PARATEXTUALITY IN MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT
Verbal and Visual Presentation of the Middle English *Polychronicon*

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the verbal and visual presentation of text across manuscript and print media through the concept of paratext. The term collectively refers to the various textual and visual elements which surround the main text in a book, and guide its use and reception. The aim of the study is to critically evaluate the paratext framework in the context of handwritten and printed English texts from the late medieval and early modern periods, and to further develop the theoretical and methodological applications of the paratext framework to this material. In addition to the theory of paratext, this dissertation contributes to the wider study of the materiality of text and our understanding of late medieval and early modern authorship.

The approach taken in this study is philological and informed by textual scholarship; palaeographical and codicological methods are also used in the analyses. The material for the study comprises fifteen manuscript copies and three early printed editions of John Trevisa's Middle English translation (1387) of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*. By comparing the paratextual matter across the different material manifestations of the work, the study explores how authors and book producers conceptualised paratextuality and attempted to guide the readers. The analyses focus on four major paratextual devices: prefatory and end matter, indices, marginal annotation, and elements of page layout, which includes text-organising devices as well as decoration and illustration.

The study shows that pre-modern book producers had an understanding of paratextuality as a phenomenon related to but separate from textuality. Various paratextual elements demonstrate how scribes, printers and other producers of the new copies balanced between producing the abstract text of the work accurately and improving the usability or desirability of the physical copy. Possibly for this reason, the indices were found to be particularly prone to changes. The producers' interpretations of the structure of the text, and the relationships between text and paratext, are visible in the visual and textual presentation.

KEYWORDS: book production, early printed books, manuscripts, Middle English, paratext, textual scholarship

TIIVISTELMÄ

Väitöstutkimuksessa tarkastellaan paratekstikäsitteen avulla tekstin sanallisen ja visuaalisen esittämisen keinoja käsikirjoituksissa ja varhaisissa painetuissa kirjoissa. Parateksti viittaa kaikkiin kirjassa varsinaista tekstiä ympäröiviin tekstuaalisiin ja visuaalisiin elementteihin, jotka ohjaavat lukijan tulkintaa ja kirjan käyttöä. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella kriittisesti paratekstiviitekehyksen soveltuvuutta käsikirjoitusten ja kirjapainon varhaisvaiheiden aikakaudella tuotettuun englanninkieliseen aineistoon sekä kehittää viitekehyksen teoreettisia ja metodologisia sovelluksia tässä aineistossa. Paratekstiteorian lisäksi tutkimus tarjoaa uutta tietoa materiaalisesta tekstistä sekä tekijyydestä myöhäiskeskiajalla ja varhaismodernilla ajalla.

Tutkimuksen alana on filologia ja sen teoreettinen viitekehys ammentaa tekstuaalitieteistä. Aineiston analysoinnissa käytetään myös paleografisia ja kodikologisia menetelmiä. Tutkimuksessa käytetty aineisto koostuu John Trevisan latinasta keskienglanniksi kääntämän *Polychronicon*-maailmanhistorian (1387) käsikirjoituskopioista, yhteensä viisitoista käsikirjoitusta, ja kolmesta varhaisesta painetusta laitoksesta. Vertailemalla paratekstin piirteitä yhden teoksen eri materiaalisissa ilmentymissä tutkimus selvittää, miten teoksen tekijät ja kirjatuottajat käsittivät paratekstuaalisuuden ja hyödynsivät sitä lukijoita ohjatessaan. Analyysi keskittyy erityisesti neljään paratekstityyppiin: alku- ja loppusanat, hakemistot, reunahuomautukset sekä sivun asettelun piirteet, joihin sisältyvät tekstin jäsentäminen sekä koristelu ja kuvitus.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että varhaisilla tekstintuottajilla oli käsitys paratekstuaalisuudesta tekstiin liittyvänä mutta siitä erillisenä ilmiönä. Eri paratekstielementit osoittavat, miten kopioitsijat, painajat ja muut kirjatuottajat pyrkivät toisaalta toisintamaan teoksen tekstin tarkasti, toisaalta parantamaan fyysisen kirjan käytettävyyttä tai houkuttelevuutta. Luultavasti tästä johtuu, että hakemistot olivat aineistossa erityisen alttiita muutoksille. Tuottajien omat tulkinnat tekstin rakenteesta sekä tekstin ja paratekstin suhteista tulevat esiin visuaalisissa ja tekstiä jäsentävissä elementeissä.

