or drama that is being presented as the feature text of the codex). According to Gérard Genette, "A paratextual element, at least if it consists of a message that has taken on material form, necessarily has a *location* that can be situated in relation to the location of the text itself: around the text and either within the same volume or at a more respectful (or more prudent) distance" (4).[19] A book's paratext might include prefatory writings, poems, headers, pagination, etc. Editor's prefaces and dedications often highlight the significance of the book's texts, its value over a previous edition, and/or the importance and skill of the author. In his preface to Thomas Marshe's 1555 printing of John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (STC 5580), Robert Braham identifies Lydgate as "the verye perfect disciple and imitator of the great Chaucer" while also condemning Caxton's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* "to be nu[m]bred amongest the trifelinge tales and barrayne luerdries of Robyn Hode, & Beuys of Hampton, then remaine as a monume[n]t of so worthy an history" (Sig. A2^{r}). Braham dismisses Caxton's work, associating it with popular fictions, and associates Lydgate's text among those of historians, such as Dares and Dictys, identifying the *Troy Book* as "thonly trew & sincere english Cronicle, of that so worthye an histore" (Sig. A2^{v}). To help readers navigate the large volume, Braham includes a table of contents (on the final pages), headings and

[19] Genette distinguishes between "peritext" and "epitext," both of which he identifies as paratext. The former is paratext found "within the same volume" (4), while the latter is the "distanced" paratextual "elements" "that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others)" (5). I find this latter group to be much too vague and infinitely too large—this definition might include class notes, library catalogue cards, a sales receipt, etc. I follow the practice of most early modern scholars, including the contributors of *Renaissance Paratexts* (edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson), who use the term "paratext" solely to refer to the elements that Genette distinguishes as peritext.

running headers. However, unlike other editors, Braham does not include resources to help readers with the language like those seen in Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes*. Another Chaucer editor, John Stow, included manicules in the *House of Fame* of his 1561 edition of *Chaucers Workes* (STC 5075) in order to help readers to identify important points. A manicule is a small image of a closed hand with a pointing index finger, usually placed in a page's margin to point out *sententiae*, proverbs or other important contents in the text to the reader. Manicules, paraphs, and other graphic symbols are also considered paratext because of their symbolic meaning. Hence, paratext is the direct method through which the editor can communicate with the reader, either directly through sustained pieces of writing like a preface, or indirectly through signs and symbols.

Editors could also articulate or influence meaning by managing the form, function and appearance of the codicological features of their books. Codicological features are the physical characteristics of a book, including elements related to appearance, construction, design, organization and use. These features can be categorized in various ways, but I distinguish three primary categories based on their relevance to editors: design features, page layout, and the physical construction of the book. Notably, all three categories commonly interact with decisions regarding the text and paratext.

Design features are elements that are related to the decorative and practical appearance of the book. Among these I include, for example, the selection and function of woodcuts, banners, initials and factotums (a woodcut ornament designed to surround a capital letter). Typeface is a design feature that could be used for either decorative or practical purposes in early modern books. Text could be distinguished or emphasized with different kinds or sizes of type. In the period, different types had different implications. Gothic type (blackletter) was the common type used for English text; italic type was used to highlight, to signify importance, or to identify

foreign languages; and Roman type was used to signify modernity. Whereas Robert Crowley and Owen Rogers (1561; STC 19908) both used a noticeably smaller type to identify the Latin phrases in their editions of *Piers Plowman*, Berthelet used types that were both slightly smaller and different—an older form of Gothic and a Roman type—to distinguish Latin verse and Latin prose from the main text of his 1532 and 1554 (STC 12144) editions of *Confessio amantis*. The effect of each approach differs; the Latin in Crowley's and Rogers's books is visibly diminished while the Latin in Berthelet's books stands out because of the contrast between the types, the form of the verses, and the fully-justified columns of the prose. By the end of the sixteenth century, Roman had almost completely replaced Gothic as the common type for English texts.

Page layout was also relevant to editors both in their efforts to reproduce their sources and to help readers navigate new forms and designs. The Latin text in Berthelet's editions of *Confessio amantis* stands out because its type contrasts with the surrounding English text, but also because he separates the languages and their styles by a blank line; Crowley and Rogers do not add additional space between lines. Within this category I also take into consideration the presentation of poetic form since it was equally dependant on being cast in a certain way. Earlier examples of printed Middle English texts often ignore stanza form. Prior to William Thynne's 1532 edition of *Chaucers Workes*, for example, no distinctions were made in the line form of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*; Thynne was the first editor to indent the tail lines of the poem's tail-rhyme scheme. By contrast, Richard Lant's c. 1545 edition of *Certayne Bokes Compiled by Mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat* (STC 22598) does not shy away from the complex layout of the macaronic dialogue between Parrot and Galthea, which utilizes five starting-line positions (Sig. A6^{r}). Indeed, poetic form is critical to a text's meaning, and the selected approach required that the editor and printer (or compositor) have a very clear understanding of their objective.

Finally, the editor also had to take into consideration the importance of the compilation and construction of books. This meant thinking about exactly what content belonged in a book, in what order to present it, and what influence each item had on the items that followed.[20] Paratextual poems could be placed before the main text in order to influence the readers' understanding or anticipation of the main text, or after the main text in order to encourage reflection. Collections of texts could be printed with specific texts on separate quires so that they could be taken apart and sold separately, or they could be printed to overlap quires in order to ensure their unity. In this respect, Richard Pynson's 1526 collection of Chaucer folios serves as an ideal example. The collection includes *Troilus and Criseyde* (STC 5096), *The boke of fame made by Geffray Chaucer: with dyuers other of his workes* (STC 5088) and the *Canterbury Tales* (STC 5086). Although the collection was sold as a single unit, it appears to have been designed so that each section could be sold separately. Indeed, Gillespie identifies one such copy of Pynson's *Canterbury Tales* in the Glasgow Hunterian Library, shelfmark B.v.2.8 ("Poets" 204). Each of the three sections has its own title page and colophon; the signatures of each begin anew with "A1"; and none of the sections refer to each other in any respect. Therefore, Pynson's "small-format Chaucerian series was flexibly issued," explains Jeffrey Todd Knight, "its parts at liberty to mingle in bindings with works by others" (160). By contrast, each edition of *Chaucers Workes*, from Thynne's 1532 edition to Speght's 1602 edition, became increasingly unified

[20] What I am describing is similar to Seth Lerer's notion of the "anthologistic impulse." Lerer describes the impulse of compilers to collect texts and combine them around specific topics. He describes the practice in relation to late medieval manuscripts and early modern Samelbände: "Well into the first decades of print, the anthologistic impulse controlled much of the dissemination, marketing, and critical reception of vernacular English writing. Even when individual copies of major, authored poems were produced, contemporary or later readers could bind them together with other works, creating clusters of literary writing" (1254). Perhaps the most important point to take away from Lerer's discussion, though, is that we often read older content "stripped of their original manuscript context" (1255); the same point, I believe, can be made about early modern printed Middle English literature.

because fewer of its poems were printed as separate booklets. In other words, the later works were permanently fixed as a determined unit. Yet, both Pynson's folio series and the later editors' *Chaucers Workes* include content that was not written by Chaucer. Concerning Pynson's book, Kathleen Forni explains that "Chaucer's name no doubt sold the book, but despite the title, this is an anthology of well-known poetry by courtly writers" (428). According to A.S.G. Edwards, the sixteenth-century editors of *Chaucers Workes* who added new texts to each edition attempted "to present Chaucer as a monolithic authorial enterprise"; their "underlying motive seems to have been a desire to include everything that either might be by Chaucer or which could be associated with his work" in order to claim comprehensiveness (4). Despite their increasing difference in size, the later *Chaucers Workes* show themselves to be continuations of Pynson's efforts. Their comprehensiveness was strengthened by the increasing unity established by the books' construction. Again, the coordination between editor and printer was integral to the process.

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While the preceding list of practices and contributions reveal that an editor could be extensively involved in both the preparation and production phases of bookmaking, they do not identify the purpose for an editor's contributions. Individually, the possible practices and contributions amount to little more than a survey of potential features, tools and resources that an editor could employ. However, books are made by *multiple* people. Because many of these features required the tradecraft of printers or their employees to implement, their presence in a book suggests that they are either part of a coordinated design or part of a single vision conceived by the individual who is most familiar with the content of the texts: the editor. Therefore, I assert that when the various contributions of an editor (whether implemented by himself or another craftsman) are taken *as a whole*—all of the features of the book and its

text(s)—and considered within the historical context of early modern England, the editors' desired meaning often presents itself; this meaning, in turn, reflects the editor's goals as perceived by the reader. Whether those goals coincide with the goals that the editor set out in his prefatory material is another matter.

Chapter 2: William Caxton and the Rise of the English Editor

As the first person to establish a press in England, William Caxton not only set precedents regarding the content that would be printed in England but also set numerous codicological and editorial precedents for later English printers and editors. Despite the reliable sales of Latin and French texts among academics and clerks, Caxton chose to print vernacular texts for a less developed market. Therefore, Caxton often had to promote the value of his texts to new and old consumers alike. He did so, I argue, in his capacity as an editor by engaging with readers through his books' prefaces, epilogues and similar paratext. These spaces of editorial commentary allowed Caxton to communicate intimately with his readers and to provide them with an understanding of the value these works possessed. His use of paratext in this way served as a model for editors of the sixteenth century, as I show in Chapters 3 through 6; they, too, found it necessary to instruct their readers and to rationalize their choice of texts, albeit for different reasons. Many of the vernacular texts that Caxton printed and with which he built the English printed book market were the same Middle English texts that editors in the sixteenth century later had to justify printing as a result of shifting social, cultural, political and theological values.

In this chapter, I examine Caxton's success as a printer of vernacular texts within the broader context of the printing industry and book market of late-fifteenth-century England and the Continent in order to provide some background to the print culture and editorial practices that later English editors inherited—including those I discuss in the following chapters. In particular, I argue that Caxton's success was largely the result of his editorial interventions and practices, particularly his use of paratext to present his books as appealing products to the growing and developing consumer base for early English printed books that he helped to establish. I base my argument on key repeating words and phrases that I have isolated in Caxton's paratext by

surveying all of his extant English works. These contents reveal patterns that suggest Caxton used his paratext as part of his marketing strategy to encourage market growth among new vernacular readers. I begin by establishing the circumstances in which Caxton's approach flourished.

The English Printing Industry in the Fifteenth Century

For much of the early modern period, the most lucrative commodity in the English book market was Latin books, yet printers in England focused the majority of their efforts on producing vernacular texts. According to Andrew Pettegree's calculations, 15,127 books (editions) were printed in England between 1450 and 1600, of which only 1,664 were "scholarly," while the remaining 13,463 were "vernacular" (357). The majority of England's scholarly books and many of its religious books were imported from Germany, France, Italy and the Low Countries. The total production of these centres in the same period far exceeded that of England: Germany produced 94,000 editions, France produced 75,500 editions, Italy produced 88,000 editions, and the Low Countries produced 31,917 editions. Moreover, their ratios of production were significantly different than England's nearly 90% vernacular and 10% scholarly output. Each of these countries produced roughly 60% vernacular and 40% scholarly works during the same period (except for Germany, which produced 60% scholarly and 40% vernacular works). The distinct focus of English printers and publishers can be traced back and largely attributed to England's first printer, William Caxton.

Once printing technologies began to spread across Europe in the late fifteenth century, it was inevitable that books would eventually be printed in English, but it was Caxton who capitalized on the specific economic and cultural environments of the period that made vernacular printed books the most viable option for printers in early modern England. While it is not clear whether Caxton fully foresaw or understood these circumstances, his decades of

experience as a merchant likely helped him to recognize the financial opportunity that other early printers in England did not: England's demand for scholarly and theological printed books was being satisfied through imported Latin printed books, but its increasing demand for texts written in the vernacular was not being met by the English manuscript industry. This opportunity gave direction to Caxton's new printing venture, and it set him apart from his contemporaries who attempted to compete in established markets.

During the first two years of operating his press in Westminster, Caxton enjoyed a monopoly over the English print industry, and the printers who followed him provided very little local competition until around 1486. In 1478 and 1479, unnamed printers set up presses in Oxford and St. Albans, respectively. Both presses closed within two years. Theodoric Rood subsequently set up in Oxford in 1481, later partnering with the stationer Thomas Hunte in 1483, but they too shut down in 1486. Meanwhile, the St. Alban's press was rejuvenated for printings of two editions around 1486 but remained idle thereafter.[1] At the same time as the first Oxford press was being set up, John Lettou established the first print house in London in 1478. Soon after, he joined in partnership with William de Machlinia around 1482. Within a year, or shortly thereafter, Lettou appears to have left the partnership and the industry altogether.[2] De Machlinia continued on his own for approximately four years until he sold his business around 1486 to Robert Pynson, who likely had worked for Caxton at some point.[3] Five years later, upon the death of Caxton, his long-time assistant, Wynkyn de Worde, took over the Westminster press,

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[1] Norman F. Blake suggests that Rood may have been the active printer in Oxford when the first book printed there was produced (the *Expositio symboli* of Tyrranius Rufinus, 1478), but the claim, he acknowledges, is speculative. His claims that the same printer was active at St. Alban's from 1479 through 1486 are equally unsupported. See Blake ("Spread" 26-30).
[2] Lotte Hellinga claims that de Machlinia continued on his own after his partner's death, though record of Lettou's death is not accounted for nor referenced elsewhere ("Prologue" 18). William Kuskin describes their partnership as having "dissolved in 1483" ("Vernacular" 219).
[3] See Blake ("Spread" 33).

which he would move to London in 1500. Both de Worde and Pynson found success where others had failed. Overall, then, a total of three printers in England found success in the first three decades of printing in England, but no more than two at a time. The success of Caxton's risky venture retrospectively highlights the faulty assumptions of his contemporaries, which in turn provides scholars with a better contextual perspective with which to reconsider his efforts.

Other than Pynson, every printer who set up a press in England during Caxton's lifetime closed shop before Caxton's death (c. 1491) due to the already-established strength of the imported book industry. Each of these printers focused their efforts on two commodities: Latin and French books.[4] Academics and clergymen, who had previously purchased or copied many of their books from English manuscripts, began to acquire printed books from Germany, as early as 1465; from France, as early as 1472; and from Italy, as early as 1474 (Armstrong 269-70).[5] Mass produced books offered a significant alternative for people of these professions. For example, the books produced by the time-consuming practices of the *pecia* system could be replaced with the availability of cheap printed copies.[6] Given the demand for Latin and French books by these professionals, scholars and institutions, Rood's decision to establish a printing press at Oxford seems both logical and practical. Similar claims could be made for Lettou, Machlinia, or the printers of St. Albans. Unfortunately for these printers, they could not contend with the existing competition coming from the Continent.

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[4] De Machlinia is known to have printed texts in Latin, French and English throughout his career, but scholars like Kuskin emphasize his Latin and Law French, particularly the latter, in which he was steadfastly "invested" (217-20).

[5] David Rundle suggests a slightly later date for books purchased from Germany: "it may be that the earliest import of printed books for sale was transacted by the Cologne merchant Gerhard von Wesel, in 1466 or 1467" (277).

[6] Prior to printing, the *pecia* system was an efficient method of copying manuscripts. See Richardson (*Printing* 7) or Graham Pollard's "The *Pecia* System in the Medieval Universities."

Foreign presses, particularly those from Germany, France and Italy, dominated the Latin book market throughout Europe—including England—from the beginning of the print trade through the early modern period. Gordon Duff suggests that "soon after Caxton's death foreign competition began to make itself very distinctly felt. [...] [T]he foreign printers awoke to the fact that England with so few printers of [its] own was a very desirable country to exploit" (xv). Duff's observations about England are accurate, though research since the early twentieth century has determined that these foreign interests began prior to Caxton's return to England. In England, an established printed book trade had reached "commercial scale" by the end of 1477 and continued to grow (Armstrong 273). Books came from a variety of continental sources: a survey of one thousand books performed by Lotte Hellinga identifies Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries as the primary sources of printed books owned by people of England and Scotland in the late fifteenth century (1470-1500) ("Importation" 210). While her survey cannot determine the total number of books imported into England during this period, descriptive language from other primary sources, such as customs rolls, can help to provide a general sense. David Rundle, for example, explains that it was common in the last quarter of the fifteenth century to find "barrels of books" among other commodities on trade ships (277). Hellinga's survey also emphasizes that Venice, Paris and Lyons competed "to capture the academic and professional markets, notably in legal and classical texts" (211). Hellinga's, Armstrong's and Rundle's studies establish a distinct contrast between the rapid growth of the international trade and the slow beginnings of England's domestic market. While Caxton and his peers were only beginning to establish their presses, printers and merchants in other countries were already in direct competition for and working towards cornering the English market for French and Latin books.

Early English printers who attempted to break into the thriving Latin book market were not in direct competition with continental printers; rather, their competitors were the foreign merchants who had already established a working infrastructure and trade routes to distribute the massive outputs of presses on the Continent. Printing had exploded as a craft in many places on the Continent before reaching across the Channel, which partly explains the disparity in quality among early printers. The first press outside of Germany was established in 1465 in the Benedictine monastery at Subiaco, east of Rome. By the time Caxton opened his press in Westminster, Italy already had presses in forty towns (Pettegree 49). By the end of the fifteenth century, printers in England could still only be found in Westminster, London, Oxford and St. Albans; in contrast, Italy had a printing shop in approximately eighty towns (49). Printers in England produced approximately 414 incunabula editions.[7] The total output of the Italian presses "may have produced, in at least seventy-six places of printing, some 12,000 editions, a total which would represent some 45 per cent of the European output" in the fifteenth century (Richardson, *Printing* 5).[8] The massive differences in editions emphasizes England's slow development in the industry, which was most likely a direct result of steady importation from the continent. By contrast, the international market arose as a solution for countries like Italy, where, "in the first years of printing, the market quickly became saturated with copies of works by classical authors and Church Fathers," and where printers' warehouses were overfilling with surplus stock that were in some cases used to wrap groceries according to accounts cited by

[7] This number is based on my own search of the British Library-maintained *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue Database* (www.istc.bl.uk, viewed 8 June 2018). It is not clear how close this number is to the actual number of books printed in England before 1501, but the massive difference between the total number of extant editions originating from Italy and England is significant.

[8] Richardson's estimates are those of Ennio Sandal (1986) but have been "modified slightly" by Richardson (*Printing* 158 n.5).

Richardson (*Printing* 26-27). Countries like England offered an opportunity for printers and merchants to liquidate their excess product.

The heavy importation of Latin books was welcomed by both the English government and people in England who were involved in the educated professions that sought greater variety and cheaper products than the English manuscript industry could offer. In 1484, the English Parliament exempted foreign book craftsmen and dealers from a new act that prevented foreign merchants from engaging in a wide range of trading practices in England:

> Provided alwey that this Acte or any part therof, or any other Acte to be made in this present parliament, in no wise extende or be prejudicall any lette hurte or impediment to any Artificer or merchaunt straungier of what Nacion or Countrey he be or shalbe of, for bryngyng into this Realme, or sellyng by retaill or otherwise, of any maner bokes wrytten or imprynted, or for the inhabitynge within the said Realme for the same intent, or to any writer lympner or imprynter of such bokes, as he hath or shall have to sell by wey of merchaundise, or for their abode in the same Realme for the exercisyng of the said occupacions; this Acte or any parte therof notwithstandyng.[9]

The provisions made by this act went to extreme lengths to protect the importation of books during a period that saw a noticeable increase in general trade between England and Italy (Kuskin 209-10); it preserved the rights for a range of specialities and even the legal residency of foreigners within England for the purposes maintaining a retail presence. As Hellinga suggests, "This exception is thought to have been influenced by educated people who did not wish to lose the benefits brought by alien book dealers" ("Importation" 208-09). The act, which was not repealed until 1534, establishes that English presses were in direct competition with foreign merchants and emphasizes that people in England relied upon products of foreign presses.

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[9] 1 Richard III (1484), cap. 9, as cited in Hellinga and Trapp (*CCBH* 608).

Without protections from the government, early printers in England who attempted to compete in the Latin book market were unable to increase their capital and market share, which in turn left them vulnerable to the high costs of production. "To be cut out of the Latin trade was to be excluded from a large part of the most dependable and lucrative market," explains Pettegree: "This severely restricted the growth of London's printing industry, hence of their capital resources, and for this reason severely limited the projects they felt able to undertake" (125-26). On one hand, England lacked suitable consumers to support increasing competition within the Latin book market compared to other countries. Whereas Italy had a population of approximately 11 million people and France had a population of approximately 15 million people, England and Wales combined for an approximate population of 3 million people in the late fifteenth-century. England's urban centres were fewer and smaller than those of Italy and France, and it had fewer universities. By 1600, Italy had thirty universities and France had twenty-eight; England had only two, Oxford and Cambridge (Frijhoff 80-89). The significant disparity in consumer base was not a problem that could be solved by simply reducing the size of print runs, nor could printers afford to increase the size of their print runs when they lacked the capital. Therefore, printers in England were forced to be highly selective of the texts that they printed because they had little capital with which to invest in new projects and, at this time in the industry, each subsequent printing was largely dependent on the success of earlier printings. Bennett explains, because "the potential book-buying public was still uncertain both in size and interests, [printers] were forced to limit their risks in exploring the nature of the public tastes" (*English* 182). Arguably, such reasoning convinced most early printers in England to engage with the already successful Latin book market; unfortunately, they did so without realizing how saturated it already was.

The scale of foreign trade was the result of well-supplied and wide-ranging infrastructures, foundations that were yet to be developed in England; logistical concerns, including resources and demographics, were significant barriers for printers in England, but not for printers in Italy. Printers in Italy had more access to raw materials. For example, whereas Italian printers benefited from "a flourishing industry of paper mills" (Richardson 8), English printers relied on imported paper for most of the early modern period.[10] Similarly, Italy's early-flourishing print industry attracted a broad workforce, while the slow growth of England's industry resulted in the slow development of local skill. In fact, Caxton was England's only native printer during the fifteenth century. David McKitterick summarizes the major trends in the movement of European print labourers in the early centuries of the print industry: "Germany to Italy and France in the fifteenth century; France and the Rhine valley to England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the Netherlands to England in the seventeenth century; [and] France to the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (5). Very few native English labourers rose to become master-printers in the early modern period, and the slow growth of the industry in England suggests that skilled labourers from other nations did not find England to be an attractive destination until opportunities elsewhere become less common.

Despite the host of challenges early English printers faced, Caxton and his successors found a great deal of success in the early modern English print industry by tapping into an

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[10] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin identify improvements and growth in paper making as the catalysts for the growth of the print industry (30). Rundle explains that "print's preference for paper necessarily increased English book production's reliance on imported materials" because the lone attempt to set up an English paper-mill in the fifteenth century was "short-lived" (30). The Sele Mill, established c. 1448 by John Tate near Hertford, seems to have closed only following its founder's death in 1507, but the scarcity of its paper in extant books (based on watermarks) suggests that its output was insufficient to supply England's few printers. Hellinga notes that two subsequent efforts to establish paper mills in England were also short-lived ("Printing" 96-97). Ultimately, England's resources, weather and geography were not well-suited for early forms of the industry.

unexplored niche market. Caxton, de Worde and Pynson each focused the majority of their production on vernacular texts, each identifying new groups of consumers who desired increasing quantities of English texts covering a range of disciplines. Tim William Machan explains, "Rather than contend with foreign printers for lucrative but competitive markets of Latin academic books, English printers, beginning with Caxton, apparently made a conscious decision to exploit the one market that foreign printers were unlikely to enter: the market for English books" ("Early" 302). The fifteenth-century printers who failed in the early decades of English printing, like Rood and the St. Albans printer, served as examples of what not to do for printers in the following century. The success of de Worde and Pynson, however, demonstrate that Caxton's business model had potential.

Caxton's Vernacular Output

Early English printers' emphasis on vernacular texts can largely be attributed to the successful precedent set by Caxton, who chose to print far more vernacular texts than Latin and French. Prior to establishing his press in England, Caxton printed three Latin texts in Cologne, where he was trained; he also printed two English texts, four French texts, and one Latin text in Bruges, where he resided during and after his posting as governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London.[11] After Caxton returned to England and established his press in Westminster, however, he focused his attention on vernacular texts with few exceptions. Of the ninety-eight texts that he printed in Westminster, only twenty-seven of them were Latin (less

[11] For a more recent account of Caxton's work prior to his return to England in 1476, see Chapters 4-7 in Hellinga, *William*. All references to Caxton's extant books are based on the lists provided by Paul Needham in Appendix D of *The Printer and the Pardoner* (83-91), unless otherwise noted. I retain Needham's titles for my own references to Caxton's texts unless otherwise noted. Based on Hellinga's claims, I include Caxton's Latin Sarum *Hours* among the books printed in Bruges, whereas Needham identifies its place of printing as Westminster. However, I have not adopted Hellinga's speculations that the first four books traditionally identified as being printed in Bruges (two English, two French) were actually printed in Ghent.

than 30%).[12] Included among these twenty-seven texts are ten different indulgences, four editions of the Sarum *Hours*, and several other books of a theological nature. The remaining seventy-one books were printed in the vernacular, including but not limited to English.[13]

In order to understand the factors that Caxton likely considered when selecting which texts to print, it is useful to categorize his extant books. I find N.F. Blake's categorization of Caxton's works to be particularly useful. Blake divides all of Caxton's works—including the foreign language books—into two categories: "the courtly and the practical." Concerning the latter group, Blake writes:

> By "practical" I mean that either the work was paid for by a particular client on a commercial basis, as the indulgences were, or else the printed work was directed at a specialist market. The *Statutes* was produced for sale to lawyers, we may assume, and would not have had much appeal to a wider market. The range of material in this practical group consists of the law books; phrase books like the *Vocabulary*, which may have been used by merchants as well as by schoolboys; religious books like the psalter, books of hours and other works specifically for the use of the clergy such as *Directorium Sacerdotum* [...]. (*World* 65)

The group that Blake describes includes three main types of works: printed ephemera, professional or functional texts, and theological texts. These three types were no doubt

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[12] This total number of Latin texts does not include Caxton's three editions of the *Distichs of Cato* translated by Benedict Burgh (STC 4850, 4851, 4852), which still contain Latin portions. Additionally, I do not include Needham's Cx 24 (Advertisement for Sarum *Ordinal* [STC 4890]) in the total number of texts printed in Westminster because it was not a product for sale like Caxton's codices.

[13] I include in Caxton's total number of English books printed in Westminster his dual-language aide, *The Doctrine to Learn French and English* (STC 24865), which offers simple phrases in English in one column and their corresponding French translations in a second column on each page. This book, also referred to as a Caxton's *Vocabulary*, is the only French text printed by Caxton after he departed Bruges.

important for the financial sustainability of Caxton's press since there was ongoing demand for such products. David Carlson considers Caxton's printed ephemera—what he calls "jobbings"—in great detail and insists that Caxton would have produced far more ephemera, including forms and handbills, than the number of extant copies suggest ("Theory" 41). Indulgences from Caxton's press are extant from 1476 through 1489, which suggests that this sort of commissioned product played a regular role in Caxton's business during his entire time in Westminster. These indulgences also linguistically overlap with the theological texts because they are among the few Latin texts that Caxton printed in Westminster. Caxton's success with these texts testifies to the precision of his selections when he did print Latin texts, particularly his decision to print the Sarum *Hours* four times (STC 15867, 15868, 15871, 15872). These decisions suggest that he was aware of the opportunities that other fifteenth-century printers attempted to seize; however, Caxton was more successful than his peers in distinguishing between general texts of practical/functional value and texts that his customers would desire for their quality and aesthetic significance. Indeed, Caxton demonstrated his awareness of his limitations when, in his role as a bookseller, "he ordered the first printed edition of the Sarum Missal (completed 4 December 1487) and the *Legenda ad usum Sarum* (completed 14 August 1488)" from the Parisian printer Guillaume Maynyal "knowing that Maynyal was skilful in the art of printing in red and black which he himself was not" (Armstrong 277). By contrast, Caxton did strategically well to print other vernacular texts, like the *Statutes* and his *Vocabulary*, because their content was specific to England and English readers, and unlikely to be of sufficient financial return to printers on the Continent.

The majority of Caxton's works fall into the "courtly" category, which contains the texts that best reveal Caxton's engagement in an editorial capacity. Blake divides the courtly category into three subcategories: "translations made by Caxton, works of the English poets, and prose

works in English" (*World* 66). Those that fall into the second subcategory were particularly important to Caxton in the first two years of his shop in Westminster and again in 1483—the years during which they were the primary focus of his output—because the familiar names of these poets likely helped to attract readers to the new products (printed books as opposed to manuscripts). During these years, Caxton printed works by Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lydgate, and John Gower. These poets, Blake explains, "were regarded as the three poets who had established the courtly style, for which they were constantly praised" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*World* 70-71). In particular, they were praised for having adopted appealing foreign (French and Italian) styles and adapting them for use with the English language. These forms and styles were popular among late fifteenth-century aristocrats, and they were highly regarded due to their circulation within court circles and presentation in elaborately prepared manuscripts (*World* 71). By making the texts of English poets available in cheaper printed books, Caxton was able to reach less-wealthy clients who were familiar with the names of the popular English poets but unable to afford costlier manuscripts.

Like the work of the English poets, the third subcategory, English prose, was also favoured among the members of court for its similarity to foreign styles. Unlike the works of the English poets, however, much of the English prose that Caxton printed was translated, most commonly from French but occasionally from Latin sources. Whether the text was a translation or not, however, its value was still dependent on satisfying specific courtly tastes:

> Most of the translations had been made recently, the two oldest being those by Trevisa [*Polychronicon*] and Chaucer [*The Consolation of Philosophy*], which were made about a century earlier. They were all part of the new courtly stylistic tradition which tried to raise the standard of English by the use of foreign models. Although a

> great deal of native English prose had been written before and during the fifteenth century, Caxton did not print it. (*World* 71)

The emphasis on foreign models and styles with respect to both the work of the English poets and the English prose that Caxton printed suggests that the printer was focused predominantly on literary form and aesthetics, but the claims he makes in the preface to the second edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (STC 5094) suggest otherwise. In it, Caxton praises all "clerkes, poetes and historiographs that have wreton many noble bokes of wysedom" that contain "many thynges of whom we shold not have knowen, yf they had not left to us theyr monumentis wreton" (Blake, *Prose* 61).[14] Caxton praises these great figures for the subject matter of their work: "the lyves, pasionas and myracles of holy sayntes, of hystoryes of noble and famous actes and faittes," etc. (61), all matters that were previously written about in England in either Latin or French.

Like the texts of the previous subcategories, most of Caxton's own translations (the third subcategory) were considered fashionable among English elites. Of the 73 English works that Caxton printed, 40 were translations, 26 of which Caxton translated himself.[15] In addition to being aligned with Caxton's personal tastes, his translated texts were favoured among the courts of Burgundy: "In [the] paratextual additions to his books, Caxton links his romances to royal courts and refers to demands made by noble and gentle readers for such works, even as he implies that they might find a wider audience" (Wang 173). The English were familiar with the tastes of fashion-setting Burgundy, Blake explains, and desired similar access to these texts:

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[14] Due to the inconsistent availability and quality of the digital copies of Caxton's prints on EEBO, I have quoted all references to Caxton's paratext from N.F. Blake's *Caxton's Own Prose* without alteration.

[15] I count each edition of works printed multiple times by Caxton as a separate printing and include them in these numbers.

> [Caxton's] knowledge of Burgundian literary fashion would be put to good use to provide English buyers with what they wanted: fashionable literature in their own language. Other merchants were selling Burgundian manuscripts in England, but only Caxton was able to provide cheap, plentiful translations of that literature. Other booksellers in England were able to provide their customers with English literature, but only Caxton could provide them with literature which was in their own language but which was also the courtly reading of the Burgundian court. (*World* 69)

Caxton had the advantage of knowing Burgundian tastes, having lived there for several years and having been acquainted with many cultured nobles and likely having access to the impressive secular libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy and Louis of Bruges, Siegneur de la Gruthuyse (*World* 68). Not only did Caxton have access to books that often were not yet available in England or English, he had the skills to translate them and make them widely available in print.

Caxton's Translations, Paratext and *Exempla*

Among the three subcategories of "courtly" books that Caxton printed, Caxton's translations, reveal the most about his selection of texts because they are more often accompanied with paratextual writings that explain their value and why Caxton chose to translate them. Caxton's decision to translate these texts is significant because it highlights his efforts to avoid the competition of foreign merchants who might offer the same texts in either French or Latin; Caxton explicitly targets vernacular readers with this approach. Of the 40 translations that Caxton printed, all but the three editions of Benedict Burgh's *Distichs of Cato* (STC 4850, 4851, 4852) and the two editions of Nicholas Love's *Speculum vitae Christi* (STC 3259, 3260) include paratextual writings by Caxton. All of Caxton's own translations contain paratext, many of which are substantial writings that often include an explanation for why he chose to translate and print specific works, in addition to other information relevant to the production of the book, such

as a recognition of his intended audience. For this reason, these paratextual writings should be understood as those of Caxton as an *editor*. I divide these editorial explanations into three often overlapping categories: the *exemplum* was of noteworthy value, the *exemplum* was insufficiently available, and/or the *exemplum* was insufficiently accessible.

Caxton's appreciation for historical *exempla* speaks to his belief that literature was a useful tool for helping readers govern their lives and much of his overall output was devoted to texts that encouraged people to live well. In the prologue of *The History of Charles the Great* (STC 5013), Caxton explains that "the werkes of the auncient and olde peple ben for to gyve to us ensaumple to lyve in good and vertuous operacions digne and worthy of helth in folowyng the good and eschewyng the evyl" (66); hence, he translated *Charles* "to th'ende that th'ystoryes, actes and lyves may be had in our maternal tongue lyke as they be in Latyn or in Frensshe" (67). Caxton further explains his fondness for histories and their value as *exempla* in the "*prohemye*" of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* (STC 13438): "historye, representynge the thynges lyke unto the wordes, enbraceth al utylyte and prouffite. It sheweth honeste and maketh vyces detestable. It enhaunceth noble men and depresseth wicked men and fooles. Also thynges that historye descryveth by experyence moche prouffyten unto a ryghtful life" (115). Because of the value and importance of history, Caxton explains that he has "delybered to wryte" his editions of *The Golden Legend* (STC 24873) and the *Polychronicon*, "retenyng in them many noble historyes as the lyves, myracles, passyons, and deth of dyverse hooly sayntes" (131). The variety of these histories and their lessons make specific texts ideal for certain people. For example, *The Knight of the Tower* (STC 15296) contains "many vertuous good enseygnementis and lernynges by evydent histories of auctorite and good ensamples for al maner peple in generally, but in especial for ladyes and gentilwymen, doughters to lordes and gentilmen" (111). While Caxton translates certain *exempla* to address a specific audience, he translates others to

address certain subject matter. His own translation of the *Distichs of Cato* (STC 4853), for example, addresses spiritual health:

> And to th'ende that many myght come to honoure and worshyppe, I entende to translate this sayd *Book of Cathon*. In whiche I doubte not, and yf they wylle rede it and understande, they shal moche the better conne rewle themself therby. For among all other bookes this is a syngular book and may well be callyd "The Regyment or Governaunce of the Body and Sowle." (64)

Caxton here identifies both the benefits of the work and its uniqueness. Other texts that Caxton translates address moral and virtuous living, chivalric ideals, Christian humility, etc. Of course, for such works to be of any value, they must be available.

Caxton's reasons for translating certain *exempla* demonstrates his recognition that he would need to meet demands for an increasingly wider selection of texts in English if he was to continue encouraging the growth of the English printed book market. In other words, Caxton had to provide the market with selection, while also meeting demands for specific texts that were already popular in other languages. This concern seems to have been foremost on his mind; as early as his first translation, Raoul Lefèvre's *Recuyell of the Histories de Troy* (c. 1473; STC 1473), Caxton highlights in his preface the necessity of translating material into English so that his countrymen could read it:

> And for so moche as this boke was newe and late maad and drawen into Frenshe and never had seen hit in oure Englissh tonge, I thought in myself hit shold be a good besynes to translate hyt into oure Englissh to th'ende that hyt myght be had as well in the royame of Englond as in other landes. (97)

Translations of this kind not only expanded the potential readership of a book, they also encouraged readers of English to appreciate their own tongue as a literary language—while

avoiding direct market competition. This approach required that Caxton make certain texts available in English print for the first time, such as *Godfrey of Boloyne* (1481; STC 13175). Caxton explains that Godfrey's "hystorye is made and wreton in Latyn and Frensshe in large and grete volumes, and as not knowen emonge us here whiche ben adjacent and neyghbours to the place of his natyvyte" (139); "therefore, I have emprysed to translate this book of the conquest of Jherusalem out of Frenssh into our maternal tongue" (140). Caxton's explanation suggests to readers that they are missing out on knowledge available in foreign books, and that his translation provides an ideal solution. At the same time, it approves some people's reliance on the growing selection of vernacular books. As a whole, Caxton's writings acknowledge the linguistic shifts that the English language was undergoing as well as the shift in English society's preference for the vernacular over other languages.

As Caxton made a wider selection of texts available to English people by translating a wider range of books, his paratexts noticeably begin to address a more diverse range of people, from aristocratic elites to middle class craftsmen. By the end of the fifteenth century, English permeated all levels of society as the national language. Even the nobility in England, who had long preferred French within their courts, were beginning to select English texts more often; in 1477, Caxton dedicated his translation of *The History of Jason* (STC 15383) to Edward, Prince of Wales (later Edward V), whose uncle, Anthony Woodville, had translated several texts that Caxton had printed. Caxton, addressing Edward IV in the prologue, defends his choice to present an English text to the Prince:

> Not presumyng to presente it unto his Highnesse for as moch as I doubte not his good grace hath it in Frensh which he wele understandeth. But not displeasing his most noble grace I entende [...] to presente this sayde boke unto the most fayr and my moost redoubted yong lorde, my Lord Prynce of Wales [...] to th'entent he may

> begynne to lerne rede Englissh, not for ony beaute or good endyting of our Englissh tonge that is therin but for the novelte of the histories whiche as I suppose hath not be had bifore the translacion herof. (104-05)

Caxton's explanation pre-empts (and encourages) a cultural shift wherein English (and print) would become so dominant that the nobility's language preferences would follow others. In 1485, he notes in his prologue to *Charles* that he has translated it and other texts because "for the moost quantyte of the people understonde not Latyn ne Frensshe here in this noble royame of Englond" (67). Presumably, this claim included many of the aristocracy because in 1489, Henry VII "desired and wylled" Caxton to translate and to print Christine de Pisan's *Fayts of Arms* (STC 7269) "into our English and natural tonge [...] to th'ende that every gentylman born to armes and all manere men of werre, captayns, souldiours, vytayllers and all other shold have knowlege how they ought to behave theym in the fayttes of warre and of bataylles" (81-82). The need to translate the text for everyone from knights to merchants demonstrates that English had become the dominant written language outside of the universities and churches. It also indicates that reading was becoming more common among a broader range of people. Caxton translated *The Doctrinal of Sapience* (STC 21431) for "symple peple" (77); the *Distichs of Cato* "conteyn[..] a short and prouffitable doctryne for all maner of peple" (65); *Blanchardin and Eglatine* (STC 3124) was ideal "for gentyl yonge ladyes and damoysellys" (58); etc. This small sampling of target audiences reveals both that Caxton's audience was becoming more diverse and that he was encouraging that diversity.

Encouraging New Readers Through Paratext

Caxton's focus on printing texts that would appeal to a broader range of English readers is indicative of his desires to make vernacular literature more widely available and to expand his consumer base in order to sustain his business. Although Latin and French printed books were

already available in England from foreign sources, Caxton had to encourage the development of vernacular readers and to present his product—made with new technology and printed in the vernacular language—as an appealing alternate product suitable for a burgeoning audience. He accomplished this, I argue, by employing editorial practices. In particular, Caxton attempted to establish a personal and *affective* relationship between himself and his newest and potential customers, especially those who were among the increasing number of non-noble, non-gentry readers and who might be hesitant about buying the new products. Speaking directly to readers through his prefatory and closing paratext, Caxton attempted to break down certain social barriers that traditionally separated the activities of the upper and lower classes by using inclusive and affective language. Through a survey of Caxton's extant works, I have identified several words and phrases that he repeatedly used as a marketing strategy in his editorial writings in order to diversifying his audience.

Caxton began to include prefatory and closing paratext in his vernacular works as early as his translation of the *Recyuell* in Bruges, but my survey of his works suggests that he did not utilize them as part of a coordinated marketing strategy until around 1480, when, for the first time, he added similar paratext to an original work of English: *The Chronicles of England*. Of the 73 vernacular works that he printed over the span of his career, he contributed prefatory or closing paratext to 46 of them (63%).[16] Prior to 1480, Caxton's selection of vernacular prints included several translations—including four editions by Anthony Woodville—and a series of 12 quarto editions containing short works authored by English poets, which do not appear to contribute to Caxton's marketing strategy. The quarto editions, in particular, stand apart from

[16] These numbers include works for which only publishing information is provided in a colophon. I include them because they are rare; Caxton preferred longer, more substantial paratext. Regardless, even in the shortest examples, Caxton frequently adds additional information about the book or the text's preparation.

Caxton's other works; none of them contain substantial paratextual writings by Caxton and their value appears to be based on their size, flexibility and English authorship.[17] Alexandra Gillespie correctly observes that Caxton's "decision to issue editions of quarto English vernacular verse in 1476-1477 was [...] advantageous" because "they resembled the Continental printed books available in England, but were something that foreign printers could not supply" ("Caxton" 13). The similarity between the Continental books and Caxton's quartos suggest that Caxton may have initially thought this a sound strategy to compete with the foreign merchants. However, after this series, Caxton only printed five more quartos, one in 1484 and the rest in 1490 or later, preferring instead the larger folio format for most works. Following his efforts with quarto editions, the printer seems to have employed a new marketing strategy based on his editorial writings. Hence, 38 of the 53 vernacular books (72%) that Caxton printed between 1480 and his passing in 1491 contain substantial paratextual writings.

The content of Caxton's paratext varies from book to book, but the paratext written after 1480 also contains several repeating patterns that suggest Caxton was particularly concerned with making his books accessible and inclusive to new readers from a broad spectrum of English society. For Caxton's press to be sustainable, he had to attract the more diverse clientele that made up increasingly larger portions of the growing public of readers. One way in which he managed this was by addressing people in broad, universal terms in his paratextual writings. These terms included "all men," "every man," "any man," "common man," "common people," or similar terms; I call these "everyman" terms. In total, 23 of Caxton's 37 vernacular works that have paratext and were printed between 1480 and 1490 contain direct references toward at least one of these "everyman" terms. By comparison, only his 1478 edition of Chaucer's *The*

[17] See Gillespie ("Caxton") for an examination of Caxton's quarto editions and their significance to *sammelbände* studies.

Consolation of Philosophy (STC 3199) contains a similar term prior to 1480. Caxton's 1474 first edition of *The Game and Play of Chess* (STC 4920) contains teachings to be "applied unto the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple," but these are to be managed by noble readers (85). By contrast, his second edition of the *Game* (c. 1483; STC 4921) "is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree" (88). The shift in addressees in the *Game* and other texts printed after 1480 implies that Caxton was conscious of this distinction and that the content of his writings had to be of interest to a wider audience.

As Caxton attempted to diversify his audience, he also ventured to diversify the content of his press' output. The fact that his paratext frequently addressed a wider audience did not mean, of course, that everyone had the same tastes; it also did not disregard the fact that certain content was more suitable for specific classes, genders, ages, occupations, etc. Indeed, Bennett points out "the growing desire for reading matter exhibited throughout the [fifteenth] century by less well-to-do men and women" (Bennett, "Caxton" 114). Therefore, Caxton was still fairly specific when he wished to discourage confusion or to isolate specific readers. For instance, in his 1484 print of *The Order of Chivalry* (STC 3345.7), he explicitly states that the book "is not requysyte to every comyn man to have, but to noble gentylmen that by their vertu entende to come and entre into the noble ordere of chyvalry" (126). Likewise, Caxton is quite open about his belief that certain books were of particular value to lower-class readers. He begins the prologue to the *Book of Good Manners* (STC 15394) by considering "the condycions and maners of the comyn people," and determines that "it is requesite and necessary that every man use good and vertuous maners. And to th'ende that every man shold have knowleche of good maners," he has printed the book (60). Similarly, in *The Doctrinal of Sapience*, Caxton describes his book as being for "symple peple" who are unfamiliar with "subtyll auctorytees" (77). Notably, these latter examples do not necessarily discourage the upper classes from buying the books; The *Book*

of Good Manners, we are told, was meant to be shared (read aloud), while the *Doctrinal* "is ryght utile and prouffytable to alle Crysten men" (78). This distinction helps to highlight Caxton's subtler approach to breaking down barriers that might discourage a general consumer from purchasing a book.

Caxton also altered the tone and style of his paratextual writings in order to create a more inclusive audience while simultaneously not alienating new or old consumers. The two editions of the *Game* again provide an ideal point of comparison since Caxton printed the first edition while receiving patronage but printed the second edition while he was presumably reliant upon the vernacular market. The prologue of the first edition is a lengthy address to George, Duke of Clarence, under whose "shadewe" Caxton received "noble protection"; in other words, Caxton had to honour his patron. The tone of the prologue and epilogue are extremely formal, rife with lauds and epithets. In them, Caxton explains the value that the *Game* offers the population of England:

> Right highe, puyssant and redoubted Prynce, for as moche as I have understand and knowe that ye are enclined unto the comyn wele of the Kynge, our sayd soveryn lord, his nobles, lordes and comyn peple of his noble royame of Englond, and that ye sawe gladly the inhabitans of the same enformed in good vertuous, prouffitable and honeste maners, in whiche your noble persone wyth guydyng of your hows haboundeth gyvyng light and ensample unto all other, therefore I have put me in devour to translate a lityll book late comen into myn handes out of Frensh into Englisshe, in which I fynde th'auctorites, dictees and stories of auncient doctours, philosophes, poetes and of other wyse men whiche been recounted and applied unto the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles as of the comyn peple after the game and playe of the chesse. (85)

Caxton directs his address toward a single, powerful audience before submitting himself with humility as the Duke's servant. In the prologue to the second edition, however, Caxton begins by referring to the broader power of "the holy appostle and doctour of the peple, Saynt Poule" who "sayth in his epystle: alle that is wryten is wryten unto our doctryne and for our lernyng" (87). Caxton explains that the book's lessons are for all Christian people, and that his efforts in translation have been done for everyone rather than a single individual. Caxton still submits himself humbly, but he does so to his readers, asking them to forgive his "rude and symple makyng" (88). Jenny Adams interprets the second edition's prologue as being "printed in England for an explicitly English audience. [...] Caxton's change in prologue, which is now freed from its ties to the nobility, and his addition of woodcuts reveal the printer's desire to reorient the text towards the body politic and to package it for a wider audience." She astutely points out that Caxton's new prologue is directed towards any and all readers rather than a single patron upon whom the costs of the print run would have been dependant (13). Thus, Caxton craftily appealed to all of his consumers, who collectively made his continued work possible. In other works, Caxton similarly presents himself as a compassionate person, speaking in the first person, using active verbs, and discussing his feelings as he does in many of his paratexts. Such language is no doubt intended to ease a reader's concerns and to suggest that Caxton, as the editor, is accompanying the reader through the book.

Caxton's humble tone was particularly useful for breaking down class barriers as they might relate to the language of his books and for alleviating new readers' concerns over difficult language. Caxton persistently takes responsibility for readers' difficulties understanding his own language (as noted above concerning the *Recyuell*) and that of his translations. Nowhere is this more obvious than in *The Book of Eneydos* (STC 24796), in which he describes the challenges of translating the edition from a French book because it produced an "Englysshe [that] was so rude

and brood" that even he could barely understand it. In fact, he explains that comparing it to similar old copies in English proved to be of little help to him. Caxton increasingly found it necessary to supplement his translation efforts with editorial intervention as his clientele expanded and their demands concerning quality and accessibility became more specific:

> And whan I sawe the fayr and straunge termes therin, I doubted that it sholde not please some gentylmen which late blamed me sayeng that in my translacyons I had over-curyous termes which coude not be understande of comyn people and desired me to use olde and homely termes in my translacyons. (79)

Caxton's anxiety over quality extends to several of his other books, wherein he expresses empathetic familiarity with his audience's difficulties. In the case of his translations, he often pre-emptively asks forgiveness from his readers for his "simple" or "rude language." In *The Book of Good Manners*, a book clearly written for the benefit of commoners and lower classes, he asks that they "holde me excused of the rude and unparfyght Englyssh" (61). In general, such claims would elevate noble or gentry readers above the merchant Caxton who had a monopoly over the English print market. For readers of lower status, however, these words would have built and encouraged the affective relationship that Caxton attempts to establish with them as the printer became a more social craftsman with whom readers could share their reading experience.

The ideas of shared learning, difficulties and experiences work well to establish both an equal level of engagement with the texts and commonalities between readers of various backgrounds: in particular, the language of the texts could bring people together. While the foreign languages used at the universities and among certain professions remained a barrier between certain kinds of people and readers, the shared vernacular language of the books that both upper and lower classes consumed became a point of commonality. In every one of his translations, Caxton explicitly identifies that the book has been translated into English. More

significantly, though, among all of his books that contain paratext, 50% of them associate the language with an affective word or phrase connected to the people of the nation, such as "our English," or "our tongue." Moreover, almost all of these references are found in some combination with the words "mother," "native," "common," or "usual." Of particular importance is the frequency of overlap found between these affective phrases describing the language and the references to "everyman" readers. For instance, in the prologue of the *Royal Book* (STC 21429), Caxton claims that the book was translated for the spiritual benefit of everyone:

> Thenne to th'ende that every man resonable remembre hymself that he is mortal and sha withoute fayle departe out of this lyf hastey and sone [...] and com to the everlastyng lyf in heven, I purpose and attende by the suffraunce of Alymyghty God to translate a book late deyverd to me and *reduce it out of Frensshe into our comyn Englysshe tonge, in whyche every man may be enformed* how he ought to kepe the lawe and comaundements of God [...]. (135, emphasis added)

Caxton recognized the equal relevance of spiritual health among all people since they all equally succumb to mortality. Therefore, he ensured that everyone can benefit from his book by translating it into a "common" (i.e., shared) language. Other texts printed by Caxton that include references to both "everyman" readers and language place a similar emphasis on people's place in society, such the *Game*, the *Canterbury Tales*, and several historical romances. In fact, from 1481 to 1490, 20 books refer to the everyman audience, of which 15 of the books (75%) identify the vernacular text by using these familiar terms. As a result, the hesitant reader is reassured that he or she is a part of something larger that connects people by their commonalities, such as the English language.

The act of reading must have been very empowering for many English people. These people not only found themselves sharing in something communal, but they were also in a different position than they may have been in their previous experiences. They were now readers rather than listeners, and Caxton reminds them of this in many of his paratext. Caxton identifies his awareness of the differences between listeners and readers as early as his c. 1477 edition of *The History of Jason*, but he does not address them consistently until then next decade. Beginning in 1481, 24 books containing paratext include references to reading, of which 18 also include references to hearing the text. Russell Rutter suggests that Caxton is, in fact, reminding his readers that it is possible to share books (462). Rutter's claim is reasonable since, for most of these new readers, the reading of books was a social activity. Whether people listened in church, the pub, or at home, leisure reading was still largely a group activity. Indeed, it might help to remind a new customer that he or she could share with friends, family, or, in the case of guildsmen, their apprentices and journeymen. Certainly, it is not a coincidence that the texts in which Caxton makes this reference to hearing are either popular or didactic texts: historical romances (e.g., *Godfrey of Boloyne*), chivalric romances (e.g., *Le Morte d'Arthur* [STC 801]), and conduct books (e.g., *The Book of Good Manners*). Hence, it is not surprising that from 1480 until his death, every text Caxton printed that contained a reference to hearing also contained an "everyman" reference. Moreover, 75% of the references to hearing are also connected to one of the affective terms associated with the vernacular. Thus, insofar as Caxton is likely making these references in order to remind many readers of their new role, he simultaneously empowers and excites them by reminding them that the power to share among listening audiences is now in their hands.

New readers were further empowered when Caxton encouraged them to read actively and to engage with their books. Upper and lower class readers are all encouraged "to correct"

Caxton's language where they find fault. By addressing all readers in this pursuit, Caxton's request empowers them while making the correction process a social affair. Many of Caxton's English works containing paratext include this invitation to correct any errors. One such example is found in *The History of Jason*, in which Caxton asks that "all [...] that luste to rede or here it to correcte where as they shalle finde defaulte" (105). By asking all readers to contribute to the correction process, Caxton subordinates himself and empowers readers with the ability to change their own copies as they deem fit. Under such circumstances, the reader cannot be wrong. In this particular example, Caxton refers to both readers and listeners. Therefore, the power to correct Caxton's text lay within both listeners and readers, thus emboldening them all.

The frequency with which Caxton's affective phrases and words appear together in his paratextual writings suggests that their occurrences are not random but rather part of a measured strategy to encourage and to empower new and potential readers. At their most frequent, between 1481 and 1487, the combination of an everyman term, an affective term for the vernacular, and references to reading *and* listening appear together 10 times out of 25 English works containing paratext. A combination of any two of these categories appears 17 out 25 times. Those English prints that do not include these references tend to be brief fables, romances, or works by English authors. Those books that include all three references generally take a particular interest in the audience's spiritual and moral lives, either through the sayings and teachings of authorities (e.g., *The Royal Book*), chivalric romances (e.g., *The Knight of the Tower*) or the histories of great men (e.g., *The History of Charles the Great*). This should be of little surprise, however, given the public's growing interest in didactic texts (Bennett, "Caxton" 116).

Caxton's use of affective language is not the only editorial strategy that he used to encourage growth within the English reading public,[18] but it does coincide with an understanding that his business, and that of future English printers, could not survive by the financial support of patrons alone.[19] As his books began to reach more people, there is a noticeable shift in the tone that Caxton uses when he speaks of patrons and dedicatees (Rutter 463), which coincides with the more frequent references to multiple classes of readers. His two editions of *The Game and Play of Chess* discussed above are exemplary in this regard: he printed the first edition in Bruges in 1474, and it was the second of his English books; he printed the second edition in Westminster around 1483, about two years into his agenda of encouragement through affective paratext. Rutter summarizes the motivation behind such tonal shifts: whereas a patron's benefaction might result in a book prepared for publication, it was Caxton alone who had to market larger quantities of this and other works (463). To this end, diversity in text selection was key to Caxton's success.

Insofar as the language of Caxton's paratext implies that there was a shift in the size and makeup of England's reading public at the end of the fifteenth century, it is difficult to establish a clear sense of the rates of readers in England through the early modern period, which also makes it difficult to assess the extent of Caxton's success. Although most available evidence concerning reading rates in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is incomplete, anecdotal or speculative, J.B. Trapp asserts there is, nevertheless, a clear indication of growth in

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[18] The marketing strategy that I have examined is very specific and part of broader strategies used by Caxton and later printers. For insight into the development of marketing vernacular English books, see Graham Pollard's "The English Market for Printed Books" and A.S.G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale's "The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England."

[19] Rutter argues that Caxton had much more freedom of choice because he was not as limited by a need for patronage as had long been accepted by scholars. He makes the case that if we read Caxton's prologues and epilogues without bias and predetermined conclusions, it is evident that the printer both addressed fewer people as patrons over time and purposely sought out new customers in order to avoid the confines of patronage (464).

the number of English people both able to read and write (31). Other scholars agree: W.B. Stephens estimates that "proportions of men able to sign their names in England rose from a very low level (of perhaps 10 percent) at the end of the fifteenth century to some 20 percent in the next century," while "women were almost universally unable to sign their names in 1500, and by 1600 only some 10 percent could do so" (555). However, a person does not need to be able to sign his or her name in order to be able to read. Jo Ann Moran estimates that 30% of people in England could read in the fifteenth century, and that that number rose to 40% by 1530. She also contends that this number was notably higher among the laymen of London, as she posits for them a rate of 50% by the 1470s (150-84).[20] Trapp suggests that "in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, half the adult population of the country could, in some sense of the word, read English" (40). While scholars' estimates vary and the evidence is admittedly incomplete, it seems clear that Trapp's general assertion is correct: there was a growth in the number of English people who could read and write the vernacular during the early modern period. With respect to printing, this growth is also evident in the number of printers and published books. The general consensus among modern scholars concerning the growth in readers of England during this period coincides with Bennett's assessment of the English print industry's rate of growth:

> While the growth of literacy cannot be exactly measured by the output of books from time to time, the two things are not altogether dissociated. The increase in the number of printers must be linked to the growing demand for their wares. Where the beginning of the century saw only a bare half dozen printers at work in England, by

[20] Factors such as geography provide logical explanations for why earlier estimates could significantly vary: while Bennett identifies and objects to "fashionable" pre-mid-twentieth-century views that depicted fifteenth-century England as "almost totally illiterate" (*English* 19), Curt F. Bühler suggests "that half of fifteenth-century England could read" (43). Additional factors that account for some variation include scholars' differing definitions of "literacy" and scholars' understanding of early modern England's multi-lingual population.

> 1550 the number was about twenty. The *Short-title Catalogue* records the titles of 54 books printed in the year 1500, while the number has risen to 214 for the year 1550. (*English* 29)

A quick search of the *ESTC* today increases Bennett's numbers to 62 books printed in 1500 and 260 for the year 1550. By either measure, the contrast in numbers between these years is significant, highlighting a large growth in the output of English presses.

Since the number of printers and their collective output increased, as did the literacy rates, it is reasonable to assume that the consumer base for books became more diversified as it grew. This diversity is evident from the range of books that were becoming available to an English vernacular reading public. According to Bennett, "[e]very kind of taste and every sort of pubic were catered for" (*English* 20). Wyn Ford suggests that readership extended even to some craft apprentices:

> Manuals and other literature from the sixteenth century onwards offer evidence of a widespread ability to read and comprehend print among tradesmen and craftsmen. Such literature of course would be used by apprentices too, and perhaps it is for this reason that little physical trace is to be found, since they would not long survive rough handling. (29)

Ford's insights highlight the general role of education among the guilds and craftsmen of the period immediately following that with which this study is concerned, but individual examples are evident much earlier. Reading the vernacular was also encouraged by "Wycliffe and his followers," who made "the Scriptures available to those lay persons, women included, who could read English but not Latin" (Trapp 32). The diversity of people who might be able to read is, perhaps, best defined by the Act of 1543 (35 Henry VIII, cap. I). Bennett summarizes:

> In this Act the reading of the Bible in English was forbidden to women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the rank of yeomen and under, husbandmen and labourers. Noblewomen and gentlewomen might read it to themselves, but not to others. Only noblemen, gentlemen and merchants might read it to their families. (*English* 27)

The fact that authorities felt it necessary to identify and to include each of these classes within this act suggests that there were well known examples of each with the ability to read in 1543.[21] And since print made books cheaper and more readily available, people among these noted classes were now able to purchase them and, likely, encouraged friends and family to pursue literacy, as well.

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Caxton's insights into the precarious state of the early English printed book market enabled the merchant-turned-printer to take advantage of opportunities that other printers in England did not recognize. His success can equally be attributed to his expression of his love of literature and his desire to expand the influence of vernacular literature through England to new classes of readers. Continental merchants did not offer the same intimacy and familiarity, at least not in the same scope and manner. By directly engaging readers through his paratextual writings, Caxton encouraged the growth of a new consumer base for printed books and new readers of vernacular literature. Further, he was able to promote individual titles by explaining their value to readers. Because similar expressions can be found in the paratextual writings of

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[21] Sanders and Ferguson (1) draw a notable contrast between the people restricted from reading the Bible by the Act of 1543 and the addressees of The Great Bible (STC 2071), published only three years earlier: "Here maye all maner of persons, men, wemen, yonge, olde, learned, unlerned, ryche, poore, prestes, laymemen, Lordes, Ladyes, officers, tenauntes, & meane men, virgyns, wyfes, wedowes, lawers, marchauntes, artifycers, husbande men, & almaner of persons of what estate or condicyon foeuer they be, maye in thys booke learne all thynges" (Sig. a2^{r}).

sixteenth-century editors of Middle English literature, we are able to retroactively recognize Caxton's efforts as those of an editor. However, Caxton's objectives should not mislead us to think that the phenomenon of editors in the sixteenth century arose due to economic circumstances alone; rather, as the following chapters will make evident, the specific need for editors of books containing Middle English texts arose out of cultural circumstances wherein some printers required someone with literary knowledge and skill to make aging Middle English literature accessible, valuable and appealing to the growing number of vernacular readers. While Caxton may not have been the immediate model upon which later editors based all of their practices, his paratextual record leaves no doubt that his influence established significant precedents for how later editors would perform their roles in the early modern period.

Chapter 3: Textual Editing and the Popularity of *Sir Isumbras*

Sixteenth-century printed editions of Middle English verse romances have received far less attention from scholars than their fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript versions.[1] Scholars have dismissed the print editions, in my view, due to their perceived inferiority. Nicolas Jacobs explains that "students of medieval romance are not accustomed to regard the sixteenth century as a period worthy of serious attention." He adds that the later printed editions of romances are "often corrupt and trivialized versions of early romances" and "are by any standards very poor stuff" (65). Ronald S. Crane claims the printers of Middle English verse romances expended very little effort to produce them (5).[2] Such attitudes and beliefs only partially explain the absence of modern scholarship on these editions despite their status as "the first bestsellers" (Adams, "Printing" 292). For Middle English literary critics, the printed editions of romances are removed from their historical contexts—both as stories and as physical texts—which makes it more difficult to see their potential relevance and value as allegories. For

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[1] Jennifer Fellows begins her book chapter "Printed Romance in the Sixteenth Century" by accurately observing that very few studies of sixteenth-century Middle English romances actually address the text and its relation to earlier manuscript versions. Rather, most studies of these romances concentrate on printing history or descriptive bibliography (67). Indeed, most of these studies focus on the print culture of the earliest printers, including William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. Ronald S. Crane's *The Vogue of Medieval Chivalric Romance during the English Renaissance* is one of the few exceptions that take romances' cultural significance as its focus, but it too refrains from providing detailed analysis of individual texts. Only a handful of studies examine the text and/or content of the sixteenth-century editions of these romances; examples that do include Fellows's "*Bevis redivivius*: The Printed Editions of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*," Nicolas Jacobs's *The Later Versions of "Sir Degarre": A Study in Textual Degeneration*, and Carol Meale's "Wynkyn de Worde's Setting-Copy for 'Ipomydon.'"

[2] In *Vogue*, Crane calls attention to the work of Wynkyn de Worde and William Copland, the two most prolific printers of Middle English verse romances in the sixteenth century. Crane claims that de Worde had lower standards for his verse romances than his prose romances because the former were prepared for a "less exacting public" than the latter (5). Copland, Crane insists, was "a simple reproducer" of earlier editions, merely copying earlier editions' layout and form and making no effort to correct or to improve his copies (6). His assessments appear generally accurate, though the increasing attention of textual studies concerning these romances by scholars like Fellows and Meale is beginning to suggest otherwise in certain cases.

textual critics, the later editions are textually degenerate, distanced from an "original text" and corrupted with the inauthentic modernizations of their early modern editors. Bibliographers and, more recently, book historians have taken an interest in the printed romances for what they reveal about the origins of printing and the early printed book market in England; however, these scholars focus more on the printers, their production methods, and the sale of units than on the texts themselves. In general, the print editions are seemingly unremarkable copies of old tales designed for cheap mass market consumption. Nonetheless, I argue that close examination of the textual editing of these romances reveals that, at least for some, a great deal of time, effort, and care was given to their preparation. In order to make this argument, this chapter undertakes the first textual analysis of *Isumbras* focused on the editorial practices of its sixteenth-century editor and the first comparative literary analysis of the manuscript and early modern print versions.[3]

In order to appeal to the literary tastes of sixteenth-century readers and to appease early modern critics of medieval romance, the first print editor of *Sir Isumbras* employed a complex method of textual editing that enhanced the romance's accessibility and value to a contemporary audience.[4] Throughout this chapter, I identify this editor as the "*t*-editor," whom I have named after the stemma branch that includes all of the editions that descend from the early-sixteenth-century edition that he prepared.[5] In order to make the text more accessible, the *t*-editor not only simplified and modernized the language of *Isumbras* but also modified its narrative structure,

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[3] To my knowledge, all literary analyses of *Isumbras* so far have focused solely on its earlier manuscript versions. The only studies to deal with print editions of *Isumbras* until now are Gustav Schleich's textual analysis, *Sir Ysumbras* (1901), and Charles Broh's dissertation, *A Critical Edition of the Romance of* Sir Isumbras (1969). These editions provide an excellent starting point for understanding the print editions' textual relationship with earlier manuscript versions, but they predominantly focus on the manuscripts.

[4] *Sir Isumbras* is identified with variant names through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including variations of "Ysumbras" and "Isenbras." Hereafter, I identify the story as *Isumbras*.

[5] I recognize that *Isumbras* may have been edited by its earliest printer, though I hesitate to presume that the printer also performed the editorial function due to the complexity of the textual editing involved.

clarified and developed its obscure and incomplete references, and made the text more culturally relevant to his contemporary audience. Unlike William Caxton, the *t*-editor did not offer paratext to inform his readers why or how he was altering the story; however, the numerous extant manuscripts and printed editions of *Isumbras* provide an excellent point of comparison from which to infer his intentions. My collation of these editions (much of which work can be found in the Appendices) reveals that the *t*-editor not only modernized much of the language and orthography of his source manuscript, he added, omitted, and changed the content and meaning of lines in order to clarify, expand, and further aestheticize the romance. My analysis also shows that although the editor used a now-lost manuscript as his primary source, he nonetheless adopted a number of readings from one or more other manuscripts belonging to other branches of *Isumbras's* stemma.[6] By applying these methods and practices, the *t*-editor developed a story that more efficiently functions through affect in its moral teachings and presents a more coherent and balanced narrative to one of the most popular romances of the period. I begin by reviewing the early modern reception of Middle English verse romances in order to identify the groups to which the *t*-editor's work responded. I then summarize the implications of the *t*-editor's modification of the romance's subgenre to offer an overview of the editor's goals before providing a detailed explanation of his methodology. Finally, I conduct a comparative reading between the romance's manuscript and print traditions, highlighting the specific changes that the *t*-editor made in order to make the romance appealing to early modern English audiences.

Isumbras, Popular Romance and its Critics

Textual evidence from extant manuscripts reveals that Middle English romances, including verse romances like *Isumbras*, were popular in England throughout the late Middle

[6] For terms specific to the field of textual editing and criticism, I use the definitions found in Erik Kelemen's *Textual Editing and Criticism* unless otherwise indicated.

Ages. Despite the fact that much of this evidence is circumstantial—such as the number of extant manuscripts—or anecdotal—like individual references to specific stories—it nonetheless collectively presents a coherent picture of secular literary tastes in the period.[7] Hence, Christine Chism refers to romance as "the dominant non-devotional genre of Middle English literature" (57) while Derek Pearsall identifies it as "the principal secular literature of entertainment of the Middle Ages" (37). Despite these somewhat vague definitions of the genre, scholars are able to survey extant material in order to identify romance's general popularity.[8] While many of these romances appear in only one manuscript, others survive in several.[9] *Isumbras*, for example, survives in nine manuscripts as old as the mid fourteenth century, which suggests that it was one of the most widely available romances in the late Middle Ages.

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[7] An example of anecdotal evidence appears in Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, in which the narrator refers to several romances, including *Horn Child*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, and other romances (*SirT* 897-902). Charles Broh accepts such references as sufficient evidence, writing: "That the romance of *Sir Isumbras* attained great popularity during the Middle Ages is attested to by the number of extant manuscripts and by the references to it in the *Cursor Mundi* and in William of Nassignton's *Speculum Vitas*, both of which rank the poem with the widely known *Beves of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*" (30). See also James Halliwell's Introduction (xviii-xxii) for these and later references.

[8] Carol Meale, for example, identifies "eighty-eight romances in English which are extant in codices dating from the second half of the thirteenth century up until 1534/35, the year in which Wynkyn de Worde died" ("Caxton" 285). Meale's numbers account for both thirteenth- and fourteenth-century verse romances and fifteenth-century prose romances. Derek Brewer estimates that "there are about 50 separate chivalric metrical romances in English composed from about 1250 to the early sixteenth century, mostly derived from French versions. They survive in slightly differing versions in 90 medieval manuscripts, most from the fifteenth century, and in mostly fragmentary printed versions of the sixteenth century" (45). Alternatively, *MER* includes 83 surviving Middle English verse romances found in 135 manuscripts as late as c. 1650 (these numbers are based on my manual count of the database's contents as of 23 July 18).

[9] Scholars often disagree on the exact numbers of romances and extant manuscripts in which those romances are found because of their varying definitions for the romance genre; nevertheless, the estimated numbers are generally similar and tend to indicate the same trends. An equally common concern for scholars is the definition of "popular." See, for example, Harriet E. Hudson, "Toward a Theory of Popular Literature: The Case of the Middle English Romances."

Manuscript evidence suggests that Middle English verse romances remained popular in the late fifteenth century despite William Caxton's decision to focus on printing prose romances. In fact, no Middle English verse romances were printed in the first twenty-five years following Caxton's printing of the first English book, a translation of the French prose romance *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes.*[10] Jordi Sánchez-Martí summarizes several scholars' explanations for Caxton's choice never to print verse romances (7-8): Caxton and his patrons preferred continental fashions, including the French prose romances (Crane 3-4); Caxton preferred to print English texts of higher poetic repute, such as those by Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate (Edwards and Meale 118); the continued production of manuscripts containing romances implied that there would be insufficient market space (Sánchez-Martí 8); and verse romances were deemed out of fashion in the second half of the fifteenth century (Adams, "Printing" 294). Most of these claims are substantiated by the list of books that Caxton printed and his own claims in his paratexts (see Chapter 2); however, Adams's postulation that verse romances were out of fashion seems unlikely if, as Sánchez-Martí claims, manuscripts containing romances continued to be made. Indeed, as many as three extant manuscripts of *Isumbras* were produced at the same time as Caxton was printing in England, and several other manuscripts containing multiple verse romances were produced in the same period at the end of the fifteenth century, including Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 8009; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61; etc.[11] It is this continuing popularity of verse romances

[10] I base this statement on the dates provided by Jordi Sánchez-Martí in his table, "List of Middle English Verse Romances Printed up to 1535" (6-7). Based on his dates, the first printed Middle English verse romance was *Guy of Warwick*, printed by both Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson sometime between 1497-99; it is not clear whose edition came first (6).

[11] Manuscript dates are based on *MER* entries. See the database for all extant manuscripts containing any English verse romances and their specific contents.

among certain audiences that, I suggest, likely encouraged Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, to publish both prose and verse romances.[12]

Although Caxton opted to print only prose romances after he established his press in England, his efforts to diversify and expand his consumer base for vernacular printed books prepared the market for later printers' production of Middle English verse romances. The results of these efforts, Crane argues, were two groups of readers: "a relatively small aristocratic group which admired especially the translations of French prose romances, and a larger group, undefinable socially but including many readers of humbler means and less fashionable tastes, and particularly many dwellers in the country" who enjoyed Middle English verse romances (9). The popularity of verse romances continued through to the sixteenth century, but among a different group of consumers, which Pearsall identifies as "lower or lower-middle-class audiences who wanted to read what they thought their social betters read" (92). Hence, Adams acknowledges that her claims about fashion do "not mean [...] that metrical romances were out of favor with all of the English, but we might imagine that to a literary elite, the form was considered *démodé*" ("Printing" 284). The larger market of the lower classes—the growing reading public of early modern England identified in the previous chapter—adopted the tastes of the upper classes as soon as the books became available and accessible due to the cheaper mass production and broader dissemination made possible by print. It was this market that de Worde sought to exploit by producing "small rudely printed quartos [...] meant to sell cheaply and to circulate widely among a somewhat humbler public" (Crane 9).[13] Although de Worde followed

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[12] On the enduring popularity of Middle English romances during and beyond the early modern period, see also Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, 1-24. On people's preferences for specific verse forms, see Helen Copper, *The English Romance in Time*, 30-32.

[13] There is some debate over the cheapness of quarto editions compared to folios. Crane provides examples of the market costs of some romances that seem to confirm this position (10). Alexandra Gillespie and Joseph Dane argue in "The Myth of the Cheap Quarto" that quartos

Caxton's example in many ways (including his printing of select prose romances), it is also clear that he embraced the concept of mass-market production on a wider scale,[14] and therefore produced the smaller and shorter verse romances with the newer, larger audience in mind.[15]

The increasing availability of printed Middle English verse romances and the growing variety of readers in early modern England coincided with increasing negative criticism of medieval literature throughout the sixteenth century, often aimed specifically at romances. These concerns came predominantly from humanists, first from churchmen and later from educators: those concerned with people's spiritual, moral and intellectual wellbeing.[16] Crane writes that Desiderius "Erasmus had for the stories of Arthur and Lancelot the scorn of the classical-minded pedagogue; his chief complaint was that these stories—'fabulae stultae et aniles' [foolish old wives' tales]—drew away the young student's interests from classical history and poetry" (11). Whereas Erasmus describes romances as a distraction, the Spanish-born Juan Luis Vives suspected romances of enflaming people's sinful desires:

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were not cheaper to produce than folios (see also Dane, 44-46), providing reason to question earlier assumptions about the costs of quarto editions. Whether the correlation between costs of production and retail prices was consistent is unclear.

[14] Together, de Worde and Pynson produced 70 percent of English books in the first decade of the sixteenth century and 73 percent in the second decade (Bennett, *English* 188).

[15] Sánchez-Martí identifies de Worde as the first printer to publish a Middle English verse romance (*Guy of Warwick*, c. 1497-98)—contemporaneously with Richard Pynson. By Sánchez-Martí's count of extant material, de Worde issued at least nineteen editions of twelve separate "traditional" romances, at least eight of which were first editions. Based on these significant numbers, Sánchez-Martí suggests that de Worde "exploited this genre commercially" (9-10). Given de Worde's extensive and wide-ranging corpus, I do not agree with this assessment, but de Worde's prolific role in the production and dissemination in such works cannot be denied. For a complete list of Middle English verse romance printed up to 1535 and a discussion of the other printers of these books, see Sánchez-Martí, 5-12.

[16] Tracy Adams makes a strong case for the increasing concern over romances being due to their removal from anthological manuscript contexts, in which their moral transgressions are mitigated, and their meanings are sufficiently focused by the surrounding texts, often including homilies, saints' lives and legends. "Printing," she argues, "occasioned a profound shift in the perception of the Middle English romance by foregrounding the characteristics perceived as dangerous while simultaneously depriving the form of the mitigating effect provided by the manuscript or an inherited set of reading rules" (291).

> Ther be some kind of letters & writynges t[hat] pertayne only to adourne & increase eloquence withall. Some to delite and please. Some that make a man subtile and craftye. Some to knowe naturall thynges, and to instruct and informe the mynde of ma[n] withall. The workes of Poetes, the fables of *Milesii*, as that of the golden asse, and in a maner all *Lucianes* workes, and manye other whiche are written in the vulgar tonge, as of Trystram, Launcelote, Ogier, Amasus and Artur the whiche were written and made by suche as were ydle & and knew nothinge. These bokes do hurt both man & woman, for they make them wylye & craftye, they kyndle and styr vp couetousnes, inflame angre, & all beastly and filthy desyre. (Sig. O7^{r-v})[17]

Vives conflates his concerns with romances with other kinds of literature, but this process does not mask his belief that maliciously-minded people sought to lead readers towards an immoral life. Like Vives, Roger Ascham feared both people's attraction to negative *exempla* and the harmful effects of stories premised on "open manslaughter, and bold bawdrye":

> In which boke those be counted the noblest knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduoulteres by sutlest shiftes: as Sir Launcelote, with the wife of king Arthure his master: Syr Tristram with the wife of kyng Marke his uncle: Syr Lamerocke, with the wife of king Lote, that was his own aunte. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished at Court, and Morte Arthure received into the Princes chamber. What toyes [sic],[18] the dayly readyng of such a booke, may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong mayde, that liueth welthelie and idelie, wise men can iudge, and honest men do pitie. (Sig. I2^{r-v})

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[17] I am quoting Thomas Paynell's c. 1555 English translation of *The office and duetie of an husband* (STC 24855).

[18] "Joyes" may be a more appropriate reading within the context, but the spelling is unmistakable. It may, however, have been a type error.

Ascham's brief list of the sins committed by knights in *Morte D'Arthur* points towards what he perceived as a form of perverseness in the content of romances; not only do readers take pleasure in the immoral acts of the "noblest knightes," these acts "may worke in the will" (desires: moral judgement) of youthful readers. Both Ascham and Vives address a common theme found in criticism of romances: idleness. Whether it is associated with the makers of the stories or the readers, idleness is frequently connected to the perverseness of human desires, enabled by people's imagination. Likewise, both Ascham and Vives identify in their books certain groups of people who were more likely to mistake good and bad *exempla*: children, women, and the less educated—those groups who were increasingly given the opportunity to become literate in early modern England. Further condemnations of romances were made through the century by other humanists and men of letters, including Thomas More, Michel de Montaigne, Edward Dering, Thomas Nashe, and many more.[19]

The humanist critique of Middle English romances was as much about ideology as it was morality. Crane suggests that these humanists' concerns were based on romances' "remoteness from reality, their improbability, [and] their extravagant idealism, [all of which] were bound to offend tastes formed on the literature of antiquity" (20). Furthermore, they believed romances promoted the ideals and behaviours of a morally and intellectually corrupt medieval period. Robert P. Adams identifies four areas of particular concern for More and other humanists of the sixteenth century in their "attack" against the genre: romances promoted tyranny over just rule, celebrated war over social order and Christian justice, upheld obsolete notions of honour, glory, and human greatness, and reinforced outdated beliefs concerning "women's nature and potential role in society" (34-35). These four areas of concern stress proper order and control in an ideal,

[19] See More's *Utopia* (1516), Montaigne's *Essays* (1580), Dering's *Bryfe and Necessary Catechisme* (1572), and Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589).

post-feudal society and discourage change and dissent. Compliance with an established order meant efficient and disciplined peace within society, and humanists feared that romances enflamed desires and encouraged readers to act in ways that actively disrupted societal accord. While these concerns somewhat imply that humanists were conservative in their positions, a more prudent interpretation suggests that they were worried about reactionaries who would want to go back to earlier (medieval) ways of doing things.

Isumbras: Genre and Popularity in the Sixteenth Century

Isumbras is a romance concerned with social order, but it is equally interested in individual responsibility and the effects of the latter on the former. It is a Job-like story that follows the fall and rise of its titular character. As a result of forgetting God's role in his good fortunes and acting prideful among his subjects, Isumbras loses all of his land and wealth. When he and his family set out on a penitential journey to the Holy Land, wild animals kidnap Isumbras's children, foreign invaders abduct his wife, and Isumbras is left alone to redeem himself in God's eyes. He then asks God for direction. Isumbras rises from pauper, to craftsman, to knight, only willingly to forego it all again until he has completed his journey. In the Middle East, a messenger of God informs Isumbras that he is redeemed; Isumbras then seeks help from a charitable queen, who turns out to be his lost wife. Together, and later joined by their lost children, they conquer several Muslim kingdoms to spread Christianity across the region.

Most scholars classify *Isumbras* as a *homiletic romance*.[20] Murray Evans defines texts of this subgenre as romances that "embody some combination of religion and knightly adventure"

[20] Raluca Radulescu identifies *Isumbras* as a pious romance or penitential romance, using the terms interchangeably. She argues that it, as well as *Robert of Sicily* and *Sir Gowther*, should be read as both a pious and political text; for this reason, she rejects attempts to identify *Isumbras* as a secular hagiography (333).

(51). Homiletic romances explore the intersection between moral and chivalric virtues and the behaviours that they entail. The subgenre's "story-material," Dieter Mehl explains, often derives from legends rather than traditional romance cycles (85). Indeed, *Isumbras* is heavily influenced by the legend of St. Eustace,[21] and it is an exemplary model of the subgenre since it so clearly manages a balance between "religious and secular, edifying and entertaining tales" (Mehl 90). Yet, despite its apparent morality and didacticism, *Isumbras* was still a romance potentially subject to the scrutiny of critics like Erasmus, Vives, and those who followed.

The popularity of *Isumbras* in the sixteenth century is initially curious since it is quite different than many of the other Middle English verse romances that were printed. No other homiletic romances, such *Robert of Sicily* or *Sir Gowther*, were printed during this period. Instead, based on extant print editions, the two most popular romances throughout the century were *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*, both "Matters of Britain"—or "English Hero"—romances. These were followed in popularity by two "chivalric" romances, *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and *Sir Tryamour*; a "Breton Lai", *Sir Degare*; and *Isumbras*.[22] Manuscript versions of *Isumbras* differ from these other romances insofar as their battles do not have developed or

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[21] Mehl recognizes that the legend of St. Eustace was not necessarily a direct source for *Isumbras*; however, the stories share two common motifs: "the trial and salvation of the hero by suffering, and the eventful dispersal and reunion of a family." However, "the English adapter, has compressed the whole, rather complicated story into a short poem of less than a thousand lines. By this drastic abridgement he has not only altered the character of the plot, but he has also succeeded in stressing its moral pattern" (91).

[22] Popularity based on extant printed editions is still circumstantial, but it is more accurate than popularity based on extant manuscripts because a single printed book represents an entire print-run. It is more likely that one of several copies of a print edition has survived than a single unique manuscript. Thus, the number of extant print editions is far more likely to represent the true number of editions produced than the number of extant manuscript versions. I base my assessment of the popularity of individual early modern romances on the total number of extant editions of each romance, as they are presented on the charts of print production provided in Sánchez-Martí (6-7, 13). I have privileged *Guy of Warwick* due to its continued printing in the seventeenth century. Despite the subgenres to which I have assigned each text, all romances listed here—aside from *Isumbras*—engage with several chivalric elements: love, marriage, feats of strength and power, trial through battle, and fighting dragons.

descriptive narratives and are not a condition of the main character overcoming his trials (the battles themselves are not the trials; Isumbras has no need to prove his bravery or strength as is common in the other stories) or receiving his reward. As Mehl succinctly says of homiletic romances in general, "the plot is completely subordinated to the moral and religious theme, even though this is occasionally lost sight of, [...] and all the adventures of the hero or heroine contribute to it, either by illustrating some particular Christian virtue in the hero or by commenting on the exemplary pattern of the action" (85). Hence, Isumbras's trials centre on learning piety and charity through acts of humility and faithfulness, while the more militant aspects of *Isumbras* are often brief and quickly passed over. In one manuscript version of *Isumbras*, Harriet Hudson explains, events quickly unfold and end in adherence with regular twelve-line stanzas; the poetic constraints restrict the offered descriptive details (*Isumbras* 8). Hudson's assessment is true of most manuscript versions of *Isumbras* written prior to the *t*-editor's edition.

Sixteenth-century editions of *Isumbras* can still be considered homiletic romances, but its continuing popularity into the early modern period, I contend, was the result of the *t*-editor's extensive efforts to revise the text so that it responded to the desires of both early modern readers and sixteenth-century critics of Middle English verse romances. Due to the editor's efforts, the print editions retain and enhance the homiletic elements of medieval editions of *Isumbras*. Unlike earlier editions, the print editions isolate Isumbras as solely guilty for his sins, emphasize the undue punishment experienced by the family, and invoke greater empathy from readers as Isumbras succumbs to his penance and learns the importance of humility. The *t*-editor's revisions make it easier for people to recognize which character traits and behaviours are positive examples and which are negative examples. Meanwhile, this editor's revision of the formal and stylistic elements of the story build on the chivalric elements of Isumbras that early modern

audiences found so appealing in other romances. The *t*-editor adds clearer and more detailed descriptions of the battle scenes, while also balancing the story's narrative by adding new scenes that are tropes of chivalric romances.

The *t*-Editor's Methodology

Like many editors today, the *t*-editor employed textual editing in order to help him make decisions pertaining to the construction of his text. Textual editing (or "critical editing") involves comparing the text of multiple editions and making decisions where the editions deviate according to a set of principles defined first by the editor's goals. Although the *t*-editor does not construct a scholarly edition that identifies his guiding principles and the reasons that he chooses one manuscript witness over another like a modern editor might, my analysis of the sixteenth century printed editions reveals that he was making similar decisions and adopting readings from multiple sources while constructing his version of *Isumbras*.

Isumbras survives in nine manuscripts and five printed editions.[23] The manuscripts, prints, and their corresponding *sigla* are as follows:[24]

Manuscripts

London, Grey's Inn MS 20 (1350), fol. 228, 104-line fragment corresponding to Gonville and Caius, MS lines 216-308. (*G*)

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 175 (1425-50), fols. 98r-106. (*C*)

Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, called the Thornton MS (c. 1440), fols. 109^{r}-114^{v}. (*T*)

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS 13 B 9 (1457), fols. 114^{r}-115^{r}, a fragment containing the first 122 lines. (*N*)

[23] The precise number is difficult to ascertain; see below.

[24] I have preserved Schleich's *sigla* for uniformity. All references, foliation and notes are reproduced from Harriet Hudson's edition of *Isumbras* in order to account for new and updated information since Schleich's edition, which was printed in 1901.

London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ii (1450-1500), fols. 130^{r}-134^{r}. (*L*)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61 (1475-1500), fols. 9^{r}-16^{r}. (*A*)

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 19.3.1 (1475-1500), fols. 48^{r}-56^{v}. (*E*)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 261 (1564), fols. 1^{r}-7^{v}. (*D*)

Oxford, University College MS 142 (end 14 c.), fol. 128^{r}, a 17-line fragment.[25]

Printed Editions

Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce fragment f 37. London: Wynkyn de Worde or W. Copland,[26] 1530? 1550? (STC 14281), one leaf. (*d*)

Oxford, Bodleian Library 1119. London: W. Copland(?), c. 1530 (STC 14282)[27], one leaf. (*m*)

London, British Library C 21c61, Garrick Collection. London: William Copland, [c. 1564][28] (STC 14282), fifteen leaves. (*c*)

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[25] Schleich does not include this manuscript in his list.

[26] Neither Wynkyn de Worde nor William Copland are likely the printer of this text based on its type. Schleich provides a clue from a nineteenth-century library catalogue of prints and manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Francis Douce, which "führt dieses Bruchstück unter denjenigen auf, deren Drucker unbekannt sind, und fügt hinzu [adds this fragment to those whose printers are unknown, and adds]: Mr. Douce supposed this to have been printed by Copland, and refers to Mr. Garrick's copy [STC 4282] of that edition in the Brit. Mus. [now British Library C 21 c.61]; upon comparing them, however, it is evidently from another press. The seventh line begins with a singularly shaped Y, which may lead perhaps, to the discovery of the printer" (67). To my knowledge, the printer is yet to be identified on this basis. However, the fragment also begins with a unique capital "L" block that I have only seen used in John Kynge and Thomas Marche's *Certaine Books Compyled by Mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat* (STC 22599). The letter is found on several pages in Kynge and Marche's book and is part of a matching alphabetical set, used frequently through the book. Both Kynge and Marche printed other Middle English texts; further research may reveal one of these men to be the printer this edition.

[27] It is not clear to me why Hudson assigns this edition to STC 14282 when it is clearly a different edition than the copy found in the British Library based on textual variants. It does not appear in the ESTC.

[28] Hudson dates this edition to c. 1530; the ESTC dates it to c. 1565. Based on the likelihood of *c* being the source for *D* and codicological features that distinguish Copland's later prints from his earlier prints (such as his use of headers, catchwords and signatures), I date it to sometime in the early to mid 1560s.

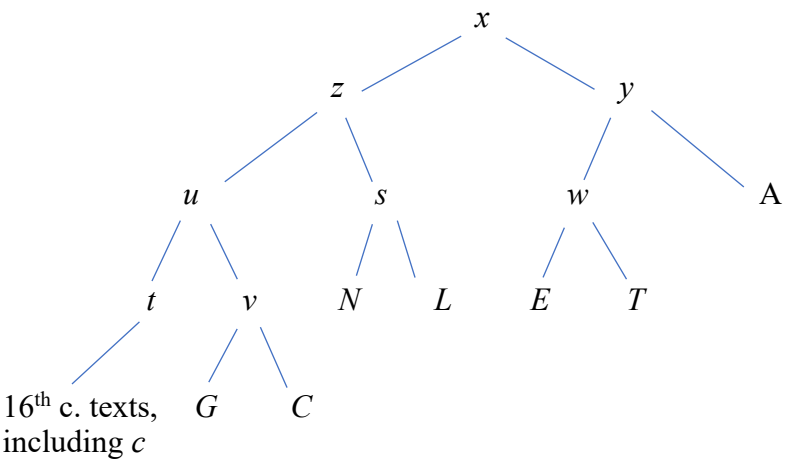
Boston, Harvard University Library. London: John Skot, c.1525 (STC 14280.1), eight leaves.[29]

Boston, Harvard University Library. London: I. Treveris, c. 1530 (STC 14280.2), one leaf.

Boston, Harvard University Library. London: P. Treveris, c. 1530 (STC 14280.5), eight leaves. (*r*)[30]

Boston, Harvard University Library. London: John Skot, c.1530 (STC 14280.7), four leaves. (*k*)

Throughout this study, I refer to the editions by their *sigla*. I also accept and follow the manuscript genealogy put forth by Gustav Schleich in his stemma of *Isumbras* (87), reproduced here in part:



In his critical edition, Schleich provides detailed textual notes to justify his branches (67-87), and no one has objected to the resulting stemma.[31]

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[29] STC 14280.1 and 14280.2 are not listed in Schleich. Because neither edition has been made available to EEBO, nor is found in the ESTC, nor is listed in Harvard University Library's catalogue, I have not assigned them *siglia* and they will not be addressed in this study. However, I have included both editions here because they are listed as extant by *MER* (there, they are identified as first editions to 14280.5 and 14280.7) and by Hudson.

[30] STC 14280.5 and 14280.7 are not listed in either Schleich or Hudson; their assigned *sigla* are my own. The two editions are bound together in Harvard University Library and are available as a single electronic file via EEBO under the reference STC 14280.7. Both are listed in the ESTC, Harvard University Library's catalogue, and the Database of Middle English Romance.

[31] Although Schleich is the editor of the critical edition, his work is "im Anschluss an die Vorarbeiten [following the preparatory work]" of renowned German and English philologist,

In his efforts to make *Isumbras* more appealing and relevant to an early modern audience, the *t*-editor prepared his text from at least two different manuscripts and added additional content not found in any extant manuscripts. Because the *t*-editor's text only exists as a fragment (see Appendix A), I use the only complete sixteenth-century print descendant—Copland's c. 1564 edition (*c*)—as my point of comparison against earlier manuscripts. First, he revised and modernized the *z*-branch manuscript that the used as his source-copy. The significant number of variants (see Appendix B) attest to the extent of his revisions. During this process, the *t*-editor also consulted a *y*-branch manuscript to aid in corrections and to substitute alternative language and content. While the number of variants matching *y*-branch manuscripts is not as extensive as those of the *z* branch, there are too many to dismiss—many unique—as coincidence (see the variants highlighted in bold in Appendix B for examples and Appendix C.1). Finally, the *t*-editor added a significant number of (presumably original) lines not found in extant manuscripts in order to develop existing content and to add scenes (see Appendix C.2), both of which affected the romance's overall didactic features and genre.

A *z*-branch manuscript provided the *t*-editor with the foundations for his edition of *Isumbras*. In the absence of the *t*-editor's copy-source, I have collated *c* with *C* in order to identify the extent of the editor's deviations from his primary source. Among the *z*-branch manuscripts, those of the *v* branch (*C* and *G*) most closely match the prints—*u* arguably best

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Julius Zupitza (1844-1895) (ii). Broh describes Schleich's edition as focused "entirely on textual emendations in order to establish an 'original' text, and on the relationship of the various manuscripts to one another" (1). The true value of the edition is its textual notes and variants for all manuscripts and early print editions; however, Schleich was not aware of all of the existing editions of *Isumbras*, including the earliest print editions. Additionally, we should be mindful that although no one has objected to Schleich's stemma, no one, to my knowledge, has attempted to challenge it. To do so here, however, is beyond the scope of my study. I further acknowledge that lost manuscripts may call into question both Schleich's stemma and my textual criticism, but their existence would not discount the extent of the *t*-editor's involvement and efforts in the preparation of the earliest print edition of *Isumbras*.

represents the missing manuscript in Schleich's stemma. *G*, the oldest surviving manuscript of *Isumbras*, retains only 104 lines (216-336), which makes it a poor edition for comparison. *C*, however, retains the entire story except lines 35-172 due to a missing leaf, making it the best candidate against which to compare *c*. Although *C* is missing the lines that contain some of the most significant variants unique to the *t* branch—most notably the replacement of the bird with an angel as the messenger of God—its story, lines, and stanzas most closely resemble those of *c* compared to all of the extent manuscripts. With respect to the missing lines of *C*, I follow Harriet Hudson's lead by supplementing them with those of *L*: "The Cotton [*L*] and Naples [*N*] manuscripts form a third group; their versification closely resembles that of the Gonville and Caius text" (*Isumbras* 8). *L* is a better choice than *N* since only the first 122 lines survive in the latter. The following example demonstrates *C*'s value as a base text for comparison because it simultaneously highlights *C*'s closeness to *c* and the extent to which the *t*-editor was willing to deviate from his source. The second half of stanza XXXIX (35-36) [32] is a near exact match:

He rod up unto the mountayn,	He rode vp to the hygh mountayne
The Sawdon soone hath he slayn	the Sowdan he hade sone slayne
And manye that with hym wore.	And many that with hym were
Al that day lastyd that fyght,	all the daye lasted that fight
Ser Ysumbras that noble knyght	Syr Isenbras that noble knyght
Wan the batayle thore.	Wan the batayle there
(*C* 442-47)[33]	(*c* 447-52)

[32] Stanzas identified by roman numerals are references to Schleich's text. Each text's line numbers, however, correspond to their relevant edition.

[33] In this chapter, I quote and cite Hudson's edition of *Isumbras* verbatim (including punctuation) for all references to *C*'s and *L*'s texts for the purpose of consistency. I have consulted *C* in person, and I have checked Hudson's readings against Schleich's in order to avoid oversights.

The first two lines are similar and the last four are identical. The editor's revisions alleviate some of the awkwardness of the first line while evening and matching the metrical pace of the second line with the first. Compared to *C*, none of the other manuscripts, including *L*, are as similar to *c*. Yet, the first six lines of the same stanza are very different in the two editions:

Whenne he was armyd on that stede,	The stronge stede he gan stride
It is sene yit where hys hors yede	In to the hoaste than gan ryde
And schall be evere more.	there delte he dentes sore
As sparkele glydes of the glede	He felled all that before him stode
In that stour he made many blede	And those that he knocked on the hoode
And wroughte hem woundes sore.	He slewe for euermore
(*C* 436-441)	(*c* 441-46)

In this instance, the editor alters both the couplets and the tail-rhyme in order to give himself more leeway. In turn, he alters the lines to contain more action and to be more violent. The lines are more conventional and typical of the scenes found in medieval chivalric romances. That said, these six lines are only slightly more similar to *L* but are generally unique compared to all of the manuscripts.

By collating the editions and categorizing their variants, I am able discern the kinds of linguistic and literary changes that the *t*-editor made in order to make the text more accessible and relevant. In Appendix B, I list all of the substantive variants found between *C* (or *L*, when relevant) and the printed editions and divide them into categories for examination. To be clear, neither *C* nor *L* was the direct source of the *t* branch; however, they are the closest extant manuscripts to the source, which no longer exists. Further, I compare *C* to the earliest print edition available—as determined in Appendix A—for each variant in order to reconstruct the *t*-editor's choices as closely as possible. My goal here is not to focus on individual variants, but

rather on the broader picture created by the whole of the *t*-editor's decisions, with as little influence as possible from the editors of the later editions who only slightly modified his work. Therefore, rather than dividing the substantive variants into more traditional categories expected of a critical textual study, I divide them into five simplified categories that, on one hand, better reflect the transition from late-medieval manuscript production to early modern printed book production and, on the other hand, do not imply or suggest an editorial intention to restore or to imitate an "original" text.[34] Rather, I use these categories in order to facilitate my literary analysis of the story's content and genre.

The five categories into which I divide the variants help to identify the *t*-editor's primary areas of concern as he endeavoured to make the text more accessible and culturally relevant. The categories are: 1) content: interpretative – variants intended to alter the meaning of the narrative and its didactic elements; 2) content: developing – variants that build or expand the narrative through additional details or description; 3) stylistic – variants that fix or improve the literary quality of the text, including its meter, rhyme, vocabulary, or other poetic elements; 4) modernization – variants that make the text linguistically more accessible by revising outdated words, phrases, syntax, or general grammatical elements; 5) errors – variants identified as mistakes due to human error (eyeskip, oversight, etc.). Due to the broadness of these categories and the complexity of some variants, there is frequent overlap between these groups. Therefore, I categorize these variants by placing them in the first group in which they suitably fall, checking them against each category in turn, 1 through 5.

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[34] Nicolas Jacobs provides an excellent example of a more traditional textual study. His *Later Versions of* Sir Degarre*: A Study in Textual Degeneration* is extensively thorough in its categorization of substantive variants, dividing them into twenty categories. However, Jacobs' categories make far too many assumptions about William Copland's aims as an editor, many of which do not correspond with his practices, as witnessed by the majority of his prints. While this detailed approach serves his overall purposes, it does not serve mine.

The number of variants between *C* and *c* highlights the significant number of revisions made by the *t*-editor, but the number of readings shared between *c* and *y*-branch manuscripts emphasizes the extent of the editor's efforts to develop a very specific reading of *Isumbras* for an early modern audience. Included in Appendix B's list of substantive variants between the *z* branch and the *t* branch are the corresponding *y* branch readings, represented by *T* (due to some uniquely shared readings between *T* and the *t* branch). This list is sufficiently extensive to assert with confidence (based on extant manuscripts) that the *t*-editor was working with a manuscript related to the *y* branch. Of the *y*-branch manuscripts, *c* most commonly agrees with *T*, but it also agrees more often with *A* than *E*, implying that the second manuscript used by the *t*-editor would have been more closely related to *y* rather than *w* and making it older than *T*, *A* or *E*.[35]

The *t*-editor regularly uses the *y*-branch manuscript as a source of ideas, possibilities and language. I reveal the editor's use of the *y*-branch manuscript by examining the list of adopted readings, which tend to relate to descriptive and illustrative language, especially how things looked and how actions were performed. These variants tend to fall into the developing content and stylistic categories. This distribution supports Hudson's claim that the *y*-branch versions of *Isumbras* "give the story a more 'heroic' treatment" (8). Indeed, the language of the *y*-branch manuscripts is often better suited to supplement the scenes containing action that appealed to readers interested in chivalric romances. In other instances, *c* adopts words or phrases from the *y* branch to avoid repetition found in the *z*-branch source or to adjust the meter. The *t*-editor appears conscious of rhyme in his edits, particularly when adapting complete lines. Notably, whether the *t*-editor adopts a single word or a full line, he does not always reassign it to the corresponding line in his edition. For example, the word "Stremours" is adopted from line 224

[35] It is possible, of course, that the *t*-editor used more than one manuscript to supplement his primary source, but further speculation seems imprudent and does not significantly affect the results of the *t*-editor's editorial practices that I am highlighting.

of *T*—the only manuscript to use this word—but it is placed in line 211 of *c* (one line earlier) to replace other words:

With topcastelis sett on lofte	With topcastels lyfte on lofte
Rychely thenne were they wroughte	With streamers of sendale softe
With joye and mekyl pryde.	Lyke a prynce proude of pryde
(*C* 199-201)	(*c* 209-12)

With toppe-castelles sett one lofte,
Of riche golde thame semed wroghte,
Stremours fro thame ferre gane glyde.
(*T* 223-25)[36]

This passage is intended to emphasize the extravagance and pride of the Sultan, and thus to draw a parallel to the description of Isumbras at the beginning of the story. *T* does not express this sentiment as explicitly as the other two passages, but presumably the *t*-editor wanted to avoid any notion that satisfaction can be found in materialism; hence, the reference to joy is not fitting. What looks to be a stylistic variant turns out to be an interpretive variant.

Finally, in addition to the use of multiple manuscripts and extensive revision, the *t*-editor also added several new lines to his edition; most of these lines are unique to the sixteenth-century editions of *Isumbras* and have a significant impact on the interpretation of the story. Of the 117 lines added to *c* that are not found in *C*, nine are lines missing from either *L* (160-62; 166-68)[37] or *C* (207-09) but found in all other manuscripts. Of the remaining 108 lines, twenty-one are found prior to line 249 and the remaining eighty-seven after line 585. In total, seven passages

[36] In this chapter, I quote and cite Halliwell's edition of *Isumbras* (including punctuation) for all references to *T*'s texts for the purpose of consistency. I have consulted a facsimile of *T*, and I have checked Halliwell's readings against Schleich's in order to avoid oversights.
[37] The *L* lines are included here because they are from the portion of text that stands in for *C*, as discussed above.

among these lines add dialogue (48-53, the angel; 81-3, Isumbras's tenants; 93-5, Isumbras; 586-88, the Lady; 592-94, the Lady; 711-16, the Lady; 819-24, the sons). Three of the passages, including the massive fifty-four-line addition, expand on romantic tropes (657-62, the recognition scene; 747-800, the heroic battle scene; 819-24, the reunion scene). Finally, four of the passages relate to Isumbras's trial (48-53, details of punishment; 81-3, details of Isumbras's livestock dying; 108-13, Isumbras gives away remaining wealth; 598-603, Isumbras's humble reaction to the Lady's charity). Those lines for which these categories do not account provide further description or explain gaps in the sequence of events. Regarding the last passage, *c* abandons the traditional endings found in the manuscripts at line 766 of *C* in order to provide a nine-line description of which land each son inherited and how they fared, followed by a conventional acknowledgement of God. The lines are always added in divisions of three in order to avoid breaking the tail-rhyme format, but they often result in breaking down the 12-line stanzas into 6-line stanzas.