ASIASANAT: englannin kieli, kirjatuotanto, käsikirjoitukset, parateksti, tekstintutkimus

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Although I did not know it at the time, the first steps towards this dissertation were taken during one of the very first MA level courses I took at the English Department, *Pragmatics on the Page*. This course was my first introduction to the study of manuscripts, early print, and paratexts, and the work of the whole "PoP team" has been a great source of inspiration ever since. I am particularly grateful to Professor Emeritus Risto Hiltunen, who supervised my MA thesis and encouraged me to continue my research on the *Polychronicon*, as well as Dr Janne Skaffari and the Revd Dr Ruth Carroll, who sparked my interest in Middle English. I would also like to thank Dr Skaffari for our discussions on code-switching and paratextuality.

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Table of Contents

Tables

Figures

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BMC 11	*Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library. BMC Pt. 11: England*. Hellinga, Lotte, & George D. Painter. 2007. 't Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf.
Dialogue	Trevisa's *Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk*
Dialogus	*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* (Pseudo-Ockham)
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
Epistle	Trevisa's dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Berkeley
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue*
ISTC	*Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*
LALME	*A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels, & Michael Benskin. 1986. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
LP	Linguistic Profile
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
RS edn	Rolls Series edition = Higden, Ranulph. 1865–1886. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by Churchill Babington & J. R. Lumby. 9 vols. London: HMSO.
Sermon	*Defensio Curatorum* (Richard FitzRalph's sermon against the friars)
STC	*A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*. Pollard, A. W. & Redgrave G. R. 2nd edn. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson & Katharine F. Pantzer. 1976–91. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society.
WB	Wycliffite Bible

1   Introduction

This dissertation focuses on verbal and visual framing and textual presentation in John Trevisa's Middle English translation of Ranulph Higden's universal chronicle, the *Polychronicon*. Trevisa's translation work was finished in 1387, only a few decades after Higden's original composition. To analyse the copies of the work in manuscript and print (dating from c. 1390–1530), I utilise the concept of paratext, developed by the French structuralist Gérard Genette in the 1980s to describe the manifold elements which exist to frame a text and guide its reception. In doing so, my aim is, on the one hand, to increase our understanding of the roles of various book producers working in the late medieval period. On the other hand, the aim of the present study is to offer solutions to some of the outstanding issues in the paratext theory by reconsidering the concept in light of manuscript and early print culture. Manuscript paratexts have recently gained much-deserved attention in the form of individual studies as well as edited collections – see, for instance, Reis (2010; 2011); Poleg (2013); Bredehoft (2014); Liira (2014); Peikola (2015); Ciotti & Lin (eds., 2016); Tweed & Scott (eds., 2018). Particularly relevant in the context of the *Polychronicon* is James Freeman's (2013) doctoral dissertation on the dissemination, readership and codicological aspects of the Latin copies of the work.[1]

However, the present study is a novel attempt to critically examine the theoretical and methodological applications of the full paratext framework to manuscript and print copies of a single work. I approach paratextuality from the perspective of philology – "a border-crossing discipline which brings together scholars who share an interest in linguistic, literary and cultural phenomena in time, or in other words, text, time and interpretation" (Lönnroth 2017: xiv) – and believe that this approach has much to offer to paratextual studies. I examine the *Polychronicon* in the context of its material witnesses and in the cultural context of the production of both the text and its witnesses. Trevisa's translation survives in fourteen manuscript copies (excluding extracts and fragments) and it was first printed by William Caxton in 1482, followed by two editions printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1495) and Peter Treveris (1527). The primary material is described in more detail in Chapter 4.

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[1]   I would like to thank Dr Freeman for providing me with a copy of his dissertation.