The Revised *Isumbras*

The extensive editorial interventions that I have identified in early printed editions of *Isumbras* substantially revise the meaning and value of the romance while maintaining its core plot and narrative in order to appeal to readers and critics alike.[38] Despite the formal and stylistic similarities between *C* and *c*, my comparative analysis reveals that the latter develops and expands several of the text's narrative and thematic elements in order to present a more balanced and coherent story that appealed to the tastes of a sixteenth-century audience, as suggested by the popularity of specific Middle English romances throughout the early modern period (see above).

[38] My primary focus in the following analysis is the difference between *c* and *C* (and *L* as a replacement for *C*'s missing lines [35-172]). When relevant, I consider the contents of other manuscripts and prints in footnotes. Instances in which manuscripts from the *y* branch disrupt my analysis should be understood less as inconsistent readings and more as further evidence that the *t*-editor consulted manuscripts from both the *z* and the *y* branches.

At the same time, I argue that the print edition alters and clarifies the didactic elements of the text in order to clarify for audiences how their empathy and concern should be directed. Specifically, *c* alters the descriptions of Isumbras and his lady in order to focus more on their behaviour rather than their physical characteristics; the text's language is altered to isolate the responsibility for committed sins to Isumbras alone, while also increasing the audience's pity for those characters who are affected as a result of his actions; moreover, the whole narrative is better balanced and given stronger continuity through the lines that are unique to the early print editions. Together, these changes create a story that is appealing both as a popular romance and as a didactic text.

Notwithstanding the homiletic elements of the romance in manuscripts, they consistently characterize Isumbras as a typical medieval chivalric knight. This opening description of Isumbras emphasizes his strength, bravery, and charismatic looks:

> I wold yow telle off a knyght
> That was bothe hardy and wyght
> And doughty man of dede.
> Hys name was callyd Sere Ysumbras:
> So doughty a knyght as he was
> There levyd non in lede.
>
> He was mekil man and long
> With armes grete and body strong
> And fair was to se.
> He was long man and heygh,
> The fayreste that evere man seygh:

A gret lord was he.
Menstralles he lovyd wel in halle
And gaf hem ryche robes withalle,
Bothe golde and fe.
Off curteysye he was kyng
And of his mete never nothyng
In worlde was non so free. (*C* 7-24)

The repetition of "doughty," "long," and "fair," emphasize his physical appearance. Indeed, among those who would see him (those "There [..] in lede"),[39] no one who sees him is "so doughty." Hence, it is these qualities that culminate in the claim, "A gret lord was he." Notably, it is only *after* this statement that he is described as the king of "curteysye" and "so free." Initially, these characteristics may be perceived as positive traits as Isumbras gives freely among his guests. However, his courtesy and generosity are misguided and an extension of his pride, and, thus, they define his actions as sinful rather charitable.

By contrast, *c* similarly describes the knight's appearance, but it also emphasizes his moral character:

Ye shall well heare of a knight
that was in warre full wyght
And doughtye of his dede
Hys name was syr Isenbras

[39] Hudson glosses these words as "among those folk" (11). Other manuscripts compare Isumbras more broadly, comparing him to other nobles (*A* 12) or everyone: "Now lyffes nowrewhare in lede" (*T* 12); "Non luyes now in lede" (*E* 12); "Now lyffes nane in lede" (*L* 12). In *T, E* and *L*, Isumbras is greater than others based not simply on his doughtiness, but as a knight in general ("Swilke a knyghte als he was" [11]). Given the traditional description of a chivalric knight present, the distinction is not impactful on my claims. In either case, Isumbras is still touted superior despite the story being predicated on his moral failings.

Man nobler then he was
Lyued none with breade
He was lyuely, large and longe
With shoulders broade, and armes stronge
that myghtie was to se
He was a hardy man and hye
All men hym loued that hym se
For a gentyll knyght was he
Harpers loued him in hall
With other minstrels all
For he gaue them golde and fee
He was as curtoise as men might thinke
Lyberall of meate and drynke
In the worlde was none so fre (*c* 7-24)

The references to Isumbras's physical characteristics are better integrated and less hyperbolic here than in earlier editions. The editor avoids the repetition found in *C* and integrates stylistic techniques to soften and smooth the bluntness of the language and meter of earlier descriptions: for example, the alliteration of line 13 ("lyuely, large and longe") and the metric balance of line 14 (With / shoul / ders / broade, // and / arm / es / stronge). Added to this description are also the words "nobler," "gentyll," and, in *r*, "louyng." The use of "gentyll" is particularly important because it alludes to Isumbras's virtue and morality as a knight while replacing the claim that he is a "gret lord" (18). Clearly, he is not yet a "gret lord," given his sinful failings, but he can *become* one. Herein is one of the most important distinctions between the sixteenth-century and earlier editions. The later editions assert: "Man nobler then he was / Lyued none with breade."

Here, "breade" reads as *breeding*, referring to either how Isumbras was raised or how he was educated. In other words, the virtues and qualities of a just leader must be things that can be taught; people are not born with noble qualities inherent. Despite his nobility, Isumbras sins and needs to learn from his penance.

The *t*-editor's emphasis on Isumbras's moral virtues in the opening stanzas of the print editions establishes a clearer relation between Isumbras and his penance, while the editor's changes in the language and adjustments to the contents clarify and attribute penance solely to Isumbras. The manuscript tradition of *Isumbras* conflates the punishment of Isumbras with the suffering of those people who are affected by it, and thus Isumbras with them. After Isumbras's family narrowly escapes his burning buildings, he explains to his wife and children the cause of their circumstances in Stanza X: "All the sorrow that *we* ben inne, / Hit is for *owre* wykked synne; / Worthy *we* be well more" (*L* 112-114, emphasis added). In all of the manuscripts, Isumbras uses first-person plural pronouns in these lines despite the fact that the bird who approaches him in the forest explicitly states that the sin belongs to Isumbras (singular): "*Thow* haste forgete what *thou* was / For pryde of golde and fee" (*L* 44-45, emphasis added). Hence, it is Isumbras who is approached and given a choice regarding his penance: "The kynge of hevenn the gretheth so: / In yowthe or elde *thou* schall be wo, / Chese whedur hyt shall be" (*L* 46-48, emphasis added). The messenger identifies only Isumbras as the offender, which the knight presumably understands considering his nine-line response (*L* 52-60) that includes five uses of the first-person subjective pronoun, three uses of the first-person objective pronoun, and three uses of the first-person possessive adjective.[40] It is Isumbras who is accused, Isumbras who is given a choice, and Isumbras who makes his decision based on what option better suits himself.

[40] There is, of course, some variance in these numbers between the manuscripts, but the numbers are close among them. More importantly, all of the manuscripts present this individual focus on Isumbras and none include any references to Isumbras's family within these lines.

Given the circumstances of Isumbras's options, Raluca Radulescu justly calls out "Isumbras's rash choice of pursuing personal salvation and piety, which involves suffering in youth rather than old age, [because it] has dramatic consequences not only for himself and his family but also for his subjects" (336). Indeed, his family loses everything: his children are snatched away by beasts; his wife is abducted by foreign invaders; his "menne be manye sleyne" (*L* 78) in the burning buildings; and his herdsmen's "fees ben [...] revedde, / There is othynge ylevedde, / Nowghte on stede to [Isumbras's] plowe" (*L* 88-90). Surely Isumbras's claims that "God bothe geveth and taketh" (*L* 94) is only slightly comforting to those labourers who are dependent on him and his land, especially since he professes to them, "I wyte nowght yow this wo" (*L* 93). Therefore, since Isumbras is the cause of everyone's suffering, his inclusion of others in these claims—particularly his family—is unsettling since it implicates them as co-sinners: "And we full evell kan wyrke, / Owre frendes of us wyll yrke, / Of londe I rede we fare" (*L* 115-17).

Based on the effects of certain textual omissions, additions, and changes found in *c*, it is reasonable to assume that *Isumbras's* sixteenth-century editor also found the punishment suffered by Isumbras's family unacceptable and likely distracting since readers are privy only to Isumbras's journey and not his family's experiences after they are taken from him; thus, the *t*-editor's textual changes place responsibility squarely on Isumbras while also highlighting the suffering of others as collateral damage resulting from the knight's punishment—their suffering, I argue, is part of his punishment. Initially, the *t*-editor's omission of Stanza X appears to be an egregious copying error. However, the omission removes Isumbras's nine-line speech that associates his family with his own failings, leaving no room for speculation prior to their journey. Additionally, the angel, who replaces the bird as the messenger in the *t*-branch texts, speaks six additional lines that define Isumbras's punishment and direct the reader how to understand the ills that befall the knight's family:

> The worldes welth shall fro the fall
>
> thou shalt lose thy children all
>
> And al thy landes free
>
> thy lady goodlyest of all
>
> For feare of fyre shall flye thy hall
>
> thys daye or thou her se (*c* 48-53)

The angel's prescribed punishment clarifies that the circumstances that befall Isumbras's wife and children are a part of his punishment, just like the loss of his "worldes welth" and his "landes free." As a result, their experiences of suffering are no fault of their own, but rather a consequence of Isumbras's failings.

The *t*-editor's efforts to reassign guilt not only provide clarity but also remove Isumbras's choice of when to suffer his punishment. Had Isumbras not made such a "rash choice" in the manuscript versions, he might have realized that he could have avoided causing others to suffer by accepting his "wo" later in life (*L* 47).[41] His choice, however, was necessary. If Isumbras had made the wiser choice then the punishment would be less relevant, less harsh, and thus less meaningful as a didactic lesson for the audience; it would defeat the purpose of the story. Instead, the early print editions remove the choice altogether and impose God's punishment without appeal ("Therfore our lorde sayth to thee so / All thy good thou muste forgo / As thou shalt here after se" [*c* 45-47]). Additionally, Isumbras's rash decision may indicate some initial disingenuousness since he clearly misunderstands the assigned penance ("wo") when he responds to the bird. He does not seem to understand the full extent of his moral failings, which is evident when he declares, "Worldes welthe I woll forsake" (*L* 52), and requests of God, "in

[41] In *L*, the bird offers Isumbras "In yowthe or elde thou schall be wo" (47); in *E*, "Worldly welth thous schalt forgo" (47); in *T*, "In elde or youthe thou sall dry woo" (48). In all early manuscript versions, Isumbras replies, "Worldes welthe I woll forsake" (59).

yowthe sende me poverté" (*L* 59).[42] Poverty was not the condition presented by the bird; it was "wo." Isumbras of the manuscripts only comes to realize the distinction as events unfold. In the early print editions, however, Isumbras, without the choice, prays that God "In youth send me aduersitie / And not when I am olde" (59-60). In these later editions, Isumbras is aware that "worldes welthe" may have been related to his sins, but it was not the cause. Thus, he willingly gives away the last of his wealth to the young lad he meets on the road home in lines unique to the print editions: "His purse caste he to hym belyue / the lade hym thanked often sythe / For his gifte so great" (*c* 108-10). The eager response of the boy reinforces Isumbras's failure to understand the value and significance of the wealth that he previously squandered without acknowledging God's grace to bestow it upon him ("On God he thought neuer a dell" [*c* 32]). More importantly, the act indicates that Isumbras recognizes his agency and that he must not only suffer God's punishments, but actively strive to learn, to sacrifice, and to improve himself.

Once the *t*-editor clarifies the difference between punishment and suffering, the instances of suffering by others become more powerful in their affective influence. Many of the passages that do not change in the print editions are more impactful when it is clear that the other people are suffering due to Isumbras's failings and not their own. Stanza IX, for example, is quite emotional as Isumbras's wife comforts their destitute children after escaping the burning buildings:

> A dolfull syghte thenne ganne he se,
> His wyfe and his chylderen thre
> Owte of the fyre were fledde.
> As naked as they were borne

[42] In all early manuscript versions except for *T* and *E*, Isumbras requests "poverty." In the *T* and *E*, he asks for "penance."

There they stode hym byforne,
    Were browghte out of here bedde.
Yette chaunged no thyng his ble
Tyll he sawe his wyfe and children thre
    That erste were comely cladde.
The lady badde her children be blythe;
"For yette I se your fader on lyve,
    For nothynge be ye dradde." (*L* 97-108)

The lady and her children are referenced three times in this stanza, emphasizing their value to the knight. The state of their dress is described in before and after terms: before, "comely cladde"; after, "naked as they were borne." There is an understanding of their fragility in these lines as they, in the print editions, "sate vnder a thorne" (*c* 1117) after losing their shelter. After these lines, the readers' pity for the mother and her children is distorted in the manuscripts when, in the following stanza, Isumbras describes their collective guilt. In the prints, however, the entire stanza is removed, maintaining the reader's sympathies for these victims.

After the destitute family departs on their journey toward the Holy Land, there are several instances of subject and pronoun use in which *c* disagrees with the manuscripts and, in turn, produces more affective readings. These instances are particularly poignant when they concern the children and hunger. For example, after travelling for some time and suffering from "harde hunger" (*c* 155), sadness overcomes the family. In *C*, "Sex deyes were come and gone, / Mete ne drynke hadde they none / For honger they wepte sore" (*C* 157-59). However, in *c*, "Thre dayes were come and gone / Meate nor drynke founde they none / The chyldren wept so fre" (*c* 157-59). Whereas the family suffers (is punished) together in the manuscript, only the children are referenced in the print. In this instance, Isumbras's punishment is not to suffer from hunger,

but to watch his children suffer while knowing it is his fault. Similarly, in the preceding lines, there is sufficient ambiguity to understand the second instance of "they" as referring solely to Isumbras's wife and children in line 154 and 155:

> Seuen landes they gan through passe
> By goddes succour myght and grace
> Hys wyfe and his chyldren thre
> They that ere had welth and wyn
> the harde hunger that they were in
> Great sorowe it was to se. (*c* 151-156)

The sorrow described in references such as these apply equally to Isumbras as they do to the audience. As a result, Isumbras gains a broader and more nuanced understanding of the value of things and the significance of God's role in delivering them. In all editions of *Isumbras*, "worldes welth" (money and property) and sustenance ("mete and drynke") are closely associated and it is through the latter that Isumbras comes to learn that both derive from God's grace.

The role of food guides both Isumbras and the audience toward a better understanding of God's bounties, but also the Christian ideal of charity. The sympathy generated by descriptions of a hunger-starved Isumbras and his family highlights the kindness of those who offer charity to them. In all editions, the family leaves their home with "no maner of thynge" (*c* 145) and begs for meals: "But mekely they asked theyr meate / where that they myght it gette / For saynct charytie" (*c* 148-50). However, they will only accept food that is given in God's name. This condition is established most clearly in their encounter with the Sultan. Twice Isumbras asks for food in God's name, but the Sultan will only consider trading rank and wealth for Isumbras's agreement to renounce his faith and fight for the Sultan or in exchange for Isumbras's wife.

Isumbras refuses both offers, of course, and he only willingly accepts sustenance from his wife after she is allowed to bid him farewell. Isumbras then goes on to learn how to labour for food from blacksmiths. These examples, found in all versions, contribute to constructing Isumbras's lessons in charity, but the print editions enhance these elements further.

In the print editions, Isumbras's wife plays a pivotal role in educating her husband about charity. In all versions, Isumbras finds her in the Holy Land giving money to the poor and providing shelter to those who cannot travel. Her situation contrasts with Isumbras's earlier elaborate festivities in his halls, during which he squanders money on entertainment and excess. In the print editions, the lady's charity is established much earlier. *C* describes her as "A fayr lady [...] / As any man myghte see, / With tungge as I yow nevene" (25-27). It focuses solely on her physical qualities. The *t*-editor, however, describes her as "full of beautye / And also full of charitie / As any ladye might be" (*c* 25-27). While the editor acknowledges her physical qualities, he also notes her charity, which contrasts with Isumbras's use of money. Also noteworthy is the claim that any lady may be full of charity, again emphasizing the potential to learn moral virtues, as noted earlier with respect to Isumbras's nobility. This is particularly interesting with respect to the role of women in romances; the lady becomes an ideal model to which to aspire (such that even Vives might approve). Although Isumbras's wife is still never named, the *t*-editor does broaden her presence, giving her additional speaking lines (the six lines added to stanza LIX, for example) and making small adjustments to her descriptions (replacing "softe" with "meke" [331] for example). Thus, she serves as an example of suitable charity to both Isumbras and the readers.

Because of his emphasis on charity, the *t*-editor also found it necessary to account for the story's somewhat disproportionate ending. In the last two stanzas of *C*, Isumbras and his reunited family kill over twenty-thousand Saracens, go to town, change into fine clothing,

celebrate with an extravagant meal, and go on to conquer three lands; at this point, Isumbras "off more welthe thenne evere he was" (*C* 761) and "They levyd and deyde in good entente" (*C* 766). In somewhat conventional fashion, the romance ends briskly, abruptly, and, in the case of *Isumbras*, forgetful of the primary lesson for which the story was an *exemplum*. In contrast, the same events occur over the course of three stanzas in *c*, with only a few changes: the children reintroduce themselves; the narrator describes the kinds of currency that they received rather than the array of food available at banquet; and Isumbras distributes the three conquered kingdoms among his sons. The implications are threefold. First, the newly crowned sons receive extensive praise, suggesting that they will do well having witnessed the example of their father; this, no doubt, is a gesture to lines 11-12 ("Man nobler than he [Isumbras] was / Lyved none with breade") and a nod to the audience reading *Isumbras* as an *exemplum*. Second, the sons' reception of their kingdom suggests that they are receiving compensation for having suffered earlier due to Isumbras's sins—made necessary by the *t*-editor's clarification between punishment and suffering. Finally, the sons are able to collect this wealth because Isumbras receives extraordinary abundance after learning about charity; as in Marie de France's *Lanval*, the more one gives away, the more one receives in reward. The *t*-editor puts a final stamp on the charity lesson by adding a final line that is neither part of the final stanza nor the *explict*: "Amen, amen, for charitie" (*c* 778).

Whereas the *t*-editor's extended ending for *Isumbras* provides some balance to the plot and thematic elements of *Isumbras*, the *t*-editor also endeavours to balance the didactic, affective and chivalric elements of the sixteenth-century edition, all of which contributed the romance's ongoing popularity. His most obvious effort in this regard is the added heroic battle (previously glossed over in all of the manuscripts) in the fifty-four lines added close to the poem's end:

Soone was the lady dyght
In armes as it were a knght,
He gaff here spere and scheelde.
Agayne thirty thousand Sareynys and mo
Ther come no moo but they twoo
Whenne they metten in feelde.
Ryght as they scholden have slayn bee,
Ther come rydynge knyghtes three
On bestes that were wylde;
On a lyberd and an unycorn
And on a lyoun he rod beforn,
That was her eldeste chylde. (724-735)

Between lines 729 and 730, the *t*-editor inserts the fifty-four lines, written as nine 6-line tail-rhyme stanzas. The first two stanzas describe the pomp of the battle fields and the banter shared between the two sides; in the third stanza, Isumbras prays to Christ while, in the fourth stanza, the lady prays to Mary; the fifth stanza describes Isumbras slaughtering his enemy; in the sixth stanza, the Sultan offers a portion of his kingdom to whoever can bring down the knight; in the seventh and eight stanzas, the Sultan seeks counsel and it is decided that everyone should attack at once, causing Isumbras to give a sword to his lady, which she uses; finally, the ninth stanza acknowledges how well they have fought, until another wave of Saracens arrive. Only then does the *t*-editor return to the original text, at which point Isumbras and the lady require the help of their sons. The lively battle description reinforces several of Isumbras's chivalric qualities described in the opening stanzas of the romance while simultaneously showing his commitment to Christianity and God, especially after his trials. The additional references to the lady also

engaging in the battle demonstrate Isumbras and his wife's commitment to both their religion and to charity, the very things that the Saracens are depicted as opposing and hating upon their earliest meeting on the coastline. Thus, the added scenes not only add a zealous commitment to the values expressed in the story, they simultaneously add the content typical of battle scenes that made other subgenres of romances so popular in the early modern period, while other homiletic romances remained unprinted and abandoned.

* * * * *

Isumbras's popularity in the sixteenth century, I argue, can largely be attributed to its editor, who altered the romance's content just enough to make it more appealing to an audience that preferred the chivalric elements of other romances and suitably didactic for critics of romances. The editor did not add any additional scenes, but he filled out the romance that previously lacked description and bolstered its narrative appeal. While such additions were in themselves a significant endeavour, the *t*-editor also heavily modernized the existing text of a *z*-branch manuscript, while simultaneously supplementing it with readings from a *y*-branch manuscript. The complexity of this task cannot be understated; what makes it remarkable, however, is that all of this was done to prepare a short, unassuming work of popular fiction. By preparing it in this way, the *t*-editor ironically made Isumbras more like the kinds of romances that the sixteenth-century humanists abhorred, while simultaneously emphasizing the story's homiletic and didactic elements. His success, we might claim, is evident in the several print editions and manuscripts that followed his own over the next two centuries, all of which used his edition as their source.

Chapter 4: Englishing Late-Medieval *Exempla*: Henryson's *Moral Fables* and Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*

In the late sixteenth century, amidst the rise of humanist education, Edward Allde and Richard Smith each printed books that contained late-medieval versions of well-known classical stories already commonly available in England. Allde's book contained John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* (1590; STC 17029), a mid-fifteenth-century prose retelling of the late years of strife and war between Julius Caesar and Pompey. Accounts of these events by several Roman historians, such as Livy and Sallust, were readily available in England in both Latin and vernacular editions. Their histories were of particular interest to humanists because the Roman authors wrote about the *exemplary* and "momentous feats of great men of the past" in an "exalted style" of Latin (Jensen 73). Although Lydgate's work is often considered akin to Italian humanism due to similarities in their content and style, his poetic narratives are still recognizably medieval in their moralization (Caroll 247). Why, then, did Allde choose to print a medieval version of the story rather than a readily available classical version, especially given the declining popularity of the former and increasing interest in the latter? A similar question can be asked of Smith's edition of Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables* (1577; STC 186.5). Indeed, Aesop's *Fables* was widely available in England in numerous languages, including its original Greek and in English—Caxton printed the first vernacular edition in 1484 (STC 175)—and it remained a staple of Latin instruction into the early modern period (Carroll 260). Like Lydgate's *Serpent*, Henryson's *Fables* lacked the appeal that its classical counterpart offered to humanist studies, offering instead *exempla* that emphasized late-medieval morality rather than classical virtues.

Allde's edition of *Serpent* and Smith's edition of the *Fables* were not printed as substitutes for their classical counterparts but rather to disseminate political or personal moral

instruction to English readers through familiar *exempla*: Lydgate's *Serpent* provided an allegorical parallel to contemporary political issues, while Henryson's *Fables* offered "modern" moralizations of ancient fables. However, in addition to their perceived inferiority by humanists, these texts were ones that English audiences likely would have been hesitant to read. In his paratext, Smith describes the disdain of some English people towards Scottish people and their books; meanwhile Allde's paratext implies that he intentionally supressed the story's medieval origins and the identity of its Catholic author, John Lydgate, whose popularity had faded since the reign of Mary I ended. In this chapter—the first study to offer an extended analysis of the paratextual and codicological features each book[1]—I argue that to overcome these concerns and to highlight the value of these books to the English book market, Allde and Smith engaged in editorial revisions of the language, content and appearance of their respective sources. Both men not only translated and modernized their texts' language, they also engaged in what I call "codicological translation," whereby they altered, removed or added to the characteristic features of their primary sources, including the codicological features and paratext, in order to present a more *familiar* product to a culturally specific audience. Allde and Smith prepared their texts for a late-sixteenth-century English audience. In short, they *Englished* their respective books in order to make them more desirable to their target market and to prevent the books' less-desirable traits from influencing readers' reception of the *exempla*.

In this chapter, I take the concept of *Englishing* to include both linguistic and codicological translation because many paratextual and codicological features of early modern

[1] Both books are discussed more commonly in relation to other texts or editions and have received little attention themselves. Smith's book has been largely ignored by scholars, being discussed only as an anomaly of the editions printed in Scotland; Allde's book has been considered foremost for its inclusion of *Gorboduc*. Cathy Shrank offers the most notable exception; her study of Allde's book emphasizes the role of communal responsibility in relation to questions surrounding Elizabeth I's succession. While she does examine the paratext of Allde's book, her main focus is the editor's modernization and alteration of the text proper.

English books symbolically communicated ideas that the growing reading public recognized as culturally English. Prior to the seventeenth century, "English" was used as a verb only to mean "to translate (a book, passage, etc.) into English; to give the English equivalent for (a word or phrase)" (*OED*). This definition, however, is too limited to describe the implications of Englishing with respect to early print production and culture. Instead, my use of Englishing is influenced by broader definitions, particularly that of A.E.B. Coldiron. She claims that, in the context of early English print culture, Englishing may be applied to foreign texts, materials, technologies, practices and workers (1). These details complicate previous scholarly perceptions of early English print culture: "In a century better known for nation-formation, most of the first English printed books were 'englished' in this broader, more complex sense: through appropriative acculturation performed by means of verbal translation and material-textual mediation" (1). Certainly, Coldiron's assessment of the origins of the materials, technology and workers is accurate (see Chapter 1), but her concerns for "appropriative acculturation" does not eliminate the significant influence of English culture and the "nation-formation" evident in early English print culture. In this study, I consider the act of Englishing as an editorial form of translation that extends beyond linguistics and includes all communicative forms found in early modern English books. I am specifically interested in the expressive functions of codicological forms, verbal and non-verbal, because of their *familiarity* to a specific group of people with a shared cultural knowledge: the English readers.

Henryson's *Fables*: Moral *Exempla* for English Readers

Richard Smith's 1577 edition of Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables* raises questions about English readers' willingness to engage with material that might be deemed distasteful to or

inappropriate for a late-sixteenth-century-English audience.[2] Smith's source for his edition was the second of two sixteenth-century editions of Henryson's *Fables* printed in Edinburgh: Thomas Bassandyne's 1571 edition (STC 185.5).[3] The English printer used Bassandyne's edition as his source to produce the first and only complete edition of the *Fables* printed in England for several centuries. In fact, it was the only edition of any text written by Henryson printed in England during the sixteenth century that identified Henryson as a contributor; William Thynne, John Stow and Thomas Speght all included Englished versions of *Testament of Cresseid* immediately following *Troilus and Criseyde* in their editions of *Chaucers Workes*, but none of the editors distinguish it as the work of another—much less a Scottish—author. By contrast, Smith identifies Henryson as a compiler on his title page. He relies on the book's Scottish origins to differentiate it from other available editions of Aesop's *Fables* even though he also openly acknowledges that the English "do not care for Scottish bookes" (Sig. a3^{v}). I argue that Smith made the editorial decision to English his edition of Henryson's *Fables* in to order to make it more aesthetically and intellectually appealing to English readers who might otherwise dismiss or reject it and its relatively modern morals for those of an established and accepted text, like Aesop's *Fables*. To accomplish this, Smith Englished the text and certain codicological features of Bassandyne's edition to produce an edition that was both linguistically accessible and visually familiar to an English audience, while also highlighting an implied relationship between

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[2] Based on the publication information found in the book's paratext, Smith seems to have fulfilled the roles of translator, editor, printer, and publisher. A search of the ESTC reveals that Smith was a bookseller, but only his edition of Henryson's *Moral Fables* claims that it was "printed *by* Richard Smith" rather than "*for* Richard Smith." David Laing believes that Smith was a London bookseller who had a stall on the west side of St. Paul's Cathedral (273). Based on his claims in the paratext of his edition of Henryson's *Fables*, I identify Smith as the editor of the 1577 edition throughout this study.

[3] The first printed edition of Henryson's *Fables* was Robert Lekpreuik's 1570 edition (STC 185), which was also the source text for Bassandyne's edition.

himself—an "Englishman"—and the fables' morals.[4] Additionally, he added prefatory material that drew attention to the uniqueness of the book's foreign origins and reassured readers of the book's value and of his efforts to make it accessible. As a result, Smith produced a book that was both distinct and familiar for English readers.

Smith begins his book by explicitly identifying his motivation and his reluctance to translate and to print his edition of Henryson's text. In his dedicatory letter to Richard Stonely, Esq., Smith describes the circumstances that occasioned his making of the book:

> There came vnto my hande a Scottishe Pamphlet, of the Fabulous Tales of Esope, a worke, sir as I thinke, in that language wherin it was written, verie eloquent and full of great inuention. And no doubt you shall finde some smatch thereof, although very rudely I haue obseured the Authour,[5] and hauing two yeres since turned it into Englishe, I haue kept it vnpblished, hoping some els of greater skill would not haue let it lyen dead." (Sig. a2^{r})[6]

Smith recognizes value in Henryson's text, but he simultaneously extols its virtues while couching his description in qualifiers. He names "Esope," but he does not identify the writer of

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[4] June Schlueter makes a fascinating case for "Richard Smith" being one of several English pseudonyms for Richard Schilders, chief printer to the States of Zeeland from 1583 to 1618, though she rightly acknowledges that her evidence is entirely circumstantial (143-47). The presently available evidence is insufficient to make any definitive claims about Smith's occupation, or even whether there was only one Richard Smith. With respect to how he was received in relation to Henryson's *Fables*, I suggest that his Anglicized name (whether or not it is pseudonymous) was sufficient *to imply* that he was an Englishman.

[5] Smith's text is ambiguous about the identity of the author. The book's title identifies Henryson as the book's compiler (see below), and nowhere else is his name found. However, Aesop is frequently identified as the author, both in Smith's paratext and in Henryson's Prologue. Hence, this reference, too, must refer to Aesop.

[6] The book's prefatory matter makes up an initial quire of four that uses inconsistent symbols to mark its signatures. The *Fables* begin the second quire, which is signed "A." Therefore, I cite the initial quire as "a." Between the prefatory quire and quire "A," an additional page containing the "The Contentes of the Booke" is tipped-in, which I cite as "b." All further quires, including "A," are quires of eight except the final quire, "H," which is a quire of four, though the text ends on Sig. H2^{r}.

the "Scottishe Pamphlet"—Henryson's name only appears once in the book, on the title page. Smith insists on the eloquence and invention of the writer's verses, but he warns the reader that only a small amount may remain due to his own "rude" translation. Nevertheless, Smith must have deemed this "smatch" sufficient. Neil Rhodes identifies "the Renaissance understanding of 'invention' as the finding of appropriate material in authorities, as well as achieving uniqueness and independence of expression and thought" (1 fn. 4). Given that Aesop's *Fables* had long been widely available in English,[7] Smith must have deemed Henryson's contribution sufficiently distinct and valuable. To publish his book after two years of seeking a better translator, Smith obviously believed that Henryson's text was extremely important—so important that failure to publish would be the equivalent of allowing Henryson's text to "lyen dead" in Scotland.

Smith's dedication emphasizes the uniqueness of Henryson's text while simultaneously downplaying the differences between it and Aesop's texts. He suggests the text is suitable for Stonely to read in his leisure time, yet he contends that reading it will be worthwhile: "I boldly present this vnto your worship, hoping that at vacant time when other matters of great importance be layde aside, that you will not deine to recreate your minde with this trifle, where you shall finde doctrine both pleasant and profitable" (Sig. a2^{v}). Contradictions and unclear reasoning pepper Smith's account to Stonely, as a comparison between this and the previous quoted passage reveals: the pamphlet is written eloquently, but it is a trifle; this trifle contains doctrine both pleasant and profitable, but such doctrine is only suitable for times of leisure—only *after* serious matters have been settled. I suggest that the ambivalence of Smith's promotion of the text exposes his uncertainty about its reception. The dedication seems to articulate a form of self-deprecation intended to mitigate undesirable responses from potential readers. Smith

[7] Both Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde printed multiple editions of Aesop's *Fables*, and various other editions appeared throughout the sixteenth century, including Henry Wykes's 1570 edition (STC 181).

appears to use the trope of humility common among early modern printers, editors and translators in order to redirect these responses towards himself, and away from Henryson.[8] He implies that a reader cannot sufficiently judge an author when the work has been exposed to the translator's "rurall skillesse skill" (Sig. a4^{r}). Nevertheless, readers' negative responses, he posits, would derive from pre-existing prejudices rather than the quality of Henryson's text.

The pre-existing prejudices to which Smith refers remain vague in his letter to Stonely, but I posit that they likely derive from the political and confessional differences between England and Scotland prior to the union of their crowns through James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England upon Elizabeth I's death. Early in Elizabeth's reign, the Queen was repeatedly challenged by Mary, Queen of Scots, who had the support of English Catholics. Protestant and Catholic relations were significant factors in the ongoing conflict between the two countries in the mid sixteenth century, especially as the increasing Protestant presence in Scotland pushed for reform (Blakeway, "Anglo-Scottish" 201-03). The English were also suspicious of Scotland's historic relations with France and other Catholic nations, especially after England declared war on France in June 1557. These general circumstances contributed to what Amy Blakeway calls the Anglo-Scottish War of 1558.[9] In spite of the subsequent Scottish Reformation, which broke Scotland's ties with the Papacy, Catholicism remained prominent in the northern country; England's suspicions of Catholic Scots remained prominent too. Similarly, although the Auld Alliance officially ended in 1560, France maintained strong ties with Scotland

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[8] Early examples of this trope among printers, editors, and translators of the early modern period can be found in several works by William Caxton (see Chapter 1). The humility trope is common among late-fourteenth and fifteenth-century authors, as well. In the Prologue, Henryson himself apologizes for his "homely language" and "termes rude" because he is insufficiently skilled in "Eloquence" and "Rethorike" (Sig. A1^{v}). Smith's imitation of Henryson is likely also meant as a demonstration of his literary knowledge and suitability as a translator of the *Fables.*

[9] For a detailed account of the circumstances leading to and comprising the Anglo-Scottish War, see Blakeway, "Anglo-Scottish," 201-24.

until the ascension of James I, engendering ongoing political suspicions and ensuing conflicts (Bonner 29-30). Blakeway provides an excellent example of these tensions. She describes the fragile negotiations that took place between English and Scottish representatives after the cross-border homicide of Sir George Heron on 7 July 1575. Whereas the Scottish were concerned about increased English border patrols, the English remained concerned about ongoing French interests in Scotland. During the negotiations, the English "heard rumours that an offer of French support had been warmly received" by the Scottish. Hence, Blakeway accurately assesses that "the ghost of the 'auld alliance' continued to haunt the new Anglo-Scottish concord" ("Scottish" 1346). Although Scotland officially aligned itself with English political and religious interests between the times of Elizabeth's ascension and the printing of Smith's edition, the two decades in between were apparently an insufficient amount of time to alleviate the suspicions and biases of an English audience, as Smith's paratext makes clear.

In a prefatory poem, Smith addresses his decision to publish his vernacular translation despite what he perceived to be anti-Scottish attitudes among English readers, claiming that the text was simply too profitable to allow it to remain obscure. In the poem "The argument between Esope and the Translatour" (Sig. a3^{r}-a4^{v}), a fictional speaker (Smith) recalls his (fictional) encounter with Aesop late at night, at which meeting Aesop requests that Smith translate his tales into English verse. Aesop, who is "apparelled both braue and fine, / after the Scottish guise," (Sig. a3^{r}), tells Smith that the English

> […] do not care for Scottish bookes,
>
> they list not looke that way:
>
> But if they would but cast their lookes,
>
> some time when they do play,

Somewhat to see perhaps they might,
that then would like them wel,
To teach them treade their way aright,
to blisse, from paines of hel. (Sig. a3^{v}-a4^{r})

These lines, I argue, voice Smith's concerns. Aesop argues that stubborn, English attitudes towards Scottish writing prevent the English from learning the potential value it contains. In these stanzas, if readers do not literally look beyond the reference to "Scottish bookes" in the first stanza—the first impression—then they will not have the opportunity to learn something that will set them on their path to Heaven's bliss. If readers do look beyond the first stanza, as its concluding comma instructs them to do, then they will have the opportunity to avoid the "paines of hel" as a result of witnessing its moral doctrine.[10] Indeed, a person need only passingly consider these books during times already allocated to leisure ("when they do play") in order to find serious doctrine in them, just as Smith had recommended to Stonely in the dedication ("at vacant time"), and as Henryson's *Prologue* also suggests:

The nuttes shell though it be hard and tough,
Holdes the kernell whiche is most delectable.

[10] Smith arranges the stanzas of this poem in a very interesting way, though I believe he does so for practical reasons rather than poetic reasons. The poem is printed on four pages (Sig. a3^{r}-a4^{v}): the first page contains the title and five four-line stanzas; the second page contains six four-line stanzas; the third page contains four four-line stanzas and one six-line stanza; and the fourth page contains two six-line stanzas, one eight-line stanza, "finis" as an *explicit*, and about a third of a page of white space. The stanza ending with a comma discussed above is the last stanza on page two (Sig. a3^{v}), which means the reader not only has to continue to the next stanza to pursue the text's moral value, the reader must look to the next page and go deeper into the book. Although this circumstance has great analytic potential, it is more likely a layout that was inevitable because the header of the fourth page reads "His Verdict on his labour," whereas the header for the previous two pages read "The Argument" and the first contained only the poem's main title. Arguably, if Smith had not intended the present layout, he could have moved the stanza in question to the third page, moved the last stanza of the third page to the fourth, and inserted the present header as a heading.

(So lyes their Doctrine wise inough,
And full of fruyte, vnder a fayned fable.)
And wise men sayes, it is right profitable,
amongs ernest, to mingle merry sport,
To recreat the spryte, and make the time be short. (Sig. A1^{r}, *Pro* 15-21)

Henryson, like authors before him (including Geoffrey Chaucer) turns to a familiar proverb to remind readers that the effort required to engage the serious subject matter of literature need not be wholly serious and boring. Thus, Henryson's fables are suitable as moral *exempla*.

Smith's dedication seems to anticipate that English readers would be reluctant to engage with material that might make them uncomfortable no matter how eloquently it may be written. The editor identifies prejudiced attitudes, explaining to Stonely, "whether most men haue that nation [Scotland] in derision for their hollowe hearts and vngratefull minds to this countrey alwayes had (a people verie subject to that infection) or thinking scorne of the Authour or first inuenter, let it passe, as friuolous and vaine matter" (Sig. a2^{r}). Smith does not suggest that English attitudes towards the Scottish people are necessarily valid, but he understands them, and I argue that he is eager to separate those feelings from the "original" *auctor*, Aesop, and the potential benefits of the book. Fearing that Aesop in his "Scottish guise" will languish in Scotland where his books will "lyen dead," the Smith persona of the poem agrees to translate Henryson's text:

This Scottish *Orpheus* I meane,
that Esops tales hath made to gree
In Rethoricke both trim and cleane,
that all my wittes bereft hath hee:
His harpe alas I make to jarre,

and both his name and mine do marre.

But since I made them disagree,

leaue me the blame the Laurel he. (¶4^{v})[11]

Even though they do not name him, these lines hold Henryson in high regard for his poetical and rhetorical skills, but *not* the Scottish language. This distinction allows Smith to regret his limited skills in versification while still remaining content to translate Henryson's language *despite* the damage that he will do to the poem's linguistic aesthetics. Indeed, Henryson's *Fables* are of sufficient importance that Smith finally concedes—both to Stonely in the dedication and Aesop in the prefatory poem—that he must publish them, even though he has failed to find a suitable translator.

The distinction that Smith draws between meaning and linguistic aesthetics, I argue, is important for his edition because it allows the translator to locate the moral potential of the *Fables* in its stories rather than its language. Smith's translation can abuse the eloquence and "great inuention" of Henryson's text as long as the story stays intact. Renaissance translation theory, explains Rhodes, is based on "the principle of translating sense for sense rather than word for word" (1-2). This premise coincides well with Henryson's appreciation for the proverb of the nut's shell and kernel. The shell is nothing more than a layer of clothing, like the Scottish guise worn by Aesop in the prefatory poem. Nevertheless, it (the shell, the clothing, the language and rhetoric) is precisely what people first see (or read), and first impressions count. If an audience with a prejudice against the Scots is to read a Scottish book, then surely the text must be translated into English. Moreover, the book itself—its forms and features—also need to be

[11] There is no evidence in Smith's edition of the *Fables* that reveals whether he was familiar with Henryson's *Orpheus*, but it is possible that he encountered it during his time in Scotland; the only early modern printing of Henryson's *Orpheus* was produced by Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar at their Edinburgh press in 1508 (STC 13166).

translated and made more familiar and less potentially distasteful. In other words, Aesop is to be put in an *English guise*. For these reasons, I argue that Smith's translation and printing had to account equally for the language of the text and the codicological and paratextual features of Smith's print that he changed from his source, Bassandyne's 1571 edition, in order to prepare a copy of the Scottish tale that English readers *could* read and *would* read. Therefore, Englishing Bassandyne's book requires not only the work of a translator, but that of an editor, as well.

Smith's awareness of the importance of first impressions had an impact on his redesign of the text's title page. His editorial changes include both the paratextual content of the page and its appearance. Of particular interest are the changes that Smith makes to his edition's title, which are necessary in order to highlight the difference between his edition and printings of the original *Fables* of Aesop. Where the titles of Lepreuik's 1570 edition (Sig. A1^{r}) and Bassandyne's 1571 edition (Sig. A1^{r}) read "*The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian*, *Compylit in Eloquent & Ornate Scottis Meter, be M. Robert Henrisone, Scolmaister of Dunfermling*," Smith's title reads "*The Fabulous tales of Esope the Phyrgian Compiled moste eloquently in Scottishe Metre by Master Robert Henrison, & now lately Englished*" (Sig. a1^{r}). While the two Scottish prints identify Henryson's fables as "moral," Smith identifies them as "fabulous." I argue that by using the word fabulous, Smith momentarily displaces the source of the morals. No longer are Aesop's fables explicitly moral. Instead, in a separate statement below the main title, Smith declares, "Euery tale Moralized most aptly to this present time, worthy to be read" (Sig. a1^{r}). Herein is the declared difference between his text and earlier editions of Aesop's *Fables*: Lekpreuik and Bassandyne identify Aesop's tales as inherently moral, whereas Smith implies that the fables' morality must be interpreted. By identifying morals as relative to a specific time, Smith is asserting that the fables have a *moral potential* that must be engaged: hence, I conclude

that Smith means *interpreted* when he declares the fables *moralized*.[12] Of course, by making the statement about morality separate from the main title, Smith is not only disassociating the morality from Aesop, but he grammatically disassociates them from Henryson as well. This distinction is further reinforced, I argue, by Smith's decision to use blackletter type for both the appended statement and the closing phrase of the tile, "and now lately Englished," in contrast with the Roman type used for most of the title page. Blackletter, the standard type in the sixteenth century for English text—especially medieval texts—gives the reader the impression that the morals are not only contemporary, but potentially the translator's own contribution to the original text.

Although Smith does not identify himself as the translator on the title page, the new title does show that he is acutely aware of how readers might perceive Henryson's role in the text's creation. Whereas the Scottish editions combine morality with a celebration of the beauty of Scottish poetry—Compylit *in Eloquent & Ornate Scottis Meter*—Smith associates eloquence with the act of compiling rather than versifying—*Compiled moste eloquently* in Scottishe Metre. While Ian Macleod Higgins correctly identifies that "Henryson […] is relegated by the title-page of these prints [...] to the role of 'compiler'" (201), subordinate to "Esope the Phyrgian," it is important to clarify that Smith does not do this with any malice. Rather, he seems content acknowledging Henryson's contributions while allaying his readers' concerns by highlighting the steps he has taken to make the text suitable for consumption. That said, Smith's effort to associate the moralization of the fables with present day England rather than Henryson is

[12] Curiously, given the changes that Smith makes to his title, the changes that he makes to his headers seem contradictory to his intentions. Whereas Bassandyne's headers on his facing pages read "The fabillia // Of Esope," Smith's read "The Morall Fables // Of Esope the Phrygian." However, the inclusion of "Morall" suggests the tales themselves are moral rather than having been moralized (interpreted). Perhaps, Smith believed it was necessary to include the word to remind his reader that the beast fables were intended to be read for its "doctrine both pleasant and profitable."

significant. It is for this reason that I suggest Smith suppresses Henryson's biographical details found in the title of previous editions. The implication that Henryson, a schoolmaster from Dunfermline, Scotland might be responsible for educating the English in morality was likely too great a risk for the editor who worried that his readers perceived the Scottish as brutes.

In addition to changing the textual content of his edition's title page, Smith also chose to alter the aesthetic appearance of the page by selecting a very different woodcut and different types compared to Bassandyne's title page. In between his title and publishing details, Smith places his own printer's device in place of Bassandyne's woodcut of Aesop. According to Sidney Lee, the device depicts "the figure of Time, with his scythe and hourglass, dragging by the hand a naked woman from a rocky cave. The picture is encircled by a scroll bearing the motto, 'Tempore patet occulta veritas,' together with the initials of the printer" (146). The motto, *Time reveals hidden truth*, seems especially appropriate in this context, even if it is coincidental. Only through time and careful consideration of the text—even in English—can the true value of Aesop's beast fables be revealed. Smith's choice not to reproduce Aesop's image seems purposeful since it would be counterintuitive to Smith's narrative.[13] Smith's edition acknowledges the quality of Aesop's stories, but it emphasizes the value of the contemporary moralizations. To my mind, the printer's device—an uncommon object for a title page of a sixteenth-century English book—calls attention to Smith's implied role in the textual production ("Englished" and "Moralized") rather than Aesop's. Additionally, the motto of the printer's device reminds English readers to look beyond the beast fables for their morality—for those who could read Latin, like Smith.

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[13] The availability of the woodcut might be questioned, but Bassandyne's woodcut is very similar to one used by Caxton in his edition of Aesop's *Fables* (1484) and one used by Günther Zainer for Heinrich Steinhöwel's translation of Aesopus *Fabulae* (c. 1477/78); Smith likely could have commissioned the woodcut if he desired it. See Higgins for discussion and to compare (esp. 201-06).

The second feature of Smith's title page that is markedly different from Bassandyne's edition is also the most immediately identifiable and most striking codicological difference between the text proper of each edition: the type. While both editions have some Roman type on their title pages, Smith's title page also uses blackletter, while Bassandyne's title page is distinguished by its use of *civilité* type. *Civilité* was a French type invented in 1557 by Robert Granjon to imitate French cursive. According to Harry Carter and H. Vervliet, Bassandyne's edition was the first book in Britain to use the French typeface. David Parkinson notes, "the *civilité* type was associated 'with a homely kind of religious and moral instruction, with folk tales, and with books for the young'" (8). This association would have been the case in France, and the description seems somewhat appropriate for both the Scottish context and Henryson's *Fables*; however, the type would have been interpreted quite differently in a Reformed England. More likely, *civilité* would have been perceived as unclear and awkward in an English book, just as the barbarous language of the Scots would sound harsh and unsettling to an English reader: both the type and language would be simultaneously familiar and foreign, thus confusing and distasteful. Worse still, the French origins of *civilité* might remind readers of the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France. According to Carter and Vervliet's survey, the type did not appear in England until 1576, and it never became popular. This explains why Smith used the more familiar blackletter for both his title page and the text proper.

Bassandyne also used the *civilité* type heavily through his edition, though in significant contrast with his uses of Roman. Bassandyne used *civilité* for the text of the fables, the *explicits*, and the headers. He contrasted these uses with Roman for the fables' morals, the headings, and the table of contents. Like Smith, Bassandyne seems to have perceived Henryson's work as a dichotomy between ancient and modern morality. If the text printed in Roman type is read as

modern interjections, then perhaps the *civilité* type was meant to be seen as an equivalent to humanists' use of italic for classical texts.

Regardless of Bassandyne's intentions, an English audience would not have received the unique type well, and Smith's further use of blackletter was therefore suitable. I suggest that the significant differences in orthography between Middle Scots and Early Modern English would have been enough to discourage many English readers, so its combination with the foreignness of the *civilité* type that Bassandyne used would have been overwhelming. As a result, Smith used blackletter for the table of contents and for both the fables and their morals. Although the approach blurs the theoretically older fables and the contemporary morals, it creates a greater unity between the two, implying the translator's familiarity with the content. This suggestion is reinforced by the blackletter table of contents, which presents its entries as summaries rather than titles, as they appeared in earlier editions. For example, where Bassandyne titles the first fable "The Taill of the Cok, and the Iasp," Smith's contents read: "The tale of the grossehead Chauntclere the cocke, and the pretious stone: wherein is shewed the wanton liues of Lascivious maydes, with the little care we haue of the precious giftes of God" (Sig. b1^{r}). Within the text proper, Smith minimizes the summary to the title, "The tale of the Grosehead chauntcleare the Cock, and *precious stone*," which is presented primarily in Roman type. Smith used Roman—with random instances of italic—for the dedicatory letter, headers and headings, I argue, to impose a modern editorial frame on the text with the contrasting types. Therefore, while the book's features imply that Smith intended to produce a familiar product for his audience, the paratext and modern features also suggest that he desired his audience to identify Smith as a knowledgeable editor who was very familiar with his source.

The close relationship between Smith and his "original" source is most explicitly developed in the prefatory poem, "The argument betweene Esope and the Translatour," in which

Smith uses his fictional encounter with Aesop to reinforce the displacement of the *Fables'* morals. The moral *potential* of the fables, which Smith disassociates from the eloquence of Henryson's "Scottishe Metre" in the new title of the 1577 edition, is reattributed to the content of Aesop's stories in the poem, while their moral *value* (their moralization) had to be accessible (extractable) in any language—especially early modern English—regardless of the language's poetic potential or the translator's (lack of) poetic prowess. Upon meeting in "Paules Churchyarde," a site of importance to the English book market, Aesop asks Smith to teach him how to versify in English. As Smith professes his lack of skill and encourages Aesop to look to others from the Inns of Court or the Chancery, Aesop replies:

> Content your selfe quoth Esope than,
>
> do thus much once for me,
>
> To learne me verse so as ye can,
>
> my selfe as playne as ye. (Sig. a3^{v})

This stanza and the poem as a whole prepare the reader to understand that meaning is not found in the poem's eloquence, but rather its content. The prefatory poem itself is hardly eloquent or skillful—sometimes it is downright awkward—but it is direct and clear. In this sense, it does precisely what Aesop asks by presenting the text plainly. Despite Aesop's claim to only speak English in prose, Smith's poem presents the dialogue, and therefore Aesop's voice, in English verse.

"The argument betweene Esope and the Translatour" also integrates the voice of Henryson, I suggest, but largely for the purpose of further deemphasizing the relationship between the eloquence and morality of the fables and establishing the connections between Smith and Aesop. The poem becomes a metaphor for Smith's edition as all three voices become one, an alternative macaronic style of sorts. Whereas a typical macaronic poem contains

multiple languages, Smith's "argument" acknowledges the evolution of his *Fables* from Greek, to Middle Scots, to English through his use of type and figurative language. He distinguishes his own voice in blackletter and Aesop's voice in Roman. By describing Aesop in "Scottish guise," Smith also acknowledges that Aesop's stories are mediated through Henryson's Middle Scots; hence, Henryson is Smith's actual source. Nevertheless, the text of Smith's reference to Aesop's vestments is printed in blackletter, as are the three final stanzas of the poem describing both Orpheus and "This Scottish Orpheus." Thus, the English type indicates that Smith's voice takes control, not only as translator, but as ventriloquist. Since the whole of the *Fables* is printed in blackletter, Smith appropriates both Aesop's stories and Henryson's morals.

Perhaps as a final effort to disabuse English readers of their biases, Smith concludes his edition with an epilogue that addresses Aesop's characteristic displeasing appearance. The epilogue appears after an *explicit* that reads, "Finished in the vale of Aylesburie the thirtenth of August. Anno Domini. 1574" (Sig. H2^{r}). Thus, it is implied that the three rhyme-royal stanzas that follow were written by Smith, the editor and translator. Having examined the tradition of woodcuts representing Aesop, Higgins explains that the classical author was often portrayed as a "grotesque slave." His description also accurately aligns with Smith's portrayal of the poet. In his epilogue, Smith describes Aesop "of body yformed wondrous ill," with "crooke backt, great belly & head, / Crooke legged, splay foote, & like a Cowe in wast." Nevertheless, "that noble clerke" strove "To stir our mindes" through "good examples":

> Thus as ye heare ill shapen of his body,
> Yet of his minde none perfecter then he:
> But marke his Sawes, and ye finde him no noddy,
> But perfect aye, as perfect loe may be [sic],
> Who lendes you light good vertuous wayes to see.

> Then loue this worke, and […] reade it at your will,
>
> I but eclipse his tales of so great skill. (Sig. H2^{r})

Smith champions Aesop's extraordinary fables and dismisses the relevance of Aesop's physical appearance. Whereas Bassandyne introduced his readers to the image of Aesop in his title page's woodcut, Smith does not suggest anything about Aesop's "ill shapen" body prior to the epilogue. Therefore, Smith's readers have no reason to dismiss the moral potential of fables told by "a grotesque slave" due to an unreasonable bias. As a result, the brutish and ugly description of the author does not get conflated with the similarly distasteful and uncivilized Middle Scots language. Perhaps Smith is suggesting that the English prejudice against Scottish books is unwarranted, and that a reader should be willing to look past superficial elements.

Smith's Englishing of Henryson's *Fables* is more than a textual translation; it is a codicological translation as well. The editor prepared a book that was more linguistically and physically familiar to English readers in order to appease the biases that Smith perceived them to have. These changes strike me as a compromise of sorts, as Smith's prefatory material simultaneously acknowledges his desire to increase the exposure of Scottish literature and to avoid its dismissal due to reasons unrelated to the text itself. Failure to entice English readers, Smith believed, would result in the Henryson's version of the *Fables* being abandoned in the north and lost to history. However, by the time readers have reached the book's conclusion, the moral lessons of the book should be sufficient for them to recognize that ill-conceived prejudices are unjust, and doctrine may derive from unlikely sources, whether it be an ugly Phrygian slave or a Scottish master of poetic eloquence. Sometimes, the truth is simply ugly. It is unclear how broad of an impact this specific edition had; Henryson's *Fables* were not printed again in England for several centuries. However, it is worth considering that the text of the next print edition of Henryson's *Moral Fables*, Andrew Hart's 1621 edition (STC 186), printed in

Edinburgh, also contains heavily Anglicized language, as the dominance of the English language moved north.

Serpent of Division: An *Exemplum* for the English Nation

Like Smith's edition of Henryson, Edward Allde's 1590 edition of John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* is the product of codicological translation. While my claim may initially seem improbable considering that Lydgate was an English poet, I contend that the act of Englishing accounts for both place and *time*. In other words, I am assessing the value of Allde's book as an *exemplum* for readers of a very specific time and place: late-sixteenth-century England. I argue that the relevance and value of Lydgate's text, a medieval account of Roman history, to a post-Reformation English audience is dependant simultaneously on the physical and textual *Englishness* and *modernity* of Allde's book. While the same can be said of Smith's edition of Henryson's *Fables*, it is evident that the preparation of Smith's book was more determined by geographic familiarity, while the preparation of Allde's book proves to be more determined by temporal familiarity. To make this distinction, I draw upon Andrew Escobedo's study of history and the nation of England, which asks, "*When* is the nation?" (2). Building on the work of Linda Gregerson, Escobedo identifies the three parameters by which he comes to understand and define a nation: "us not them," "here not there, and "*now, not then*" (3, emphasis added). Escobedo uses this formulation to describe how early modern England distinguished itself from the Middle Ages. Within the extensive historical writings of the sixteenth-century English writers, he identifies a "a profound sense that the English past was missing and unrecoverable, even as it celebrated English history. The more the Tudors investigated the past, the more they felt that their nation's history was alien to the present" (3). Escobedo's examination aptly provides an overview of English resistance towards certain aspects of medieval England and early modern England's humanist interest in looking to classical Rome for

aspiration. This perspective provides an interesting correlation with the work of Allde, whose edition of *Serpent* is an attempt to provide a modern text of a classical story to serve as an allegory for a modern conflict, thereby overlooking the text's medieval origins and original allegorical purpose. Thus, in its preparation, Allde's codicological translation emphasizes the *when* of the English nation with which he is concerned.

In 1590, in response to English concerns regarding Elizabeth I's succession, Allde printed the fourth edition of John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* and the third edition of Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Tragedy of Gorboduc* (first performed in 1561) together as a single volume for the bookseller John Perrin.[14] Earlier print editions of *Serpent* were printed alone by Peter Treverys (c. 1521-1535),[15] Robert Redman (1535; STC 17027.5) and Owen Rogers (1559; STC 17028). Allde's edition, I argue, appends *Gorboduc* to *Serpent*, fashions the prose treatise to be thematically relevant to the current age, and prepares the physical book, its paratext, and its text in order to make the book as a whole more aesthetically and linguistically modern than medieval. This process stripped the book of all references to *Serpent's* original author and

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[14] Allde's book containing *Serpent* and *Gorboduc* was the second of approximately five books that Allde printed for Perrin; the others include Claude Colet's *The Famous, pleasant, and variable Historie, of Palladine of England* (1588; STC 5541), *Phillipes Venus* (1591; STC 17143), and two editions of Henry Smith's *The trumpet of the soule, sounding to Judgement* (1591 [STC 22706] and 1592 [STC 22707]). It is hard to say whether Allde or Perrin would have had primary editorial duties for *Serpent* and *Gorboduc*, but the amount of intervention imposed on the book and its texts suggests that either Perrin—of whom almost nothing is known (aside from his death in 1592, implied only by a third edition of Smith's *The trumpet of the soule, sounding to Judgement* printed by John Charlewood in 1593 [STC 2708] "for the widdow Perrin")—or an unidentified third party edited the book and its content because Allde's print output suggests that he was extraordinarily busy with his role a printer: between the years 1588-1592, Allde produced over 40 books, nearly half of which were printed in the same year as *Serpent*. Nevertheless, I identify Allde as the editor of *Serpent* due to the significant number of changes to the codicological features of the book, which would have required close working relationships between the editor and the various craftsmen involved in the book's production.

[15] These dates are based on the years during which Treverys's press was active (Ringler 201). No extant copy of Treverys's edition remains, but a fragment containing the last four leaves was transcribed and preserved by Joseph Haslewood in Sir Egerton Brydges's 1809 *Censura Literaria*, volume IX (369-373).

original historical context; on this basis, I argue that Allde performed these editorial actions intentionally in order to alleviate concerns from people who might be suspicious of Lydgate or medieval literary content. Additionally, the altered paratext and codicological features emphasize the broader allegorical parallels between Caesar's Rome and Elizabeth's England, intentionally muting, I argue, the murkiness of the Middle Ages, during which time the prose text was originally intended to draw an allegorical parallel between Caesar's Rome and the England of Henry V. In this respect, Allde's Englishing is more temporal than geographic, resituating the *when* of the nation from late-medieval to early modern England. In turn, *Serpent* functioned as an *exemplum* by encouraging readers toward political engagement and illustrating the dangers of specific vices that lead to division and corruption, both on a personal and national level, for a contemporary English audience concerned with the future of its country's rule.

Lydgate's *Serpent* is a prose summary of the turbulent events that led to the end of Julius Caesar's struggle for power over the Republic of Rome. It is, according to Fryja Cox Jensen, "the most detailed treatment of Julius Caesar surviving in the corpus of Middle English literature" (126). In her overview of *Serpent*, Maura Nolan notes that the treatise "recount[s] the life of Caesar and describ[es] the terrible consequences of political and social division" (99). Such content was particularly well suited for the writings of historians and poets, explains Cox Jensen, because the civil war between Caesar and Pompey contained lessons suitable for both individuals and whole nations. The circumstances and causes of their conflict were of particular concern to many English writers, thus making the events attractive for those who wished to draw parallels between Caesar's Rome and contemporary England (126). Indeed,

> the allegorical logic of the texts is difficult to ignore, as is Lydgate's insistence on a resolutely moral reading of both 'division' and Caesar himself. [...] A simple historical reading arguing that Lydgate uses the exemplum as a means of negotiating

> the crisis produced by the death of the monarch [Henry V] seems to be what the text itself demands. (Nolan 100)[16]

In other words, Lydgate's account of Caesar was intended to function as an *exemplum* for his contemporary England, which was experiencing a time of uncertainty when Lydgate wrote *Serpent*.

The general consensus among scholars is that Lydgate wrote *Serpent* in or very close to 1422, a date with significant political implications.[17] Upon Henry V's death in 1422, his only son, a nine-month-old child, became King Henry VI of England, and France shortly thereafter. According to William Orwen,

> When Duke Humphrey [Duke of Gloucester], Lord Protector, recalled the troubles which followed the accession of Henry IV and the conspiracy of Grey [Sir Thomas Grey] and Scrope [Henry Scrope, 3rd Baron Scrope of Masham] in the first years of the reign of Henry V, he had Titus Livius write the life of Henry V to remind Englishmen of that king's glories, and Lydgate to illustrate the dangers of civil strite [sic] by a life of Caesar. (205)[18]

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[16] Nolan's article argues well beyond this "simple historical reading," claiming further that in *Serpent* "we find an elaborately constructed historical narrative, with layer upon layer of borrowings and amplifications, which frequently serve to confuse or obscure the overt message that frames the story." *Serpent*, she argues, "raise[s] fundamental epistemological [and] historical questions" as Lydgate attempts "to account for history itself, to engage in a practice of history writing not limited to the simple recounting of events or the accretion of exempla" (122). Nevertheless, the "simple" reading remains prominent and relevant.

[17] See Nolan for a summary of *Serpent's* manuscript history, authorial attribution, and dating (99-100 fn. 3).

[18] Orwen's claims regarding Duke Humphrey's enlistment of Lydgate seem reasonable given the poet's relation of patronage with the duke. The claims likely originate with MacCracken, who also recalls "the conspiracy of Grey and Scrope" (1) in addition to other details discussed by Orwen. That said, Orwen is not forthcoming with his sources. Nevertheless, for a more convincing argument based on textual evidence found in *Serpent*, see MacCracken's evaluation of the four manuscript sources (1-4, esp. 4).

Certainly, Henry VI's succession may have recalled the ascension of Richard II, a previous child-monarch whose reign was usurped—albeit not until he was an adult—and the Southampton Plot was not the first effort to place a Mortimer on the throne. Gloucester's intention, explains Henry Noble MacCracken, was to keep the public calm during a period of political instability (1). Cathy Shrank confirms *Serpent*'s original concern with "civil discord"; England was an empire with "power divided—as in the late republican Rome described by Lydgate—between a triumvirate comprising two of Henry VI's uncles—Gloucester, and John, Duke of Bedford—and his great-uncle, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester" ("Community" 446). Subsequently, Shrank summarizes, the conflicts between the family members and the ensuing War of the Roses (1455-85) ensured that *Serpent* remained a relevant warning in immediately following decades (446). Indeed, the House of York would ultimately supplant the House of Lancaster during Henry VI's reign.

While fears of succession and usurpation foregrounded Lydgate's writing of *Serpent*, new fears concerning succession during the reign of Elizabeth I, the last monarch of the House of Tudor, established a context for Allde's 1590 printing of *Serpent*. Concerns regarding Elizabeth's refusal to name a successor throughout her reign had weighed heavily on the minds of the nobles around her for several decades before she was succeeded without issue by James I in 1603. Such was the case as early as 1559, the first year of Elizabeth's parliament, when Owen Rogers printed his edition of *Serpent*, speculates Orwen (205). Concerns about Elizabeth's succession became more prominent toward the last decade of the century when Allde printed his edition. This period, following the first Armada crisis, was particularly unsettling (Cox Jensen 126), and Elizabeth's refusal to name an heir or to allow others to speak on the matter (Shrank, "Community" 457) increased the anxieties of courtiers and councillors who wished to establish

connections with her successor (Orwen 206). The queen was "old" and "stood in constant danger of assassination" while others attempted to manoeuvre in preparation for a successor:

> James VI of Scotland, who held the presumptive title, threatened to combine with Spain, Catholic France and Catholic England to depose Elizabeth. Earlier than 1584 Leicester and Hunsdon had bid privately for the favor of James. In 1585 Burghley counselled friendly relations with him. By 1588 it seemed almost certain to the English court that the king of Scotland would be the next ruler of England. In 1590-91 Burghley appeared to be conniving with James to secure for him the succession. Those who opposed the Scottish succession made claims for Philip II, Arabella Stuart, the Earl of Huntingdon, or one of several other candidates. (Orwen 206)

Given the number of candidates who could potentially end up fighting over power due to Elizabeth's unwillingness to engage the subject of succession, fears over social, political and national division escalated. Certainly, the additional concerns pertaining to Protestant versus Catholic affairs made the circumstances even more volatile and threatened further instability if the country were to experience another attempt at reform—it was Elizabeth, after all, who settled the nation after the unstable reign of her sister, Mary I. In response, many Protestant literary figures produced politically-oriented texts and books addressing the potential harms that might ensue, just as Duke Humphrey had done over a century and a half earlier. These texts included Edmund Spenser's "The Ruines of Time" (1591) and "Mother Hubberds Tale" (1590/1591), Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke's translation (1592) of Robert Garnier's *Marc Antoine* (1578), Samuel Daniel's *The Tragedy of Cleopatra* (1594), in addition to reprints of *Serpent* and *Gorboduc* (Orwen 206).

Allde declares the purpose of his edition of *Serpent* by making a direct connection between Caesar's Rome and Elizabeth's England and by explicitly drawing readers' attention

both to their similarities and to *Serpent's* potential value as an *exemplum* for the late-sixteenth-century political climate. In his book's preface, Allde writes, "let it suffice affable Reader, thou sit thee downe and patientlye with a Mer-maides eye peruse this small volume, or rather Mappe of Romes ouerthrowe, and thou wilt finde *if thou compare our state with Romes, to be no lesse in danger and dread*" (Sig. A2^{v}, emphasis added). In these lines, Allde parallels Caesar's Rome and Elizabeth's England and encourages the contemporary reader ("our state") to make comparisons. A similar sentiment appears earlier on the title page, on which the fifth line of a lyric that follows *Serpent's* title provides as a similarly foreboding warning: "*England* take heede, such chaunce to thee may come" (Sig. A1^{r}). Allde induces anxiety among sixteenth-century English readers by invoking the division of Rome in *Serpent* as a potential result for England due to the two nations' similarities, thus prompting both an awareness of the situation and potentially a desire to act. This anxiety, I suggest, is amplified by the position of *Gorboduc's* title on the title page, appearing immediately after the lyrical warning. The history of King Gorboduc is similar to that of Caesar; the division that resulted from the pursuit for power by Gorboduc's sons, Ferrex and Porrex, led to nationwide strife and loss of lives. As Geoffrey of Monmouth explains in *The History of the Kings of Britain*, "civil strife afflicted the people and the kingdom itself fell under the control of five kings who waged constant war on each other" (69). Such potential results are not alleviated nor contradicted by *Serpent* because, as Cox Jensen notes, *Serpent* contains "no mention of the history that follows Caesar's civil wars, [and] no mention of Augustus, his enduring empire or the universal peace which he established" (127). Therefore, I conclude, Allde identifies *Serpent* as an historical *exemplum*, and he presents *Gorboduc* as a warning of sorts, a typographic companion to *Serpent* that reminds English readers that similar outcomes have previously occurred in Britain and may occur again if the matter of succession is not sufficiently addressed. As Cox Jensen succinctly

says of *Serpent*, "the message is clear: pride and ambition on the part of great men lead to ruin and destruction" (126).

Despite *Serpent's* relevance as an *exemplum* for late-sixteenth-century England, its contextual and authorial origins would have been cause for concern among many English readers. By 1590, the English government was firmly Protestant, and any efforts to reinstate Catholicism as the official religion of the nation would inevitably result in conflict and the kind of division that *Serpent* addresses; the reign of Mary I attests to this, and the potential ascension of James VI of Scotland inevitably made things uncomfortable for Protestant/Catholic relations. Concerns over James's potential alignments with Catholic powers recall and emphasize English attitudes towards Catholic writings and authors, and, by extension, the English distaste and mistrust for the medieval period during which Catholicism was dominant. Indeed, many sixteenth-century critics of Middle English literature warned potential readers of stories "made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons" (Ascham, Sig. I2^{r}). Joseph Dane and Irene Beesemyer assert that sixteenth-century English attitudes toward John Lydgate "preceded any reading of his works: who he was (the Monk of Bury) and the consequent 'superstitious' (i.e., 'papist') beliefs that were presumed to be found in his texts" (117). In other words, many readers in the second-half of the sixteenth century avoided Lydgate's work on principle rather than due to changing tastes. Dane and Beesemyer trace the sudden decline in Lydgate's popularity following Redman's 1535 edition of *Serpent*, noting the equally sudden increase and decline of Lydgate publications during the reign of Mary (123).[19] When the Catholic monarch

[19] Popularity is here based on the number of Lydgate texts published during these times. Lydgate's popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is evident given the over sixty editions of his texts (or texts ascribed to him) printed between 1477 and 1590, many of which appeared in multiple editions. For a complete list of printed Lydgate editions found in the STC and ESTC catalogues, including a comparison with printed Chaucer editions, see Dane and Beesemyer (121-23). Dane and Beesemyer note that Lydgate publications following Redman's 1535 edition of *Serpent* are predominantly historical stories and chronicles presented as

reigned, public printers were more comfortable producing works more overtly associated with Catholicism. Ideology, it seems, played an important role in the production of Lydgate's books. Once Elizabeth took the crown, "it was commonplace to equate Protestantism not just with loyalty to the crown but with Englishness itself" (Shrank, "Community" 442). Hence, Lydgate's status as a monk did not align well with early modern English interests, and his works would have been presumed unsuitable to offer moral guidance to a post-medieval Protestant nation. Indeed, the most suspicious of the English might view Lydgate's *exemplum* as a deceitful attempt to influence the succession of the English crown to foreign powers.

The absence of Lydgate's name in Allde's edition appears intentional, but the contents of earlier editions of *Serpent* complicate my efforts to validate this claim. My analyses of the earlier print editions of *Serpent* reveal that Allde used Redman's 1535 edition as its source rather than Treverys's earlier edition or Rogers's 1559 edition, the latter of which is the only print edition that identifies Lydgate as *Serpent's* author.[20] In particular, my collation of the closing pages of each edition identifies two main variants that connect Allde's edition directly to Redman's edition. First, where Treverys twice reads "hondred" (370), both Redman (Sig. C4^{r}) and Allde (Sig. C3^{v}) twice read "hundreth." The spelling is especially peculiar for Allde, whose text is heavily modernized. Rogers's edition twice reads "hundred" (Sig. D4^{v}). Second, where Treverys and Rogers reads "Tongisius" (371), both Redman (Sig. C4^{r}) and Allde (Sig. C3^{v}) read "Tongilius." While this variation would appear to be (and may be) a misreading of a long "s", the fact that Redman and Allde agree with each other while Rogers (Sig. D4^{v}) agrees with

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translations. They also correlate the decline in Lydgate's popularity with the rise of the "*Piers* pamphlets" (Protestant plowman stories; 124-25). While I agree with Dane and Beesemyer, it should be noted that the reduced number of Lydgate prints may reveal more about the state's control over early modern printing presses than early modern readers' preferences and tastes.

[20] Because Treverys's edition only survives in fragment, it is unclear whether it had identified Lydgate as the author.

Treverys implies that Allde's reading consistently follows Redman rather than Treverys, and that Redman's edition is textually unrelated to Rogers's edition.[21] Since Redman's edition does not identify Lydgate as the author, it is possible that Allde was ignorant of *Serpent's* authorship given its infrequent attribution in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[22] Therefore, Allde may not have been familiar with Rogers's edition, which is the only one known to identify Lydgate as *Serpent's* author.

All the same, it is still quite possible that Allde was aware of the *Serpent's* authorship. Lydgate's name is found in Rogers's 1559 edition, so this information was in circulation well before Allde's edition. Furthermore, Lydgate's poetry enjoyed a brief resurgence in publication prior to Elizabeth succeeding Mary: "Presumably Marian England found the Monk of Bury an acceptable author" (Berek 6). Dane and Beesemyer note that a few of Lydgate's books were printed during the five years of Mary's reign, but there is no indication of a resurgence in his popularity considering none of his older texts were republished and those that were printed were histories and chronicles (123-24). Although Lydgate quickly fell out of favour in Elizabethan England, his reputation was nevertheless widespread due to his earlier popularity. Additionally,

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[21] MacCracken believed Allde's edition to have been based on Rogers's edition (47), which would imply that Allde was aware of Lydgate's authorship. William Ringler correctly identifies flaws in MacCracken's collation and analysis, but he then mistakenly argues that Allde's source was Treverys's edition (201-02). However, neither MacCracken nor Ringler was aware of Redman's edition when they completed their studies, so their claims are founded on incomplete information. Like MacCracken, Cox Jensen also mistakenly identifies Allde's edition as a reprint of Rogers's edition (126).

[22] Scholars attribute *Serpent* to Lydgate based on a colophon found in British Library, MS Additional 48031A (formerly Baron Calthorpe, Yelverton MS 35): "Here endeth the cronycule of Julius Cesar Emperoure of Rome tyme (toune?) [sic], specifying cause of the ruyne and destruccion of the same, and translated by me, Danne John Lidgate, Monke of Bury seint Edmund, the yere of our lord god MCCCC."[22] Additionally, the phrase "Explicit quoth J. de B."—likely implying *John [Lydgate] de Bury*—follows the treatise's envoy in Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2006.[22] Attribution next appears in Rogers's print edition, again in the colophon: "Thus endeth this litle treatise entituled: the Serpent of Diuision, made by John Lydgate" (Sig. D6^{v}).

Lydgate was well known as a student and follower of Geoffrey Chaucer. Indeed, this association was sufficiently known that editors often called upon Lydgate's verses to authorize the value of Chaucer. For example, Thomas Speght, in his 1598 and 1602 editions of *Chaucers Workes*, printed multiple lines from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, beginning with the line: "My maister Chaucer with his fresh comedies" (1598, Sig. c2^{r}). "Master" was a common epithet given by Lydgate to Chaucer, and many English readers would be aware of this, especially given the popularity of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* in the mid-century. Allde's knowledge of this, I argue, would explain why he removed the two uses of "my maister" used to reference Chaucer near the end of the treatise, references that are found in *all* print editions that preceded Allde's book; Allde instead opts for a detached third-person praise of "woorthy Chaucer" (Sigs. C3^{v}-C4^{r}). Chaucer, who was deemed by many in sixteenth-century England as a friend of the Reformation, was an acceptable authorial source of wisdom for an *exemplum*, while Lydgate, the *Monk of Bury*, was not, particularly given the present monarch's Protestant devotion and the potential threat of a subsequent Catholic ruler.

Regardless of whether Allde was suppressing his knowledge of its authorship, *Serpent* was nevertheless a recognizably medieval text before his codicological translation; whereas earlier printed editions of the treatise did not attempt to disguise the text's origins (codicologically or linguistically), I argue that Allde's edition explicitly attempts to parallel Caesar's classical Rome and Elizabeth's Renaissance England while muting or erasing the period in between. For Redman and Rogers, such efforts were either unnecessary or simply not relevant. Neither edition was presented as an *exemplum*; rather, they look very similar to other early printed medieval stories—particularly the early blackletter quartos printed by Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde. Both editions are printed almost entirely in Gothic blackletter; Rogers's edition makes a few exceptions, printing a few Latin words and the four lines of verse

by Chaucer near the treatise's end in Roman type. Redman's title page contains a prose title and a generic woodcut depicting a medieval city-scene. In contrast, the title page of Roger's edition positions its title within the frame of a decorative classical arch, which features statues of cherubs leaning against the stone support pillars, and engravings of lion heads and other decorative images in the base and lintel. The title page provides the initials of the text's editor, John Stow,[23] and the book's date of publication, 4 May 1559. Both Rogers and Allde printed their editions during Elizabeth's reign; whereas Stow made no effort to draw a parallel between the story and contemporary politics in Rogers's edition, Allde made changes, deletions, and additions to his edition in order to establish continuity between the two periods while muting the text's medieval origins.

Allde's editorial preface suggests to me that he made a concerted effort to present *Serpent* as though it had been written in the sixteenth century by implying that the writer of the preface was also the writer of the treatise—a task more easily accomplished in the absence of Lydgate's name. Allde writes his preface in the first person as he describes what he has said about Caesar:

> So if thou demaund why I publish out Cæsar in this simple manner, I answer; that being not able to doo as I would, I must doo as I can: therfore I yeeld I haue despoyled him of his honor as the Persians Alexander: being so merritorius of fame and renowne deserued at the gates or doores of death: but to saye somewhat to the pupose, though not altogether so much as thou expectest: I cannot though I would paint him foorth in bare cullours, yet I know his vallour hath blazend his owne

[23] The initials "I.S." have been speculated to indicate John Stow by numerous scholars, including William Ringer. According to the edition's title, *Serpent* was "set forth after the Auctours old copy by I.S." (Sig. A1^{r}). Ringler concludes that "I.S. did not use 'the Auctours old copy' for his text, but merely reproduced the Treverys print." Nevertheless, "John Stow had a life-long interest in the works of Lydgate. He owned or made copies of many Lydgate manuscripts" and "contributed an extensive bibliography of Lydgate's writings, in which 'The serpent of diuision' is listed, to Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer [Sig. Zzz6^{v}]" (203).

> perpetuall honour in England, in Oyle cullours, which are of longest continuance [...]. (Sig. A2^{r})

This passage is loaded with tension between desire and duty, power and restraint. Allde simultaneously describes his limitations while using the first-person pronoun ten times in these brief lines. By so doing, he highlights his presence (and presentness) and emphasizes his role as the empowered agent while also describing his responsibility to his purpose of drawing parallels to England's potential "fate": "I could if I would set downe the whole Conquestes of Iulius, but it would small auaile, sith it followeth more at large: [Reader,] onlye arme thy minde with patience, heere shalt thou see the authors of ruine, and the gaine selfe-will bringeth, robbing their hartes of all ease and comfort" (Sig. A2^{v}). These lines imply Allde understands that his *exemplum* has a purpose and must primarily cohere with the story's morality. Of course, he is printing an already-written story. That said, he (theoretically) does not base his telling on a fictional story, as a disciple of Chaucer might (Lydgate: "my maister"); rather, Allde's story is (supposedly) based on ancient records, from which he has extracted only the portion of Caesar's history that is suitable for his purpose. The opening line of Redman's edition of *Serpent* begins:

> Whylome as *olde boks* maketh mencion: whan the noble and famous Cite of Rome: was moste shynynge in hys felicite and flouring in his glory / lyk as it is *remembred in the bokes of olde antiquite* [...] (Sig. A2^{r}, emphasis added)

"Old books" provide content that derives from "bokes of old antiquite," which implies that the present book is a retelling of a medieval version of an ancient story. Such circumstances would not help Allde alleviate readers' concerns. Therefore, in order to create a continuity with the voice of his preface, Allde changes the opening line:

> *As auncient Writers in their Records and large vollumes* make mention, when the noble and famous Cittie of Rome was most shining in her felicity and splendant in

> her glorye: like as it is *remembred in the bookes of olde antiquitie* [...] (Sig. A3^{r}, emphasis added)

Allde's use of "auncient" and "antiquitie" implies that the speaker is using the original records as his source, rather than relying on a medieval intermediary—in this respect, his approach is similar to Richard Smith's, who likewise attempted to associate his work with the classical stories of Aesop rather than Henryson, the medieval intermediary. Likely for this reason, near the end of *Serpent*, Allde replaces the narrator's phrase "as sayeth myne auctoure" (Sig. C4^{v}) with "as saith diuers Recordes" (Sig. C3^{v}). Again, the reference to "myne auctoure" suggests an intermediary source (here, Lydgate instead of Henryson), whereas the reference to "diuers Recordes" implies the speaker has done his own research. Of this research, however, only that which Allde provides is suitable for the book's purpose; it is not as he would have done if his purpose was solely to boast of Caesar's virtuous character.

Temporal continuity between the preface and the text of *Serpent* is further integrated in the language throughout Allde's edition. For example, the opening reference in the preface to Diogenes of Sinope and Alexander the Great is neither arbitrary nor intended as an attempt simply to illustrate the editor's broad knowledge of classical history. Rather, the passage keenly foreshadows the final line of the first paragraph in *Serpent*: "but so soone as falsehoode and Auerice did ring in Pride and vaine Ambition: that contagious Serpent of Deuision eclipsed the bright Sunne beames of her woorthinesse" (Sig. A3^{v}). This line is no doubt a reference to the famous meeting between Diogenes and Alexander. When Alexander asks Diogenes if he wanted anything, Diogenes replies, "Yes, [...] stand a little out of my sun." Diogenes' comment emphasizes the value of honesty, even in the presence of power and authority. Indeed, Shrank's study of communities in *Serpent* notes that Allde's "attempt to shift the focus from the doings and decisions of great men to the responsibility of, and effect on, the community is one

indication that the 1590 edition has departed from its predecessors" (447). Allde's plea for England to "take heede" suggests that he is broadly concerned with the responsibilities of individuals as part of a larger communal effort. For this reason, it was in Allde's interest as an editor, I argue, to make the text as accessible and appealing as possible to a broad late-sixteenth century audience. This focus largely explains why "the 1590 editor [...] plays fast and loose with Lydgate's prose, producing a thoroughly modernized text" (Shrank 448). Shrank's detailed examination of the text reveals extensive changes: "Words which, by 1590, risked sounding archaic are consistently removed"; "Other antiquated language [is] eliminated"; "tautology is avoided"; "diction is made more Latinate"; "the syntax is also made more varied, deploying more dependent clauses to avoid Lydgate's paratactic prose" (448). The influence of English humanism is evident in the language and rhetoric; not only has the text been modernized, it has also been deceptively inflected to suggest (Ciceronian) Latin rather than Middle English origins.

Allde prints the modernized language with a more modern type, I argue, in order to manipulate readers' perceptions of the text's origins. Whereas both Redman and Roger printed their editions entirely in Gothic blackletter, Allde chose to supplement his blackletter with italic and Roman types. The title page is primarily printed in Roman interspersed with italic. The use of italic does not follow a consistent pattern—aside from its obvious use for a single Latin phrase—so I suggest that Allde's objective was to highlight his contemporary interests in a historical story. These interests are described in detail in the preface, which is printed entirely in Roman to mark its modernity. Curiously, as *Serpent* begins on the following page, the story is presented in blackletter, with proper names and places printed in italic. In this respect, the blackletter seems to break the illusion of continuity established by the text. However, Allde also prints the end of Lydgate's text in Roman, creating a break from the blackletter and an editorial frame with the Roman of the preface. The change in type comes immediately after the four lines

of Chaucer's verse that are cited, which are also printed in Roman. This strategy is unique since a reader would expect to see Chaucer's words in blackletter, as they had always been printed. Further, the closing portion of Lydgate's text is printed under the header "The Conclusion," which breaks from the standard header "The Serpent // of Deuision." The standard header, printed in Roman, creates an ongoing link in Roman from the preface to the conclusion, at which point the narrator speaks more broadly about the story's purpose: "let therefore the wise Gouernours of euerye Land and Region, make this example a mirrour to their minds [...]" (Sig. C4^{r}). The "conclusion" ends with a double use of the first-person pronoun, again recalling the presence of the speaker in the preface: "I tooke vpon me this small translation, and though breeflye: yet plainely and truely, I haue put it in remembraunce" (Sig. C4^{r}). Lydgate's closing statement about his activities in 1422 are appropriated by Allde, for whom the lines now imply that he has translated them into modern English—the same English found in the preface—from the "auncient Writers in their Records and large vollumes." For this reason, even though the main text is printed in blackletter, the difference in type is what matters. The speaker's translated story ends with the insightful verses of Chaucer, at which time he returns to his present moral voice to summarize the *exemplum* in prose.

The text of the 1590 edition ends by omitting Lydgate's envoy, which appears in all other print editions and three of the four extant manuscripts, replacing it with the six-line lyric that appears on the title page. The envoy of the earlier editions is a twenty-four-line, alternating-rhyme poem that "draws out the moral implications of the story, encapsulating the narrative in three short stanzas" (Nolan 102). Such a summary was suitable for earlier editions of *Serpent* because it identifies for the reader a specific purpose/interpretation of what has been read. However, Allde's edition is different, I argue, because it announces its own (altered) purpose as early as the title-page and preface. For this reason, the six-line prophetic lyric that follows the

1590 edition's primary title—indicated by its position and size—on the title page can be seen as a replacement for Lydgate's poetic envoy. Despite Peter Berek's assertion that the six lines are a continuation of the book's title (19-20 fn. 39), the verses are clearly set apart in form, spacing, and style. The title page is divided into five passages: the primary title for *Serpent of Division*; the six-line lyric; the secondary title for *Gorboduc*; a clarification of *Gorboduc*'s theatrical source and origins; and the book's publishing details. Each of these passages is clearly separated by white space. Aside from the lyric, each passage is written as prose and is set in the classic, diminishing, inverted triangular shape. As the lines become shorter, so too do the font sizes decrease every few lines in the titles and publishing details—though not in the performance details of *Gorboduc*. In contrast, the six lines of verse are printed in a constant size and left justified. Hence, they are set out to function as an argument, not a title.

The short lyric may have been a marketing tool intended to promote the book to purchasers perusing the bookstalls around St. Pauls, but since it repeats much of content from the titles, the verses, I assert, must have been intended, at least in part, to highlight the thematic connections between *Serpent* and *Gorboduc*, as the themes are established in each texts' title. Allde's full title for *Serpent* is "The Serpent of Deuision. Wherein is conteined the true History or Mappe of Romes ouerthrowe, gouerned by Auarice, Enuye, and Pride, the decaye of Empires be they neuer so sure." His full title for *Gorboduc* on the same page is "Whereunto is annexed the Tragedye of Gorboduc, sometime King of this Land, and of his two Sonnes, Ferrex and Porrex." Between these two titles is the lyric:

> Three things brought ruine vnto *Rome*,
>
> that ragnde in Princes to their ouerthrowe*:*
>
> *Auarice*, and *Pride*, with *Enuies* cruell doome,
>
> that wrought their sorrow and their latest woe.

England take heede, such chaunce to thee may come*:*

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. (Sig. A1^{r})

Both *Serpent*'s title and the lyric speak of Rome's ruin and the sins of avarice, envy and pride as the cause of its overthrow. These sins are the focus of *Serpent*: the focus is not *who* to avoid, but *what* to avoid. For this reason, "*felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*" (happy are those that who take warning from the peril of others). At the same time, the reference to "Princes" establishes a connection to *Gorboduc*, recalling the fall of Ferrex and Porrex. If readers attend the warning, England can avoid repeating the errors found in the "tragedye" of Gorboduc, or the historical tragedy of Rome. In other words, the lyric and its Latin proverb separate what *has* happened and what *could* happen again.

Although the lyric's purpose is certainly relevant, its emphasis on specific sins is somewhat awkward given Allde's desire to divest *Serpent* of connections to medieval Catholicism. The repetition of those sins in the title adds to this curiosity, especially since Allde's title is unique among the print editions of *Serpent*. However, the sequence of passages on his title page suggests that the emphasis is strategic. According to Peter Berek, who has traced printers' use of the word "tragedy" on sixteenth-century title pages, "the meaning of 'tragedy' remains relatively constant throughout the century: a story of a fall, whether through the vicissitudes of fortune or as a consequence of vice" (1). The word was not used on a title page, Berek explains, until the reign of Edward VI, when "the first uses of the term [were] in anti-Catholic context" (3). Indeed, until its prominence among Elizabethan and Jacobean play titles, "tragedy" was foremost used in conjunction with anti-Catholic titles.[24] Notably, the title

[24] Berek identifies the following as some of the earliest examples: "John Bale's *A tragedye . . . manyfestyng the chefe promyses of God*, printed in Wesel in 1547; Sir David Lindsay's *Tragical death of Dauid Beato[n]* (1548); and John Ponet's translation of a Latin work by Bernardino Ochino, *A tragoedie or dialoge of the vniuste vsurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (1549)" (4).

for *Gorboduc* is arranged such that "Tragedye" appears on the first line of the title, and "Gorboduc, sometime King of this Land" appears on the second line, the former line printed in a font size about twice as large as the latter. Although not logically sound, the circumstances seem to suggest that succumbing to the sins of avarice, envy and pride leads to tragedy. The resistance to Catholicism gets one last push when, following the title for *Gorboduc*, Allde notes that the play "was shewed before the Queenes most excellent Maiesty, by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple." In other words, if it is suitable for the devoutly Protestant Elizabeth I, it is suitable for all.

For the learned reader, the lyric also alludes to an historical example of division from Dante's *Inferno*. When Dante is speaking with Ciacco [*Pig*], a townsman of Dante's own Florence, Ciacco notes that people do not heed the advice of just men; rather, "*superbia, invidia ed avarizia* sono / le tre faville c'hanno i cuori accesi [the three sparks that have set men's hearts on fire / are overweening *pride, envy and greed*]" (VI.73-75, emphasis added).[25] Ciacco warns Dante that their city is overflown of envy (VI.49-50), which has thus created a division (città partita [VI.61]) through the assault of discord ("che l' ha tanta discordia assalita" [VI. 63]). John Ciardi explains that Ciacco's prophecy, which follows these initial discussions, refers not to the conflicts between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, but rather those between the later formed White Guelphs and Black Guelphs:

> A rather gruesome murder perpetrated by Focaccio de'Cancellieri [...] became the cause of new strife between two branches of the Cancellieri family. On May 1 of 1300 the White Guelphs (Dante's party) drove the Black Guelphs from Florence in bloody fighting. Two years later, however ("within three suns" ["infra tre soli"

[25] Both original Italian and English translations are quoted from Volume 1 of Courtney Langdon's 1918 facing-page edition of the *Comedia*.

> (VI.68)]), the Blacks, aided by Dante's detested Boniface VIII, returned and expelled most of the prominant whites, among them Dante; for he had been a member of the Priorate (City Council) that issued a decree banishing the leaders of both sides. This was the beginning of Dante's long exile from Florence. (59)

Dante alludes to civil strife that he himself experienced early in the fourteenth century, associating it with the concepts of division and envy that are prominent in Caesar's Rome and Gorboduc's Britain. In the context of Allde's book, it provides a more immediate historical example of what may happen if people do not learn from the examples of history, suggesting that men are doomed to repeat it.

The addition of *Gorboduc* is the most obvious difference between Allde's book and his predecessors' editions of *Serpent*, and Allde's editorial efforts to entwine the two complementary texts is evident in the unity and continuity between the two texts' codicological features. *Gorboduc* was an established Elizabethan play that had been printed twice and addressed many of the same ideas as *Serpent* in a more direct manner. Orwen acknowledges that "much has been written about *Gorboduc* as a dramatic argument for the limitation of succession, and as a play which reflects the Elizabethan fear of the consequences of civil disobedience" (3). I suggest that this synopsis works equally well for *Serpent*. Allde's presentation of the two texts together reveals his efforts to produce unity and continuity between the two texts, but knowledge of *Gorboduc's* print history and close examination of the book's construction also reveals that *Gorboduc* was intended to be supplementary to *Serpent* while, at the same time, this edition of *Serpent* is, in fact, physically dependent on its association with *Gorboduc*.

Continuity and unity between the two texts is established predominantly by their paratexts and aesthetic features. The Roman headers in *Gorboduc* match those of *Serpent*, similarly splitting the text's title between facing pages: "The Tragedye // of Gorboduc." Roman

is also used for headings between acts and scenes, as well as to describe the "dumbe shewes" between acts. As he had done for *Serpent*, Allde prints the main text in blackletter and character names in a different type: italic for character names when signifying an actor (either the speaker's name in the margin or the characters within a scene along with the header) and Roman when a proper name appears in dialogue. Catchwords and signatures are printed in blackletter and appear in the same format throughout the book. Furthermore, the same banner design that appears above the preface also appears above the second title page that is unique to *Gorboduc*. The second title page is formatted nearly identically to the book's main title page, with the addition of two banners to take up space that the first title page devotes to *Serpent*. Notably, the second title page reveals the authorship of *Gorboduc*, whereas the first did not. The absence of *Gorboduc*'s authors on the first title page, I assert, is strategic since the presence of those names would raise questions about the authorship of *Serpent*. Finally, readers are encouraged to see continuity between the texts due to the lack of a colophon at the end of *Serpent*. Allde's edition of *Serpent* is the only print edition of the sixteenth century that lacks a colophon.

While each of these small details suggest that Allde endeavoured to make the book's continuity seamless, other features imply that *Serpent* was the more important, or primary, text of the two. Indeed, *Serpent*'s title is dominant at the top of the title page, printed much larger than *Gorboduc*'s title, which explicitly states that the play was "annexed" to *Serpent*. The prose *exemplum* also receives far more attention than the play in the book's preface, with *Gorboduc* only being addressed in the final standalone sentence (brief paragraph):

> Heere shalt thou see also if with content thou peruse it, the wofull Tragedie of Gorboduc, and Ferrex and Porrex his two Sonnes, as it was presented before the Queenes Maiestie by the Gentlemen of the inner Temple, this with other [*Serpent*] no

> lesse profitable then delightsome, I commit to be censurde of thee, and loath to hold thee too long with cerious discourse: I take my leaue. (Sig. A2^{v})

This single sentence makes up only eight lines of the fifty-four-line preface, and it is serves only to repeat what already appears on both title pages: the play was performed in front of Elizabeth I by members of the Inner Temple. Although it does help to connect *Serpent* and *Gorboduc*, the preface appears as little more than an afterthought. Still, it does retain the intimacy of the first-person voice, whereas Allde copied the opening "Argument" that follows *Gorboduc's* separate title page verbatim from its source.

The lack of editorial treatment that *Goboduc*'s text receives emphasizes its status as a supplementary text. *Gorboduc* was a product of the sixteenth century so it did not need to be modernized. Norton and Sackville's *Tragedy of Gorboduc* was first printed by William Griffith in 1565 and again by John Day in 1570, both in quarto format. The most immediate difference between the two editions is their titles: Griffith titled his edition after the play's king, *The Tragedie of Gorbodvc*; while Day titled his edition after the king's sons, *The Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex*. Although both Griffith's and Day's editions transcribe the same performance of the play (performed 8 January 1561 in Whitehall Court by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple in London), Griffith's edition, I.B. Cauthen, Jr. explains, "comes from an unauthorized source; the second quarto probably appeared because the authors were dissatisfied with the corruptions of the first." Indeed, Cauthens identifies "some one hundred and fifty substantive changes" (231) between the editions, though he also identifies sufficient bibliographic and orthographic similarities to claim with confidence that Day used Griffith's edition as a copy-text (232). As he did with *Serpent*, Allde opted not to use the most recent edition of *Gorboduc* as his copy-text; my analyses of the books' reveal that he used Griffith's edition instead. This is evident from similarities found in both their paratexts and through my collation of the texts. Aside from the

publishing details, Allde's title page for *Gorboduc* copies Griffith's verbatim; under "The Names of Speakers," Griffith and Allde both provide Gorboduc's name in the character descriptions of Eubulus and Arostus, whereas Day does not. Further, collation of Act 1, scene 1 reveals three substantive variants between Griffith and Day. Allde agrees with Griffith each time (pride; hope [1.1.34], so succede; do so succede [1.1.38], evil; ill [1.1.55]). As with *Serpent*, it is not clear to me whether Allde was familiar with the more recent edition of *Gorboduc*; however, Day's edition highlights the fact that Allde did not seem overly concerned with editing the content of Griffith's edition to better coincide with *Serpent*. Day's "authorized" edition lacks eight lines of text that are found in both Griffith's and Allde's editions, which Cauthens suggests were removed for political reasons (231); his assessment initially seems reasonable. However, if Allde had been concerned with ensuring that *Gorboduc*'s content complemented his edition of *Serpent*, presenting no mixed messages, he likely would have removed the same eight lines from Eubulus' speech in Act 5, Scene 1:

> [...]
> that no cause serues, wherby the Suiect may
> Call to account the dooinges of his Prince,
> Much lesse in blood by swoord to woorke reuenge
> No more then may the hand cut of the head,
> In Acte nor speech, no: not in secret thought
> The Subiect may rebell against his Lord
> Or Iudge of him that sits in Caesars Seate.
> With grudging minde doo damne those Hemislikes [*sic*],
> [...] (Sig. F3^{r}-F3^{v})

These lines, which forbid subjects from questioning their monarch's bidding, run counter to the message of widespread social responsibility in Allde's edition of *Serpent* for which Shrank argues clearly and successfully in her chapter on "Community." My point is not that Allde did not censor his edition, but that the lack of revision found in *Gorboduc* does not coincide with the extensive revisions found in his edition of *Serpent*. Alternatively, the same is true in reverse; the extensive revisions made in *Serpent* do not, and therefore were not, made to coincide with the content of *Gorboduc*. In other words, had Allde been concerned with the details of the two texts agreeing with each other, he would have revised one to agree with the other. Since he revised *Serpent* but *not* to agree with all elements of *Gorboduc*, he was not focused on the latter. Hence, since *Gorboduc* is unchanged but prepared as I've described, I argue that Allde's sole concern for *Gorboduc* was its status as a modern and familiar story that was known to be a worst-case scenario about the effects of division within Britain.

If Allde intended to use *Gorboduc* as a balancing or mitigating force against the elements of *Serpent* that were distasteful to English readers, it was also possible that it might not accomplish this goal; this possibility, I argue, accounts for some of the codicological features of the book that simultaneously illustrate how the editor role made *Serpent* dependent on *Gorboduc* and how the printer/publisher roles built in a safeguard for business reasons. That is to say, Allde and Perrin must have been aware of the precarious nature of their publication in the public eye and prepared for the worst. To accomplish this, *Serpent* was prepared such that it was physically dependent on *Gorboduc*, whereas *Gorboduc* was prepared as a self-contained unit that could be sold separately. While the main title page identified both texts, a separate title page that begins the play was prepared that only identified *Gorboduc*. Notably, the second title page identifies Norton and Sackville as authors of the play, where the initial title page does not. Both title pages contained the same publishing details, which identify the printer, publisher, date, and

location of Perrin's bookstall. Since this information is available on the title page, it is not surprising that neither text ends with a colophon. However, while *Serpent* ends with a simple "Finis," *Gorboduc* ends with a more complete *explicit* that better signals the end of a publication: "The ende of the Tragedie of King *Gorboduc*." Notably, where *Serpent* is framed with intimate first-person passages (the preface and the "conclusion"), *Gorboduc* does not end with a passage that could serve as the closing to a frame that began with the preface. Most importantly, *Gorboduc* exists as a separate booklet, beginning its signatures with its unique title page as "A1" instead of continuing the count of *Serpent*. In contrast, the initial title page and preface make up the opening pages of the quire in which *Serpent* begins. Thus, whereas *Serpent* is physically tied to *Gorboduc* through the initial quire construction, *Gorboduc* could easily be removed and sold separately with no references to *Serpent* or apparent gap in signatures to indicate it was once a part of larger publication. This structure provided an advantage to the publisher because if the editor's efforts to present *Serpent* in an acceptable manner failed, the publisher would be able to mitigate any losses by selling the newer, more popular Elizabethan drama on its own. This may not have been the plan all along, though no copies of Allde's *Gorboduc* are extant without *Serpent*.

Regardless of the "backdoor" created by *Gorboduc*'s potential as a separate booklet, the two texts complement each other's messages for the most part and work in tandem due to the editor's efforts to create continuity between them. The presence of *Gorboduc* would have encouraged readers to accept the wisdom of *Serpent* regardless of whether they were familiar with the treatise's origins. Nevertheless, Allde's translation and manipulation of both *Serpent's* text and the books codicological features present *Serpent* as a modern reading of a classical tale, disguising its medieval features. As a result, *Serpent of Division* is able to function as an

exemplum for a modern English audience concerned with the future of its country's rule without betraying its medieval and authorial origins.

* * * * *

Editors of early modern Middle English texts—or Middle Scots, as the case may be—sometimes found that more than the language had changed in the years between the texts' original publications and their own editions. Changing tastes, customs, technologies, ideologies, and historical influences all had the potential to impose various meanings upon texts that were being reproduced under new circumstances. These circumstances could be temporal, geographic, or cultural; understanding these circumstances makes it easier to recognize how books could be claimed to be distinctly English. In turn, my evaluation also implies that English readers and book producers were distinctly English, a group of people with a shared knowledge about the expressive functions of particular codicological forms. As a result, the concept of Englishing gains greater significance, especially as analyses of such books reveal important and substantial changes to the meaning of books due to practices employed in their production.

Edward Allde's 1590 edition of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* and Richard Smith's 1577 edition of Henryson's *Moral Fables* are two excellent examples of what it means to English a book. Allde's book demonstrates how changing codicological features can reconfigure an historical allegory to have meaningful implications when prepared under different political circumstances at a different time in history. It also demonstrates the value of considering Englishing, or translation in general, as a temporal process—relying on the *when* of a nation—rather than solely linguistic. Similarly, Smith's book demonstrates Englishing as a locating process—relying on the *where* of the nation—in addition to linguistic translation. His book is an example of an intimate exchange with his reader, making readers comfortable to accept and gain profound meaning from what might be a questionable source. In the case of both books, the

editors have expectations to meet and preconceptions to overcome, reasons that an English audience would be uncomfortable to engage with the text, or simply dismissive of the books and their contents. In each situation, the editor provides a clear sense of his goals in his prefatory matter, and it is against those statements that critics are able to assess the success of the editors' efforts.

Chapter 5: Thomas Speght's Chaucer:

Alterity, Continuity and Progress

In 1598, Adam Islip printed Thomas Speght's first edition of *The Workes of Our Ancient and learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, new Printed* (STC 5077, 5078, 5079),[1] which included an editorial apparatus more extensive than any previously included in an edition of English poetry. Speght's edition was the first printed book containing complete texts of Geoffrey Chaucer's poetry since John Stow's 1561 edition of the same texts (STC 5075).[2] The thirty-seven years between these two publications was the longest period between any two printed editions of Chaucer's poetry up until that time. To a certain extent, the reduction in Chaucerian prints is not surprising: there was a significant decline in the number of Middle English texts printed after the early 1560s, and those that were published later in the century tended to have modernized language.[3] As well, negative criticism of Chaucer's poems and language had become more common in the second half of the century. Despite critics' concerns over the accessibility of Middle English, Speght sought to "restore" Chaucer's original language (1598 Sig. a1^{v}). Since he was unable to complete these efforts for the entirety of the 1598

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[1] Hereafter, I refer to all editions of the book as *Chaucers Workes* except when discussing the significance of the title. Adam Islip issued Thomas Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes* for George Bishop (STC 5077), Bonham Norton (STC 5078), and Thomas Wight (STC 5079). The only significant difference between the issues is Bishop's title page, which contains the image of a different decorative archway and lacks the brief quotations from Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that Islip integrated into the archway of Norton's and Wight's title pages. Throughout this study, I quote from Norton's issue.