The *Polychronicon* is particularly well suited to a study of late medieval and early modern paratextuality for several reasons: The number of surviving manuscripts, some of which are copied by the same scribe, provides a good starting point for the comparison of paratextual features, as does the existence of three printed editions before 1530s. The popularity of the work thus spans some 200 years across the shift from manuscript to print as the primary medium of textual transmission, yet the latter two printed editions have barely received attention in previous *Polychronicon* research. The genre of the work, narrative chronicle, requires an extensive paratextual apparatus which allows the reader to navigate the text, and the fact that the text is a translation allows for a critical evaluation of the paratext framework in a less author-centred setting. It should also be noted that Trevisa's late-fourteenth-century translation occurs at a time when the demand for vernacular literature was increasing, which undoubtedly has effects on how the text was framed and presented to the readers (see Gillespie & Wakelin eds. 2011 for the changing practices of book production in this period; an overview is presented in Chapter 3 below).

In the following section, I go through the objectives of the study in more detail. The rest of this chapter consists of an introduction to the *Polychronicon* as a work (1.2), an introduction to the paratext framework and the conceptualisation of *text* (1.3), and an outline of the study (1.4).

1.1   Research questions and aims

The focus of this study is on the comparison of paratextual elements across the copies and editions of the Middle English *Polychronicon*. I examine how the aspects of paratextual framing vary between the copies and what this indicates about the text-producers' understanding of textual presentation and reader guidance. Producers should here be understood in the wide sense, from the original author-compiler Higden to the scribes, printers, compositors and other persons involved in the production of the physical copies. In addition to paratextual elements created and modified at the various stages of production, including prefatory material, indices, and structural devices such as headings (rubrics), chapter titles, borders and initials, I analyse marginal annotation by producers and users of the copies alike. The aspects analysed include both visual (material) and textual (linguistic) characteristics of paratextual elements. The latter also encompass the choice of language, as many of the paratextual elements are in Latin even though the language of the main text is English.

My approach to paratextuality is grounded in material or "new" philology, which brings into focus the physical documents bearing texts, instead of studying the texts via scholarly editions often focused on archetypes (see e.g. Nichols 1990; Drout & Kleinman 2010; see also Bäckvall 2017 on the dichotomy between "new" and

"traditional" philology and how to adopt a more nuanced approach). Collaboration between historical linguists and medievalists and book historians has increased only recently. These approaches proceed from the idea that "[r]eaders experience books as physical objects which provide visual encounters as well as linguistic content. The appearance of the page is integral to the reader's construal of meaning" (Carroll et al. 2013: 55). The "Pragmatics on the Page" approach put forth by Carroll et al. (2013) covers aspects of the text itself, such as punctuation, but it also draws attention to various features, such as annotation and decoration, which may be viewed as paratextual.

Paratexts enable texts to be offered to their readers, in the physical as well as the abstract sense; they are what "ensure the text's presence in the world" (Genette 1997b: 1). As Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin put it, paratexts may be viewed as "the intersection between texts and materiality" which "mirror the activities of everyone involved in the production, transmission, dissemination and reception of the manuscript and its content: authors, editors, scribes, artisans, commentators, readers, sellers, owners and so on" (2016: viii). As the volume edited by Ciotti & Lin (2016) explores paratextuality in manuscript material, the production and transmission of individual manifestations of texts becomes central.

In Genette's original formulation of the theory (1997a, 1997b), paratextual elements would be produced mainly by the author or the publishing house, or occasionally by a third party, such as the translator, while less attention – or none at all – is given to the other parties involved in the production and dissemination of texts and books, such as the editors, scribes, artisans and others mentioned by Ciotti & Lin (2016). Genette's paratextuality is thus very much linked to the idea and practice of publishing texts, but at the same time, there is much potential in redefining the concept to explain textual phenomena in varying environments, not only that of commercial (print) publishing. This potential has already been demonstrated in a number of studies ranging from classical antiquity (Jansen ed. 2014) as well as Western and non-Western manuscripts (e.g. Tether 2014; Ciotti & Lin eds. 2016) to media studies (e.g. Gray 2010; Stanitzek 2004) and e-books (e.g. Birke & Christ 2013; McCracken 2013).