[2] For the most part, each edition of *Chaucers Workes* contains the same content as the previous edition, in the same order, plus additional content added by each editor. Speght's 1598 edition is a page-reprinted copy (see Chapter 1) of Stow's 1561 edition with Speght's additional paratext and four previously unprinted poems placed before or after the existing content.

[3] The reduction in Chaucerian prints can also be explained, in part, by the shift in production of Chaucerian texts from individual poems to a collected works, which began in 1532 with William Thynne's first edition of *Chaucers Workes* (STC 5068). The change in format required a greater investment from consumers, which implies books were sold less often and to fewer people. The fact that less wealthy readers were not provided an alternative product may indicate a correlation between sixteenth-century readers' status, education, and ability to read Chaucer's poetry.

edition, Speght agreed to prepare his second edition of *Chaucers Workes*, which Islip printed in 1602 (STC 5080, 5081),[4] only four years after the first. This short period between editions has led Devani Singh to declare the 1598 edition "a Renaissance bestseller. The remarkably short period until the arrival of its second edition [...] provides the best proof of the project's commercial success" (478). While Singh is correct to note that few books published in the decades around the turn of the century were reprinted or received a second edition, the fact that the next printing of Chaucer's poetry did not occur until a reprint of Speght's work in 1687—eighty-five years later—suggests that Chaucer's poetry did not enjoy ongoing commercial success. Yet, despite the increasing negative criticism from readers and critics and the reduction in Chaucerian publications, Chaucer continued to receive much praise his role in the development of the vernacular and the English literary tradition. Thus, how does one reconcile this disparity? Speght's editorial apparatus, I argue, addresses the tension between negative criticism of Chaucer's poetry and praise for Chaucer's role in the development of the English literary tradition, producing, in turn, a monumental volume suitable for a literary authority.

In this chapter, I consider Speght's editorial practices and the paratextual features of his 1598 and 1602 editions of *Chaucers Workes* as responses to the increasing criticism of Chaucer's poetry and language in the sixteenth century.[5] These editions, the first critical editions of an

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[4] Islip issued Speght's 1602 edition of *Chaucers Workes* for Norton(?) (STC 5080) and Bishop (STC 5081). Each issue has its own title page with a different decorative archway; Bishop's archway is the same as his 1598 issue, while Norton(?)'s archway is different from that his 1598 issue. The two title pages have the same textual content except for their publication information. Throughout this study, I quote from Norton(?)'s issue.

[5] The impact of early modern negative criticism concerning Chaucer and his poetry has received little attention since Alice S. Miskimin's *Renaissance Chaucer* (1975). More recently, scholars have considered its relevance to early modern poets (see, for example, Cook, "Making"), language (see, for example, Kuskin, "Loadstarre"), and morality in recreational poetry (see, for example, Hutchins, "Chaucer"). My study is the first to suggest that it was a primary motivating factor in the preparation of Speght's books. While my study shares many similarities with Cook's, we diverge on many points, I believe, because her approach towards and perception of Speght's work is more theoretical, while mine is more practical.

English poet, contain extensive editorial apparatus that were previously reserved for humanist editions of classical Greek and Latin authors (Machan, "Speght" 170). The effort required to compile such an apparatus suggests that Speght deemed Chaucer worthy of this treatment *despite* the waning popularity of his poetry. This lack of popularity reflected people's diminishing desire and ability to read Chaucer's Middle English texts, *not* their rejection of Chaucer's importance to the development of the English literary tradition or the English language. Hence, the end of the sixteenth century was a period during which the alterity of Chaucer's language, rhetoric, and poetic content was in tension with the poetry's literary value. I argue that by adding an editorial apparatus that both reinforced Chaucer's identity as the first significant English poet and provided the resources necessary to access Chaucer's poetry, Speght simultaneously highlighted the alterity of Chaucer's poetry and language and shifted his Chaucer's literary value away from the poetry and toward the historical figure of the poet portrayed within the apparatus. I begin this chapter by establishing the context in which Speght's work became necessary and outline his approach to addressing concerns regarding Chaucer's language and poetry. I then consider the contents of *Chaucers Workes* that are unique to Speght's editions. Speght's prefatory material focuses primarily on the historical figure of Chaucer, whom Speght "rescues" from obscurity, while his editorial material at the back of the book provides several resources to help readers access Chaucer's poetry. I examine the contents of this framing material in order to establish how the paratextual features that signal Chaucer's alterity simultaneously highlight the continuity and progression of the English literary tradition.

Sixteenth-Century Criticism of Chaucer

Thomas Speght's decision to include a personal letter from Francis Beaumont in the prefatory material of *Chaucers Workes* implies that he believed the letter's contents could be used to manage readers' perceptions and expectations of Chaucer and his poetry. In the letter,

Beaumont addresses two main concerns that Speght identifies in people's negative criticism of Chaucer's poetry: its obsolete language and unsophisticated stories. Beaumont writes:

> For as for the obiections against him [Chaucer], that in our priuat talke you [Speght] are wont to say are commonly alledged, as first, that many of his words are become (as it were) vinewed & hoarie with ouerlong lying; and next, that some of his speeches are somwhat too broad & plaine; and that the worke therfore should be the lesse gratious: these are either no causes, or no causes sufficient to withhold from *Chaucer* such desert of glory, as you may bestow vpon him at your pleasure. (1602 Sig. a2^{v})[6]

In the context of *Chaucers Workes*, Beaumont's letter informs readers that Speght is aware of people's concerns regarding Chaucer's poetry and that Speght has capably prepared the present volume with such criticisms in mind. Speght's inclusion of the letter also implies that Beaumont's rebuttals of the negative criticism were sufficient to appease his own anxieties and, therefore, should be sufficient to ease those of his readers.

Speght's concern for his reader's reception of Chaucer's language is reflected in the claims of several early modern writers who discuss their choice whether to imitate Chaucer's language in their own texts. For example, in his 1546 translation of the Latin *A shorte treateis vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, Peter Ashton chose "rather to vse the most playn and famylier

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[6] Beaumont's letter appears in both editions of Speght's book, but it has been altered in the 1602 edition without indication—the letter's date is the same in both editions: June 1597 (1598, 1602 Sig. a4^{r}). I quote the 1602 edition of Beaumont's letter when possible because, arguably, Speght had the opportunity to edit the letter himself so that it reflected his own ideal form. The quoted passage provides an ideal example. Whereas the 1598 edition explains that Chaucer's words "(as it were with ouerlong lying) are growne too hard and vnpleasant" (Sig. a2^{v}), the 1602 edition states that they "are become (as it were) vinewed & hoarie with ouerlong lying" (Sig. a2^{v}). While the former seems to suggest that the words have been difficult to read as a result of a lack of use and skill, the latter uses language that is more organic and suggests that the words have withered naturally with age. The latter interpretation reads better in conjunction with Beaumont's subsequent discussion of language, discussed below.

english speche, then ether Chaucers wordes (which by reason of antiquitie be almost out of vse) or els ink horne termes [...] whiche the common people, for lacke of latin, do not vnderstand" (Spurgeon 1.87).[7] Ashton acknowledges that Chaucer's language was still used on occasion, but it was outdated and unfamiliar to his desired audience. By contrast, Brian Melbancke admits to using it in his history, *Philotimus* (1583), appealing to literary authorities to justify his use of the language despite its shortcomings: "If I haue vsed any rare and obsolete words, they are [...] such as the Coryphees of our English writers, *Chaucer* and *Lidgate*, haue vsed before me, and now are decayed for want of practice" (Spurgeon 4.107).[8] Melbancke and Ashton choose differently based on their priorities, but they both acknowledge that Chaucer's language was out of use. Other writers summarize the problem more succinctly. In 1598, as Speght's first edition was printed, John Marston acknowledged that "*Chaucer* is harde euen to our vnderstandings" (Spurgeon 1.158) while Sir Robert Dallington simply states that "our *English* [...] very much differeth from that of *Chaucers* time" (Spurgeon 1.156). For some critics, Chaucer's language

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[7] My discussion of Chaucerian criticism is significantly indebted to the monumental work of Caroline F.E. Spurgeon, who not only gathers hundreds of references to Chaucer and his texts together and sorts them but also indexes and categorizes them in her three-volume work, *Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (1925). Spurgeon also provides a summary of notable trends in the criticism and offers a synopsis of the more notable claims within the six periods that she identifies. For a broader summary and survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century criticisms, see her discussion of periods II through IV (1.xv-xxxvii). For references, I cite Spurgeon in-text by "part," not volume; for examples that require more context than Spurgeon provides, I cite the original text from EEBO.

[8] Melbancke's claim is similar to E.K.'s famous defence of Spenser's choice of language in *The Shepheardes Calenders* (1579). In the prefatory *Epistle* to Gabrielle Harvey, E.K. acknowledges that Spenser's words "be something hard, and of most men vnused, yet both English, and also vsed of most excellent Authors and most famous Poetes." E.K. first appeals to the authority of English poets before continuing with his defence by invoking Cicero's endorsement of "auncient solemne wordes" for their ornament and gravity (Sig. a2^{r-v}). By contrast, George Puttenham, a few years later in *The Art of English Poesie* (1589; STC 20519), insisted that makers and poets should use language that is "naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey. [...] Our maker therfore at these dayes shall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vse with vs" (Sig. R2^{v}).

was difficult or distasteful because it was no longer used; for others, Chaucer's language was no longer used because it was difficult and distasteful.

In his letter to Speght, Beaumont describes the nature of language and assures Speght that while change is inevitable, it does not affect the inherent value of Chaucer's words. The resulting problems of these changes, Beaumont explains, are no different in the "daily practise" of other languages. Words used by the Latin authors Statius, Ennius and Plautus were similarly rejected from Latin over time. Thus, "impossible it was that either *Chaucer* could, or any man liuing can keepe words of vnlearned tongues from falling after so long a time" (Sig. a2^{v}). Despite the eventual obscurity of some words, however, Beaumont suggests that the words do not lose their rhetorical value over time:

> But so pure were *Chaucers* words in his daies, as *Lidgate* that learned man, calleth him The Loadstarre of the English language; and so good they are in our daies, as Maister *Spenser* (following the counsaile of *Tullie* in his third booke *De Oratore*, for reuiuing of auncient wordes hath adorned his stile with that beautie and grauitie, that *Tullie* there speakes of: and his much frequenting of *Chaucers* auncient words, with his excellent imitation of diuerse places in him, is not the least helpe that hath made him reach so hie, as many learned men doe thinke [...]. (Sig. a3^{r})

Beaumont, I argue, defines the value of Spenser's poetry in relation to its mimicry and use of Chaucer's vocabulary and style rather than people's positive reception of it. The fact that Chaucer's language was praised so highly in the past and again in the present when used by Spenser—as prescribed by Cicero, no less—indicates its inherent value. Thus, Beaumont seems to be suggesting that the value is not relative to the reader's ability to comprehend its sense.

The second point of criticism noted by Beaumont in his letter is the supposed lack of sophistication in the content and character's speeches in Chaucer's poetry; in more explicit

terms, Chaucer's poetry was deemed by some to be frivolous or immoral. The "religious writer and schoolmaster"[9] John Wharton, for example, wrote in his preface to Jude Smith's *A misticall devise of the spiritual and godly love betwene Christ the spouse, and the church or congregation* (1975; STC 22805):

> In perusing this little volume intituled, A misticall Deuise, being requested of my frend therunto, I did fynde such a pleasantnes therin, that my hart reioyced and gaue du signes what pleasure and delight my minde of it conceiued. For surely (gentle Reder) if thou couit to heare anye olde bables, as I may terme them, or stale tales of Chauser, or to learne howe Acteon came by his horned head: If thy mynde be fixed to any such metamorphocall toyes, this booke is not apt nor fit for thy purpose. But if thou art contrary wise bent, to heare, or to rede holsome documentes, as it becometh all Christians, then take this same[...]. (Sig. A2^{r})

This passage indirectly places Chaucer's poetry in opposition to Smith's verses—which are adapted from the Songs of Solomon—thereby implying that Chaucer's poetry is neither edifying nor wholesome; instead, Wharton declares that the "stale tales of Chauser" are mere "toyes." Wharton's assessment of Chaucer's poetry is part of a trend, identified by Caroline Spurgeon, in which "'Canterbury Tale' seems [...] to have been used as a term of contempt, meaning either a story with no truth in it, or a vain and scurrilous tale. We get three such references, curiously enough, in the same year, 1549, by [Edmund] Becke, [Hugh] Latimer and [Thomas] Cranmer" (xxi). Latimer, for example, wrote: "Then must we as wel liue [God's] worde as talke the worde, or else, if good lyfe do not insue and folow vpon our readynge to the example of other, we myghte as well spende that tyme in reading of prophane hystories, of cantorburye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode" (Sig. A4^{r}). Whereas Wharton compares Chaucer's poetry to classical myths,

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[9] See E.I. Carlyle, revised by Stephen Wright, "Wharton, John," *ODNB* (23 Sep. 2004).

Latimer associates the *Tales* with pagan histories and English romances.[10] In both cases, the writers allude to Chaucer's poetry as being comprised of vanities and frivolous content. Later writers continued to use "Canterbury Tale" as a derogatory term, including W. Fulke (*D. Heskins, D. sanders, and M. Rastel, accounted [among their faction] three pillers and Archpatriarches of the Popish Synagogue* [1579]), Robert Greene (*Menaphon* [1589]) and Thomas Procter (*Of the knowledge and conducte of warres* [1578]). In Procter's preface, he compares the praise-worthy products of writers who are "learned" and "industri[ous]" to the endless volumes of unrealistic fictions produced by writers who misuse the potential of their "rype wittes":

> Yet amonge so manye bookes, as are written daylie, of dreames & fantacies, introductions to pleasure, familier fruiteles talkinges, eloquent, formall orations, little material, of pleasant metinges & fables amonge women, of Caunterbury, or courser tales, with diuers iestes, & vaine deuises: in earnest, there is least labour layd on that arte, wheareby, kinges rule, & are ruled an conquered, which erecteth, buyldeth establisheth, encreaseth, beautifieth estates, [etc.]. (Sig. ¶5^{r})

Like Wharton and Latimer, Procter associates books "of Caunterbury" with the story elements conventionally found in fictional romances and fables as he rejects the potential for such stories to offer practical and informed commentary on real-world matters.

In addition to identifying the realism of Chaucer's representations, Beaumont responds to accusations regarding the baseness of Chaucer's poetry by using logic that parallels his defence of Chaucer's language. Insofar as Chaucer's language validates Spenser's language, the literary

[10] Latimer's reference to "prophane hystories" is not specific. He may be referring to histories by classical Greek and Latin writers, or, more likely, he is referring to Middle English prose romances, such as *Morte D'arthur*, or Continental prose romances. Similarly, the reference to Robin Hood may be a reference to either Middle English romances or ballads, or both.

content of the classical Greek and Latin writers validates Chaucer's literary content. Beaumont begins his rebuttal: "Touching the inciuilitie *Chaucer* is charged withall: what Romane Poet hath lesse offended this way then hee? *Virgil* in his *Priapus* is worse by a thousand degrees, and *Ouid* in his booke *De Arte amandi*, and *Horace* in many places as deepe as the rest" (1602 Sig. a3^{r}). The value of Virgil's, Ovid's and Horace's poetry becomes equally valid in relation to Chaucer's poetry despite their *shared* offences, just as praise for Spenser's use of old language demonstrates the inherent value of Chaucer's use of the same language. Interestingly, in the cases of Chaucer's language and content, Beaumont's claims regarding inherent value are associated with a secondary claim regarding the realism—for lack of a better word—of Chaucer's language and content. Addressing the "vndecent" and "broad speeches" of the "baser sort" of Canterbury pilgrims like the Miller, the Cook, and the Reeve, Beaumont asserts the necessity of using such language: "For no man can imagine in his so large compasse, purposing to describe all Englishmens humors liuing in those daies, how it had been possible for him to haue left vntouched their filthy delights; or in discouering their desires, how to haue exprest them without some of their words" (Sig. a3^{v}). Without using "*their* words," Chaucer's account of certain people would have been disingenuous and inaccurate. Indeed, Beaumont compares Chaucer to the classic playwrights Plautus and Terence, who "are excused aboue the rest, for their due obseruation of *Decorum*, in giuing to their comicall persons such manner of speeches as did best fitt their dispositions. And may not the same be said for *Chaucer*?" (Sig. a3^{r}). Beaumont quotes several passages from the *Canterbury Tales* to indicate that Chaucer was aware of his characters' baseness and gave appropriate warning to his readers. Thus, Beaumont argues that Chaucer was skillfully imitating reality when he selected his language, just like his classical predecessors.

Beaumont's defence of Chaucer's language and poetry is admirable, but I argue that it also mistakenly conflates Chaucer the poet with Chaucer's language and poetry. Although Beaumont's arguments are reasonable, they would have been of little comfort to most readers since they did not alter the experience of reading Chaucer's poetry. Despite the apparently inherent value of Chaucer's language, readers would still find it "blunte and course," as did William Webbe (Spurgeon 1.129). As for the demeanour of Chaucer's characters, no matter how similar their speech was to the characters of classical authors, many of his characters and their language were still base. Beaumont's defences do not negate the criticisms leveled at Chaucer's poetry; the defences simply establish that the criticisms address issues for which Chaucer himself cannot be held accountable. Indeed, Beaumont mistakenly associates criticism of Chaucer's poetry for "obiections against *him*," Chaucer (1602 Sig. a2^{v}, emphasis added). Beaumont, I suggest, seems to be unclear on the distinction between the poet and his poetry, but further consideration of the complaints establishes a clear division between the two. Despite Webbe's complaints about Chaucer's language, for example, he first identifies Chaucer as "the God of English Poets" (Spurgeon 1.129). It is this distinction between poet and poetry that guides much of the content in the 1598 and 1602 editions of *Chaucers Workes* and determines many of Speght's editorial practices.

Thomas Speght and His Humanist Methodology

The prefatory material of Speght's two editions of *Chaucers Workes* identifies the editor's two primary goals for his books: to recover Chaucer the poet and to restore Chaucer's poetry. In his prefatory letter "To the Readers" in the 1598 edition, Speght begins by explaining how some Gentlemen "who loued Chaucer, as he well deserueth," asked Speght "to take a little pains in reuiuing the memorie of so rare a man, as also in doing some reparations on his [Chaucer's] works" (1598 Sig. a1^{v}). Speght's statement suggests that he understood the

distinction between Chaucer and his poetry, which Beaumont's letter conflates. Speght was to provide an account of Chaucer, whom Speght suggests had been forgotten or lost from the English cultural memory; second, he was to restore Chaucer's poetry, "which they iudged to be much decaied by iniurie of time, ignorance of writers, and negligence of Printers" (1598 Sig. a1^{v}). Broadly speaking, Speght prioritizes the significance of the former over the latter. In the dialogical prefatory poem attributed to "H.B.," "The Reader to Geffrey Chaucer," the Reader asks Chaucer, "Where hast thou dwelt, good Geffrey al this while, / Unknowne to vs, saue only by thy bookes?" (1598, 1602 Sig. a4^{v}). Although the Reader suggests that Chaucer can be known in part by his books, I assert that the very act of asking the question implies that Chaucer cannot be fully known through his poetry alone. Further, it implies through personification that despite the availability of earlier editions of *Chaucers Workes*, knowledge of Chaucer the poet had been missing. Therefore, it is Speght who *finds* Chaucer and "bring[s] [him] forth" through his added paratext: "But who is he that hath thy books repar'd, / And *added* moe, whereby *thou* [Chaucer] art more graced?" (1598, 1602 Sig. a4^{v}, emphasis added). It is Chaucer who is found and celebrated, not his poetry, and it was Speght who was able to accomplish this feat through his paratextual contributions.

Speght was likely recruited by Beaumont and the publishers of *Chaucers Workes* for the skills that he developed as part of his humanist education and the research and notes on Chaucer that he had already compiled—known as his Collections. Speght was educated with Beaumont in Cambridge, where he "entered Peterhouse as a sizar or poor scholar in 1566, courtesy of an annual scholarship granted by Mildred, the wife of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley" (Pearsall, "Stow" 120). He graduated with a B.A., 1569-1570, and an M.A., 1573 ("Speght" 72). After he left Cambridge, Derek Pearsall explains,

> Speght [...] became a schoolmaster, a paragon of his profession who sent to Oxford, Cambridge, and the Inns of Court "near a thousand youths of good report," according to the epitaph of his son Lawrence, who had a distinguished career as a civil servant. Thomas is probably the Thomas Speght who is recorded in 1572 as a minor canon at Ely and headmaster of the cathedral school there. He had a career as a minor man of letters, contributing commendatory Latin verses to various volumes [...]. ("Stow" 120)

Speght was both a man of letters and an educator. He not only contributed Latin verses to Abraham Fleming's *Panoplie of Epistles* (1576) and John Barets *Alvearie* (1580), but he also likely taught Latin to schoolboys as part of a humanist curriculum. His use of Latin throughout the apparatus of *Chaucers Workes* bears witness to his knowledge of the language. Pearsall suitably characterizes Speght as "a promising scholar and a firm protestant" ("Stow" 120). Thus, Speght, who had read Chaucer with Beaumont and "those ancient learned men [...] of Cambridge" (1602 Sig. a4^{r}), made an ideal candidate to edit the new editions of *Chaucers Workes*.

Speght's most important qualification for joining the publication of *Chaucers Workes* was his amassed Collections on Chaucer and Chaucer's poetry, which comprised the majority of the editorial apparatus. In his 1598 prefatory letter, Speght explains that he initially prepared the Collections for "certaine Gentlemen my neere friends," who later "did by their Letters sollicit me, but certaine also of the best in the Companie of Stationers hearing of these Collections, came vnto me, and for better or worse would haue something done in this Impression" (1598 Sig. a1^{v}).[11] Based on the contents of his Collections, he prepared his editorial apparatus for the 1598

[11] According to Pearsall, "The 'best in the Company of Stationers' to whom Speght refers are no doubt George Bishop, for many years Master of the Company of the Company, and Bonham

edition, which includes dedicatory and prefatory letters, poems, a full-page portrait and progeny of Chaucer, a sixteen-page biography, arguments for each of the *Canterbury Tales* and other major poems in the volume, a glossary, indexes of translations and authors, and more. Speght rewrote, revised, and expanded many of these paratexts for the 1602 edition—the fourteen-page glossary becomes twenty-three pages long, for example—and added two prefatory poems written by Francis Thynne and additional reading resources. Together, these features comprised the largest collection of paratext devoted to an English author in print, making Speght's editions, I argue, the first volume of English poetry worthy of the designation *Opera*.

The *Opera* was a product of humanist scholarship, produced by professional printers and editors and reserved for authors of substance and virtuous teachings, as well as those who were masters of eloquence and rhetoric. They were often the product of Italian textual critics who sought to further humanist interests:

> Humanism is that concern with the legacy of antiquity—and in particular, but not exclusively, with its literary legacy—which characterizes the work of scholars from at least the ninth century onwards. It involves above all the rediscovery and study of ancient Greek and Roman texts, the restoration and interpretation of them and the assimilation of the ideas and values that they contain. (Mann 2)

These books, then, were produced to enable further study of certain authors, and this was done often by employing editors who would contribute to "the classicizing apparatus" of these books (Knight 163): "Many of these editions, perhaps most, came equipped with authoritative humanist commentary, the format soon falling into a small number of standard designs derived from manuscript models. And even if there was no commentary, there was still apt to be room for

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Norton, one of the wealthiest stationers of the day" ("Speght" 73). This claim is entirely reasonable, especially since both editions of the *Workes* were issued to both men.

letters, poems, [and/or] author's lives" (Davies 58), among other features that were either indicative of or enabled scholarship. The value of the classical *Opera* model, I suggest, likely came to Speght's attention during his studies in Cambridge, perhaps even inspiring the Collections that he used to prepare *Chaucers Workes*.

The *Opera* model enabled Speght simultaneously to develop a humanist portrayal of Chaucer the poet and to restore the contents of his poetry, while also making it accessible. On the one hand, the *Opera* model declared its author's prestige and worthiness of such attention and treatment; on the other hand, it provided the necessary resources to further study and to elucidate the valued ideas within its content. It was, I believe, the model that Beaumont had in mind when he reminds Speght that

> all Greeke and Latine Poets haue had their interpretours, and the most of them translated into our tongue, but the French also and Italian, as *Guillaume de Salust*, that most diuine French Poet, *Petrarke* and *Ariosto*, those two excellent Italians, (wherof the last, instructed by M. *Iohn Harington* doth now speake as good English, as he did Italian before) [..]. (1602 Sig. a4^{r})

Beaumont's latter reference is to John Harrington's 1591 edition of *Orlando Fvrioso in English Heroical Verse* (STC 746). Harrington's folio edition contains an elaborate title page that includes an image of Harrington, a simple table, a dedicatory letter to Queen Elizabeth I, a thirteen-page treatise titled *An Apologie of Poetrie*, a prefatory letter to the reader, a biography of Ariosto, an extensive and complex alphabetical index, a list of tales within *Orlando Furioso*, and a list of corrections. The main text contains marginal glosses, arguments to every book, numbered stanzas, and various other reading aids. The volume is also extensively decorated with full-page woodcuts introducing each book and various styles of banners and woodcut letters. It is, by any measure, an elaborate and impressive volume. While I cannot confirm that

Harrington's book was a model for Speght's book, it nevertheless represents the sort of ideal for which Beaumont calls.

To compile the contents of his Collections that would make up the majority of his paratexts, Speght used an editorial method that I call "gathering and framing" due to its similarity to the humanist practices of the same name. In *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Mary Thomas Crane explains that "the notebook method" was "far more than just a mnemotechnical aid involving the cataloging and rote memorization of aphorisms" in early modern commonplace books (3). She describes the practices of "gathering" and "framing" as follows:

> During this period, the twin discursive practices of "gathering" these textual fragments and "framing" or forming, arranging, and assimilating them created for English humanists a central model for authorial practice and for authoritative self-fashioning. Gathering and framing were not just rhetorical strategies; they were basic discursive practices, formulated in response to the pressures and opportunities of the historical moment (the shift from feudalism to capitalism, the rise of the powerful Tudor monarchy, the bureaucratization of government and temporary decline of the aristocracy) and constitutive of social, economic, political, and literary discourse. [...] [G]athering and framing were, in sixteenth-century England, the basis for a theory and practice of reading, writing, education, and social mobility that developed alongside and in partial resistance to the individualistic, imitative, imaginative, and aristocratic paradigms for selfhood and authorship that we tend to associate with the English Renaissance. (3-4)

Crane describes these practices as being engrained in early modern English society well beyond the personal notebooks and collections of accumulated fragmentary texts containing interesting,

insightful or authorial sayings. While Speght was not preparing a commonplace book (the literary form on which much of Crane's work is premised), he engaged in a form of research that required him to collect pieces of information from several literary and historical sources (gathering) and then to compile them as a meaningful texts, lists, or indices (framing). The practices described by Crane, I assert, help to explain the practices performed by Speght. In fact, Beaumont's letter, I suggest, alludes to these practices when he refers to Speght's collections as "those good obseruations of him and collections that you haue *gathered*" (1602 Sig. a2^{v}, emphasis added). Beaumont warns Speght that the collections may "be *set foorth* contrarie vnto your owne liking" if Speght does not prepare them himself (1602 Sig. a4^{r}, emphasis added). Additionally, Speght benefited from the gathering activities of other individuals, such as John Stow, whose contents Speght then prepared by utilising several different methods of framing, including paraphrasing and rewriting the text of other authors, and compiling and sorting material into new textual forms, such as his biography.

Speght's practice of gathering and framing is further suggested both by Stow's own comments and by extracts that Speght copied from Stow's books. In *A Survey of London* (1598; STC 23341), Stow acknowledges his contributions to Speght's first edition and describes how Speght made use of them:

> [Chaucer's] workes were partly plublished [sic] in print by *William Caxton* in the raigne of *Henry* the sixt: Increased by *William Thinne* Esquire, in the raigne of *Henry* the eight: Corrected and twice increased through mine own painefull labours, in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, to wit, in the yeare *1561*. and again, beautified with noates, by me collected out of divers Recordes and Monumentes, which I deliuered to my loving friende *Thomas Speight*, & he hauing drawne the same into a good

> forme and methode, as also explaned the old and obscure words [etc.] hath published them in *Anno 1597*. (383)

Stow "collected" the notes from "divers Recordes and Monumentes" that Speght, "hauing drawne the same into a good forme and methode," used to beautify his book. In other words, Speght organized the material and revised its rhetoric in order to develop it into an elegant frame that supplemented the main texts of *Chaucers Workes*. Thus, Pearsall explains that "the records gathered by Stow are used intelligently by Speght to give some account of Chaucer's 'official' life" ("Speght" 77). In this case, Stow gathered while Speght framed.

An example of Speght's methods can be observed by comparing how Speght framed content that he gathered from Stow's published writings, such as Stow's 1592 edition of *The Annales of England* (STC 23334). Speght revises a passage addressing Chaucer's granddaughter, Alice, who was married to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, which is found within the subcategory of "His Children, with their aduancement" in Speght's biography of Chaucer. Speght's version of the passage interpolates details drawn from elsewhere into a description that relies heavily on Stow's text for its content and structure:

> William Duke of Suffolk was buried at Wingfield a Colledge in Suffolk, Alice suruiued, & was buried in the parish church of Newelme on the Sourth side of the high altar in a rich tombe of allabaster, with an image in the habit of a Vowes crowned lying ouer it with this Epitaph: *Ora pro anima sereniss principis Alicie Suffolcia, huius ecclesiæ patronæ, & prima fundatricis huius eleemosynariæ quae obiit 20 die mensis Maii, ann. Dom. 1475.* (Stow 1592, *Annales* 517)

> This Alice wife of Duke William suruiuing her husband, was after burried in the parish Church of Ewhelme, on the South side of the high alter, in a rich tombe of

> Alablaster [sic], with an image in the habite of a Vowesse, & Duchesse crowned, lying on the same tombe: And another image vnder the tombe, so neare as may be, like vnto her at the time of her death, with this Epitaph: *Orate pro anima serenissimæ principißæ Aliciæ Suffolchiæ, huius Ecclesiæ patronæ, & primæ fundatricis huius Eleemosynariæ, quæ obiit 20 die mensis Maii, anno Dom. 1475*. (Speght 1598, "Life" b5^{v})

This example demonstrates Speght's ability to access scholarship and to interact with it—to both gather and frame. Much of the passage is copied verbatim, while parts of it are paraphrased. In the context of Speght's book, the sentence construction positions Alice more prominently than her husband. Speght removes the reference to the Duke's burial, but he adds details about Alice's tomb from another source. In his book, Speght adds marginal glosses containing additional information about the Alice and her husband; the presence of these glosses indicate that Speght also used form to prioritize and to contextualize his own writings. By exerting control over the form and contents of his edition, Speght is able to construct a very specific image of Chaucer and his poetry in his efforts to redistribute their value.

Speght's "reuiuing the memorie of so rare a man"

In his letter to Speght, Beaumont asks, "shall onely *Chaucer*, our ancient Poet, nothing inferiour to the best, amongst all the Poets of the world, remaine alwaies neglected and neuer be so well vnderstood of his owne countrie men, as Strangers are?" (1602 Sig. a4^{r}). Like Speght's claim in his preface that he is "reuiuing the memorie of so rare a man" and the Reader's question in H.B.'s poem concerning Chaucer's whereabouts, Beaumont's question suggests that Chaucer has been lost to history—perhaps drawing a parallel between "Strangers" and the numerous anonymous medieval poets—and that previous editions of *Chaucers Workes* do not provide an embodied historical personage to which people can attribute the achievement that is Chaucer's

poetry. The questions and comments of Speght, H.B. and Beaumont reflect sixteenth-century reader's "movement from an interest in the specific content of Chaucer's writings to readings of his writings shaped by an abiding interest in Chaucer the man" (Bly Calkin 132). This interest is evident in Speght's privileging of Chaucer the person over Chaucer's language in his prefatory material. Speght's editions present a portrait of Chaucer by including a full-page image of Chaucer and a biography of the poet. Additionally, Chaucer is given a voice external to his poetry through H.B.'s dialogic poem, not unlike Smith's portrayal of Aesop in his preface to his 1577 edition of Henryson's *Fables* (see Chapter 4). In this section, I examine Speght's efforts to construct a portrait of Chaucer as a historical person who is worthy of the praise previously directed toward his poetry and language. Speght portrays Chaucer, I argue, as both an historical Englishman—specifically, a product of English society—and as a literary authority akin to the classical poets of Greece and Rome. These two characteristics, I argue, combine to make Chaucer the embodiment of the origins of an English literary tradition, a figurehead that is worth honouring even if his poetry is now too awkward or unclear to be worthy of people's praise.

As part of Speght's *Opera* model, "The Life of Our Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer" (hereafter "Life") provides for the first time extensive biographical details of the poet within the same book as his poetry. It is the first English biography of Chaucer and is "longer than any of the previous Latin ones" (Machan, "Speght" 154). The "Life" is sixteen-pages long in both editions, though the 1602 edition is slightly revised.[12] Both editions include a one-page

[12] Speght made several corrections to the 1602 version of the "Life" based on the suggestions of Francis Thynne, grandson of the first editor of *Chaucers Workes*, William Thynne. In response to Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*, Thynne wrote a very long letter in 1599 that he titled "Animaduersions vppon the Annotacions and Corrections of some imperfections of impressiones of Chaucers workes (sett downe before tyme, and nowe) reprinted in the yere of oure lorde 1598." In the letter, he provides a long series of corrections for Speght should he choose to make a second edition; these corrections focus primarily on details of the "Life" and words in the "Glossary." Speght accepted many of the suggested changes, but not all.

title page/table hybrid and a stemma of select familial relations titled "Stemma peculiare Gaufredi Chauceri: Poetae celeberrimi." Speght's "Life" is a compilation of research gathered from the work of prominent antiquaries and scholars, including the works of John Leland, John Bale, Robert Glover, John Speed, and William Camden. Speght also quotes several literary figures and contemporary scholars, including John Lydgate, Thomas Hoccleve, Edmund Spenser, Philip Sidney, and Roger Ascham. He then framed these contents "into a good forme" by organizing his research under eleven subheadings: "His Countrey," "His Parentage," "His Education," "His Mariage," "His Children, with their aduancement," "His Reuenues," "His Seruice," "His Rewardes," "His Friends," "His Bookes," and "His Death." Further, Speght cites his sources in his text or in a marginal gloss. In some cases, he provides the full name of his source, while in others he only includes the initials of the author; "G.C.," for example, replaces William Camden. Although Stow is not cited in the 1598 edition, his initials appear several times as "*I.St*" in the 1602 edition.[13] While Speght's style of referencing is not equal to models of glossing ecclesiastical authorities or today's citation and reference styles, his endeavours are significant for his time and the history of English literary study, and they are a testament to his scholarship. Hence, Pearsall justifiably refers to the "Life" as "respectably scholarly [...] for its time" ("Speght" 78).

Speght's "Life" can be divided into two sections: the first describes Chaucer as an active and ideal member of English society while the second connects the poet with his literary legacy. In the first ten pages of the "Life," Speght develops his portrait of Chaucer by asserting that the poet was not only English, I argue, but a product of English society and culture. In other words, Chaucer became who he was and achieved what he did because of his exposure to the best

[13] Similarly, Speght does not cite Thynne's corrections in the 1602 edition, but he does acknowledge Thynne's help in the "Preface to the Reader" (1602 Sig. a2^{v}).

institutions of England and to the most noble of English people. Machan describes Speght's depiction of Chaucer's education: "in the Life Speght imputes to Chaucer the humanist valorization of learning—with a decidedly pan-English slant—by declaring that the poet was educated not only at Oxford (as had been traditional) but at Cambridge and the Temple, too" ("Speght" 155). Speght's summary of Chaucer's English education and intellectual pursuits goes further than identifying these important English institutions; quoting and translating John Leland, Speght provides information that justifies identifying Chaucer as "Learned" in both the book's formal title and the "Life's" formal title:

> Hereupon, saith *Leland*, he became a wittie Logician, a sweete Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a graue Philosopher, and a holy Diuine. Moreouer he was askilful Mathematician, instructed therein by Iohn Some and Nicholas Lynne, friers Carmelites of Linne, and men very skilfull in the Mathematikes, whom he in his booke called *The Astrolabe*, doth greatly commend, and calleth them, Reuerend clerkes. (1602 Sig. b3^{r})

Speght draws attention to Chaucer's excellence in most of the seven liberal arts, elsewhere describing Chaucer's skill in geometry as it relates to Chaucer's family crest (1602 Sig. b2^{v}), excluding only the subject of music. All of these areas of study he mastered among English institutions. Additionally, Speght describes Chaucer's appetite for learning, noting that "he attained to great perfection in all kind of learning" in France and Flanders (1602 Sig. b3^{r}), but this was due to his character, not the foreign institutions. Speght concludes that Chaucer "prooued a singular man in all kind of knowledge" (1602 Sig. b3^{v}). These scholastic accomplishments are in addition to and discussed separately from Chaucer's accomplishments as a poet.

Speght also describes Chaucer's non-literary contributions to English society, both as a noble representative of England and a humble champion of commoners. In the first section of the "Life," Speght acknowledges Chaucer's position as Comptroller of the Custom House under Richard II and his time frequenting "the Court at London, and the Colledges of the Lawiers, which there interprete the lawes of the land" (1602 Sig. b3^{r}). According to Speght, Chaucer also served as an ambassador for the court under Edward III and "twice or thrice" for Richard II in foreign countries (1602 Sig. b6^{r}). Hence, Chaucer was an ideal representative for English interests. But despite his work, service, wealthy parents (1602 Sig. b2^{v}), and rewards from noble patrons (1602 Sig. b6^{r}), Chaucer fell on hard times and was falsely imprisoned, according to Speght (1602 Sig. b6^{r}). Chaucer was not unfamiliar with challenges, nor did he avoid conflict on important matters. Indeed, he was fined for punching a Franciscan Friar (Sig. b3^{v}), and his lands were placed under the protection of Richard II:

> The occasion whereof no doubt was some daunger and trouble wherein hee was fallen by fauouring some rashe attempt of the common people. For liuing in such troublesome time, wherein few knew what parts to take, no maruel if he came into some danger, nay great maruel that he fell not into greater danger. (1602 Sig. b6^{v}-c1^{r})

Chaucer, we are told, challenged church corruption and supported commoners despite the inevitable jeopardy these actions caused him and his family. But, "as he was learned," he stayed away from further troubles by devoting himself to his writing.

Whereas Speght describes Chaucer's activities as relevant to both commoners and nobles alike, his discussion of Chaucer's family very clearly aligns him with the English aristocracy and an English hereditary line. The "Life" stresses Chaucer's Englishness through more than six pages of dense genealogy devoted to his parents, his wife, his affiliations with John of Gaunt, and his son's noble in-laws. Siobhain Bly Calkin confirms that Speght is foremost interested in

associating Chaucer with the nobility (157), but Speght was equally concerned with Chaucer's English heredity. Most striking, Speght dismisses suggestions that Chaucer's parents were foreigners:

> Moreouer it is more likely that the parents of Geffrey Chaucer were meere English, and himselfe an Englishman borne, For els how could he haue come to that perfection in our language, as to be called, the first illuminer of the English tongue, had not both he, and his parentes before him, been borne and bred among vs?" (1602 Sig. b2^{v})

According to Speght, Chaucer had to be English because his mastery of the language necessitated his having been born speaking it. Such a claim, with no further evidence, is indicative of the investment that Speght and others had in portraying a particular image of the origins of the English literary tradition.

While the first ten pages of the "Life" provide information that establishes Chaucer as an exemplary Englishman, the full-page image of Chaucer provides a sense of corporeality that completes Speght's portrait. Bly Calkin explains that the image, in conjunction with the rest of the prefatory material, provides readers with a sense of Chaucer as a "physical, historical figure" (155). In the picture, Chaucer stands in the middle of the page. He is surrounded by the tomb of his son below him, the heraldic shields of select nobles on the left side of the page (from John of Gaunt to Henry VII), and the shields of Chaucer's descendants on the right side of the page (from himself to Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk). Between Chaucer and the tomb is a plague that reads: "The true portraiture of GEFFREY CHAUCER the famous English poet as by THOMAS OCCLEUE is described who liued in his time and was his Scholar."[14] The claim that

[14] The image is printed on a heavier stock of paper to accommodate the full-page woodcut. For this reason, the page is "tipped-in" as a single folio and often reinforced. As a result, its placement ultimately depends on the most recent binder. However, it is worth keeping in mind

the image is a "true" representation of Chaucer is contingent on the assertion that Hoccleve "lived in his time" and knew Chaucer personally.[15] The two lineages framing the portrait, however, establish direct links between Chaucer and the early modern period. Since the people represented by the heraldic shields are discussed at length in the "Life," readers would make an immediate connection between the "Life" and the full-page image and subsequently apply to the image of Chaucer the historic narrative Speght creates in the former. Thus, the image gives readers a fuller sense of the man.

In the last six pages of the "Life," most of the content describes poets' and scholars' reactions to Chaucer's death and provides verses celebrating Chaucer's knowledge and skill. In particular, Speght highlights verses written by Hoccleve and John Lydgate. Speght highlights the intimate familiarity the two poets had with Chaucer; Hoccleve's verse discussing the portrait of Chaucer suggests that he knew Chaucer personally. Verses from both poets offer a plethora of praise directed towards Chaucer the poet rather than his poetry. Hoccleve, for example, mourns that "the honour of English tongue is deed"; he refers to Chaucer as the "floure of Eloquence" and the "vniuersall fadre of science" (1602 Sig. c2^{r}). Lydgate also announces that the "chiefe Poet of Britaine" is dead (1602 Sig. c2^{r}); he explains that Chaucer "made first to distill and raine, / The gold dew drops of speech and eloquence, / Into our tongue through his excellence" (1602 Sig. c2^{v}). Lydgate's praise of Chaucer's rhetoric is extravagant. Both poets go on at length about Chaucer's talent. Further, Speght is particular about the lines he has selected to include. In the forty-eight lines of Hoccleve's verse, the word "fader" appears four times and the word "maister" appears five times. In the thirty-five lines of Lydgate's verses, the word "maister"

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that in both the 1598 and 1602 editions, "The Reader to Geffrey Chaucer" ends on the verso of the first quire (a) of four, and the "Life" begins on the following quire (b) of six, creating an ideal situation for the image to proceed immediately before the "Life."

[15] A similar argument is made by David Carlson in "Thomas Hoccleve and the Chaucer Portrait" but in relation to Chaucer's portrait in manuscripts containing Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*.

appears twice and the word "first" appears twice in relation Chaucer's use of English. In other words, these passages suggest Hoccleve and Lydgate see themselves as Chaucer's successors.

Whereas Hoccleve and Lydgate described Chaucer as "fader" and "maister," the sixteenth-century poets, educators, and scholars introduced at the end of the "Life" used epithets that connect Chaucer to classical and foreign authors. Roger Ascham identified Chaucer as the "*English Homer*" and compared him with Petrarch ("*those two worthy wittes, deserue iust prayse*"); Spenser "calleth him *Titirus*, the god of Shepheards, comparing him to the worthinese of the Romane Titirus Virgil"; etc. (1602 Sig. c3^{v}). The differences between the fifteenth-century praise and the early modern praise reflect the rise of humanism in sixteenth-century England. Additionally, early modern English scholars and poets were in an awkward position celebrating the origins of their literary tradition through someone who lived in the Middle Ages. Machan aptly explains that such recognition of Chaucer's preeminent status among poets is accompanied by anxiety over his origins in the Middle Ages from which Renaissance humanism most wanted to dissociate itself" ("Speght" 159). Hence, Speght quotes Sidney at the end of the "Life": "chaucer vndoubtedly did excellently in his Troylus and Creiseid; of whom truely I know not, whether to meruaile more, either that hee in that mistie time could see so cleerely, or that wee in this cleere age walke so stumblingly after him" (1602 Sig. c3^{v}). As one of the only Middle English poets that the late sixteenth century was willing to celebrate, Chaucer was ideally compared to a different set of authors who were similarly celebrated: the classical poets studied by humanists.

Humanists not only compared Chaucer to classical poets but also gave him epithets to align him within their tradition. Chaucer represented an anomaly to many early modern writers because of the time in which he wrote. Stephanie Trigg considers the apparatus prepared for

Chaucers Workes and summarizes the paradoxical situation in which printers and editors found themselves:

> The sixteenth-century editors of Chaucer gradually apply to "English Ovid" or "English Homer" the modes of humanist scholarship developed around classical Latin and Greek texts, especially in Italy. For Chaucer to be worth printing and editing, he must be redeemed as a *pseudoclassical* writer, worthy of commentary and elucidation. (122, emphasis added)

Efforts to redeem Chaucer in this way appear in the full title of both the 1598 and 1602 editions: *The Workes of Our Ancient and learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, new Printed*. Bly Calkin suggests that "'ancient and learned' [...] reflect a desire to emphasize Chaucer's historicity, perhaps even to exaggerate it so as to inscribe Chaucer among the classical authors so revered at this time" (152). While I agree with Bly Calkin, I contend that the juxtaposition of "our" and "ancient" signals Chaucer's difference from other English poets. "Our" poet is not a contemporary poet because he is "ancient," but he cannot be an "ancient" (classical) poet because he is "our" (English) poet: therefore, he must be an English medieval poet. That said, he is also a "learned English poet," which distinguishes him from other medieval poets and explains why Speght spends so much energy discussing Chaucer's education and knowledge within the "Life." Therefore, Chaucer is unique to his time and is rightfully compared to the classical poets.[16]

In addition to the praises found at the end of the life and the book's title, Beaumont's letter also compares Chaucer's works to those of classical authors in order to establish the classical influences on Chaucer's work and the originality of Chaucer's poems. In the letter,

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[16] Speght's use of "ancient" may also be a reference to the Ancient Church. This reading, however, garners greater support within the context of Cambridge, University Library Gg.4.27, which I discuss in the following chapter.

Beaumont references Greek and Latin poets, dramatists, and orators, including common personages (Homer, Horace, Virgil) to obscure personages (Tibullus, Stesichorus, Cethegus). In total, Beaumont compares Chaucer either directly or indirectly to fourteen different classical writers/orators, many of them multiple times. As well, Beaumont compares the *Canterbury Tales* to classical comedies. He admits that Chaucer's *Tales* "conteine in them almost the same argument, that is handled in Comedies: his stile therein for the most part is low and open, and like vnto theirs"; however, whereas the "Comedie writers doe all follow and borrowe one from another," "*Chaucers* deuise of his Canterbury pilgrimage is meerely his owne: His drifte is to touch all sortes of men, and to discouer all vices of that age, which he doth so feelingly, and with so true an ayme, as he neuer failes to hit whatsoeuer marke he leuels at." Notwithstanding the similarities he identifies between Chaucer's text and classical comedies, Beaumont defends the *Tales* as an original conception. In a following paragraph, Beaumont goes on to identify to several of Chaucer's poems of superior genre that "most excellentlie imitat[e] *Homer* and *Virgill*" (1602 Sig. a3^{v}). It is after this that Beaumont insists that Chaucer is deserving of his own "interpretours,": "worthy," as Trigg says, "of commentary and elucidation" (122).

Restoring and Reforming *Chaucers Workes*

The extensive paratextual material that Speght provides in order to present a historical portrait of Chaucer as a figurehead for the English literary tradition raises questions about the continuing value of Chaucer's poetry in the context of Speght's book considering people's presumed difficulty reading it. In other words, since Speght attempted to shift people's focus away from the texts of Chaucer to the poet himself, what purpose was there for Speght to expend a significant amount of energy to "restore" them? Several reasons underlie his continued need to include and to restore Chaucer's poetry. First, Chaucer was, after all, a poet, and thus the texts of *Chaucers Workes* were necessary witnesses to Chaucer's identity, even if people chose not to

read them. A second reason for restoring Chaucer's poetry is its perceived biographical value; some of the texts within that collection provided details about Chaucer's life that Speght incorporated into the "Life." In particular, Speght (mistakenly) accepts details from the *Testament of Love* and the *Court of Love* under the presumption that the information was provided by Chaucer himself, not realizing that both texts were wrongly attributed. Indeed, in several instances, Speght accepts the claims of the *Testament* over the research of historians like Leland (Sig. b2^{r}). Third, the significant amount of poetry collected by Speght and earlier editors spoke to Chaucer's worthiness for the *Opera* format. The amount of poetry that he had written and that had *survived* was a testament to his poetic skill and readers' appreciation of his work over the past two centuries. The irony of the *Opera* format is that Chaucer was perceived as worthy of it due to his poetry, but the value previously attributed to the poetry was redirected toward Chaucer the person by means of Speght's approach to the format. Speght's devotion to restoring the whole of *Chaucers Workes* suggests he sought to present an *authoritative* volume that would stand the test of time. The more labour that he put into restoring the work and making it accessible spoke directly to its importance, and thus to Chaucer's importance.

Speght's concerns for criticism of Chaucer's poetry discussed in Beaumont's letter seem to have been the impetus behind his decision to include several resources—what Singh calls "interpretive tools" (496)—in his editions in order to make Chaucer's poetry more accessible for people with either a scholarly or recreational interest. For some readers, Chaucer's poetry would have been almost "unreadable without specialist expertise and assistance" by the end of the sixteenth century (Trigg 137). For other readers, these resources provided new ways with which to engage Chaucer's poetry. It is notable, though, that Speght chose to develop these features of access rather than perform the "labour rather for a Commentator" of which Chaucer was so deserving. (1602 Sig. a2^{r}). Speght's resources include the arguments, glossary, translations, lists

of sources, manicules, etymology, and annotations, among others. Singh correctly claims that "these features perform the humanist work of elevating Chaucer as a poet *worthy* of annotation and summary; and yet their presence also bridges gaps between the text and its readers, granting access to linguistic and cultural knowledge beyond the grasp of some of the book's expected consumers" (496). Singh's distinction between two different functions of the resources for different kinds of readers leads me to identify two different types of resources that Speght provides: *reading resources* and *scholarly resources*. Both types of resource stress the increasing alterity of Chaucer's poetry and language by their presence.

The reading resources of Speght's editions helped readers less familiar with Chaucer's poetry by encouraging linguistic comprehension and by providing cultural knowledge. In other words, they primarily address the two concerns about Chaucer's poetry raised in Beaumont's letter to Speght. They provided access to the poems so that readers might casually enjoy their stories. The arguments that introduce each of the *Canterbury Tales* and most of the longer texts in the volume are examples of one type of reading resource. In the 1598 edition, the arguments are located together in the prefatory material; in the 1602 edition, they are integrated into the volume ahead of their respective texts. Most of the arguments give a very brief overview of the story. For example, the argument to the *Miller's Tale* reads, "Nicholas a Scholler of Oxford, practiseth with Alison the Carpenters wife of Osney to deceiue her husband, but in the end is rewarded accordingly" (1598 Sig. c4^{r}). On occasion, the argument will provide minor evaluative details, such as the *Knight's Tale* ("A Tale fitting in the person of a Knight, for that it discourseth of the deeds of Armes, and loue of Ladies" [1598 Sig. c4^{r}]), or a source, such as the *Shipman's Tale* ("This argument is taken out of Bochas in his Nouels" [1598 Sig. c5^{r}]). Generally, their basic purpose is to provide readers a brief summary of the story, which gives readers the option

to read or to skip material based on their interests. As well, the arguments give readers a sense of direction to help them as they read.

The most striking example of a reading resource in Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes* is the glossary, which is titled, "The old and obscure words in Chaucer explaned." Although it is not the first glossary of Middle English, it is one of the most comprehensive examples from the early modern period.[17] Bly Calkin also recognizes it as a reading resource, explaining how it "assists readers in their navigation of Chaucer's texts [and] reminds them of the distant origins of these texts during the lifetime of their author" (132). The glossary is found at the back of both editions, gathering together a list of commonly unknown or misread Middle English words and framing them in an (roughly) alphabetical list set out on each page in three columns. Its necessity in Speght's books is highlighted early in the paratext, particularly in H.B.'s poem, "The Reader to Geffrey Chaucer." David Matthews, who studies the history of the Middle English language, discusses the brief use of Middle English in the poem's dialogue:

> Answering the [R]eader's question as to where he has been Chaucer says, "*In haulks and hernes, God wot, and in exile, / Where none vouchsaft to yeeld me words or lookes.*" Neither *haulks* nor *hernes* was in regular use in the late sixteenth century, as Speght's inclusion of the words in his own glossaries underlines. Their use as self-conscious archaisms tells us that Chaucer is speaking Middle English here, which reminds us (or the Tudor reader) of the work of mediation that needs to go on if "old

[17] Speght's glossary was not the first glossary of Chaucer's hard words. For instance, Paul Greaves includes a "Vocabula Chauceriana quædam selectiora, et minus vulgaria ipsae hodie Poetarum deliciæ, vnà cum eorum significatis" in his *Grammatica Anglicana præcipuè quatenus à Latina differt, Ad unicam p. rami methodum concinnata* (1594; STC 12208). Nevertheless, Machan confirms that "throughout the seventeenth century and despite advances in lexicography, Speght's glossary remained far and away the most extensive listing of obsolete, Chaucerian words for anyone attempting to read the original Middle English" of *Chaucers Workes* ("Speght" 160).

> words, which were vnknown of many" are to be made "So plaine, that now they be known of any." (88)

H.B.'s inclusion of the Middle English words that are found in Speght's glossary subtly gestures readers toward using the glossary. Further, since it is Chaucer in the poem who points out that the words are old and unknown, readers' anxieties over their need to use such resources are somewhat calmed, knowing that they are not alone in having such difficulties.

Reading resources like the glossary helpfully allow readers to access Chaucer's texts, but they simultaneously highlight the alterity of Chaucer's poetry and language. The language of Chaucer's texts was inevitably both familiar and foreign to early modern readers, linguistically recognizable as a form of English yet somewhat incomprehensible due to altered spellings, obsolete words, and unfamiliar grammatical constructions. Similarly, the glossary and surrounding apparatus, Trigg asserts, have "the effect of confirming the sense of historical distance between Chaucer and his modern readers" (137). Machan explains, "like any glossary, Speght's efforts [...] simultaneously encourage a sense of modernity and stand as an index of the original work's alterity" (*Textual* 42).[18] In other words, the very presence of a resource like the glossary announces a division between the past and present. This difference is further highlighted by Speght's use of blackletter gothic type to print the "old and obscure words of Chaucer" (Sig. Aaaa1^{r}), and Roman type to provide modern definitions and translations.

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[18] Meagan Cook asserts that glosses and glossaries "have a prescriptive as well as descriptive dimension." Examining the glosses of Spenser's commentator E.K. in *The Shepheardes Calender* and Speght's glossary, Cook explains that both resources define the words while also marking them "as difficult, archaic, or obscure." Although she acknowledges "real changes in English usage," she argues that "the linguistic alterity attributed to Chaucer in the sixteenth century is constructed in critical discourse, and takes on the appearance of self-evident fact in glossaries, lexicons, and word lists" (196). Her point is an excellent reminder of editors' ability to control the meaning of their books, but it is ultimately jeopardized by the circularity of her argument. In the case of Speght's books, I find it to be too reductive since Speght modifies his glossary for the 1602 edition, adding and removing words and revising definitions on the advice of Francis Thynne's "Animaduersions."

Further, a reader's use of the glossary simultaneously confirms the division and reinforces it. Inevitably, any resource that helps readers access the text is simultaneously going to be a marker of alterity.

Speght also introduced several scholarly resources that provide insights to Chaucer's poetry beyond a basic understanding of his English and subject matter. These scholarly resources can be divided into two categories: instructive and comprehensive. Instructive resources provide readers help with accessing the poetry on a more analytical level. Instructive resources in Speght's books include, for example, manicules and textual notes. In the 1602 edition, manicules are used to mark Chaucer's "Sentences and Prouerbes" through most of the volume (Sig. a1^{r}). By providing these marks, Speght indicates for the reader which lines are of particular value. Readers are not required to decide for themselves where the value of Chaucer's text lie; they are explicitly informed. Comprehensive resources provide deeper insight into the origins of Chaucer's poetry: its influences, its linguistic diversity, and its construction. These include features like the addition of etymology to the glossary and the lists of Chaucer's sources. Collectively, these and the reading resources establish that Chaucer's poetry has evolved from older languages and literary traditions, while it also marks an earlier point of connection to the authors of the early modern period.

Alterity as a Sign of Continuity

Both the resources that make Chaucer's text more accessible and the prefatory material that introduces readers to the historical figure of Chaucer highlight the inevitably growing alterity between Chaucer's fourteenth-century England and early modern England, but they also reveal a sense of continuity between the two periods. In the prefatory material, Speght provides historic and contextual content that connects the reader with the historic person of Geoffrey Chaucer. Within this content, readers would recognize an England that was both familiar and

unfamiliar. The names of people and places in the "Life" would be recognized by English readers, but the people described, especially the nobility, were familiar from chronicles and history plays. Likewise, in the closing material, Speght provides several resources with which to access Chaucer's poetry in different ways. These resources, however, highlighted both the clarity of their own language and the opaqueness of Chaucer's language: the need for the former to understand the latter. In both the "Life" and the glossary, Speght emphasized this difference through his use of contrasting types. With few exceptions in the book, Middle English text is printed in gothic blackletter, Latin is printed in italic, and contemporary English is printed in Roman. In the "Life" and the glossary, the familiar and the unfamiliar coexist, one explaining the other: new English words define old English words, while the latter necessitate the former; and the new research of scholars uncover the old foundations upon which the new are built. Yet, even though the familiar features open those that are unfamiliar, there is an inevitable sense of distance that remains. The tension between these two reactions—familiar and unfamiliar—therefore imply a sense of continuity insofar as there is something recognizable in the past.

Speght emphasizes the importance of continuity in his editions of *Chaucers Workes* through the order in which he frames the contents of his volume. The clearest example of continuity is the "Life." For example, after establishing Chaucer's Englishness in the first ten pages of the "Life," Speght spends the last six pages associating Chaucer with the English literary tradition in order to establish his relevance to the tradition's origins after his death. The final two sections of the biography are "His Bookes" and "His Death." Under "His Bookes," Speght provides a list of texts attributed to Chaucer and closes the section by introducing Hoccleve, who "for the loue he bare to his maister, caused his picture to bee truly drawne in his booke *De Regimine Principis*" (1602 Sig. c1^{v}). The description of Hoccleve is followed by the rhyme-royal stanza that appears opposite the portrait of Chaucer in several manuscripts of

Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. Since Speght's books include an image of Chaucer based on one that is said to appear in a Hoccleve manuscript, Speght authorizes the picture as a true representation of Chaucer when he was *alive* by placing Hoccleve's verses immediately before the heading "His Death".[19] In the final section, "His Death," Speght includes details about Chaucer's burial followed by several laudatory verses and references to authors who praised Chaucer in various ways. These references are provided in order from the oldest, beginning with additional verses by Hoccleve, to the newest, with references to several late-sixteenth-century poets, educators and scholars. William Kuskin describes these final pages of the "Life" as a "literary history" ("Loadstarre" 26). By creating this chronological timeline of poets, Speght draws readers' attentions to the continuity of the tradition, ending the biography of Chaucer's life by referring to works of Spenser, Camden, and, finally, Sidney. In the third last paragraph, Speght writes of Spenser:

> In his Faerie Queene in his discourse of friendship, as thinking himselfe most worthy to be Chaucers friend, for his like natural disposition that Chaucer had, he sheweth that none that liued with him, nor none that came after him, durst presume to reuiue Chaucers lost labours in that vnperfite tale of the Squire, but onely himselfe: which he had not done, had he not felt (as he saith) the infusion of Chaucers owne sweete spirite, suruiuing within him. (1598 Sig. c3^{r}; 1602 Sig. c3^{v})

Spenser, according to Speght, recognized a kindred soul in Chaucer; inspired by the "the infusion of Chaucers owne sweete spirite," Spenser found himself able to complete Chaucer's *Squire's*

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[19] Martha Driver identifies a non-Hocclevian manuscript as the source for John Speed's picture: While the Chaucer tomb at Ewelme was Speed's source for Chaucer's heraldic lineage, the portrait itself seems to have been drawn not from a Hoccleve manuscript, as indicated in Speed's label ("the true portraiture of GEFFREY CHAUCER/the famous English poet as by Thomas OCCLEVE/ is described") but from British Museum [now British Library] Additional 5141 [...], or a picture close to it. (241)

Tale. Thus, Speght draws readers' attention to Chaucer's influence on early modern poets and the subsequent continuation of the tradition.

On a more metaphorical level, the closing sequence of texts in each edition also signals the continuity and development of the English literary tradition after Chaucer by placing Lydgate's fifteenth-century continuation of the *Canterbury Tales*, *The Siege of Thebes*, as the last poem of the volume. In both the 1598 and 1602 editions, Speght moves the lyric "Chaucers wordes vnto his owne scrivuener" so that it is the second last poem, marking the end of Chaucer's contributions. The lyric is followed by the explicit, "Thus endeth the workes of Geffrey Chaucer" (1598 Sig. Ttt4^{v}; 1602 Ooo4^{v}). On the facing page of both volumes is the beginning of the final poem, Lydgate's *Siege*. The poem is both a tribute to Chaucer and a symbol of Chaucer's influence on the English poets that followed him. Because of its placement, it closes the poetic frame of Speght's volume, which began with *Canterbury Tales*. Robert R. Edwards claims that it "balances" the *Knight's Tale* and provides a "chiasmic structure" in conjunction with the *Canterbury Tales* (319).[20] Additionally, I suggest that as the purported first tale of the return journey from Canterbury, *Siege* anticipates future poetry that will continue the tradition that began with Chaucer. That said, *Siege* both signifies closure for Chaucer's last-written, incomplete poem and continuation in the tradition since a writer who followed in Chaucer's footsteps picked up where the "fader" had left off. Lydgate, it would seem, experienced the same "sweete spirite" that later inspired Spenser. Indeed, Lydgate continued Chaucer's tradition and his role in closing *Chaucers Workes* signals a transition toward the modern day.

[20] Edwards is actually speaking about Stow's 1561 edition when he makes these comments, but they apply the same to Speght's 1598 and 1602 editions, as well. Edwards acknowledges the equivalence in passing, but his essay is focused on Stow's editing of the text.

After Lydgate's text, Speght placed several resources to close the frame of his apparatus and to mark further the continuation and evolution of this tradition and the English language. As discussed above, the glossary highlights the alterity between Chaucer's language and early modern English; however, it also signals similarity and evolution. Insofar as the Middle English words are different, the modern English words establish that they are accessible because of their similarity. This claim would not be true of all glossaries; however, the surrounding resources make it true of this one. Following the glossary are "the Latine in Chaucer translated" (1602 Sig. Uuu6^{r}) and "The French in Chaucer translated" (1602 Sig. Uuu6^{v}). These other languages are "translated" whereas Speght identifies the Middle English as "old and obscure words in Chaucer *explaned*" (1602 Sig. Ttt1^{r}, emphasis added). Speght recognizes Middle English *as* English, and thus modern English is for him an evolution of the language—the continuity of the language. In relation to Lydgate's text, the glossary is simply the next step forward in this continuity. Whereas Lydgate is the next step in the poetic tradition, Speght's work is the next step in the critical reception and study of that tradition. Thus, like the order of content in the "Life," the closing sequence of texts in *Chaucers Workes* highlights both peoples' continued vernation of Chaucer and the continuation of his literary endeavours—of English literary endeavours in general—by scholars and poets in the present.

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Thomas Speght's 1598 and 1602 editions of *Chaucers Workes* were monumental editorial achievements, even if assessed solely on the quantity and value of the paratextual features that Speght added to the contents of earlier editions. As carefully designed volumes, they influenced early modern readers' perceptions and understandings of Chaucer and his poetry during a precarious time for the poet's legacy. Speght's volumes simultaneously highlight the alterity of Chaucer's language and content while making them more accessible to early modern

readers. To prepare his volumes, Speght restored the language of Chaucer's poetry—making it more difficult to understand—while also including scholarly and reading resources to provide insight into its contents and composition. He stresses the importance of Chaucer as a paternal figure with regard to English literature while also highlighting the poet's worthiness in relation to the classical authors from whom he took inspiration. Finally, Speght emphasizes the importance of Chaucer as a historical figure and looks forward toward the poets who would follow him and his literary tradition. As Machan notes, Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes* were the editions "in which much of the Renaissance read Chaucer, and they were subsequently used by Pepys, Milton, Dryden, and Pope" ("Speght" 147-48): Dryden modernized several *Canterbury Tales*, including the *Parson's Tale* upon Pepys's recommendation; Pope wrote several poems as imitations or paraphrases of Chaucer's poetry; and Milton incorporated several Chaucerian passages and forms into poems like *Paradise Lost*.

Speght's efforts to respond to the growing negative criticism toward Chaucer at the end of the sixteenth-century had mixed results. In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), Henry Peacham writes:

> Of English Poets of our owne Nation, esteeme Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer* the father; although the stile for the antiquitie, may distast you, yet as vnder a bitter and rough rinde, there lyeth a delicate kernell of conceit and sweete inuention. (Spurgeon 1.97)

Peacham, who presumably read Chaucer in one of Speght's volumes, acknowledges Chaucer's importance to the tradition ("the father") and recognizes that this is due to the contents ("a delicate kernell of conceit") and originality ("sweete inuention") of Chaucer's poetry. Hence, he was able to access the language. However, despite this access, Peacham cannot help but warn his readers that Chaucer's style is no longer palatable ("a bitter and rough rinde"). In this sense, Speght seems to have had some success: *if* Peacham is representative of other readers, people

could access Chaucer's language and appreciate his content, and they could accept that the displeasing style was not Chaucer's fault. More importantly, Peacham attributes value to Chaucer the poet. Indeed, Speght's biography of Chaucer became the leading source of information about Chaucer's life until the 1840s (Pearsall, "Speght" 77).

Chapter 6: From Print to Manuscript: Restoring Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27

Around 1600, Joseph Holand[1] endeavoured to restore a manuscript in his possession, now Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27,[2] which had become corrupt as a result of someone (or people) physically removing or mutilating several of its leaves in order to take many of its illuminated miniatures and decorations. Holand, an antiquarian, no doubt recognized the manuscript's value as an artefact of English literary history; he certainly appreciated the author of most of its contents, Geoffrey Chaucer, since Holand chose to restore a selection of the manuscript's existing texts and to contribute additional Chaucerian material to the codex. In this chapter, I reinforce my arguments concerning sixteenth-century editors by looking outside of the main sample of print editors. Holand's restoration of Gg.4.27 offers one of the purest expressions of the editorial function in early modern England because his work occurred separate from the manuscript's original production. Whereas print editors had to work in conjunction with various craftsmen and had to navigate their concerns, Holand's editorial practices and

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[1] Like Robert Caldwell, I use this spelling of "Holand" because it is most consistent with Holand's own signature ("Joseph" 295). It is also the spelling found in the inscription on fol. 5^{r} of Gg.4.27, which is visible only under ultra-violet light (Parkes and Beadle 65, Fig. 4). The inscription reads: "Joseph Holand 1600."

[2] Hereafter, I refer to the manuscript as Gg.4.27. When necessary, I distinguish the original contents of the manuscript as Gg.4.27a and Holand's c. 1600 additions as Gg.4.27b. Presently, the contents of Gg.4.27b are bound separately but are listed under the same shelfmark.

Also noteworthy is a single reinforced quire of early-fourteenth-century origin that was previous appended to the back of Gg.4.27. The quire includes copies of *Florice and Blauncheflour*, *King Horn*, and *Assumpcion de nostre Dame*. It is now separately bound and shelfmarked as Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27.2. M.B. Parkes and Richard Beadle claim that Holand originally added this quire to the back of Gg.4.27 and that Henry Bradshaw removed it in the nineteenth century while working at Cambridge University Library (1). However, Parkes and Beadle do not provide evidence that Holand added the quire. Significantly, its leaves do not contain the black ink foliation that appears throughout both Gg.4.27a and Gg.4.27b. This is problematic since Parkes and Beadle date the black ink foliation to the early seventeenth century—implying but not identifying Holand as its source (7). Therefore, since there is no way to know whether this quire was appended before or after Holand's ownership of the manuscript, I do not address it in any significant detail in this study.

choices were less clouded by the work of others. Similarly, his work would have been less influenced by other interested people, such as publishers, booksellers, or even the general reading public. Printed books like Thomas Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes* had to be prepared with an audience in mind, and thus consideration of prevailing attitudes and criticism was necessary. By contrast, Holand's primary focus while conceiving his restorative work would have been to satisfy his own desires for the manuscript since he was not preparing the manuscript for sale or distribution.[3] That said, I make the case that Holand, the antiquarian, paradoxically wished to restore the value of Gg.4.27 as an English artefact while also revising its past by recharacterizing the historical figure of Chaucer. Notably, while Holand seemed to share with sixteenth-century Middle English editors the desire to revise the meaning and value of his book, his efforts to make the text more accessible were minimal.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Holand set out to restore Gg.4.27 as a treasured object of English literary history, one that bore witness to and established Chaucer as *the* preeminent English poet. However, Holand did not attempt to restore the manuscript to its original late-medieval state; rather, the textual, paratextual and codicological additions that he uses to frame Chaucer's texts are much like Thomas Speght's early modern editorial apparatus that I examine in the previous chapter. In fact, Holand's primary source for his additions *was* a copy of Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*, from which he supplied select text missing from the manuscript's texts—the *Canterbury Tales*, for the most part—and copied nearly

[3] I base my assumption that Holand did not intend to sell the manuscript on the knowledge that after Holand, "the manuscript subsequently passed to Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and eventually with the rest of [Holdsworth's] library to the University Library in 1664" (Parkes and Beadle 66). John M. Manly and Edith Rickert first suggested that Gg.4.27 was passed to Holdsworth. Parkes and Beadle agree that Manly and Rickert's assessment "is almost certainly true" (66); however, they also acknowledge that "it is not possible to make a positive identification of the book" due to vague catalogue descriptions of Holdsworth's books (66-67). Nonetheless, Manly and Rickert's claims are plausible based on the circumstantial evidence, an entry in Holdsworth's catalogue reading, "51 Chaucer's Works'."

verbatim selections of Speght's paratext as supplemental material to frame the original manuscript contents. Holand did this while employing an editorial practice that I call "selective copying and purposeful omission"; Holand extracted very specific content from Speght's text while intentionally omitting other content in order to construct a biased, though still factual portrait of the poet. Whereas Speght and earlier editors of Chaucer attempted retroactively to demonstrate through scholarship that Chaucer's poetry was comparable in quality and value to classical texts, Holand emphasised the value of Chaucer and his work independent of classical and foreign authors and their works, thereby establishing the strength of an English literary tradition originating independently from other traditions. In this chapter—the first study to address substantially the sixteenth-century content of Gg.4.27 and the editorial practices of its owner—I analyze the manuscript as though it was still in its restored state, when the original contents (Gg.4.27a) and Holand's additions (Gg.4.27b) were bound together as Holand intended. I begin with a description of the present state of Gg.4.27, followed by an overview of Holand's added material. I then detail Holand's unique editorial practice before examining how he used it to portray Chaucer as a noble Englishman and a proto-Protestant, aligning Chaucer's values with Holand's own. Finally, I identify how Holand extracted Chaucer from the humanist tradition detailed in Speght's book and positioned Chaucer as the foundational figure of the English literary tradition, free from foreign influences.

Gg.4.27 Before and After Holand's Restoration

Like scholars today, Joseph Holand would have appreciated Gg.4.27 both for its significance as an early effort to collect Geoffrey Chaucer's corpus into a single volume and for its costly and diversely produced contents. The manuscript is unique for its significant size,

peculiar orthography, and elaborate decoration.[4] Scholars estimate that the manuscript was initially produced c. 1420, which makes it the most extensive collection of Chaucer's poetry in either manuscript or printed book until William Thynne's 1532 edition of *Chaucers Workes*. The manuscript contains the *Canterbury Tales, Troilus and Criseyde,* the *Legend of Good Women*, and various shorter Chaucer and pseudo-Chaucer titles, both major (e.g., *Parliament of Fowls*) and minor (e.g., *Gentilesse*).[5] Of the original manuscript, 481 parchment leaves remain. They measure 315mm by 180mm, making them similar in size to the sixteenth-century folio editions of *Chaucers Workes*. Most of the manuscript was organized in quires of twelve,[6] and catchwords and headings are common but inconsistent. Two early-fifteenth-century scribes are identifiable (Scribes A and B) and both write in anglicana formata.[7] Scribe A wrote almost the entire manuscript; Scribe B wrote only three-and-a-half leaves while contributing extensively to the many corrections found throughout the manuscript. M.B. Parkes and Richard Beadle speculate that the few leaves Scribe B did write were substitutes for "discarded leaves previously copied by [Scribe] A" (44). Indeed, the significant number of scribal errors and Scribe A's "provincialism" create a work that is often awkward to read. John M. Manly and Edith Rickert argue that Scribe A was likely "a foreigner, perhaps a Fleming or a Dutchman" (178).[8] As result, the scribe's work has sparked a range of responses by critics over "the eccentricities of scribal practice and orthography in the work" (46).

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[4] For complete bibliographic details of Gg.4.27, see Parkes and Beadles's Commentary in their facsimile edition (1-68).
[5] A full itemized catalogue of the manuscript's contents can be found in Parkes and Beadle (2-6).
[6] For a complete collation of the quires, including missing folios, see Parkes and Beadle (8-9).
[7] Parkes and Beadle note that the handwriting of Scribe A is mixed: "Anglicana formata in aspect, but with forms and features derived from different scripts" (44).
[8] See also Robert A. Caldwell, "The Scribe of the Chaucer MS, Cambridge University Library Gg 4.27."

The manuscript was once fully decorated, argues M.C. Seymour (51), and Charles Abraham Owens Jr. suggests it represents a failed attempt to imitate and to surpass the elaborately decorated *deluxe* Ellesmere manuscript (San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL 26 C 9) (24-25).[9] One or both of the scribes may have contributed to the various penwork and flourishes found through the manuscript. Multiple limners likely contributed to the manuscript's many demi-vinet and historiated initials, extensive penwork and flourishes, variously coloured paraphs and other markers. Miniatures of six Canterbury pilgrims and three pairings of Vices and Virtues (e.g., "Inuidia" and "Charite" [fol. 389^{r}])[10] from the *Parson's Tale* survive, implying that additional miniatures were provided for each of the *Canterbury Tales*. The pages that these missing miniatures would have occupied—most commonly at the beginning of each *Tale*—are now missing either entirely or partially. The surviving miniatures include the Reeve (fol. 166^{r}), the Cook (fol. 192^{v}), the Wife of Bath (fol. 222^{r}), the Pardoner (fol. 306^{r}), the Monk (fol. 352^{r}), the Manciple (fol. 395^{r}), Envy and Charity (fol. 416^{r}), Gluttony and Abstinence (fol. 432^{r}), and Lechery and Chastity (fol. 433^{r}).[11] Owens judges the miniatures to be "cruder" than those of the Ellesmere manuscript, and claims that they "suggest like the text a provincial origin" (24).

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[9] For a complete summary of Gg.4.27's decorations, see Seymour (51); Owens (24-25); and Parkes and Beadle (40-44 and esp. 58-60).

[10] There are numerous sets of foliation and signatures found in both Gg.4.27a and Gg.4.27b. Three sets are of particular interest. The black ink foliation found in both is the earliest, most likely inscribed in the seventeenth century. Pencil foliation is also found in both sets; it was added by Bradshaw after he moved all of Holand's supplemental pages to the back of the manuscript and inserted blank pages for missing leaves from the original manuscript. Two numbers are given in pencil where Bradshaw is correcting his own errors. A separate set of pencil foliation was also added the leaves of Gg.4.27b (numbered 1-35) by an unidentified person after the sixteenth-century pages were separated entirely from Gg.4.27a when it was last rebound in 1896 by Stoakley, Cambridge (Parkes and Beadle 63).

Because this chapter is concerned with Gg.4.27 as it appeared in c. 1600 when Holand restored the manuscript, I use the black ink foliation whenever possible. That foliation best represents the manuscript's early modern state. When it is necessary to refer to Bradshaw's foliation, I identify it as such.

[11] These folio numbers are based on Bradshaw's corrected foliation.

Seymour similarly suggests that the miniatures are the result of "debased copying of the Ellesmere pilgrims," and that they "are the work of at least two provincial limners of fair provincial competence" (51). Despite these twentieth-century assessments of its quality, Gg.4.27 would have been regarded as an extensively decorated and prized Chaucer manuscript, one that would have been very costly to produce.

The decorations must have been attractive to someone in the fifteenth or sixteenth century because by the year 1600, Gg.4.27 had been severely damaged and mutilated, and the quality of its decorations was likely the cause for its mutilation: the damaged leaves indicate that thieves specifically targeted its illuminations and miniatures. The manner in which this material was removed ranges substantially, suggesting to me that it occurred on more than one occasion. In some instances, the decorations were carefully removed, avoiding total destruction or removal of an entire page (e.g., fol. 359); in others places, only partial stubs remain, showing rapid and violent excision of the material (e.g., fol. 183^{r}); elsewhere, entire folia are missing (e.g., B1, C4, C5, etc.).[12] The result is both cosmetic damage, which means the aesthetic quality and completeness of the object were impaired, and textual corruption, which means the text became either imperfect or incomplete in places. Generally, the most significant textual corruption occurs at the beginnings and endings of subsections within poems ("books," "prologues," and "tales") because the more elaborate illuminations and miniatures most commonly appeared in those places. As a result, most of the damage is especially evident in the *Canterbury Tales*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the *Legend of Good Women*. Whether this damage to Gg.4.27 occurred before or during Holand's ownership of the manuscript is unclear.

[12] I am not suggesting that all of the missing folia were stolen. However, there is an obvious correlation between many of the missing folia and missing miniatures/illuminations. The fact that some miniatures remain also suggests the person/people responsible for removing the images were in a rush, implying theft. Admittedly, this is only speculation.

Holand's interest in the manuscript and its restoration were likely rooted in his antiquarian pursuits and societal relationships. Robert Caldwell has contributed the greatest amount of research on Holand's biography.[13] A minor gentleman, Holand was born at Weare, Devonshire sometime in the early 1550s and died sometime after 1605, the date of the last documented reference to him. He married twice and had four children. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1571 and still held bedchambers there in 1601; however, Caldwell rejects suggestions that Holand went into common law; rather, he believes that Holand focused primarily on his activities as an amateur scholar. Derek Pearsall refers to Holand as among "the first rank of antiquaries of his day" ("Speght" 78). Indeed, Holand was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries. As a member, he presented papers on several topics, but he seems to have been most interested in genealogy and heraldry (Caldwell, "Joseph" 296).[14] Through these pursuits, he became friendly with members of the College of Arms. Similarly, through the Society of Antiquaries, he would have been familiar with significant men of learning, including William Camden, Robert Cotton, John Stow, and Francis Thynne, all of whom are of particular interest here because of their associations with Thomas Speght and the 1598 edition of *Chaucer's Workes* (see Chapter 5). Whether Holand personally knew Speght cannot be confirmed, but it is nearly impossible that they did not share mutual associations.

In his effort to restore Gg.4.27, Holand enlisted multiple scribes to copy text from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucer's Workes* to parchment that he then inserted into the original manuscript in order both to supply missing Chaucerian text and to include additional framing

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[13] All biographical material on Holand comes from Caldwell, "Joseph Holand, Collector and Antiquary," unless otherwise noted.

[14] Caldwell identifies several of Holand's antiquary contributions (297 fn. 26). A number of Holand's essays can also be found in Thomas Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses Written By Eminent Antiquaries* (1773).

paratext modelled after Speght's book.[15] Three early modern hands (Scribes C, D, and E) can be identified in the supplemental early modern leaves. Holand himself may have been Scribe C, I argue, since that scribe exercised the most autonomy and seems to have supervised Scribes D and E. Additionally, Scribe C was the most active of the three scribes, writing twenty-one of the thirty-five supplemental leaves on his own and contributing to several others. Writing in an italic script, he replaced missing text, wrote all of the prefatory material, and added four additional lyrics from Speght's text.[16] Scribe C is the only scribe to use (costlier) coloured ink, and he is the only scribe to supply missing content directly on the leaves of the original manuscript, including some missing titles, *incipits*, *explicits* and minor corrections. Scribe D also wrote in an italic script. Aside from supplying some missing text to the *Canterbury Tales* in the original manuscript, he provided most of the three-folio glossary (fol. 484-86), writing the last five pages and contributing seven words to the end of the first page (finishing what Scribe C had started). Scribes C and D seem to have worked together. Two folios bear their work on opposing sides of

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[15] Holand's precise role in the endeavour is somewhat uncertain; he may have been involved in the scribal work, but he was most certainly involved in selecting the material to be copied and its compilation. As the manuscript's owner, an antiquarian and, presumably, the financer of the project, Holand would have had significant personal, scholarly, and financial investment in the manuscript's restoration. Hence, I identify Holand as the editor.

[16] The first page of the supplemented leaves was originally inserted into the manuscript as fol. 339 by Holand. Its *current* recto is blank (original foliation clearly indicates that it has been reversed, done so for obvious binding difficulties as a result of damage to the leaf's margins) and the verso contains "Chaucer's Gentilese [...] but with a fourth stanza not found in any other version" (Parkes and Beadle 4). The fourth stanza is actually lines 1117-24 of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*. Whereas *Gentilesse* is preceded by a title written in blue ink, Scribe C does not provide any indication that the fourth stanza is meant to be understood as a separate poem. Without a title, it is not clear how Holand intended readers to understand the relationship between these lines and those of *Gentilesse*. The form of the stanzas, however, suggests that they do not belong together. The three earlier stanzas are written in rhyme royal while the last stanza is eight lines of rhyming couplets.

The last page of the supplemented leaves is damaged on its edges and no longer contains any foliation dating earlier than Bradshaw's foliation. The leaf's recto contains the three other poems added to the volume by Scibe C, each written and titled in blue ink, including: "Bon Counsel," "Chaucer to his empty purse," and "Chaucers words to his Scrivener." The verso is blank.

the leaves: Scribe D supplied an ending to the *General Prologue* on the recto of fol. 134 while Scribe C began the opening of the *Knight's Tale* on its verso; and Scribe C began the added glossary on the recto of fol. 484 while Scribe D continued it onto the verso. Scribe E, like his colleagues, contributed missing text to the *Canterbury Tales*, and he wrote two folia containing arguments for each of the *Tales* and several other poems, copied from Speght's book (1598 Sig. $c4^{r}$-$c6^{v}$). Scribe E's writing is more visually distinct compared to the other scribes because he used a secretary script. I suggest that he probably did not have direct access to the manuscript because the selection of arguments that he copied (fol. 487^{r}-488^{v}) from Speght's book is inconsistent with the contents and order of the texts in the manuscript. Rather, Scribe E was most likely working from a set of instructions that were incomplete or unclear to him.

Holand restored Gg.4.27 by employing methods that I call "selective copying" and "purposeful omission." Selective copying refers to both what content Holand and his scribes copied from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes* and how they copied it. Holand not only replaced missing text from *Troilus and Criseyde*, *Testament of Cresseid* and the *Canterbury Tales*, he also copied material from Speght's extensive editorial apparatus. By framing Gg.4.27 with paratext from Speght's apparatus, Holand changed the context in which readers engaged the manuscript's texts. Holand also controlled the messages of his paratext and how it influenced the rest of the manuscript by copying only select passages and material and ordering it in a specific manner. The work of Scribe C is most relevant because he provided the entirety of the prefatory material for Gg.4.27, selecting which dedicatory poems and biographical material to include at the beginning of the manuscript. From his selections for the front matter, Scribe C copied Speght's text nearly verbatim, but he did so by piecing together clauses, phrases and individual words from multiple sentences. For example, the first passage from Holand's biography of Chaucer reads:

> The famous and learned poet, GEFFREY CHAUCER Esquier; was supposed by Leland, to haue beene borne in Oxfordshire or Barkeshire; But it is Euedent by his owne wordes in y^{e} Testament of Loue, that hee was borne in the Cittye of London; about the second or third yeere of Kinge Edward the third. (fol. 3^{r})

This passage is composed from multiple sentences and a marginal gloss (b) in Speght's book, which originally appears as follows:

> This famous and learned Poet Geffrey Chaucer Esquire, was supposed by [a]Leland to haue beene an Oxfordshire or Barkeshireman borne: For so reporteth Iohn Bale in his Catalogue of English writers: *Quibusdam argumentis adducebatur Lelandus, ut crederet, &c.* Some reasons did moue Leland to thinke, that Oxfordshire or Barkshire was his natiue Countrey.
>
> But as it is euident by his owne wordes in the Testament of Loue, hee was borne[b] in the Citie of London: For thus he writeth there [...]
>
> [b]*About the second or third yeer of Edward 3.* / *In the first booke& the fift Section*. (1598 Sig. b2^{r})

The underlined sections of these passages identify the content selected by Holand to create the above statement. His approach is similar to Speght's method of gathering material from Stow's books, described in the previous chapter, but it is even more selective. Caldwell reduces Holand's efforts by stating, "for the most part [Holand retained] the statements of fact but omitt[ed] the arguments and elaborative comments" ("Joseph" 300). This is often true on a sentence-by-sentence basis; however, taken together, the selected content selectively emphasizes certain traits of Chaucer's character, which is enabled by Holand's choice to purposely omit other, often contesting facts.

Purposeful omission refers to both what content Holand and his scribes omitted from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes* and why they omitted it. The significance of this method is the patterns that are revealed when the editor's text can be compared to his source-copy. Holand omitted a large amount of content available to him from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*. Whereas Speght's editorial apparatus totals sixty-six printed pages, Holand's apparatus totals only eighteen pages of large, single-column writing. As well, Holand only supplied about half of the missing text from *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Canterbury Tales* to his manuscript. Perhaps Holand's restoration was incomplete, or perhaps some of the restored pages were lost, stolen or damaged. However, folio 4 is not only foliated in the seventeenth century black ink, it is blank on both the verso and recto. Since the third leaf (both recto and verso) contains biographical content copied from Speght's "The Life of our Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer" (hereafter, "Life") and presented in the order in which it originally appears—beginning with Chaucer's place of birth (the opening line of Speght's biography) and ending with information regarding Chaucer's burial (from the last section of Speght's biography)—I argue that Holand had extracted all that he desired from the section and purposefully omitted the rest. In other words, Holand had the material and the time to add more if he wished, but he chose not to. Holand omitted a great deal of text from both the sections of Speght's paratext that he copied as supplemental material and from the Chaucerian text that was missing from Gg.4.27, and there are patterns found in both material that reveal Holand's goals.

The remaining portion of Speght's biography contains verse praises from Hoccleve, Lydgate and contemporary scholars and poets. Those from Hoccleve and Lydgate are integrated earlier, on fol. 1-2 of Gg.4.27, and Holand abbreviates the contemporary praises on the verso side of a supplementary leaf—the recto remains blank—facing the supplemented opening of *Troilus and Criseyde*. Given the blank recto and more than half-blank verso of this leaf,

Holand's placement of this passage may seem to be an error; however, the leaf is foliated (fol.13) in succession, following the extant poems that remain of the original manuscript's first quire (A1-A12)[17] and prior to the supplemented opening lines of *Troilus* (fol. 14). Moreover, its lines refer directly to *Troilus*, indicating that its position is functional.[18] Therefore, I assert that although Holand's efforts to restore Gg.4.27 may be incomplete, sufficient physical and textual evidence exists to determine that specific omissions were intentional. Thus, the contents of Gg.4.27b in conjunction with Speght's book serve as evidence for determining Holand's intentions; the patterns that emerge with respect to both the content copied and that omitted reveal the meanings that Holand attempted to instill in his restored manuscript.

Geoffrey Chaucer Selectively Idealized

Using the methods of selective copying and purposeful omission while restoring Gg.4.27, Holand portrayed Chaucer as an exemplary Englishman and constructed a romanticized origin to English literary history. Holand's efforts to establish Chaucer as a uniquely English author account for the majority of his decisions concerning his selection or omission of contents from Speght's "Life." The material Holand copied from the "Life" contains highly abbreviated information regarding Chaucer's birth, education, livelihood, marriage, and death. Holand strictly focuses on what he believed to be supported facts about Chaucer's life and avoids

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[17] Here, I am using Parkes and Beadles's collation. Fol. 12 is missing; fol. 11 contains the ending of *De Amico ad amicam*, including the complete fifty-four-line version of *Responcio*.

[18] The passage functions somewhat like an extended argument, similar to the ones found preceding the *General Prologue* of the *Canterbury Tales* in both Holand and Speght's editions, although the content preceding *Troilus* is more akin to what is expected of modern back matter:

> Amongst divers lerned men that of late tyme haue written in comendation of CHAVCER, as mr. William Thynne in his Epistle to Kinge Henry the Eight, mr. Ascham, m[r] Spencer, m[r] William Camden, mr. Francis Beaumont, and others: we may conclude his praises with the Testimony of the most worthiest gentilman that the Court hath afforded of many yeares, S[ir] Phillip Sydney Knight, in his Apologie for poetry, sayth thus of him: Chaucer vndoubtedly did ecellently in his Troylus and Creseid; of whom truly I know not whether to mervaile more; either that he in that mistie time could see so clearly, or that wee in this cleare age, walke so stumblingly after him. (fol. 13^{v})

ambiguity that might arise from competing sources, as the example above concerning Chaucer's education and residence demonstrates. Additionally, Holand omits all references to foreign matters, places and people—aside from Chaucer's wife's family and a reference to the "great comendation" he received in France (fol. 3^{v})—and removes all text written in Latin except the verses that appear on his burial plaque and tomb. With great care, Holand pieces together sentences and omits content from Speght's "Life" in order to reduce the biographical section to two pages.

Chaucer's Englishness was not in question, of course, but Holand desired to present the poet as an idealized, even noble Englishman—a courtly poet who attended court, perhaps—more so than Speght does in his "Life." In his biographical section, Holand stresses Chaucer's ties to notable English places (Oxford, London) and institutions (Inner Temple, Westminster Cathedral), significant Englishmen (John Wycliffe, John Gower), and especially the English court. He devotes the largest section of the biographical material to Chaucer's marriage and subsequent familial relations with John of Gaunt, uncle of Richard II and father of Henry IV. Through Holand's emphasis, Gaunt's nobility becomes a proxy for Chaucer's own. Remarkably, nine of the fifteen lines in this section focus on Gaunt:

> This gentilwoman [Chaucer's wife], whoes nam we cannot fynde, was attendant / on Blanch the Duchesse of Lancaster, as also hir Syster Kathe- / rine, which was first maried vnto S[ir] Hugh Swinford / knyght, and after vnto John of Gaunt forth sonne of Kinge / Edward the third; he was Kinge of Castiell and Lions, Duck / of Lancaster, Earle of Lincolne, Darby and Leicester, and Stew- / ard of England, he was also Earle of Richemond, Constable / of Fraunce, and Duke of Aguitayne: hee had thre wiues; / Blanch, Constance, and Katerine; by this last wiff Katerine / Swinford, he

had three sones and a daughter: And by this mariage, / CHAVCER was brother in lawe, vnto the sayd John / of Gaunt; as by the pedegree before appereth. (fol. 3^{r}-3^{v})

The emphasis on Gaunt's titles is more striking in the manuscript than in Speght's edition because Speght relegates Gaunt's lengthy list of titles to a marginal gloss. In the same gloss, Speght identifies the names of Gaunt's three wives. Speght then refers to Gaunt's three sons and one daughter in a stem graph written in Latin ("Stemma peculiare Gaufredi Chauceri Poetæ clebrerrimi") that appears on the page facing his passages on Chaucer's marriage. By taking text that had been set aside in glosses and a graph and making it a central focus in the biographical details, Holand implies to the reader that Chaucer shared a personal relationship with an important noble figure in England, perhaps even implying that Chaucer himself had been elevated in certain respects.

The significance of Chaucer's familial ties to Gaunt stands out in the manuscript because Holand selectively omits all of Speght's discussions concerning Chaucer's parents and children. Speght's "Life" devotes only a paragraph to Chaucer's marriage, but it devotes almost a full page to his parents and the history of the Chaucers (1598 Sig. b2^{r}-b2^{v}), as well as two full pages to Chaucer's children and their descendants (1598 Sig. b5^{r}-b5^{v}). The fact that Holand deemed Gaunt's extended family life and children more relevant than Chaucer's own suggests that Holand wanted to emphasize Chaucer's courtly ties; in fact, I suggest that Holand wished to substitute Chaucer's own family with a noble one. This approach also allowed Holand to avoid certain subjects, such as questions about the foreign origins of the Chaucers and their occupation (1598 Sig. b2^{v}). Holand wished to avoid questions about Chaucer's descendants. Despite quoting from the stemma, Holand does not reproduce it presumably because three quarters of it outlines Thomas Chaucer's in-laws and the descendants of Edmund de la Pole, 3rd Duke of Suffolk and leading Yorkist claimant to the throne in 1492. Indeed, rather than directing readers

to the Stemma ("as hereafter appeareth" [Speght, 1598 Sig. b3^{v}]) that privileges Chaucer's familial descendants, Holand directs readers to "the pedegree before appereth," referring to the heraldic progeny that appears along the margins of Hoccleve's portrait of Chaucer on fol. 2^{r}.

Readers opening Gg.4.27 after Holand's restorative work would encounter a full-page portrait of Chaucer standing on his son's tomb and surrounded above and to the sides with names and coats-of-arms—"the pedegree"—representing Chaucer's ties to two very different families. The portrait, which Holand had literally cut out of a 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*, coloured, and pasted onto a vellum leaf (fol. 2^{r}), presents a copy of Chaucer's image that John Speed, an historian and cartographer, copied from one of Thomas Hoccleve's manuscripts according to text on the facing folio (fol. 1^{v}).[19] On the right-hand side of the page is a slightly abbreviated line of heredity that matches Speght's Stemma; on the left-hand side of the page is a similar line of heredity tracing the immediate connections between John of Gaunt and Henry VII. At the center-top of the page is "Payne Roet Knight" (Sir Paon de Roet, a knight from Hainaut), father of the sisters through whom Chaucer and Gaunt were made brothers-in-law.[20] Thus, Holand intentionally directs readers to "the pedegree" rather than the Stemma not only because he omitted the latter, but because he wished readers to focus on the more pronounced noble

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[19] Like Speght's printed books discussed in Chapter 5, Holand's manuscripts leads readers to believe that the image of Chaucer was copied from a manuscript containing Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. However, Martha Driver convincingly demonstrates that the image was most certainly copied from the image of Chaucer found in British Library Additional MS 5141 (241).

[20] Speght acknowledges that "some are of the opinion" that the Chaucers came to England when "Queene Isabell wife to Edward the second, and her sonne Prince Edward with Philip his new married wife, returned out of Henault into England, at which time also almost three thousand Straungers came ouer with them"; however, Speght insists that the Chaucers "name and familie was of farre more auncient antiquitie" and "that the parents of Geffrey Chaucer were meere English, and he himselfe an Englishman borne. For els how could he haue come to that perfection in our language [...] had not both he, and his parents before him, been born & bred among vs" (1598 Sig. b2^{v}). Holand simply ignores the possibility of Chaucer's potentially foreign connections.

connections between Chaucer and early modern England. Holand could not erase and omit Chaucer's descendants on the right-hand side of the page, but he could focus readers' attention on Chaucer's connections to the left-hand side by omitting any references to Chaucer's family in the subsequent pages. By omitting the more immediate or "real" elements and characteristics of Chaucer's life, Holand emphasizes the more idealized aspects of Chaucer's life and encourages readers to see them as the more relevant.

Holand's efforts to present Chaucer as a noble and exemplary Englishman speak to his desire to associate a certain kind of man with England's literary origins, as does his presentation of Chaucer's theological inclinations. Chaucer was a man of the medieval past, a period perceived by many early modern English people as intellectually stunted and theologically corrupt. Some people feared the influence of superfluous tales written by someone who was subject to Papal Catholic teachings—as I discussed of John Lydgate in Chapter 4—while others saw resistance and reformation in Chaucer's work. Tim William Machan identifies an "impetus" among Protestants to appropriate Chaucer, particularly noticeable among literary scholars and poets ("Speght" 146-53). According to Christine Hutchins, "Elizabethans did not argue over whether Chaucer was flawed by association with medieval Catholic society. They agreed that he was flawed, but overall of good religion, perhaps even a Protestant in a time before Protestants" (249). Holand likely struggled (internally) with his approach to restoring the manuscript as both a Protestant and a member of the Society of Antiquaries. According to the *ODNB*, the society was concerned with "the loss of objects that in post-Reformation England were in danger of destruction as idolatrous, notably funerary monuments and Catholic books, but which nevertheless deserved preservation for their association with the nation's history."[21] For an antiquary like Holand, preserving the manuscript as an artefact would be a primary concern, and

[21] Christina DeCoursey, "Society of Antiquaries," *ODNB*, 28 May 2015.

certainly he did nothing to alter the surviving elements (damaged or not) of Gg.4.27 despite their content. However, his appreciation for the past did not stop him from shaping Chaucer's reception by means of his highly selective restoration of his manuscript's contents and paratexts as well as through purposeful omission of missing text from the original manuscript.

Holand did his best to present a Chaucer and his poetry reflective of his own values, which meant encouraging readers to perceive Chaucer's proto-Protestant appeal. For example, despite selectively copying only a small portion of Speght's "Life," Holand retains a passing reference to John Wycliffe in a curiously phrased statement: "His bringinge vp was in the vniuersitye of Oxford in Merton Colledge with John wicklif, whoes opinions in religion, he much affected" (fol. 3^{r}). Although the syntax and punctuation are misleading, the sentence nevertheless implies that the two men shared an intimacy early in their lives.[22] Because Scribe C wrote the statement as a separate passage,[23] it stands out more boldly in Gg.4.27 than it does in Speght's paratext, where the detail is part of a much larger paragraph (1598 Sig. b3^{r}). A similar example appears two paragraphs later on the same leaf, recalling that "GEFFREY CHAUCER was fined at two shillinges, for beatinge a franciscane fryer in fletestrete" (fol. 3^{r}). The reference is minor detail, but it is suitable for a proto-Protestant poet who wrote about the corruptions of the Catholic Church and its various clergy (see Chaucer's *Summoner's Tale*, for example).

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[22] The original in Speght's 1598 edition is similarly awkward for modern readers: "His bringing vp, as *Leland* saieth, was in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, as also of Cambridge, as appeareth by his owne wordes in his booke entituled *The Court of Loue:* and in Oxford by all likelihood in Canterburie or in Merton Colledge, with *Iohn Wickclife*, whose opinions in religion he much affected [...]" (1598 Sig. b3^{r}).

[23] In Holand's paratext, each passage focuses on a single subject or topic and is written as a single sentence, though longer ones are created through the use of extensive colons and semi-colons. Each passage is separated by two horizontal lines in the same black ink as the text, one line always being thicker. The folia containing the passages from Speght's "Life," however, are identified by the beginning of a new line. Since every passage is a single sentence, I refrain from calling them paragraphs.

Although both references may initially appear insignificant, Holand's choice to retain them when so much of Speght's paratext was removed—especially in light of what kind of content that was removed, including references to Chaucer's family—highlights their significance to the portrait of Chaucer that Holand constructed.

Holand's revisioning of Chaucer's Englishness and proto-Protestantism by recontextualizing content copied nearly verbatim from Speght's book also has an impact on the meaning of the book title that he appropriates from Speght. The full title of Speght's 1598 edition is *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly Printed*. Scholars often refer to the significance of the word "antient" in relation to the humanist classical texts that were so popular, especially among the universities and literary circles. Siobhain Bly Calkin claims that the title's epithets "reflect a desire to inscribe Chaucer among the classical authors so revered at this time" (152). Similarly, Megan Cook suggests they "reinforce the connection between Chaucer's native Englishness and his antiquity" (183). However, because Holand avoided all references to classical authors and texts in his copying of Speght's paratext, these and similar assessments cannot apply to Holand's manuscript. Nevertheless, at the top of fol. 2^{r}, Scribe C writes: "Here foloweth the workes of our Antient And learned English Poet; GEFFREY CHAVCER." In the manuscript, the phrase "Antient And learned" is re-contextualized among the more explicit emphasis on Chaucer's faith; as a result, Holand's use of "Antient" more aptly corresponds with the concept of the *ancient* or *true church*. In John Foxe's *Act and Monuments* (1583; STC 11225),[24] Foxe uses similar language to describe the poet and his work:

[24] The first English edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was published in 1563, but I have chosen to quote the volume closest in years to Speght's and Holand's works and publications.

> This I mervaile to see the idle lyfe of the priestes and clergye men of that tyme, seeing these lay persons shewed themselves in these kinde of liberall studyes so industrious and fruitfully occupyed: but muche more I marvell to consider thys, how that the bishops condemning and abolishing al maner of Englishe bookes and treatises whiche might bring the people to anye light of knowledge, did yet authorise the workes of Chaucer to remaine still and to be occupyed: who (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in hys works no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or els was never any [...] (839)

Foxe insists upon Chaucer's true understanding of Religion (Christianity) and contrasts that to the corrupt bishops who could not even recognize the message of his poetry because the bishops were so false. Elsewhere in the *Acts and Monuments*, which discusses the ancient church at length, Foxe also refers to Chaucerian titles as antient, and praises Chaucer's ability to deceive bishops who perceived Chaucer's works as "iestes and toyes," while bringing other readers "to the true knowledge of religion" (839-40).