One of the reformulations proposed in this thesis is to not only consider the point of production – realised in several stages – but also the afterlives of textual artifacts (cf. J. J. Smith 2017) from a paratextual viewpoint. In Genette's (1997b) theorisation of paratext, the reader is viewed as the receiver of the text and its paratextual messages. However, text production and consumption are rather to be viewed as a spectrum of processes, and consumers of texts are not an entirely separate category from text or book producers. In manuscript production, most copies were produced to order, and many aspects of the end product depend on the preferences of the commissioners as well as those of the scribes and artisans fulfilling the order.

Moreover, copies may have been further modified by owners and readers, as testified by annotations and other marks left on the pages. The practices of late medieval book production and consumption are addressed in Chapter 3. Parallel openings have already been made in the fields studying texts in the digital era, where the notion of publishing is complex (see e.g. Gray 2010).

The present study also offers a novel approach to the study of paratext by crossing two boundaries conventional in the study of early books: that between manuscript and print media, and that between books printed before 1501 (incunables) and books printed after this year, which distinction is mostly arbitrary although now standard. The distinction between fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books may be beneficial in some cases when describing the early stages of printing, but as always, any changes to the physical appearance of the books was gradual. The boundary between handwritten and printed books is not clear-cut either. David McKitterick notes in his influential volume *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* that "[w]hether one considers scribal texts or illumination and decoration, the boundary between manuscript and print is as untidy chronologically as it is commercially, materially or socially" (2003: 12). Since then, several scholars have sustained the notion that more research is needed on the intersection and interplay of these two media, as the strict division into two disciplines is the result of later provenance and cataloguing practices rather than something inherent in books themselves (see, e.g., Walsham & Crick 2004: 4; Gillespie & Wakelin 2011: 8–9; Varila 2016: 2; Whetter 2017: 3–4). As I am interested in the design and dissemination of the *Polychronicon* copies beyond Higden and Trevisa's lifetimes, I have found it worthwhile not to limit my primary material to the manuscript versions only; printed copies were being distributed around the same time as the manuscript copies circulated and continued to be used and annotated by readers (annotation will be discussed in Chapter 8 below; for sixteenth-century readers of fifteenth-century manuscripts, see Connolly 2019). I also believe that focusing on the period that saw the gradual transition from manuscript to print as the main medium of publishing can fruitfully reveal how ideas of textual presentation and paratextuality were shifting, although the present study is only a step towards this goal.

My analysis shows that scribes and early printers did have ideas akin to the understanding of paratextuality, that is to say, which parts are more intimately associated with "the text" and which are more or less independent from or subservient to it.

1.2   The *Polychronicon*

Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* is a large universal chronicle divided into seven books.[2] Following the model of other universal histories, as discussed in Section 4.1 below, the work begins with a geographical account that serves as a *mappa mundi*, a world map – some manuscripts also include an illustrated map here, or reserve room for one – before proceeding to world history in the books that follow. The first book is encyclopaedic in nature, and similar features are found throughout the work (Gransden 1982: 44). The contents of the books are outlined in Higden's preface. The second book records the events from "four ages": from the biblical creation to the burning of the first temple of the Jews. The third book narrates history from the beginning of the fifth age of the world – that is, from the Babylonian exile – until the birth of Christ. The fourth book engages with the life of Christ and the Roman empire, after which the attention is turned to Britain, the main focus of the remaining books. The history of Britain is recorded from the arrival of the Saxons until the Danish invasion in the fifth book, and down to the Norman conquest in the sixth book. The seventh book outlines the years following the Norman conquest until Higden's time, the reign of Edward III.