Like Foxe, Holand, I argue, also had a particular fondness for those of Chaucer's texts that exposed the corruption of Catholic Church figures. Patterns in the text that Holand chose to replace or omit from the *Canterbury Tales* complement Holand's efforts to present Chaucer as sympathetic to Protestant values. Scribe D's work highlights Holand's preference for stories that exposed the corruption of people associated with the Catholic Church. Aside from Scribe C's completion of the missing text from the end of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* (justified simply by its association with Chaucer the pilgrim), Scribe D is the only scribe of the supplemental pages who provides endings to any of the *Tales*. Of particular note is his contribution of the entire *Friar's Prologue*, the beginning and ending of the *Friar's Tale*, the entire *Summoner's Prologue*, the beginning and ending of the *Summoner's Tale*, the entire *Clerk's Prologue*, and the beginning of

the *Clerk's Tale*—the latter two texts being continuations following the *Summoner's Tale*. The complete restoration of the *Friar's Prologue* and *Tale* and the *Summoner's Prologue* and *Tale*—two speakers who verbally attack (*quite*)[25] one another—reveals not only the corruption of the two professions, but also the medieval Church's willingness to attack itself.

In contrast with the *Tales* completed by Holand, several other *Tales*, including additional examples of *quiting* among base characters, appear to be intentionally left incomplete. For instance, the scribes do not supply missing content from the *Miller's Tale*, *Reve's Prologue*, *Cook's Tale* and *Shipman's Tale*, implying that Holland deemed fabliaux (aside from the aforementioned *Summoner's Tale*) and their tellers to be either unsuitable or unworthy. Holand also failed to restore the prologues and tales of the religious pilgrims who were less explicit in their portrayal of corruption or presented Catholicism in good light. These include the *Pardoner's Prologue*, the *Prioress's Prologue* and *Tale*, the *Monk's Tale*, the *Nun's Priest's Prologue*, the *Second Nun's Prologue*, the *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue* and *Tale*, and the *Parson's Prologue* and *Tale*. Although these two categories do not account for all of the still-missing text, the patterns that emerge cannot be overlooked when considering Holand's intentions.[26]

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[25] "**Quĭten** (v.) Also **quit(e**": 3. "(a) To take revenge; take revenge on (sb.), get even with, punish; ~ **of**, requite (sb.) for (an injury); ~ **on**, punish (sb.) vicariously through (his friend); ~ **to**, punish (sb.); ~ **veniaunce into, ~ yeldinge to**, inflict vengeance on (sb.); (b) to take vengeance on (sb.) for (an injury), avenge (an injury on sb.); ~ **into**, inflict retribution on (sb.) for (wickedness); (c) to give retribution for (an injury, a vice), avenge (an injury); (d) to answer (sb.), answer (sb.) back, retort (a rebuke); ~ **speche**, retort (a speech) on (sb.); (e) to avenge (sb., one's horse); (f) to match (sb., a tale), equal" (*MED*, vol. 12 102).

[26] Also missing is the end of Chaucer's *Melibee* and the beginning of the *Monk's Prologue*, but I believe that those once existed on the missing fol. 350. Since Holand only replaced a few endings and one of those was the end of *Sir Thopas*, he likely would have done the same for *Melibee* considering his focus on idealizing Chaucer through the manuscript. Aside from *Melibee*, the *Tales* that do not fall into the categories of either fabliaux or religious speakers and that are also missing pages include the *Man of Law's Prologue*, the *Merchant's Tale* (arguably a fabliau), the *Squire's Introduction* and *Tale* (an already "incomplete" tale), the *Franklin's Prologue* and *Tale*, and the *Physician's Tale*.

Holand exercised a clear bias against images and topics that were more closely associated with Catholicism, making sure to position Chaucer in opposition. For instance, Scribe D's modified ending to *General Prologue* of the *Canterbury Tales* omits seventy-nine lines (761-787; 807-858)[27] that emphasize the activity of the pilgrimage and twice indirectly reference Saint Thomas of Becket (770, 826). Similarly, the prayers of the Prioress and Second Nun to the Virgin Mary are suppressed by the omission of their respective prologues. The intentionality of the omission of references to Saint Thomas and the Virgin Mary is supported by the single major modification made to any of the supplied missing text. Scribe E transcribed a copy of *Chaucer's Retraction* from William Caxton's 1483 edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.[28] The two copies are near identical except that in Holand's manuscript, Chaucer thanks Christ for inspiring his moral texts, but not "hys blessyd moder and alle the sayntes of heven," as is the case in the original copy. Megan Cook confirms that the *Retraction's* "religious tone and invocation of the saints and the Virgin Mary [...] would have appeared distinctly retrograde by the middle of the sixteenth century" (40). Thus, Holand selectively copies a text that casts Chaucer in the light of Reform while enhancing its contemporary relevance by purposely omitting the reference to Mary.

By post-Reformation English standards, Holand portrays Chaucer as an idealized Englishman and as England's preeminent poet; rather than establishing the poet's skills and significance by comparing him and his writing to classical and foreign authorities as Speght and previous Chaucer editors had done, Holand constructs his portrait of Chaucer on the poet's own

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[27] Line numbers for Chaucer's poetry are based on Larry Benson's *The Riverside Chaucer*.
[28] Megan Cook suggests that Holand used Caxton's 1477 edition of the *Canterbury Tales*; however, comparison of Gg.4.27's *Retraction* with versions of the *Retraction* in both Caxton's 1477 and 1483 editions reveals that Holand's first sentence includes two words found in the 1483 edition but not the 1477 edition (53). Caldwell agrees that Gg.4.27 "shares all variants of Cx^2 [the 1483 edition] and nowhere agrees with any edition or other manuscript against Cx^2" (299 fn. 44). Parkes and Beadle accept Caldwell's reading (6).

merits and those of the authors whom he influenced. By omitting all references to classical and foreign authors and selecting only material relevant to Chaucer's English followers, Holand created a literary context in which the material selected and copied takes on greater significance and different meaning due to the manner in which it is reorganized and presented. The result is prefatory material that establishes Chaucer's work as an idealized origin to English literary history, valuable for the past, present, and future.

Revising the English Literary Tradition

Both Speght and Holand confirm Chaucer's role as the first English poet to establish the language's rhetorical and ornate potential; however, while Speght's paratext firmly entrenches Chaucer within a literary tradition that, to the approval of humanists, extends back through the French and Italians to the Ancient Greeks and Romans, Holand ignores all such connections and actively suppresses them through his methods of selective copying and purposeful omission. Speght, for example, includes evaluative comparisons between Chaucer and classical authors for the purpose of justifying and/or celebrating Chaucer's work. In a personal letter from Francis Beaumont that Speght includes in his prefatory material, Beaumont writes:

> Touching the incivilitie *Chaucer* is charged withall, What Romane Poet hath lesse offended this way than hee? *Virgil* in his *Priapus* is worse by a thousand degrees, and *Ovid* in *de Arte amandi*, and *Horace* in many places as deep as the rest: but Catullus and Tibullus in vncleane wantonnesse beyond measure passe them all. Neither is Plautus nor Terence free in this behalfe [...] (1598 Sig. a3^{r})

Beaumont goes on to discuss Chaucer's poetic eloquence at length, explaining how Chaucer "most excellently imitat[es] *Homer* and *Virgil* [and others], borrowing often of them" (1598 Sig. a3^{v}). These and more comparisons are made in the paratext of the 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*, and all are omitted by Holand. Holand also avoided all general references (non-

comparative) to foreign authors and sources found in other paratext, including references to Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, Francesco Petrarch, and Ludovico Ariosto. He also hides the fact that some of Chaucer's stories are copied from Giovanni Boccaccio; when copying the arguments for both the *Reve's Tale* and the *Shipman's Tale* (fol. 487^{r}-487^{v}), Scribe E omits the phrase "taken out of Bochas in his Nouels" (1598 Sig. c4^{r}, c5^{r}).[29] Even tributes for Chaucer by early modern scholars (Roger Ascham's "English Homer") and writers (Edmund Spenser's "Titirus") that equate him to classical Greek and Latin poets are purposely omitted from passages that are otherwise reproduced. Thus, Holand appears to be actively hiding foreign influences on Chaucer's stories in an attempt to remove Chaucer from a literary tradition that was explicitly foreign and Catholic.

In addition to removing evaluative comparisons of Chaucer's writing to those of classical authors, Holand suppresses comparisons between English and foreign languages. Although both editors endeavor to celebrate Chaucer's use of language, Holand is less willing to acknowledge the influence of foreign languages on Chaucer's English. At the end of *Chaucers Workes*, Speght includes—in addition to the English glossary that Holand abbreviates—translations of French phrases used by Chaucer (Sig. Bbbb1^{v}-Bbbb2^{r}); a list of Ancient Greek and Roman, and medieval French and Italian authors cited by Chaucer (Sig. Bbbb2^{r}-Bbbb2^{v}); and numerous annotations identifying the etymology of words or the relevance of Chaucerian references to foreign literary sources (Sig. Bbbb3^{r}-Bbbb6^{v}). Not only did Holand omit these pages, he avoided all uses of Latin found in Speght's paratext except for the short Latin verses found on

[29] Despite retaining less than a quarter of the paragraph, Scribe E does not hide the fact that *Romaunt of the Rose* "was made in French by Iohn Clopinell [...] and translated into Englishe meeter by Geoffrey Chaucer" (fol. 488^{r}). For the majority of the Arguments, Scribe E retained a very basic description of the poems and removed any interpretive statements or information not directly related to the story itself. In the case of *Romaunt*, he does the opposite. It is unclear whether he or Holland were content with translation as a practice, or whether Scribe E made an error. Ironically, *Romaunt* is a story found in Gg.4.27.

Chaucer's burial monument and the short Latin inscription found around Chaucer's tomb (fol. 3^{v}).[30] These two uses of Latin pertain to physical objects related to burial; like Chaucer's text in the original manuscript, Holand, the Protestant antiquarian, would not having been willing to change the contents of existing monuments. That said, Holand does not copy any of the Latin text that Speght copied from the books of John Bale, nor commendatory verses by other authors, nor any other examples of Latin.

Absent of any foreign literary or linguistic references, Gg.4.27 is set up to honour Chaucer's role in English literary history as the origin point of a tradition rather than its continuation. In the opening folia of Holand's restored manuscript, Holand emphasizes Chaucer's relevance as both a point of origin for English literary history and a source of universally relevant knowledge and morals for English readers. As an origin point, Chaucer is to be judged not by those whom he imitates, but by those who imitate him; thus, Chaucer becomes the literary authority against whom other English poets are compared. This role is made evident on the manuscript's first two folia, which contain discussion of and verses by Thomas Hoccleve (fol. 1^{v}); the full-page portrait of Chaucer (fol. 2^{r}); and a title, an epigraph, a prophesy, and discussion of and verses by John Lydgate (fol. 2^{v}).

The opening facing pages of the manuscript (fol. 1v-2r) are devoted to Thomas Hoccleve's eulogy for and praise of Chaucer, simultaneously serving as an affective appeal and a warning to the reader who is about to engage with Chaucer's texts. The coloured portrait receives the reader's immediate attention, monumentalizing the author and, through the heraldic

[30] According to Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, the verses first appear William Camden's *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et Alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij Sepulti* (1600) ("Chaucer's Tomb" 89). Since Camden and Holand knew each other through the Society of Antiquaries—it is unclear whether a friendship existed beyond their academic interests—one quite possibly informed the other. The gentleman who actually made the claim first likely cannot be established.

progeny, identifying the poet's connections to early modern England. On the facing page, a description identifies the maker of the portrait as John Speed, who copied the image of Chaucer from Hoccleve's "*de REGIMINE PRINCIPIS* dedicated vnto Kinge Henry the fift." The description is followed by Hoccleve's stanza from the *Regiment* that sits next to the image in select Hoccleve manuscripts. In the initial description at the top of fol. 1^{v}, Hoccleve is identified by Holand as "sometime Chaucers Scoller, [who] for the loue he bare to his master, Caused his picture to be truly drawen." Hoccleve is identified as a "Scoller" rather than a poet despite his verses being presented on the same page. In this situation, "Scoller" most likely refers to a pupil since it is accompanied with the word "master"; hence, Hoccleve's assigned role identifies Chaucer as a source of knowledge. This claim is reinforced by the use of "Scoller" in the description of John Lydgate on the following folio: "Iohn Lidgate a munke of Burie, an excellent poet, And Chaucers Scoller." In this case, Holand's use of the term scholar is not copied from Speght; rather, he has added it himself, perhaps from another source. With respect to both poets' verses, their roles as students of Chaucer is imbued with affective language.

The twelve lines of Hoccleve's second verse set on the opening folio are a product of Holand's peculiar form of editing. The lines come from the *Regiment of Princes*, but they conflate two separate passages (*RP* 1958-74 and 2077-2107) that Speght includes in his book on 1598 Sig. c1^{v} and Sig. c2^{r}, respectively.[31] Holand extracts the first three lines of the second passage (2077-79) and places them ahead of the first nine lines of the first passage (1958-66):

> My deare maister, God his soule quite;
>
> My fader Chaucer, faine wold haue me taught;

[31] Line numbers for the *Regiment of Princes* correspond with those of Charles R. Blyth's edition. Speght's edition is missing lines 2094-2100 from the second passage, but the omission may have been an oversight, or his copy may have been missing them; the content of the missing stanza is thematically similar and relevant to the text that is quoted, and since half of the final page of the quire is blank, space was not a concern.

But I was yonnge, and leered lite or nought.

But wel away so is mine hart woe,

That the honour of English tongue is deed,

Of which I wont was counsayle haue and reed;

O master dere, and fader reuerent,

My master Chaucer, flowere of Eloquence,

Mirror of fructuous entendement,

O vniuersall fader of science;

Alas that thow thine excelent prudence

In thy bed mortall, mightest not bequeathe. (fol. 1^{v})

These lines suitably serve as dedicatory lines for any book of Chaucer as they contain several epithets that have been well known among Chaucerians for centuries. However, in the context of Gg.4.27, they also serve Holand's purposes of presenting Chaucer as an iconic figure of English literary history. The modified verse repeatedly places Hoccleve in a subservient position, mourning his lost opportunities. Within the twelve lines, Chaucer is called "master" and "fader" three times each.[32] Generally speaking, Hoccleve uses the term "master" to identify Chaucer as a poet and to refer to his skills with language, while he uses "fader" to refer to Chaucer as a teacher and to refer to his extensive knowledge of the world. "Master" Chaucer is the "flowre of

[32] There is an obvious irony in Holand's inclusion of Hoccleve's excessive use of the term "fader" when Holand suppresses all references to Chaucer's children. In his efforts to idealize Chaucer as a public and literary figure, Holand wishes to present Chaucer as father to all of England and a child to no one in particular. In this respect, it is also ironic (albeit disturbing) that in the full-page portrait, Chaucer stands on the tomb of his son, Thomas Chaucer. This approach is rather revealing about Holand's attitude towards the nobility and gentry with whom he is willing to associate Chaucer by addressing his marriage. Since Holand was himself a member of the gentry, it would be reasonable to believe that Holand thought that he was performing a public service by restoring Gg.4.27, not only for himself, but for all English people present and future. Perhaps this is why Holand found it suitable to include the modern English glossary.

Eloquence," while the "vniuersall fader of science" possessed "excellent prudence." Hoccleve's words, which derive from a book dedicated to a prince, inform the reader of Chaucer's significance in rhetoric and knowledge while suggesting that the reader not make a similar mistake to Hoccleve. Indeed, while Hoccleve laments his wasted youth and failure to learn from Chaucer, the reader is in the lucky position to learn from the poet's texts contained in Gg.4.27. The tone of Hoccleve's words complements the grandiosity of the facing portrait, thus inspiring the reader to engage the material in hand with all seriousness.

Although Holand's modified verses come together fairly well in terms of their content, the rhyme scheme in the first four lines betrays Holand's efforts to modify Hoccleve's claims. Whereas Holand desired his readers to believe that Hoccleve lamented his failure to learn matters related to English rhetoric and Chaucer's "excellent prudence," Hoccleve's original verses compare Chaucer's knowledge to significant figures of Classical Antiquity:

> Alas my worthy maister honorable[...]
>
> This lands very treasure and richesse
>
> Death by thy [Chaucer's] death hath harme irreparable,
>
> Unto vs done: her vengeable duresse
>
> Dispoiled hath this lond of the sweetnesse
>
> Of Rhetorige: for vnto Tullius
>
> Was neuer man so like amons vs[.]
>
> Also who was heire in philosophy
>
> To Aristotle in our tongue but thou[?]
>
> The steppes of Virgill in Poese
>
> Thou suedest eken [...] (Speght, 1598 Sig. c2^{r}; 2080-90)

In Hoccleve's passages, Chaucer is made out to be even more than a simple poet; he is a rhetorician, a philosopher, and an *auctor* of the highest regard, inheriting the skills of the most notable figures of antiquity. These are remarkable lauds for Holand to dismiss, yet he does in order to severe the continuity with the foreign past. Thus, when readers seek knowledge from the "vniuersall fader of science" and look in "old Books," as the epigraph on fol. 2^{r}, instructs them to do, they turn to books of the English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, rather than figures from other countries.

If the message of Hoccleve's verses on fol. 1^{v} is that people should not overlook the opportunity to learn from "fader" Chaucer, then the contents of fol. 2^{v} help readers identify what it is that they should learn in the manuscript's texts by "master" Chaucer. Fol. 2^{v} contains a title, the epigraph extracted from the *Parliament of Fowls*, a prophesy copied from the prefatory poems of Speght's book, a description of John Lydgate, and a stanza from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (lines 246-252). The title, discussed above, informs readers that Chaucer is both "Antient" and "learned," thus the epigraph that follows is suitable to both the title and the preceding verses of Hoccleve:

> Out of the old fields as men sayth,
> Cometh all this new corn fro yere to yere;
> Out of the old Books in good fayth,
> Cometh all this new science that men lere.

Although these lines are also found as an epigraph on the title page of Speght's book, they are particularly apt in the context of Holand's manuscript because they become self-referential; the manuscript is an old book. If, indeed, Chaucer is the "vniuersall fader of science," then it follows that Gg.4.27 contains an extensive collection of knowledge.

The value of and need for Gg.4.27's contents are identified in the prominently placed prophesy that follows the epigraph. The prophesy, which was first indirectly associated with Chaucer in print in Caxton's c. 1477 edition of *Anelida and Arcite*, forewarns of a range of corruptions that might be said to have occurred in England since Chaucer's death:

> Whan faith faileth in Pristes sawes
> And Lordes hests are holden fro lawes
> And Robbery is holden purchas
> And Lechery is holden solace
> Than shall the lond of Albion
> Be brought to great confusion (fol. 2^{v})

Although the prophesy's claims are very broad, the corruptions it describes are all associated with the failings of people and their behaviours, many bearing striking resemblances to the corruptions described in certain *Canterbury Tales*. Notably, those tales in which the corrupt are exposed or punished have been restored (the *Friar's* and *Summoner's Tales*, for example); those in which others are punished with or because of the corrupt, particularly for the purposes of comedy, have been left incomplete (all of the fabliaux, for example).

The verses "wrote in Comendation of Chaucer" by Lydgate that follow the prophesy turn away from politics and offer a more optimistic outlook on Chaucer's poetry. Despite their mournful tone, Lydgate's verses identify both a literary and a moral value in Chaucer's poetry:

> My maister Chaucer, with his frech Comedies,
> Is dead alas, cheife poet of Britaine;
> That whilome made full piteus tragedies,
> The faule also of princes he did Complaine,
> As he that was of makinge soueraine:

Whom all this land should of right preferre,

Sith of our language he was the loadsterre. (fol. 2^{v})

These lines recognize Chaucer and his poetry as an ideal model for English poetry and the future of the English literary tradition. His comedies are "frech," his tragedies are "piteus," and his complaints address "princes"; though somewhat redundant, these descriptions characterize his poetry as idealized and fulfilling examples of a range of genres. Indeed, Chaucer's diversity should be *preferred* to other (foreign) authors by "all this land," readers and poets alike. Poets should emulate his style and rhetoric and follow his guidance in order to continue the literary tradition as he, the "cheife poet of Britaine" set out. Meanwhile, readers of Chaucer should prefer his moral guidance and poetics because "of our language he was the loadsterre."

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Joseph Holand's efforts to restore Gg.4.27 reveal a great deal about both early modern editing and English desires among some scholars for a literary past built on the vernacular and English authors. Understanding Holand's methods of selective copying and purposeful omission helps readers to determine why Holand made particular choices and to speculate further about his intentions; this approach is possible when the manuscript is studied together with Holand's source, Thomas Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*. The practice reveals Holand's consideration of and approach toward the three broad aspects of editing that I have addressed throughout this study: text and language; paratext and codicological features; arrangement and compilation. Holand adds almost no content of his own, copying almost all of his contributions directly from Speght, nearly verbatim. However, by selecting what to copy and the order in which to arrange it, Holand is able to emphasize specific content to create a very specific portrait of Chaucer. Holand, it would seem, sought to present Chaucer as an ideal Englishman, suitable

for the current and future England, and one who would stand as a testament to the origins and value of English literature.

Conclusion: Found and Lost

In this study, I have demonstrated the significant degree to which editorial figures were involved in the preparation and production of sixteenth-century editions of *Isumbras*, Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables*, John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's poetry. The editors of these books employed a wide range of practices in their individual efforts to make the aging Middle English texts more accessible and more relevant to early modern audiences. In this conclusion, I take the opportunity to compare and contrast the attitudes and concerns of these editors in order to consider how we might understand editors of Middle English literature as a group. In their writings, these editors often describe their work of mediation as a duty that they are hesitant to perform; this hesitance usually derives from a sense of responsibility to either their author or their audience. Additionally, their work was performed as an act of control, but the extent to which each editor willing altered his text or the features of his book was determined by his assessment of the author's status, cultural contexts, and the historical importance of the work. Thus, the editors' books and practices are reflections of sixteenth-century cultural tastes and values.

In their prefaces, sixteenth-century editors of Middle English literature often describe their role as a duty that takes precedence over their individual desires. After two years of waiting for "some els of greater skill" (Sig. a2^{r}) to translate Robert Henryson's *Moral Fables*, Richard Smith chose to print his own 1577 edition in order to prevent a text containing "doctrine both pleasant profitable" (Sig. a2^{v}) from "lyen dead" (Sig. a2^{r}) and forever being lost in Scotland. However, by Englishing the text and codicological features of the book, Smith altered the tales, which were "compiled moste eloquently in Scottishe Metre" (Sig. a1^{r}), thereby jeopardizing the very features that made them "full of great inuention" and thus valuable to Smith (Sig. a2^{r}). Similarly, in his 1590 edition of John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, Edward Allde claims that

he "publish[ed] out Cæsar in this simple manner" because "being not able to doo as I would, I must doo as I can" (Sig. A2^{r}). Allde instructs his readers:

> [S]it thee downe and patientlye with a Mer-maides eye peruse this small volume, or rather Mappe of Romes ouerthrowe, and thou wilt finde if thou compare our state with Romes, to be no lesse in danger and dread: I could if I would set downe the whole Conquestes of Iulius, but it would small auaile, sith it followeth more at large. (Sig. A2^{v})

Allde reluctantly suggests that he cannot provide more of Caesar's story because he has an imperative to demonstrate the political parallel between Caesar's Rome and Elizabeth's England—even though the play that follows (*Gorboduc*) is "no lesse profitable than delightsome" (Sig. A2^{v}). In reality, Allde cannot tell more of the story because Lydgate—the unnamed author—did not write any more. Allde and Smith both invoke a sense of duty to the wider community—Smith to share his moral *exemplum* and Allde to share his political *exemplum*—while suggesting that they are acting against their own desires and interests. They and other editors of the sixteenth-century define their purpose in relation to their duties to their readers and to their literature.

William Caxton and Thomas Speght also describe their work as a duty, but they are more vocal about their hesitancy to be the person to fulfill that duty. Caxton's sense of duty is often expressed to particular people: to nobles and patrons early in his career, and to audiences and authors later in his career. In his prefaces, it is clear that he is aware of his role as the first printer of English books, which is perhaps one reason that he so often apologizes for his "rude and symple makyng" (88). His persistent apologies and requests for readers to "correcte" his errors clearly imitate fifteenth-century authors' tropes of humility, but they also signal his concerns over the importance of his work to both himself and those he serves. He is not simply

reproducing his manuscript sources; he is preparing those texts for a select audience. Similarly, Speght's reluctance to prepare *Chaucers Workes* exemplifies his anxiety to be the individual responsible for restoring the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer. Speght articulates his dissatisfaction with his work in his 1598 dedicatory letter to Sir Robert Cecil, in his prefatory letter "To the Reader," and elsewhere in the book's paratext. He admits to having committed "faults" for allowing his work to be published when it was still unfinished, and he includes a letter from his friend Francis Beaumont in which Beaumont threatens to publish Speght's research and Collections without permission. Beaumont's letter begins by recognizing "those good obseruations of him that [Speght has] gathered" (1602 Sig. a2^{v}) before threatening to publish them himself: "Yet least many inconueniencies might happen by this attempt of mine, and diuerse things be set foorth contrarie vnto your owne liking, let mee once againe entreat you" to take part in the production of *Chaucers Workes* (1602 Sig. a3^{r}). Speght's paratext simultaneously implies that Chaucer could not be restored by anyone other than Speght and that Speght feared he could not sufficiently do justice to the great author. Nevertheless, the paratextual contributions of contemporary peers in *Chaucers Workes* express people's gratitude to Speght, whose work helped to prevent England from losing Chaucer to obscurity.

Sixteenth-century editors of Middle English literature were mediators of texts that had become difficult to understand and less culturally relevant to most early modern readers. In order to make these texts palatable for a growing reading public, editors had to make the older texts more accessible either by modernizing their language, as Allde did with his 1590 edition of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, or by providing sufficient resources for readers, as Speght did with his 1598 and 1602 editions of *Chaucers Workes*. Additionally, editors had to redefine the texts' modern relevance, either by reassigning their present value, as Smith did with his 1577 edition of Henryson's *Moral Fables*, or by re-establishing their historic value to the present, as

Joseph Holand did when he restored his manuscript, now Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27. At the same time, early modern editors found it necessary to respond to increasing negative criticism of Middle English texts by revising their content to agree with contemporary values and beliefs, as did the first print editor of *Isumbras*, c. 1530. Thus, the work of early modern editors of Middle English texts was necessary to accommodate the increasing alterity of the aging texts.

Most of all, early modern editors were mediators of meaning. While authors wrote texts and printers crafted books, editors mediated the process whereby the text was prepared and included as part of the book. By exerting control over the prepared text (through textual editing, restoration, modernization, etc.), editors could revise it to articulate specific ideas. Conscious of the influence that the other features of the book may have, the editor might collect, write or prepare suitable paratextual material in order to supplement or contextualize the primary text. Further, the editor would select or design appropriate codicological features and determine how the text and contents would be organized. While the editor did not write the main text or craft the final product, his role was to mediate the meaning of the book by conceiving and managing the interaction of the text, paratext and codicological features; together, these elements determined the meaning of a book *as a whole*. The editor was responsible for developing it, in association with printers and other craftsmen, in a manner that it would be clear and accessible to the reader. Although early modern editors were rarely identified by name, their involvement in these early printed books is evident from a reader's ability both to access a book's Middle English texts and to recognize the book's value to an early modern audience.

As the editor role developed in sixteenth-century England, editors increasingly intervened in the book production process in order to emphasize, to restore, or to modernize the meaning of texts. Editors did so by revising their texts, adding paratextual content, managing the book's

codicological features, and/or fashioning the book's layout and compilation. Some editors were more willing to alter their texts than others. Whereas the *t*-editor of *Isumbras* employed textual editing in conjunction with some modernization, Speght claimed to restore Chaucer's texts to their original state, correcting that which was "much decaied by iniurie of time, ignorance of writers, and negligence of Printers" (1598 a1^{v}). Smith anglicized Henryson's *Fables*, while Allde further modernized an early print edition of Lydgate's *Serpent*. Among these four editors, it appears that the *t*-editor was most open to change, which possibly suggests that the anonymity of the romance's author made it acceptable. Whereas translations of the *exempla* of Henryson and Lydgate imply that accessibility and comprehension were most important to Smith and Allde, Speght's restored Chaucer text and reading resources imply that Chaucer's status in the English literary tradition was most important. Significantly, when restoring Gg.4.27, Holand did not alter the surviving text of the manuscript, but he did alter selections of the text that he copied from Speght's 1598 edition of *Chaucers Workes*; arguably, Holand valued the "original" *physical* text of the manuscript more than the copied text of the later print editions (he did, after all, remove a full-page image of Chaucer from a printed book in his efforts to restore and supplement his own damaged manuscript).

While the extent to which an editor might alter a text depended on several factors, all editors could add paratext and change the codicological features of a book in order to exert control over readers, authors, and the meaning of books. In the case of Speght's editions of *Chaucer Workes*, the added reading resources provide instructions on how to read Chaucer's texts, managing the reader's interaction with the book and its content. Smith's Englishing of Henryson's *Fables* stripped the text of its language and "*Scottish* Metre" and disguised Henryson's *moralitas* as modern English morals through manipulations of the book's codicological features. By contrast, Allde's Englishing of Lydgate's *Serpent* relied heavily on

paratextual additions to control the text's meaning; Allde defines the purpose of the *exemplum* on both his title page and in his preface, ensuring that the reader approaches the text as an allegory of the present day and not simply a historic narrative. Editors used paratext and altered codicological features in order to establish a context and to refine the reading experience in which readers engaged with a book's texts through a specific lens prescribed by the editor. They accomplished this act of mediation by accounting for the relationship between all of the book's parts: text, paratext, and codicological features. By doing so, editors were able to define the value of a book as distinct from the value of a text even if the text was unaltered.

As much as early modern editors' efforts focused on reassigning value to older literary texts or creating value in their new editions, most of these editors also found themselves responding to existing criticism of Middle English literature. These tasks were often interrelated. There was an irony in printing Middle English texts when humanists were dependent on perceptions of a "period of cultural backwardness and ignorance" in order to establish a Renaissance (Trigg 123). This was the reason that Chaucer had to be "rescued," and why Philip Sidney was amazed that Chaucer "in that mistie time could see so cleerly" (Speght, 1602 Sig. c3^{v}). Whereas many of Chaucer's works remained safe due to the "Protestant appropriation of Chaucer" (Machan, "Speght" 152), the work of other Catholic writers was treated very differently. Henryson's works had to be defended against anti-Scottish sentiments identified by Smith, while Lydgate could not escape his epithet "the Monk of Bury" unless his name was wholly supressed. Joseph Dane and Irene Beesemyer conclude that "potential readers of Lydgate seemed to have rejected him because they imagined the ideological content of his works was what would be expected of a *Monk of Bury*" (126). Several critics, including the educator Roger Ascham, condemned vernacular books written "in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons," "whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England" (Sig. I2^{r}).

In particular, Middle English romances were considered to be products of these deceitful people. Hence, the editor of *Isumbras* engaged in a complex feat of textual editing to emphasize the homiletic elements of his romance. Whereas Smith advertised the medieval morality of Henryson's *Fables* as "modern," the *t*-editor clarified the moral lessons of *Isumbras* by removing ambiguity from the text.

Despite editors' efforts to rejuvenate, to restore, or to repurpose a wide selection of Middle English texts, the stories fell almost completely out of fashion by the end of the sixteenth century. By then, the printing of Middle English verse romances had all but stopped, aside from a select few longer texts, such as *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*. According to Sánchez-Martí, "the bibliographical evidence suggests that there was a renewed effort to exploit commercially the Middle English romances starting about 1550 with the reissue of a romance title, *Eglamour of Artois*, and lasting until after the death of William Copland in 1569" (12).[1] Andrew King argues the decline came about because people found the romances "inferior on moral, social, and literary grounds" (29). Readers turned their attention to the works influenced by the subject matter of Middle English romances, such as Edmund Spenser's epic *The Faerie Queene* (1590/1596), or satires and parodies of them, such as Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, which Thomas Shelton translated into English in 1612-20 (Cooper 39).[2]

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[1] A.S.G. Edwards argues that Copland had "no particular interest in the form *qua* form, but a willingness to experiment with its marketable potential and to try and find ways of adjusting his presentation of the form to serve this purpose. It is more in his sensitivity to commercial pressures than the textual importance of his editions that we find Copland interesting; it is less the innovative nature of his output and more its extent that makes him significant" ("Copland" 145). In other words, Copland printed Middle English verse romances in hopes that they might again prove profitable; he was not interested in their literary merit.

[2] For a discussion of the role *Don Quixote* and other satires (both English and foreign) played in displacing the Middle English romances, see Cooper, 39-40; Richmond, 13-14; and Crane, 20-29. These critics also discuss the influence of the romances on early modern drama.

The texts of Robert Henryson and John Lydgate did not fare much better than the romances. Richard Smith's efforts to encourage English readers to explore Scottish literature did not have much influence. After Smith's 1577 edition of the *Fables*, most of Henryson's work was only printed in Scotland during the next few centuries, including Andrew Hart's 1621 edition of the *Fables* (Edinburgh; STC 186) and Andrew Anderson's 1663 edition of the *Testament of Cresseid* (Glasgow). The lone exceptions were copies of the *Testament of Cresseid* that were printed in volumes of *Chaucers Workes*. Similarly, aside from his poems that appeared in publications of Chaucer—"where his 'monkishness' could hide" (Dane and Beesemeyer 126)—Lydgate's poems fell out of fashion following the reign of Mary I (r. 1553-58). Following Allde's 1590 printing of the *Serpent of Division*—which did not identify Lydgate as its author—Lydgate's work was only printed twice in the seventeenth century: a heavily modified copy of Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1614; STC 5581.5) and a copy of the *Daunce of Macabree* embedded within a large volume containing *Monastici Anglicani* (1683).[3] Lydgate's drop in popularity in the mid-sixteenth century "is one from which he never recovers" (Dane and Beesemyer 123).

Unlike most Middle English writers, Chaucer's popularity was less clearly indicated by the number of printed books bearing his name. Although the number of Chaucer publications in the seventeenth century is about the same number of Henryson and Lydgate publications, Chaucer's texts continued to be printed in large collections through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the popularity of his texts faltered at times over the next few centuries, people continued to recognize their significance and to praise Chaucer for his contributions to the English literary tradition. Chaucer was frequently invoked in seventeenth-century poetry and his

[3] Select passages written by Lydgate appear in seventeenth-century books; but his work is never printed alone and, aside from the *Daunce*, it is never printed in whole.

texts were both modernized and rewritten by several eighteenth-century poets. However, the insistence of editors like Thomas Speght, and later Thomas Tyrwhitt (1775), "to restore" Chaucer's poems to their original language and style enshrined the works as having a literary value on which the literary tradition was dependent.

The practice of early modern editors of Middle English texts were similar to those practiced by editors today. Editors of both periods address questions of accessibility, value, and criticism. They both consider their authors and their readers, and they are both conscious of the materiality of their products. Scholars like Tim William Machan have compared Speght's editions of *Chaucers Workes* to today's scholarly editions like *The Riverside Chaucer* and see the same basic principles at work in their compilation ("Speght" 148). Chaucer, however, is not the rule; he is the exception. Other Middle English editors and non-Chaucerian medieval texts printed during the early modern period have received far less attention despite what they reveal about early developments in editing practices and early modern culture in general. My study, I believe, has provided several investigative approaches to these studies and has demonstrated the worthiness of its subjects to encourage future study of both Middle English literature in early modern England and the rise of English editors more broadly.

Appendix A:

Reconstructing the Print Tradition of *Sir Isumrbas*

The *t*-editor was the editor of the first print edition of *Sir Isumbras*; however, the earliest editions of *Isumbras* only exist as fragments. Sufficient evidence exists to establish the earliest print edition as the source for all subsequent editions prepared in the sixteenth century. Only the last print edition of the century survives complete, so I use it as my base text in Chapter 3. However, in order to represent the *t*-editor's work as closely as possible when collating manuscripts and print editions of the romance, I have reconstructed the *t* branch of *Ismbras's* stemma. As a result, I am able to prioritize the variants from the earlier print witnesses in Appendix B.

My reproduction of Gustav Schleich's stemma in Chapter 3 omits the descendants of *t* because Schleich's work does not account for the earliest *Isumbras* prints—which I have labelled *r* (Treverys's edition) and *k* (Skot's edition)—so his efforts to construct *t* are incomplete. Schleich's stemma splits *t* into t^1 and *D*. He then splits t^1 into t^2 and *d*, followed by splitting t^2 into *c* and *m*. However, any discussion of *t* is incomplete without knowledge of *r* and *k*. These missing editions not only clarify the progression of variants in the prints, they also clarify why Schleich had such difficulties accounting for the variants between *c* and *D*. In turn, the complete state of *c* in conjunction with the fragments of *r* and *k* make it possible to explain their relationship to earlier manuscript traditions.[1]

Either *r* or *k* was the direct work of the *t*-editor and the model for all sixteenth-century editions of *Isumbras*. My collation of these editions reveals that *r* and *k* are nearly indistinguishable, therefore it is impossible to determine which edition was used as the source-

[1] Because all sixteenth-century print editions of *Isumbras* can be traced to the *t*-editor's edition, I correspond all line numbers for these editions with the only completed edition, *c*, regardless of the state of the other editions' fragmentation.

copy for any of the later prints. However, their connection to the later print editions of the *t* branch is certain because all print editions omit the same lines and have inserted several lines unique to the sixteenth-century editions (see Appendices B and C). In total, 30 lines have been omitted, though not all erroneously, and 117 lines have been added.[2] Between the remaining fragments of *r* and *k*, the only variant is a single letter in line 345 (hartes *k*] herte(s) *r*). Because *c* agrees with *r*, we might assume that *k* was printed first, though this claim is highly speculative. The differences between *r* and *k* are nearly indistinguishable, possibly suggesting that Treveris (*r*) helped Skot (*k*) by printing a second run of the same copy.

The fragment *m* is likely an intermediary between earlier and later editions of *Isumbras*, but it is so damaged that it offers little value as a witness. Only 10 of its 48 lines (429-476) can be used to compare variants based on the content available in Schleich. Of these variants, one is an accidental variant of an obvious nature (459 sougyt *k*] sought *mc*) and one mixes (insignificant) accidental variants from *k* and *c* (437 a hyghe *k*] an hyghe *m*] an hygh *c*). These agreements with *c* are insufficient to suppose any relation between them. Of the other eight accidental variants, *m* always agrees with *k*. While I am inclined to suggest that *m* derives directly from *k* (or, *r* as it may be), there is no way to determine whether *d* was an intermediary between the two because their surviving lines do not overlap.

Comparison of *c* and *d* not only establishes a direct connection between the two later editions of *Isumbras*, but it also helps to link *c* with the *t*-editor's edition. Schleich believed *d* to be independent of *c*, but he also based his claim on the assumption that *D* was independent of

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[2] These numbers are based on a line-by-line assessment when comparing *c* with *C*. Some of the added lines find parallels in the other texts (see Appendix C.1), but many are unique (see Appendix C.2)—including the 54-line section added near the end, which details the final battle. The added lines may derive from the missing manuscript that was the *t*-editor's primary copy-text, or they may have originated with the *t*-editor's edition (either from himself or written by someone else for his edition); my analysis of the text in the final section of Chapter 3 implies that the added lines are sixteenth century in origin.

both *c* and *d* (79-80).[3] Both are curious claims; although only lines 1-62 of *d* survive, they are sufficient to establish the direct relationship between *c* and *d* because they share an identical page layout, a practice commonly employed by Copland.[4] Setting aside *D* for now, collating *c* and *d* with *r* reveals a very complex relationship between the print editions because of their inconsistent agreements resist assigning a linear chronology to the editions. Of the first sixty-two lines, minus seven for the missing lines of *r* (25-31),[5] there are variants on fifty-four of the remaining fifty-five lines; only line 8 avoids difference. More specifically, there are accidental variants in each of these lines except for line 13, and a total of twelve substantive variants. The accidental variants are interesting because *c* agrees with *r*, *d*, or neither with approximately equal frequency. The substantive variants, however, are more insightful. Of the twelve variants, *c* and *d* agree with each other eight times. The remaining four substantive variants (11,13, 41, 54) are inconsistent; two suggest that *d* followed *c*, while the others suggest *c* followed *d*. Line 11 is an obvious error (was *rc*] shas *d*).[6] Line 41 may be either a syntactical error or a change not accepted by a subsequent editor/compositor (hym dyde *rc*] dyd hym *d*). In both cases, the variant is negligible, neither proving that *d* was produced after *c* nor that *d* derives directly from *c*. The variant of line 54 is a little more meaningful (downe on *r*] downe vpon on *d*] downe vpon *c*). The progression of these variants suggest that *d* added "vpon" and subsequently *c* omitted "on" to avoid undo repetition and/or to improve the line length and meter. Somewhat similar, a

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[3] Schleich writes: "wollen wir aber annehmen, dass in den folgenden Fällen *c* die Lesart von *d* vertritt, so ergiebt sich, dass *D* von *cd* (=t^1) ebenso unabhängig ist wie t^1 von *D* und *d* von *c* [but if we assume that in the following cases *c* represents the reading of *d*, it follows that *D* is as independent of *cd* (=t^1) as t^1 of *D*, and *d* of *c*]" (79). I attribute most of Schleich's errors concerning the printed editions to his ignorance of *r* and *k*.

[4] Copland often copied the page layout of his sources. Compare, for example, Copland's edition of *Sir Degore* (STC 6472.5) with John King's edition (STC 6472).

[5] Among these seven lines, five contain accidental variants; there are no substantive variants.

[6] I agree with Schleich's interpretation of this variant: "Dass *c* nicht mit *d* I.11 *shas* liest, reicht nicht aus, um zu beweisen, dass *c* von *d* unabhängig ist [That *c* does not agree with *d* on line 11 ("shas") is not enough to prove that *c* is independent of *d*]" (80).

progression of a different sort is evident in the variant of line 13 (louvynge *r*] lou[e]ly *d*] lyuely *c*):[7] loving, lovely, lively. Since either *c* or *d* appears to be page-reprinted from the other and they agree on eight of the twelve substantive variants, I believe that one must derive from the other, and not from *r*. Based on the logical progression suggested by the last two of the four substantive variants that I have examined, I assert that *c* derives from *d* and *d* from *k* (or *r*).

All of the print editions of *Isumbras* are related and may therefore be used to compensate for the fragmentary state of the earliest editions and to validate my use of the last and only complete edition from the sixteenth century as a model for the *t*-editor's earlier text. In summary, *k* and *r* are nearly indistinguishable, but *r* is possibly a reprint of *k*. Both *m* and *d* derive from either *k* or *r*, but their fragmentary remains prevent me from drawing conclusions about their relation to each other. The only complete edition that remains, *c*, probably derives from *d*, and *c* was most likely the source for *D*.[8] Hence, I can more accurately assess the *t*-editor's variants by substituting the earliest print editions when collating the prints and early manuscripts, as I have done in Appendix B.

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[7] The fourth letter of the word in *d* is ink-blotched but is most likely an "e" based on its size and shape.

[8] Because *D* was written after *c*, there is no need to discuss it in this study. Nevertheless, my collation of *D* with the prints reveals that *D* most certainly derives from *c* but was likely supplemented with readings directly from *r* (or *k*), which is interesting as an additional example of an editor of Middle English verse romance using multiple editions in his textual editing practices.

Appendix B:

Isumbras's Substantive Variants

The following tables list the substantive variants (different words or word order) that appear in the collation of *C* (a *z*-branch manuscript) and the *t*-branch printed books. *L* is substituted for the missing lines 35-122 of *C*. The *t*-branch is represented by *c* unless an earlier reading is available, in which case the fragment is identified. Earlier readings are based on my reconstruction of the print tradition (Appendix A). Only the variants between the *z*-branch and *t*-branch are shown. *T* readings (the *y*-branch equivalent) are provided for purposes of comparison. Readings that suggest that a *y*-branch manuscript influenced the *t*-branch reading are highlighted in bold.

1. Content: Interpretive

z-branch (*C*)	*t*-branch (*c*)	*y*-branch (*T*)
3. are thede	3. londe and ded (*r*)	6. arethede
8. was bothe hardy	8. was in warre full (*r*)	8. bothe was stalworthe
11. So doughty a knyght as	11. Man nobler than (*r*)	11. Swilke a knyght als
12. There levyd non in lede	12. Lyued none with brede	12. Now lyffes nowrewhare in lede
15. And fair	15. that myghty (*r*)	15. That semly
16. long	16. an hardy (*r*)	16. bothe faire
17. The fayreste that evere man seygh	**17. All men hym loued that hym se (*r*)**	**17. Alle hym loffede that hym seghe**
18. A gret lord	18. For a gentyll knyght (*r*)	18. So hende a mane
20. And gaf hem ryche robes withalle	20. With other mynstrelles all (*r*)	20. He gafe thame robis riche of palle
23. And of his mete never nothyng	**23. Lyberall of mete and drynke (*r*)**	**23. Of mete and drynke no nythynge**
26. As any man myghte see	26. And also ful of charitie (*d*)	26. Als any erthly mane thurte see
27. With tungge as I yow nevene	27. As any ladie myght be (*d*)	27. With tunge als I yow nevene
31. Swyche pryde in his herte was brought	31. For worldly wealth and pryde he fell (*d*)	31. Bot in his hert a pride was broghte
41. herde a fowle synge hym by (*L*)	40. sawe an aungell in the skye (*r*)	41. fowle herde he synge one hy
46. The kynge of heenn the gretheth so (*L*)	45. Therefore oure lorde sayth to the so (*r*)	46. The kyng of hevene gretis the soo
47. I yowthe or elde thou schall be wo (*L*)	46. All thy good thou muste forgo (*r*)	47. Werldes wele the bus for-goo
48. Chese whedur hyt shall be (*L*)	47. as thou shalte here after se (*r*)	48. In elde or youthe thou salle dry woo

49. With carefull herte and sykynge sore (*L*)
50. He fell upon his knees thore (*L*)
52. Worldes welthe I woll forsake (*L*)
54. To Hym my sowle I yelde (*L*)
58. Lorde, yf it Thy wyll be (*L*)
59. poverté (*L*)
60. welthe in myne elde (*L*)
62. Alone he lette that drurye (*L*)

68. Ronne to wode as they were wrothe (*L*)
70. What wonder was thowgh hym were wo (*L*)
71. On fote byhoveth hym to go (*L*)
72. To peyne turned his pleye (*L*)
82. He seyde, If they on lyve be (*L*)
83. My wyfe and my children thre (*L*)
84. Yet were I never so fayne (*L*)

88. Owre fees ben fro us revedde (*L*)
89. There is nothyng ylevedde (*L*)

90. Nowghte onstede to thy plowe (*L*)
123. a drewrye
136. here
148. for to begge
151. Thorow two kynges londes they gan pas
152. As Cristes owenn wyll was

153. They and here
159. For honger they wepte sore
185. And thanke we God of His wille
187. No wondyr though
188. Bothe her chyldren loste they thore
189. Here eldere chyldren
211. The knyght sayde to the

212. maner men, dame, may these bee

54. This knyght fell downe upon his kne (*r*)
55. Underneth an Olyue tre (*r*)

57. and than agayne thus sayd he (*r*)
59. Welcome be thy sondes (*r*)
63. Therfore Iesu I pray the (*r*)
64. aduersyte (*r*)
65. not whan I am olde (*r*)
67. And lefte alone that carefull (*r*)
73. they wasted and were all dede (*r*)
75. Home on fote he must gone (*r*)
76. the teres fell from his cheke anone (*r*)
77. Out of his eyen gray (*r*)
105. Quod Isenbras so mote I thriue
106. For these tydynges also blyue
107. I geue thee all that I were

84. The stormes your capons haue you berefte (*r*)
85. the thunder hath you no beest lefte (*r*)
86. For to put in your ploughe (*r*)

126. full mylde
139. his
151. mekely they asked
154. Seuen landes they gan through passe
155. By goddes succour myght and grace
156. His wyfe and his
165. The chyldren wept so fre
194. We shall do after gods wyll

195. For sorowe
196. Then both the children loste were
197. Hys louely sonnes
220. He sayde vnto his

221. men are these thynk ye

50. With carefulle herte and sygheyngez sare
51. The knyghte felle on his knes al bare
53. Werldes wele I wille for-sake

55. To hym my saule I yelde
59. Now, Lorde, yif it thi will bee
60. penance
61. Welthe appone myne elde
63. Alle-one he leved that drery

69. Wente to the wode, als thay were wrothe
71. Whate wondir was those hym ware wo
72. One fote now most hym nedis goo
73. to pyne turnes alle his playe
83. The knyghte thane ansuerde with herte so vey
85. My wyfe and my childire thre

86. Yitt was never mane so fayne

90. And saide thaire fee was fro thame revede
91. Certis, syr, us es noghte levyde
92. A stotte unto youre plowghe

126. a fulle drery
138. there his
150. in the lande to begge
153. Fyve wokes thus them gunne thay over-passe
154. Als it Jhesu Cristes wille was
155. With thaire
164. Thay weped for hungre sore
205. And gladly suffir Goddes wille
207. Littille wondir those
208. For bothe thaire childir leve thay there
209. *om*.
234. The knyghte thane karpede to the
235. maye thiese ferly folkkes bee

213. With ful lowde a
223. They askyd hym sum
224. For Goddes
225. That they scholde werne hem
235. Hys lemes are longe, hys bones grete
236. and over stepe
237. A knyght hym semes to
248. fayre
253. Red gold schal be thy mede

254. Yyf thou be doughty man of dede
255. I schal the make
258. Sere he sayde nay
259. God wolde that nevere more

260. That I gayn Crystyndome wore
261. And forsake my lay
262. We have thorwgh this forest
264. This is the sevynthe day
265. We aske the sum
283. in Goddys lay
286. The gold upon hys mantal they told
287. And to himselff they gan it folde
289. And sithen on the land they hym casten
290. And beten hym tyl hys sydys brasten
291. flesch
293. his
294. To sende
295. A chartre in the maner he

296. Yiff sche evere come to londe
297. His qwene thenne wente hee

298. Whenne the woundyd man

300. And forth thenne wente hee
301. Sith that the schyp was maad yare
302. With maryneres forth

303. *om*.
310. That myn hosebonde may speke with me

222. I heare a myghty
232. He asked of them (*r*)
233. For his (*r*)
234. And made this worlde of (*r*)
244. He semeth a man so gentyll and fre (*r*)
247. as any glasse (*r*)
249 Lyke a knyght shoulde he (*r*)
257. worthy
262. Forsake thy Christendome for aye
263. and beleue on Mahoundes laye
264. and then I wyll doubbe the
267. than sayde he playnly naye
268. I shall neuer bee Hethen hounde become
269. Nor warre againste Christendome
270. therfore to dye thys daye
271. Greate wayes we haue to
273. Ne penye for to paye
274. syr helpe vs to our
292. as I you saye (*r*)
295. An hondred pound of fayre florence (*r*)
296. the Sowdan layde in his presence (*r*)
298. The golde syr Isenbras caste (*r*)
299. therfore his rybbes was nere hand brast (*r*)
300. body (*r*)
308. Surrye (*r*)
309. And sent (*r*)
310. To her the crowne thus he (*r*)
311. My worde he sayde sothly shal stande (*r*)
312. Thoughe I come neuer to thee (*r*)
301. As soone after as he (*r*)

303. A sory man was he (*r*)
304. Than was the maner there (*r*)

305. With ore and acres for (*r*)

306. so (*r*)
319. Geue me leue with my lorde

236. He spake with lowde
246. Thay askede hym some
247. For His
248. And made this worlde of

258. For he es bothe lange and heghe
259. ever I seghe
260. A knyghte hym semes to
268. semly
273. If thou be doghty mane of dede
274. Thou salle be horssede on a stede
275. My-selfe salle dube the
278. And sone he sayde hym naye
279. Certis that salle I never mare

280. Agayne Crystyndomme fyghte no fare
281. And lefe appone thi laye
282. Now in this foreste hafe we
284. This es the sevent daye
285. I aske yow some
303. in Goddes laye
306. The gold thane on his mantille thay talde
307. And tille hyme-selfene thay gane it falde
309. And appone the lande thay hym kaste
310.And bett hym tille his rybbis braste
311. flesche
331. alle his
332. To sende
333. A chartir was mad full wele

335. That those he never come in his lande
336. That scho solde qwene bee

324. Whenne the wounded knyght
326. And forth thenne wente hee
327. A riche schippe was dighte righte yare
328. The sowdane bad that lordes soldee
329. so
343. Mete and drynke thou gare tham gyfe

311. Ar I passe beyonde the see

312. Alone a privy thyng
319. Lord full
346. they forth
354. They myghte no lenger dree

368. I have lost
373. Lady of heven, bryght and schene
374. Flour of wymmen of heven qwene
375. To the I make my

379. askyd hem mete par

383. For mete wolde I swynke fayn
388. Thus they taughte hym to bere ston
400. Al the // *om*.
401. werryd on
421. The hethene houndes that he myghte
422. The woo they hadde
430. he to the erthe sought

433. There he chaunges al
434. An horsyd was
435. anon
436. Whenne he was armyd on that stede
437. It is sene yit where hys hors yede
438. And schal be evere more

439. As sparkele glydes of the glede
440. In that stour he made many blede
441. And wroughte hem woundes sore
448. hethene kyng
450. He gaff hym gold and fee

463. I bydde yow geve me

464. And what that I wold
465. I
492. As God Hymself hym sent

500. hungyr and in thurst ful

501. In book as men
517. He sayde Palmer weel thou bee

320. That I might speake one worde
321. Aboute a priuie thynge
328. alas
354. forth he (*r*)
362. Ferther go he ne might (*r*)

376. For my (*r*)
381. He ne wyst what he do might (*r*)
382. But for sorowe he sore syght (*r*)
383. with mournynge made his (*r*)
386. prayed the[m] of brede for (*k*)
390. Syr so wyll I certayne (*k*)

395. This man toke laboure hym vpon (*k*)
407. That // I vnderstonde (*k*)
408. was in (*k*)
427. That false Sowdan for to (*r*)

428. For the wo that he (*k*)
435. that he thus longe had fought (*k*)
438. This Erle there chaunged (*k*)
439. And set hym (*k*)
440. he fast (*k*)
441. The stronge stede he gan stryde (*k*)
442. In to the hooste than gan he ryde (*k*)
443. There delte he dyntes sore (*k*)
444. He felled all that before hym stode (*k*)
445. Who so he knocked on the hode (*k*)
446. He slewe for euermore (*k*)

454. sowdan (*k*)
455. With sarazyns grete plent (*k*)

465. Thou shalte he sayde haue (*k*)
466. The best that thou canst (*k*)
467. thou (*k*)
494. with skryppe and burdon blyue (*r*)
502. hunger thyrst and syghing (*r*)
503. In romaynes as we (*r*)
519. Isenbras he sayde lysten vnto me (*r*)

N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.
N/A. *om*.
364. forthe he
372. For ferrere myghte noghte he
387. So faire
383. With carefulle mode and drery stevene
384. Unto the heghe kyng of hevene
385. Made he thane his

395. askede tham mete for

398. For mete he sayde I wold wyrke fayne
404. And thus bare the knyght iryne and stone
417. Alle those // I undirstande
418. werreyede in
436. Yone heythene sowdane that I may
437. The woo he hase may
444. the knyghte to the grownde soughte
448. And stoppede his wondis
449. And sythene he horsede hym
450. he soghte
451. Bot whenne he was horsede on a stede
452. He sprange als any sparke one glede
453. With grymly growndyne gare
454. The beryns he hitt appone the hode
455. Thorowe the breste-bane it wode
457. And salle be evermare

464. Sarazenes
466. Thay made thame gamene and glee
479. The kynge bad that he solde hafe
480. And alle that he wolde
481. he
505. Als Jhesu Cryste hym sende

513. hungre, and thriste, and bones
514. In storye thus als we
531. Palmer he sayse welcome thou bee

518. The Kyng off hevene gretes wel
519. is synne
527. And settes hym doun upon hys kne
588. Riche cloth and meete

596. Alle lovede hym that hym sygh
597. Ful redy he was on to calle
599. And horseden hym on a sory

643. Squyers brak up
646. seygh the gold
669. Myselff bar manye buffette
673. Thenne knelyd the lady fayr of face
674. And thankyd God of His grace
690. And keveryd out off care
704. There they wente fer and hende
710. men fayleden hym at

711. Hys folk wenten
712. was
736. The chyldryn ferden
748. A noble burgh ther was besyde
749. Sere Ysumbras thedyr gan ryde
750. Hys sones he gan thedyr lede

762. Thre londes hadde he thare

520. Our lorde hath pardon graunted the (*r*)
521. are synnes (*r*)
529. And Chryste of heauen he grete (*r*)
591. Fayre to clothe and fede (*r*)

608. that other had at hym enuye

609. And strong he was with all
611. They horsed hym on a fayre

654. Foure knightes brake
663. the sendale sawe
686. I do you to understande
690. Tho had the lady great solace
691. She fell in sownyng so gaynt she was
707. Thre landes had he there
721. Theyr cursed lawes for to defende
727. men fayleden hym at

728. And fast fled
779. curtoyse
807. the knyghtes sought
825. they sayde make we ioyfull cheare
826. To our chyldren that we se here
827. Our welth beginneth to walke
839. And come out of his care

532. The kynge of hevene wele gretis
533. erre synnes
541. Jhesu Criste thane thankede hee
593. Thou salle hafe clothe and mete
604. Alle had wondir that hym see
605. So stylle he was with-alle
614. Thay horsede hym on ane olde crokede
652. The knyghtes brake up
655. scho saw it
678. Myselfe was fulle sare bett
679. And downe than knelide the lady byfore his face
680. And sayde Welecome my lorde syr Ysambrace
700. Of haythene landes thare
715. Fra fele ferre costes to that batelle thay ryde
720. Sarazenes faylede hym at that
722. Thay were alle flede
723. was thane fulle
747. In angells wede were
771. A ryche ceté was there besyde
772. And syr Ysambrace byfore gane ryde
773. His sonnes hame for to lede

785. He lyffes nowe fulle richely

2. Content: Developing

z-branch (*C*)

21. Bothe
42. Hye upon a tre (*L*)

53. To Jhesu Criste I wyll me take (*L*)
61. Away that fowle toke (*L*)

63. Full sone (*L*)
64.And whenne he that fowle had lore (*L*)
65. His steede that was so lyghte byfore (*L*)
67. his howndes bothe (*L*)
69. And eche on taketh here weye (*L*)

t-branch (*c*)

21. For he gaue them (*t*)
41. Which toward hym dyde fle (*r*)
58. Lorde God in trynyte (*r*)

66. The aungel toke fro thence (*r*)

68. From hym (*r*)
69. Whan the aungell was paste his syght
70. His stronge stede that was so wyght (*r*)
72. and houndes that he fedde (*r*)
74. They brought to hym no pray (*r*)

y-branch (*T*)

21. Bothe
42. Fulle heghe upone a tree

54. And to Goddes mercy I me bytake
62. The foule thane toke ane heghe
64. And sone
65. And whenne he of the fowle had no syghte
66. His stede, that was bothe stronge and wyghte
68. his howndis bothe
70. Ilkone a dyverse waye

73. and as he by the wode wente (*L*)
74. A lytyll knave was to hym sente (*L*)
85. Forth he wente hymself alone (*L*)
86. His herdemen he mette eche one (*L*)
87. he seyde, What eyleth yowe (*L*)
91. and gaf hem (*L*)
92. The kynghte badde they schold (*L*)
93. I wyte nowght yow (*L*)
94. For God bothe geveth adn taketh (*L*)
95. And at His wyll ryches maketh (*L*)
96. pore men also (*L*)
100. As naked as they were borne (*L*)
101. There they stode hym byforne (*L*)
103. Yette chaunged no thyng his ble (*L*)
104. Tyll he sawe his wyfe and children thre (*L*)
106. badde her children be blythe (*L*)
108. *om*. (*L*)
128. To seke God wher He
129. That for us shedde His blode
130. For Jhesu Criste that is so fre

131. Hym to seche wher it be

132. He sende us our lyves fode
133. his
137. syked sore
140. leve at her frende
141. And forth they wente her waye
142. For hem wepte both olde and yynge
143. For that doolfull partynge,

144. Forsothe as I you seye

145. nothynge
146. longed to here spendynge

147. nother
154. Suche sorwe as they we inne

155. That we wonte for to wynne

96. He went forth wo bestadde (*r*)

97. there met he with a lytle lad (*c*)
78. Homewarde anone he gan wende (*r*)
79. There mette he with his meyne hende (*r*)
80. Before hym on a rowe (*r*)

87. sore with semblaunt (*r*)
88. Syr Isenbras bad them (*r*)

89. I blame you not of (*r*)
90. He may sende me myrthes mo (*r*)
91. With ioye and solace also (*r*)

92. may do well ynowe (*r*)
117. there they sate vnder a thorne
118. Bare a[n]d naked as they were borne
120. A woful man than was he

121. Whan he them sawe all naked be
122. sayde also bliue

124. syr
131. Seke we where Christ
132. On the mount of Caluary
133. Who so that hym serue that dyed on rode
134. Eche daye of his lyues fode

135. Fast and sure shall he be
136. a sharpe
140. wrange their handes there
143. way for to wende
144. Upon the same daye

145. whan that they departe shoulde
146. For them wept both yonge and olde
147. Both wyfe, wydow man and maye
148. no maner of thynge
149. was worth a farthynge

150. Cattell
157. They that ere had welth and wyn
158. the harde hunger that they were in

74. And als he wente by a wod schawe
75. Thare mett he with a lyttille knave
87. Bot als he wente by hym allone
88. His hirde-mene mett he everylkone
89. With a fulle drery swoghe

93. sare and gaffe thame
94. The knyghte bad thay solde

95. I wytte yow noghte
96. God that sent me alle this woo
97. Wele hase he sent me also

98. yitt may send y-noghe
102. Alle als nakede als thay were borne
103. Stode togedir undir a thorne
105. Bot changede never the knyghttes blee
106. To he sawe thame so nakede bee
108. bade hir childir be blythe

110. that
130. To seke thare God
131. That done was one the rode
132. For Jesus Criste so hende es he
133. That who so sekes hym with herte fre
134. He sendis thame lyves fode
135. a
139. syghede sare
142. lefe at thaire dere frendes
143. And made thaire fondynge daye
144. for thame weped bthe olde and yynge
145. Thare was a carefulle departynge
146. And sythene thay went thaire waye
147. fulle littille gude
148. myghte helpe tham to thaire lyves fode
149. Nowther
156. Tho that are was wonte to wele and wyne,
157. The myschevous poverte that they were inne

157. Sex
165. by a brome
169. was both good and hende

170. over the water he ganne wende
171. other sone he nome
173. othir
175. was hende and good

176. Therefore he made sory mood
177. Forsothe as I yow say
179. And bare hym evene to his

190. Hys wyff was hym leeff and dere
191. And ovyr te watyr he here
200. Rychely thenne were they wroughte
201. With joye and mekyl

205. The knyght thoughte he wolde lende
208. thoghte he wolde abyde

209. Men he sawgh bothe goo and ryde
210. Moo than he cowde nevene

226. Soone as he
227. He sayde they were come to aspye
228. My schyp they han besought

229. comaunde
232. Thenne sayde a knyght to

233. Ser this is awondyr
234. Yone pore man
239. A fayrere sawgh I nevere non
240. Bryght so
257. hethene man
275. penys that be hool
276. ryche
305. The lady cryyd and was ful woo
306. And fel before the kyng
307. Sche sayde, Sere par charyté

308. A bone that thou woldyst graunte me
309. Withouten ony dwellyng
324. The kyng schole we sloo

163. Thre
174. vnder a bushe of brome
178. toke a pace full good

179. faste feryed ouer the flodd

180. myddle sonne he name
182. eldest
184. neuer the later

185. Into the wylde water

186. turned agayne that daye
188. The chylde that was the mydle
198. This lady was wonte to ryde in a chayre
199. On his backe he her ouer
211. With streamers of sendale softe
212. Lyke a prynce proude of

215. the Soudan he woulde lande

217. he found that tyde

218. Hys Sarasyns all by hys syde

219. Many men sawe he rene and ryde
235. Whan the kynge (*r*)
236. Sothly he sayde he is a spye (*r*)
237. That thus farre hath vs sought (*r*)
238. bydde (*r*)
241. A knyght kneled before (*r*)

242. And sayd it was a pytifull (*r*)
243. That poore penaunce (*r*)
251. Thoughe she with weping be ouergone (*r*)
252. She is as wyght as (*r*)
266. sowdan that
284. fayre florence rede
285. red
314. Wyth theyr fraught awaye to fare
315. The ladye fell on her knee
316. Syr Sowdan she sayde thare

317. For her loue that Iesu bare

318. A bowne graunt ye me
333. the Sowdan wyll I slo

162. But whenne thre
173. one the bryme
177. that was bothe hend and gude
178. swythe over the water he wode
179. medille sone over to bryng
180. *om*.
186. Thus with sorowfulle chere and drery mode
187. Agayne over the water he wode
188. To pyne tornes alle his playe
190.To the wode he bare hym to his
210. *om*.

211 And over the water he thane
223. Of riche golde thame semed wroghte
224. Stremours fro thame ferre gane glyde
228. The kyghte thoghte that he wolde wende
231. Those schippes landed by that land syde
232. The folke come up with mekille pryde
233. yaa moo thene I kane nevene

249. The Sarazens said
250. Whenne that thay herde hym swa gates crye
251. That thaire schippes had soughte
252. bade
255. A knyghte said to the sowdane
256. Now certis sy it es a wondir
257. Yone ore mane for
262. Hir lyre es als the see fome

263. And bryghte als
277. A Sarazene
295. florence that bene rede
296. gud
338. Ever scho weped fulle selly sare
339. And knelis byfore the kynge
340. Sir kynge scho sayde I pray the
341. A bowne that thou wille graunt me
342. Now at oure parttynge
N/A. *om*.

325. Thenne schole ye be kyng off that lond	334.syr ye shall be kynge with crowne	N/A. *om*.
326. And alle men bowe unto youre hond	335. Ouer castell towre and towne	N/A. *om*.
327. kevere yit al oure	336. recouer all your	N/A. *om*.
331. The lady soffte	340. Then this ladye meke	349. The lady was curtayse
332. her lord and	341. hym, and than	350. Scho blyssede hir lorde and
334. ryche	343. bright	352. ryche
335. was lowde and over hem	344. them soone to surry	353. thame sonne owte of havene
338. And for hys wyffe sore	346. He syghed and wepte with tears	358. And for his wyfe fulle sare he
343. They sette hem doun undyr	351. He swarmed vp into	361. Sythene sett he hym downe undir
347. Whenne the knyght hadde eete	355. And gaue his yonge sonne (*r*)	365. He gafe his childe at ete
348. He wepyd ful yare	356. That was an hongred sore (*r*)	366. His hert thane was fulle sare
349. his mantel of scarlet red	357. the mantell amonge the breade (*r*)	367. his mantille of skarlet rede
350. Among the gold he putte his bred	358. He layed his golde that was so reade (*r*)	368. Y-mange his golde he did his brede
351. forth with hym	359. with hym he (*r*)	369. with hyme he
357. The rede cloth whenne he see	365. For the rede clothes syghte (*r*)	375. And awaye therwith gane flye.
358. A sory man	366. Isenbras (*r*)	N/A. *om*.
359. *om*.	368. the fowle (*r*)	376. that egle
363. Swyche sorwe gan he drye	371. Amonge the holtes hye (*r*)	379. Sylke sorowe that knyghte gane dree
370. Jesu that weredest in hevene	378. The kynge that bare of thorne the (*r*)	389. Now Gode, that beres the heghe
371. to sum town	379. unto the towne (*r*)	390. to some towne
372. *om*.	380. For (*r*)	391. For
376. As he wente	384. Alone he walked (*r*)	392. Bot als the knyghte went
377. Smethy-men herde he blowe	N/A. *om*.	393. Smethymene thore herde he blawe
377. grete	385. fayre (*k*)	394. fyres
385. They govern hym mete and drynk anon	392. They taught hym to tourne the stone (*k*)	401. Thane mete thay gafe hym fulle gud wone
386. And taughten hym to bere ston	393. and bad hym spede that he had done (*k*)	402. And thay garte hym bere iryne and stone
396. *om*.	403. thre (*k*)	412. *om*.
398. fel for	405. longeth to (*k*)	414. felle to
399. batayle whenne he wolde	406. the warre with hym to (*k*)	416. batelle whenne he solde
410. On hors that coles hadde ibrought	415. And on a croked caple that coles broughte	427. Appone a horse that coles broghte
412. Betwen twoo hyllys tho come hee	417. He rode vnder an hyll so hye (*r*)	N/A. *om.*
415. Ayther batayle on a lowe	420. The hoost was arayed in royall araye (*r*)	430. *om*.
416. Trumpys herde he lowd blowe	421. Tabours and trompettes herde he play (*r*)	429. Bemes thane herde he blowe fulle lowde
417. And wepne he saw on lofte	422. And launces lyfte on lofte (*r*)	430. *om*.
418. The knyght was hende and free	423. Syr Isenbras with hert fre (*k*)	431. He sett hym downe appone his kne
424. The knyght was hende and good	429. Syr Isenbras anone vp stode (*k*)	438. The knyghttes herte it was fulle gude

425. And styrte up with egre

426. And thryys he gan hym sayn

451. *om*.
452. steryd hym so weel in fyght

453. That I hym nought see

454. and squyers han hym
455. before the kyng hym
456. Ful
457. They askyd what was his name
458. He sayde Sere
459. What wole ye doo with me
468. that he wolde dubbe hym
470. in hys heuyd
471. took
491. Grykkyssche
495. And thedyr faste he wente
496. he was Acres lente
504. hys pore
513. Sore wepande for hys synne
514. And as he sat about mydnyght
515. Fayr and bryght
520. *om*.
521. *om*.
522. With tungge I say sertayn
523. The gretes weel
526. was hende and free

528. And wepte sore for
529. But he hadde no bete won

532. Al a land he yede

536. That was bothe
539. To pore men off every state

540. Florynys ryche and goode
541. Weel wer me myghte I on gete
542. Therwith I myghte bye my mete
543. And come to lyvys fode
547. Every man hadde a floreyn

548. Sere Ysumnras was ful feyn

549. For hym hungryd sore
554. That a pore palmer was

562. Meete and drink forth they

430. Ryght eger was he of (*k*)

431. Sore dyntes he gaue certayne (*k*)
456. He sayde (*k*)
457. all this folke hath slayne in syghte (*k*)
458. Ryght fayne wolde I hym se (*k*)
459. kene soone hym (*k*)
460. at the last he was forth (*k*)
461. *om*. (*k*)
462. What arte thou sayd the kynge than (*k*)
463. Syr quod he (*k*)
464. To defende thee in fyght (*k*)
470. I shall make the a (*k*)
472. that dyde hym greue (*k*)
473. had (*k*)
493. quycke (*r*)
497. Thyther gan they ryue (*r*)
498. they had acres hente (*r*)
506. poore palmers (*k*)
515. Tyll the day was dymme (*r*)
516. As he sate and sore syght (*r*)

517. aboute mydnyght (*r*)
522. Nowe (*r*)
523. all (*r*)
524. Shortly for to sayne (*r*)
525. My Lord that is (*r*)
528. on his knees hym set (*r*)

530. Of the tydynges he was (*r*)
531. The aungell lefte hym then alone (*r*)
534. Thre kynges landes he went (*r*)
538. A fayre lady
541. Of many florences golde and hole
542. Who so woulde it fetche
543. Lorde sayde Isenbras so free

544. Myght I one get well were me
545. Other money or mete (*r*)
549.The quene a florence to eche one toke (*r*)
550. Syr Isenbras it not forsoke (*r*)
551. Of his mery make (*r*)
556. Wete and wery as he was (*r*)

564. Ryche mete there was (*r*)

439. And forthe he went with hardy
440. And thryse he gonne hym saynge
467. The kyng thane
468. hase done so doghetyly in this fyghte
469. That I may never hym see

470. and baronns thay hafe
471. at the laste he was forth
472. A
473. The kyng his name faste fraynes thane
474. Sir he saide
475. What es your wille with me
484. That he wolde dubbe hym
486. in his hevede
487. had
504. Grekkes
508. In Acris gunne thay lende
509. thay in that havene lenede
517. his povre
527. Fulle sore wepande for pyne
528. And als he laye abowte mydnyghte
529. faire and bryghte
534. And
535. es the
536. For sothe als I the sayne
537. And wele the gretis now
540. knelide thane appone his knee
542. He wepide so was he
543. Bot wyste he never whedirwarde to gonne
546. Sevene kynges landes hase he gone
550. That was a lady fayre
539. To povre mene that golde wille take
540. Fulle many fand scho there
N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.
555. Ilkone hade a florence noghte to layne
556. Sir Ysambrace was never so fayne
557. Hym hungrede never so sare
562. At myschefe thay sawe wele that he was
570. Mete and drynke was forthe

566. Swyche merthes hewas wunt to see
570. To a knyght gan sche

571. Tak // lat see
578. And the qwene therine isett

581. The qwene
582. Have ony other mete
584. wonderyd in here
595. fayr man
604. Whenne Sere Ysumbras was in
606. hym mete on stede
607. knyght he gaff swyche a clout
613. The ryche qwene sat and

614. good
617. The knyght
619. fowles
622. To the nest
624. The
627. hadde he sorowe
635. out off
636. He wepte sithen al
638. Thorwgh the court it was ful

641. The knyght wente hym to play
644. seygh
647. Thenne
649. Sche kyssyd
650. was my lordys
654. My
661. Where thou this
663. Hys care was more and more

664. drery
684. Welcome who so wolde

685. They corownyd Ser Ysumbrs
686. And made hym kyng that noble
687. For he was stout and bolde

692. And comaundyd crystenyd to be swythe
696. To brenne and make hym bare
697. And yiff we may hymselven hent
698. To brenne hym or to make hym schent

568 Wherin he was wonte to be (*r*)
570. Than to a knyght the lady gan (*r*)
571. Fetche forth // *om*. (*r*)
578. The pore palmer therein was sette (*r*)
581. Than she hym
582. Full fayne wolde she wete
584. grete wonder
607. so fayr
616. When that he came to the

618. abyde his strength
619. he gaue suche a stroke certayne
625. the ladye seyng that fast

626. strong
629. syr isenbras
631. Herons
634. Up to the tree
636. Hys
639. was he woode
646. in
647. After he wepte all the
649. Amonge hys sarasyns that were
652. Unto hys chaumber wente this knyght
655. founde
664. Thrise
666. Often she syghted
667. ought a knyght
671. Her
678. How that he the
680. and in what countre he was borne
681. rewfull
701. Woulde none thme selfe with holde
702. Syr Isenbras was rayed

703. And crouned kyng that erre was
704. With a gaye garlande of golde
709. And sent sondes frely syth

713. Them to hange or breme

714. They sayde that what man to hym wente
715. Shoulde thynke his waye yll be spente

574. And thoghte what he was wonnt to be
578. And tille a knyghte gane

579. Bryng // *om*.
587. This povre palmere ther-in was sett
N/A. *om*.
N/A. *om.*
589. myghte frayne hym what
603. mane bothe fayre
616. Bot by syr Ysambrace hade redyne thurgh the
618. mete his crokede stede
619. he ne gafre hym swylke a clowte
625. The qwene hirselfe at hym fast
626. styffe
629. The palmere
631. palmere
634. And to the neste thane
635. His awene
639. sorowe bygane
N/A. *om*.
N/A. *om*.
647. That with knyghtes it wexe fulle
650.The palmere went to the wode to playe
653. fande
656. In
658.Scho kyssede
659. aughte
663. And hir
670. Was thou ever
672. His sorowe thane wexe the mare
673. herte fulle
N/A. *om*.

685. Thane crownnede he was with riche
686. And made hym kynge that are was
687. Over alle those knyghttes bolde
702. Sandes he sente fulle ferly wyde
706. Bot to a batelle fare

707. Thay sayde and thay myghte hym hent
709. And there be bothe hangede and brynt

699. And alle tho off Crystys lare

707. To the batayle
709. horsyd
714. *om*. // wondyr
715. sayde madame have a good day
716. Sekyrly as I yow say

718. Helpe me Sere that I were dyght
719. In armes as it were a knyght

720. I wole with yow
722. ende
723. don
725. it
726. He gaff here
728. Ther come no moo
729. Whenne they metten in

738. joye it was
739. They slowen hethene kyngys twoo
740. And othere Sarayynys manye moo
741. Twenty thousand
745. They answerde hym with wurdes hende
752. Here clothyng was ful redy

753. They chaungyd al here

755. Neyther of wylde neyther of tame
756. Those doughty men off dede
769. Jhesu Cryst hevene Kyng

770. Geve us ay Hys blessyng

771. And schylde us from care

716. None woulde come to hym than
724. Agaynst the sarasyns
726. armed
731. after // full
732. loked on her with eyen graye

733. And sayd madame haue good daye
735. The ladye sayd vnto the knight
736. I woulde I were in armure bright
737. With you that I myght
739. wende
740. gone
742. she
743. On horse with
745. Of christen
746. Alone into the

809. wonder it is
810. The Heathen knyghtes slewe the there
811. the Sarasyns that counted were
812. Thurtye thousand
816. Father they sayde with milde entente
829. Their atyre was comely dighte
830. In many a worthy wede

832. Golde syluer nor ryche clothinge
833. they had all thynge at nede
852. And when it pleased God of hys myght
853. they all departed in heauens lyght
854. To the whiche bryng vs the trinitie

710. And alle that with hym were

718. He hade no mene with hym
721. horsede
725. *om.* // hert fulle
726. dolefulle worde thane gunne he saye
727. Nowe certis lady hafe now gud daye
729. A lorde scho sayd helpe that I were dyghte
730. In armours als I were a knyghte
731. And with the wille I
733. hande
734. kepe
736. scho
737. And had bothe
739. Come there nane
740. Nyne hundrethe sone hafe thay
749. semely was
750. Thay slewe the haythene knyghttes swa
751. And of the Sarazenes many alswa
752. Ya twentty thowsandez
756. Thay ansuerde als the angelle tham kende
775. Robys faire and redy dyghte

776. And thare thay chaunged thaire wede
778. Nowther of wylde nor of tame
779. Nor no riche brede
792. Praye we now to hevenes kynge
793. He gyffe us alle his dere blyssynge
794. Nowe and evermare

3. Stylistic

z-branch (*C*)

13. mekil man and long
14. armes grete and body strong

22. Off curteysye he was kyng

25. A fayr lady hadde hee

29. The fayreste that myghte on lyve be

t-branch (*c*)

13. louynge large and longe (*r*)
14. sholders brode and armes stronge (*r*)
22. He was as curreys as man myght thynke (*r*)
25. He had a ladie ful of beautie (*d*)
29. Fayrer fodes myght no man se (*d*)

y-branch (*T*)

13. mekille mane and lange
14. schuldirs brode and armes strange
22. Of curtasye was he kynge

25. Als fayre a lady to wyefe had he
29. Thay were the faireste that myghte be

30. God
32. Jhesu Cryst thoghte he nought

43. He seyde,Welcome Syr Isumbras (*L*)
44. or (*L*)
55. In yowthe I may ryde and go (*L*)
56. In elde I may noght do so (*L*)

81. Withouten any delayne (*L*)
124. ryche sirkote then toke
125. To his pore
172. His
180. And sone
214. We have thorwgh this forest
215. hadde
216. Now are gon
222. That rychely was wrought

230. They leve
269. beheeld
273. nevene
277. *om.*
278. men bowe unto
279. And non
282. Though ye me for her
285. for wele or
288. took
323. Fonde thyselff
333. And swownyd sythis
341. wente up
342. By holtes that were hore.

344. Neyther
364. Offte was hym wele and

389. Tyl the twelve monethis be comen and gon
392. And
411. To batayle faste he hyde

427. He rod as scharp as a
428. Myghte non
429. sory horse were
432. To an hygh mountayn
466. a gret oth he sware
497. With wery bones up he

545. Pore men gold to take

546. Fond he many on thore

579. He tolde the qwene
580. Goode tales the qwene he
583. forth they
586. my lordes soulde I wole the geve

30. the cope (*d*)
32. God he thought neuer a dell (*r*)
42. Isenbras he sayd there (*r*)

43. and (*r*)
60. Whyle I am yonge, I may well go (*r*)
61. Whan I am olde, I maye not so
104. they fled for fere of fyre
127. scarlet mantell than shore
128. Therin he closed his
181. And
189. And with hym
223. Through this forest haue we
224. found
225. Of all these (*r*)
231. In wedes worthely wrought (*r*)
239. For they beleue (*r*)
277. sawe
282. meane
286. all
287. my men to serue to
288. No man
291. thy men shall fyrst me (*r*)
294. in wele and in (*r*)
297. set (*r*)
332. If that ye come it
342. Than swoned she tymes
349. forth he went
350. amonge the holtes hye

352. whyle eyther
372. the knyghte afore was often (*r*)
396. Tyll the fyrt yere was gone (*k*)
400. For he (*k*)
416. Hym selfe to battayle gan ryde
432. It sprange as sparcle out of
433. There myght no man (*k*)
434. caple was (*k*)
437. Upon a hygh mountayne (*k*)
468. sware by this lyght (*k*)
499. Bothe wete and wery vp they (*r*)
547. Many pore folke he sawe therat (*r*)
548. that were come the golde to take
579. And tolde her (*r*)
580. Many meruayles he her (*r*)
583. to hym were (*r*)
589 his soule that was my lorde (*r*)

30. the kynge
32. Goddis werkes gafe he noghte

43. And said, Welcome syr Ysambrace
44. or
56. In youthe I maye bothe ryde and go
57. When I ame alde I may nott so
82. The sothe es noghte to layne
126. riche surcote i-wysse schare
127. And gafe his pore
180. *om*.
191. Wyghtly he
237. In this foreste lange hafe we
238. myghte
239. More thane thiese
245. That fulle richely was wrought.
253. For thay lefe
288. sawe
293. nevene
297. alle
298. salle bowebowe hir to fote
299.And noghte
302. Bot mene me for hir
305. in wele and
308. tuke
N/A. *om*.
351. And felle downe one hir
358. knyght myghte
360. And awaye thane faste went hee
362. Unnethes
380. Ofte was that knyghte bothe wele and
396. Tyll the fyrt yere was gone (*k*)
409. Wele more
428. That he wolde thedir ryde

441. For no wapene wolde he
442. There lyffede none that
443. horse was
447. Untille an heghe mountayne
482. by his crowne the
510. With wery bones the knygte up
N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.

587. He tolde hir
N/A. *om*.
588. nobilly he hase hir
591. palmere scho said I salle

587. Or for his love yiff that he leve
598. For hym they deden a turnement
611. And barst hem bothe nekke and bak
629. And undyr hys bed
683. *om*.

590. I wyll the finde to bed and borde (*r*)
610. A turnement there was

623. Of some both necke and backe he brake
641. Under his heade
700. Both

592. Evermare whils I may lyfe

613. That daye the tournament solde be sted
611. Thay thoghte to do hym quede
641. And hyd it fulle prevaly
N/A. *om.*

4. Modernization

z-branch (*C*)

1. Hende in halle and ye wole her

5. Geve hem
6. unto oure
7. I wold yow telle
9. man of dede
10. callyd
19. Menstralles he lovyd wel
24. *om*.
33. Ne on His names seven
34. levede
35. That Jhesu wolde no lenger (*L*)
37. So [*om.*] hit byfell upon (*L*)
38. The (*L*)
40. wente by a derne sty (*L*)
41. was (*L*)
51. His hondes up he helde (*L*)

57. My lymes wyll wex unwelde (*L*)
75. Come
76. Worse tydynges (*L*)
77. Syr brent be thy byggynges (*L*)
78. Thy menne be manye (*L*)
121. toke his mantell of ryche (*L*)
127. Do ye shull after
135. clerkes
139. knyghte
149. they myghte ony
150. love of
156. dole
158. hadde
160. kome by a water kene
161. Ther over they wolde

162. was her kare the more
164. he hym bere
166. Leve sone, sytte her styll

167. Whyle I fette thy broder the tyll
168. And

t-branch (*c*)

1. Lordynges lysten all that wyll here (*r*)
5. Graunt them (*r*)
6. to theyr (*r*)
7. Ye shall well here (*r*)
9. of his dede (*r*)
10. *om.* (*r*)
19. Harpers loued hym (*r*)
24. the (*r*)
33. Nor on no ghostly thynge (*r*)
34. synned (*r*)
35. No longer wolde our Lorde (*r*)
36. So after it befell on (*r*)
37. that this (*r*)
39. loked up on hye (*r*)
40. were (*r*)
56. And helde vp bothe his handes (*r*)
62. Thoughe that I fayne woule (*r*)
98. That came
99. Well worse
100. Brent byn all thy bowres

101. Many of thy men be
124. dyd of his surcote of
130. Madame he sayde do
138. we
142. lorde
152. that they myght it
153. *om*.
159. sorowe
164. found
169. came to a water by dene
170. Ouer woulde they

171. begane theyr care
173. dyd hym beare
175. sonne weppe no mare

176. Tyll I for thy brethren fare

177. *om*.

y-branch (*T*)

4. Now, hende in haule, and ye wolde here
2. Graunte us
3. unto oure
7. I wille yow telle
9. [...] undir wede
10. hattene
19. He luffede glewmene wele
24. *om*. (*T*)
33. His mercys for to nevene
34. reyngned
35. That God wolde no lenger

37. It felle so appone
38. The
40. he come by a derne sty
41. was
52. and bothe his handis uphelde

58. My lymmes wille waxe unwelde
76. Come
77. And wele wers tythynges
78. Brynned were alle his byggynges bolde
79. His bestes werene alle
123. knyghte offe his mantille of
129. Now salle ye alle he said do
137. I yowe
141. knyghte
151. so that thay myghte any
152. *om*.
158. dole
163. hade
168. entirde thane to a water kene
169. The bankes were fulle ferre bytwene
170. And watirs beme als bare
172. he ym bare
174. Luke my sone that thou be stylle
175. To whils I feche thi brother the tille
176. And

181. and grette ful ille
182. And thoughte herseleven for
193. forest they wente
194. Tyl they come to Grykkyssche
195. They grette and we full
197. faste come saylande

199. sett
203. *om*.
206. At the
220. To that galey gan they wynne
221. That the Sawdon was inne

231. Be Mahoun that the brought

244. The Sawdon dool

245. And bad they scholde be forth
247. hym rewyd sore
263. ne gat
266. gon
269. Hym
270. Come adoun from
271. Man I wold geve the gold and fee
272. and thou that wymman wole selle me
313. Syththyn he callys

314. was the lady
320. were drownyd
329. A sevevene nyght that he myghte leve
330. lytyl
337. on the land hym
345. So hadde they wept so
361. By that was comen
362. Hys yongete sone awey was

380. bad hym swynke
390. They wroughten hym ful wowgh
391. he cowde
404. he hadde purveyyd
443. soone hath he
467. As sone as he hool ware

469. hym levyd
473. For
475. gunne
476. they salvyd hym
477. And stoppyd weel
478. They goven hym meetes and drynkes lythe

190. loude and shyll
191. Loth she was her lyfe
201. a foreste
202. They went towarde the quicke
203. Wonders wery and
205. come saylynge by the see sande
210. lyfte
214. was
216. Up in an
229.Towarde the galey gan thei gone (*r*)
230. therin sate the sowdan (*r*)

240. Of me gete they ryght nought (*r*)
253. the sowdan sayde and him (*r*)
254. Let them before me be (*r*)

256. His heart was dear
272. haue
276. walke
278. He
279. that had bene in
280. He sayde syr sell her unto me
281. And I wyll geue the golde and fe
322. the Sowden called

323. the lady was ful
329. droune
338. ther wyth a seuen nyghe for to lyue
339. yonge
345. hym on the lande
353. Tho were theyr hertes (*r*)
369. Or he retourned (*r*)
370. the yonge chylde awaye had (*r*)
387. sayde laboure (*k*)
397. For his lyuynge wrought he so
398. tyme coulde he
409. they puruayed a
448. he had soone (*k*)
469. Whan thy woundes hole be (*k*)
471. dyde hym leue (*k*)
475. By cause (*k*)
477. *om*. (*k*)
478. with salues (*k*)
479. To hele therwith (*k*)
480. They entreated hym curteysly (*k*)

192. grette and gafe hir ille
193. Nere scho wolde ir-selvene
213. a foreste yode
214. And entred in towardez the Greckes
215. Thare they sawe stormes
217. come sayland over the flode
222. sett
226. was
229. In-to that
237. Untille a galaye thus gane thay wynne
238. There the sowdane of those Sarazeneswas inne
254. Loke that ye gyffe hym noghte
N/A. *om.*

N/A. *om*.

267. hym rewed sare
283. we myghte gete
287. wende
289. Hym
290. That ware commene owte of
291. He said Wille thou selle thi wyffe to me
292. And I wille gyff the golde and fee
346. The sowdane grauntes, scho was fulle
347. *om*.
N/A. *om*.
344. A sevenyghte that thay myght with lyfe
345. littille
355. hym downe
363. So had he wepede
377. And that same tyde come
378. His yongeste sone away hase he
396. bade hym swynke
406. And wroghte hym-selvene fulle woo
407. he couthe
421. thay hafe getyne tham
459. sowdane hase
483. That whenne he were coverde of his care
485. the knyght was levede
489. For
491. gunne
492. they made salves
493. And laid thame tille
494. They gafe hym metis and drynkis lythe

479. And heleden hys woundes also swythe
481. yore

482. That he wolde dwelle ther no more
483. Thenne that he were
498. And in to the cyté
499. was he
502. As he yede upon
503. so upon the nyght
505. Off hys paynes thoughte hym nought
506. hestes to
507. ovyrdon
508. Al the cyté he has thorwgh

509. ne
510. hererwe
511. Jerusalem
524. And geves the
530. He wyste nevere
535. dwellyd
538. Ilke day sche gaff at her gate

550. Pore men that myghte nought goo
555. For hym they rewen sore

556. The ryche qwene in halle was set
557. her servyd to hond and feet
559. In the floor a cloth
575. there he has
589. chaumbry fayr and free

590. knave
600. yit he conqueryd
605. Was non so doughty
609. And manye he made to
610. He caste the Sareyynys in dyke and slak
612. And manye fledde
616. Thenne fel it
621. Wayvande
626. That hys wyff was fore
630. And wente wepande
634. so blythe off mood
637. levede he that
642. Hys sorewe for to mene
648. it er
652. To the knyghtes sche it

653. sche for that monay
662. Was thou evere
665. an
666. he hym sette
672. And in a nest I it fette

481. So he was heled lyghtly (*r*)

483. well (*r*)

484. That no lenger he woulde there dwell (*r*)
485. Whan he was hole and (*r*)
500. Into the cytye they (*r*)
501. he was (*r*)
505. On the nyght as on (*k*)
504. as he went euen so he (*r*)
507. Al thoughe the fleshe lyked (*k*)
508. wyll he wolde (*k*)
509. synfull (*k*)
510. Thrugh the cyte gan he (*k*)

511. *om*. (*k*)
512. lodge (*k*)
513. bedleme (*r*)
526. Hathe the gyuen (*r*)
532. Then wyste he not (*r*)
537. wonned (*k*)
540. Euery daye she made a dole (*k*)
552. Poore men that myght yll go (*r*)
557. On hym they rued sore (*r*)

558. The quene crowned at mete sate (*r*)
559. serued her therat (*r*)
561. A clothe on the floore (*r*)
575. where he hath (*r*)
595. clene chambre and a fayre (*r*)
596. man (*r*)
612. he conquered them
617. None was so bolde
621. Other some he made sore
622. Some he caste ouer the lake

624. They fled from
628. So it befell
633. Meuing
638. Wherfore hys ladye was
642. then wepynge he went
645. of chere so good
648. he ledde there hys
653. Sore wepinge as I wene
665. before it
669. Unto the knyghte there she tolde
670. that she for golde
679. And whether he were a
682. this
683. her before
689. I in a neste it founde

495. And helid the knyghte wondir swythe
N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.

N/A. *om*.
511. In to that haythene
512. he was
516. And wrechidly one nyghttis
515. thane yode he thore
518. Goddess werkkes for to

519 Gode and haly
520. mysdede
522. That alle a syde of a cunntré he hase thurgh
523. *om*.
524. herbere
525. Bedeleme
538. And grauntes the nowe
544. For had he nowre
549. wonned
552. That everylke a daye scho gyffes at hir yate
558. Of povre mene that myghte ille goo
563. And of hym thame rewede sare
564. The riche qwene in haulle was sett
565. hir serves to handes and fete
567. In the floure a clothe
583. whare he hase
595. a chambir faire and bryghte

594. mane
615. yitt for-thoghte thame alle
617. There was none that
621. Wele a sevene score garte
622. And some he keste into a slake
624. And many flede
628. And so it byfelle ones
633. Owte-wappande
638. That his wyfe was fore
642. And wepade he went
N/A. *om*.
646. the palmere lede that lyffe
651. His myrthis for to mene
657. are it
661. Than scho to the knyghtes

662. scho was for that golde
671. Whare and howe that thou
674. ane
675. hym sett
N/A. *om*.

677. laykyng and with	694. clypping and	N/A. *om*.
679. hem was ful	**696. other was**	**682. other were so**
680. No lenger tenne cowde they	**697. they wolde it no longer**	**683. That thay myghte no lengere**
693. Tho	**710. to them**	**693. To thame**
695. Whoso to hys parlement	712. Who that to his counsyl	705. That schortly there-to thay ne wolde
701. The // to be mette	718. Where both // met	712. And // ther was mett
730. scholden have slayn bee	801. slayne shoulde haue be	741. solde hafe takene bee
733. *om.* // an	804. One // one on a	744. One // on a
734. on // he rod	805. one // one ranne	745. one // he come
735. That was her eldeste chylde	806. Theyr eldest sonne to beare	746. That was thair eldeste childe
747. chyldren be we	818. sonnes we be	758. sonnes are wee
757. Thenne three londes gunne they	834. Thre lands after they dyd	780. Fyve landis thus gunne thay
763. Everylkon	840. To euery sonne	786. Ilkane of his sonnes
765. Whedyr so they wolden fare	842. Whyle they together were	788. Whare so that thay solde fare

5. Errors

<u>*z*-branch</u> (*C*)	<u>*t*-branch</u> (*c*)	<u>*y*-branch</u> (*T*)
36. To hym he sente a stevenne (*L*)	N/A. *om*. (*r*)	36. to hym he sente a steven
105. that erste were comely cladde (*L*)	N/A. *om.*	107. He levyde so comly clede
107. For yette I se your fader on lyve (*L*)	N/A. *om.*	109. I see youre fadir yondir one lyve
109. They wepte and gafe hem ylle	N/A. *om.*	111. They wepede alle and gafe thame ille
110. Her fader badde they sholde be stylle	N/A. *om*.	112. The knyghte bad thay solde be stylle
111. And wepe nowghte so sore	N/A. *om*.	113. And wepe ye noghte so sore
112. All the sorow that we ben inne	N/A. *om*.	114. For alle the sorowe that we aryne inne
113. Hit is for owre wykked synne	N/A. *om*.	115. It es ilke dele for oure syne
114. Worthy we be well more	N/A. *om*.	116. We ware worthi wele more
115. And we full evell kan wyrke	N/A. *om*.	117. Bot we kane nonekyns werkes wyrke
116. Owre frendes of us wyll yrke	N/A. *om*.	118. Owre frendis of us wille sone be irke
117. Of londe I rede we fare	N/A. *om.*	119. Of lande I rede we fare
118. Of myselfe have I no thowghte	N/A. *om*.	120. Of my-selvene hafe I no thoghte
119. But that I may geve my menn noghte	N/A. *om.*	121. Bot I may helpe my childir noghte
120. For hem is all my kare	N/A. *om.*	122. For thame es alle my kare
139. hende	142. bende	141. hende
186. Thus thenne gan he say	N/A. *om.*	206. Us awe hym alle to thanke
204. To wakkyn woo ful wyde	N/A. *om*.	227. Thare wakkyns woo fulle wyde
207. A lytyl ther bysyde	N/A. *om.*	230. A littille ther bysyde
318. Whenne he to the schyp scholde goo	327. to shyppe whan she was go	N/A. *om*.
336. With that lady free	N/A. *om*.	354. With that lady so free
365. so sory as	373. then	381. yitt als

402. And stroyede it ful wyde	N/A. *om*.	419. And wakkenede woo fulle wyde
403. The Crystene kynges fleygh so long	N/A. *om*.	420. The Crystene kynges hase fledde so lange
460. The Crystene kyng sayde than	N/A. *om*.	476. The kyng ansuerde the knyghte thane
461. I trowe nevere that smethis man	N/A. *om*.	477. Wondir I hafe that any smethymane
462. In werre were halff so wyght	N/A. *om*.	478. In werre was ever so wyghte
568. Stylle he sat and eet ryght nought	N/A. *om*.	576. So lange he satt and ete noghte
569. The qwene wundryd in her thought	N/A. *om*.	577. That the lady grete wondir thoghte
632. He thoughte on hys wyff and hys chyldren thre	N/A. *om*.	644. He grette fulle sare for his lady
766. They levyd and deyde in good entente	N/A. *om*.	789. Thay lyffede and dyed with gud entent
767. Unto hevene here soules wente	N/A. *om*.	790. And sythene alle tille hevene thay went
768. Whenne that they dede ware	N/A. *om*.	791. Whenne that thay dede ware

Appendix C:

Additional Lines in *Isumbras's t*-Branch Texts

1. Lines Not Found in *z*-Branch Texts

In a foreste they were a whyle
Towne myght they get none tyle
Wery and wo they were (*c* 160-62)

Yitt in a wode thay were gone wylle,
Towne ne myghte thay none wyne tille,
Als wery als thay were (*T* 159-61)

They eate nothyng that came of corne
But beryes and bowes of the thorne
Amonge the holtes bare (*c* 166-68)

Nothynge sawe thay that come of corne,
Bot the floures of the thorne,
Up-one those holtes hore (*T* 165-67)

And a they on the land stode
they loked farther in the flode
Galeys they sawe come glyde (*c* 207-09)

And als thay stode so appone the lande,
And lokede in-to the see strande,
Those schippes sawe thay ryde
(*T* 219-21)

2. Lines Unique to *t*-Branch Texts

The worldes welth shall fro the fall
thou shalt lose thy chidren all
And all tehy landes free
thy lady goodlyest of all
For feare of fyre shall flye thy hall
thys daye or thou her se (*c* 48-53)

Syr they sayde we tell you playne
With adders all youre bestes ben slaine
With venyme are they blowe (*c* 81-83)

Let your sorowe all cease
Enforce your selfe to go in peace
And mery as birde on bowe (*c* 93-95)

His purse caste he to hm belyue
the lade hym thanked often sythe
For his gifte so great
the knyght vnto the towne went
He sawe his place was all to brent
Lowe and playne with the strete (*c* 108-13)

[T]hough he be in necessitie
It is ruth and pytie (*c* 245-46)

Were he as well fedde as euer he was
(*c* 248)

[S]he sayde to hym in great disporte
syr Palmer be of good comforte
se nothynge that ye dreede (*c* 586-88)

At thyne ease thou shalt be
with much mirth game and gle
Both early and late (*c* 592-94)

[S]yr Isenbras also snell
On knees before that lady fell
And sayde comely quene
Herevnto I graunt wele
Of my pardon the halfe deale
In places where I haue bene (*c* 598-603

Befyre the quene the golde was broughte
For whiche the Sowdan her bought
O syr Isenbras
Though it against hys wyl were
the sendale also sawe she there
That her lordes was (*c* 657-62)

He sawe them semble as I you saye
with brandes bright and banners gaye
He houed and behlede
That cursed people false of faye
towarde hym made great araye
with weapon and with shyelde

And he houed on a hyll
Bugles blaste and trumpettes shyll
and herauldes herde he shoute
They sayde traytour stande thou styll
Toward knight we shall the kyll
thou mayest well drede for dout

Quod Isenbras I make a vowe
Unto my lorde swete Iesu
I shall not fele this fyght
whyle I maye in styrope stande
with healme on head and speare in hande
with bronde that is so bright

The ladye swore by mary mylde
Againste the sarasins that were so wylde
she woulde do her myghte
This daye to battayle wyll I feare
Helme on head with shyelde and speare
so comforted she that knight

syr Isenbras his course toke with delyte
And about hym fiercely can smyte
As a waryour wood and wyght
Some theyr heades he dyd of smyte
The Sowdan was out of his wye
When he saw that syght

through the hoste then let he crye
what man might wich mastrie
To grounde him fell doune
He shoulde him geue hys landes truly
Fro Iaffa to Alexandrie
Both citie towre and towne

Of all the whole Sowdans hoste
Was there none that durst make boaste
Battayle hym to byd
they gaue the Sowdan counsell all
Thy hole hoste at once let on hym fall
And strike hym doune and hys stede

the Sowdan did thereto assente
with battes adn with bowes bente
They faste at him can laye
Syr Isenbras good liuerie lente
the quene a swerde in her hand hent
And dealte her dole that daye

that daye that ladye and the knyght
Agaynst the Sodan helde stronge fyght
through grace that God them sente
Of freshe Sarasins there came a route
That beset the knyght aboute
With shaftes and bowes bente (*c* 747-800)

We ne wyst howe we hyther came
But for to saue you fro shame
As goddes wyll was
Ye be our mother that vs bare
And ye oure father sothly are
Men call you syr Isenbras (*c* 819-24)

The eldest sonne was in surrye
Chosen chyefe of Chyualrye
As kynge and gouernoure
the seconde sonne shortly to saye
In an Ile called Iaffaye
Reygned with great honour
The youngest brother was crowned kynge
Of Calabre without leasynge
Thus reygned they all thre (*c* 843-51)

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