Higden (d. 1363/4) was a Benedictine monk of Chester Abbey. He entered the monastery in 1299 and remained there until his death (Taylor 1966: 1). Not much is known about his life, but Gransden notes that he received a traditional monastic education and was "apparently uninfluenced even by the twelfth century scholasticism" (1982: 43; for scholasticism see Sections 2.2 and 3.2 below). He wrote other works, including the *Speculum Curatorum* and the *Ars Componendi Sermones*, but the *Polychronicon* is his main work, as can be seen not only from the length and scope but also the several rounds of revision the work went through (see Gransden 1982; Taylor 1966: esp. 2–5). The different versions produced as the result of the revision are introduced in Chapter 4 where I discuss the *Polychronicon* in more detail.

John Trevisa's (c. 1342–1402) translation of the chronicle was commissioned by his patron, Sir Thomas Berkeley (1352–1417). Trevisa was likely born in Cornwall; Fowler argues for Trevessa, St Enoder, since it was under the domains of the Berkeley family at the time and members of a family named Trevisa have been identified in legal records (Fowler 1995: 11–16; see also Beal 2012: 2; Waldron

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[2]   The complete text in English usually amounts to c. 300 manuscript folios. Estimations of word count vary. Kinkade (1934) suggests 195,000 for the Latin text, while Edwards (1984: 134) proposes "over three-quarters of a million words" for the English translation. For the Latin text, my count on the basis of Book 1 (*Rolls Series* edition, Higden 1865–1886) amounts to c. 282,000 words, but as the Books are not of equal length, this is only a rough estimate.

2004: xvi). Some years after his ordination in 1370 he was appointed vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and he also served as chaplain to the Berkeley family from 1379 (Waldron 2004: xvi). Trevisa was educated at Oxford and returned there later between 1383 and 1387, and again between 1394 and 1396. Waldron connects these periods with the translation work of the *Polychronicon* and the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, based on their dates of completion in April 1387 and February 1398/9 respectively (2004: xvi). Trevisa's other translations do not bear colophons and hence cannot be dated precisely. These include the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Aegidius Romanus's *De Regimine Principum*, and two texts frequently prefixed to manuscripts of the *Polychronicon*: Richard FitzRalph's *Defensio Curatorum* (a sermon against the friars) and the anonymous *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, previously attributed to William of Ockham (c. 1287–1347). William Caxton, in his *Prohemye* to the *Polychronicon*, attributes a translation of the Bible to Trevisa. No material evidence of such a translation has been found, but it is likely that Trevisa was associated with the Wycliffite Bible translators at Oxford, even if he might not have taken part in the translation work himself (see Waldron 2004: xvi–xvii; Fowler 1995: 213–231, esp. 227–228; Perry 1971 [1925]: cxv–cxxvi).

Trevisa's textual output mainly comprises translations. However, the paratexts of the *Polychronicon* include original material composed by him: the preface in the form of the *Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk* and a dedicatory epistle addressed to his patron, Lord Berkeley. These are some of the most prominent paratextual elements in the *Polychronicon*; I will return to them in Section 5.5. Jane Beal (2012: 9) also counts the body of Trevisa's notes inserted in the *Polychronicon* and other translations as the "third original 'work' in Trevisa's canon". Beal's quotation marks around *work* suggest she is applying the term loosely (c.f. Section 1.3 below). Without contesting the word choice, it is clear that this material is highly valuable in that it gives us an idea of Trevisa's thoughts and provides us with authentic Middle English prose (i.e., not translated from another language). Additionally, the notes make an intriguing case for studying the boundaries between text and paratext, as demonstrated in an earlier article (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 119–124). The central argument we make in the article is that material aspects of texts can reveal intersections of text and paratext, especially in cases where text and paratext overlap. I have, however, omitted Trevisa's notes from the present study (see Chapter 8) and focused on elements which are less intimately connected with the text.

1.3   Paratext and the materiality of text

In Genette's view, "the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (1997b: 1).[3] What precisely falls under paratext is, however, more difficult to define, as paratext scholars after Genette have come to note (Batchelor 2018: 10). Rather than identifying specific parts of a book, the notion of paratext refers to the multitude of textual and/or visual elements which are in a subservient relationship to another entity – this entity can described, for example, as the "main text", the "body text" or simply, "the text". The subservient elements, then, which make up the work's "paratext", include items such as the title, the name of the author, prefaces and postfaces, tables of contents, and so on. The purpose of this section is to map the terminology relevant to my study, whereas a more in-depth reflection on paratextual theory and its various connections is provided in Chapter 2.

In reference to paratexts, Tsouparopoulou (2013: 3) notes that "[a]ny ancillary material impressed, inscribed, added to the text acts as a mediator of interpretation" and points out that "even though considered marginal, in reality these markers/notations control one's reading of the main text". The concept of paratext is also connected to various other textual phenomena, such as metadiscourse, which also directs the reader's interpretation. The definition of paratext is, therefore, challenging because it is not easily separated from other means of guiding the reader (on metatext, see Section 2.1.1). Genette's conceptualisation of paratext, although he calls for expansions (1997b: 404–407), provides no methodological advice on identifying those types of paratext which fall outside the scope of his original survey. Even more importantly, he does not problematise if and how *readers* are aware of whether they are looking at paratext or the "actual" text. This leaves room for confusion especially regarding those paratextual elements which, at the same time, are part of the text itself, such as aspects of typography, layout and other material features (see Genette 1997b: ch. 2, esp. 33–36; see also Caie 2008: 11 on how the material or "contextual information" influences the reader). I will elaborate on this issue below in Chapter 2.

The definition of paratext is intrinsically dependent on the definitions of related concepts, most importantly that of *text*, which is a multifaceted concept and has thus attracted a number of definitions varying between academic disciplines. Because of the conventionalised definitions within disciplines, the term has often been loosely

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3   "Le paratexte est donc pour nous ce par quoi un texte se fait livre et se propose comme tel à ses lecteurs, et plus généralement au public" (2002 [1987]: 7–8). All English quotations are from the 1997 edition *Paratexts* (Genette 1997b), translated by Jane E. Lewin.

applied, which becomes a problem in cross-disciplinary study (Marttila 2014: 15).[4] The same is true for *work*, which – like *text* – is frequent in everyday use and perhaps therefore not always defined precicely enough. In this regard, the study of paratextuality has much to gain from other fields dealing with these terms, such as textual criticism and editorial theory (see Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]).

The key aspect in the definition of text is whether it is seen primarily as a material entity (marks on a surface) or a linguistic one (words in sequence), and how the relationship between these is conceptualised. As noted by Birke & Christ (2013), one of the core issues debated among paratextual scholars after Genette is the materiality of the text: how, and to what extent, should certain material features, such as the quality of the writing support or typographical choices, be considered part of the paratext? Birke & Christ suggest that "[o]ne possible solution to this confusion about the precise relations between (material) manifestation, text, and paratext is to propose a more rigorous definition of paratext, which excludes all elements that are not purely textual" and that "[f]rom a theoretician's point of view, this may be the most satisfactory strategy" (2013: 69). However, they choose a different approach themselves in order to be able to examine the applications of paratextual theory to DVDs and digital books, which take a material form different from the printed text. In my view, the suggestion is not tenable either, because paratexts cannot be divorced from the materiality of the text; it is impossible to have paratextual elements that are "purely textual". In order to tackle this issue, it is crucial to consider what is meant by *text* and what it means that something is *textual*.

The relationships between *works*, *versions*, *texts* and *documents* have been conceptualised by Peter Shillingsburg (1986: 44–51). According to his ontology, works and versions are authorial, and neither has a tangible form. The work has no single fixed, ideal form but it may consist of several versions. Works are "the products of shifting, developing, and sometimes contradictory intentions" (1986: 47), whereas a version is one specific form of the work, "the sequence of words and punctuation the author intended to put in a readable form" (1986: 48). Texts, then, are the representations of versions, defined as the "actual order or words and punctuation as contained in any one physical form, such as a manuscript, proof, or book" (1986: 49). Yet because they are linguistic entities, texts do not have a material existence. The material copy of a text is a document, which "consists of the physical material, paper and ink, bearing the configuration of signs that represent a text" (1986: 51). To sum up, the document is the only one of the four terms which has a substantial existence; each document carries a representation of a single text, and each text represents a version of the work more or less accurately.

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[4]   See Shillingsburg (1991) on the concept of text and how it has been understood within the fields of textual criticism, literary theory, linguistics, bibliography, and others.

Because paratext (the framing elements) is always contrasted with text (the framed entity), it is not always practical to apply "text" as precisely as Shillingsburg's (1986) ontology suggests. This is to say, even when works, versions and documents are understood as separate from texts, we cannot escape the everyday usage where "text" is also used to describe the linguistic and/or material-visual content in the other three. Hence, a useful conceptualisation is that proposed by G. Thomas Tanselle, who distinguishes between *texts of works* and *texts of documents*, originally in the context of editing (1989: 37–38). Document here, again, refers to any carrier of a material manifestation of a text, such as a copy of a book, and texts of documents are thus unique in their physical characteristics and other aspects, and subject to scribal interventions (or scribal practices, to take a neutral approach).[5] Texts of works, in contrast, are the abstract, ideal forms (cf. Shillingsburg's *version*).

Applying Tanselle's distinction to medieval and early modern material does not mean one subscribes to the idea that texts of works are stable forms which reflect authorial intention and that texts of documents are their more or less corrupted materialisations. Indeed, such an idea is a major problem in the so-called Lachmannian model, after Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), where manuscripts are viewed as the defective representations which scholars use to reconstruct some kind of an *urtext*, the work as intended by the author (Snijders 2013). Even after the materialist turn in philology, argues Tjamke Snijders, the problem remains that the terminology used to describe manuscript texts derives from the Lachmannian model: manuscript scholars lack a term to designate a unique physical, textual unit in a manuscript without describing it in terms of its relationship to the work (2013: 276–278). The solution she offers is to reconceptualise the model: although the notion of work cannot be entirely disregarded, as some descriptor for the "universal" is necessary, the basis of the terminological framework should be the "particular", the material object (2013: 284–285). Snijders proposes adopting John Dagenais's (1994) term *scriptum* (pl. *scripta*) for this object, a term which in Snijders's model roughly corresponds to material text or the text of the document but also encompasses, for example, layout and illumination. "If, in the end, it is concluded that the text of a small group of *scripta* is profoundly similar", Snijders continues, "there is no objection to designate these *scripta* as witnesses of a work; as long as the work is not unduly idealized and its [sic] remains the very last step in the heuristic method" (2013: 285).

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[5] I have here limited my scope to texts whose material manifestations are primarily written or printed with ink on parchment or paper, to keep in line with the purpose of the study. This is not to say that texts cannot have other forms, for example, digital, orally delivered, and so on; see, e.g., Tanselle (1995: 10); see also Shillingsburg (1986: 50) on storage mediums.

In medieval manuscripts, texts of documents (cf. *scripta*) vary in their orthography, use of abbreviations, punctuation, the visual representation of the text (script/typeface, colour, size of text, etc.), as well as the paratextual elements. Texts of works, in turn, need not reflect the intentions of a single, named author-person; as Snijders (2013) proposes, they may rather be regarded as the abstract approximations of all the texts existing in the copies of the work (documents), the "universal essence". This must be closer to the medieval conceptualisation of works and authorship than the later idea of texts as stable and works as ideal productions of an author's genius, which has also directed Genette's formulation of the paratext theory (see further Chapter 2). As Roger Chartier emphasises,

> [i]n contrast to the representation of the ideal, abstract text – which is stable because it is detached from materiality, a representation elaborated by literature itself – it is essential to remember that no text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read; any comprehension of writing, no matter what kind it is, depends on the forms in which it reaches its reader. (Chartier 1989: 161)

It is equally essential to remember, however, that while the distinction between texts of works and texts of documents allows one to be clear about the sense in which text is referred to in a particular context, any text will always exist in both dimensions at the same time. An awareness of the complexities in the nature of text helps to mitigate the dangers of completely disregarding the "literary text" (text of the work) in favour of the "material text" (text of the document) and thus "turning the materialism of book history into its own kind of idealism" (Bahr & Gillespie 2013: 351).

This thesis proceeds with the idea that works are unstable and abstract concepts, yet nevertheless something that book producers, when putting forth a copy of a text, aim to present in one form or the other. I also argue that producers have an intuitive idea of the boundaries between the text (here, text of the document, which aims to be the material representation of a version of the work) and paratext, which may overlap with the text of the document but not with the text of the work. Because paratextuality is a phenomenon that is only relevant at the level of the document – the only form in which a reader can encounter the text – it makes sense to examine paratextuality using the material object as the starting point. This brings us to the question of interaction between the producers and the consumers of books: although in Genette's (1997b) model the reader is always present, this presence is often implicit: the discussion is centred around the sender, not the receiver of the paratextual message, and thus the reader is the hypothetical or anticipated, rather than the actual, reader. While this thesis is not a study of reception, and while my focus, too, is primarily on the "producers" rather than the "users", I will take into

account every element serving paratextual purposes in my primary materials regardless of whether they are contemporaneous with the text.[6]

While the concept of paratext has been applied to manuscript contexts before, as noted above, few studies have concentrated on the question of identifying paratextual elements and defining *paratext* in this kind of material (but see Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]; Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019; the present study also builds upon Liira 2014). For this reason, I have collected my data with a very broad definition in mind, taking into account everything that precedes or follows the main text of the *Polychronicon*, as well as everything that occurs in the margins or "stands out" among the text on the individual pages – here my work intersects with the "Pragmatics on the Page" approach of Carroll et al. (2013). My scope has been set with an awareness of the fact that not all of the elements examined are necessarily paratextual; whether or not they carry paratextual functions is what I aim to determine through the analysis. This approach provides me with rich material which covers both conventional, easy-to-identify types of paratext, such as prefaces and indices, as well as more controversial or ambiguous types, such as reader annotation, and initials and other page elements overlapping with the main text.

1.4   The structure of the study

The first two chapters following this introduction form the background for my analysis of paratextual communication in the *Polychronicon*. Chapter 2 focuses on the concept of paratext and the theoretical and methodological challenges pertaining to it, especially when reframing the concept for manuscript texts. In this discussion, the distinction between the abstract and the material text, as outlined in textual scholarship, is crucial. Chapter 3 continues the discussion by exploring different aspects of late medieval book production and consumption, drawing from the range of research done in the fields of manuscript and bibliographical studies, as well as from the recent advances in the field of material philology. The chapter lays the foundation for my analysis of the paratextual elements in the manuscripts and early printed books, as the context of production is central in understanding paratextual communication.

The remaining chapters turn the focus to my primary material, the *Polychronicon*. Chapter 4 contains descriptions of the manuscripts and printed

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[6]   For changing attitudes towards marks of reception in manuscripts and printed books, respectively, see Kerby-Fulton (2001: 7); Orgel (2015: 8). It should be noted that although Orgel's emphasis on the uniqueness of printed copies (2015: 10) is valuable, for reasons of feasibility my study of the *Polychronicon* in print is mainly limited to the level of editions.

editions used for this study, outlining their material and paratextual features. I also briefly discuss the work, its author, translator, and target audience in fourteenth-century England to provide context and background for the material witnesses of the work: these are all crucial in how the text was framed and presented to readers. The analysis of the paratextual elements is divided into four parts: Chapter 5 focuses on prefatory material (front matter) and epilogues and colophons (end matter). In Chapter 6 I analyse the alphabetical indices in English and Latin, which were important navigational elements in the large and heavy volumes. The analysis in Chapter 7 continues with aspects of page layout and text-organising elements, while Chapter 8 focuses on marginal annotation, presenting a comparison of the types and functions of scribal, printed and readers' marginalia. Each of the Chapters 5 to 8 begins with addressing the specific questions related to the study of the particular paratextual element or elements analysed in the chapter, followed by a summary of previous research, and a description of my research methods.

Chapter 9 provides an overview of the findings and a discussion of their meaning in the wider context of framing the *Polychronicon*; I will discuss the various paratextual means of interaction between the producers, the text itself, and its readers, and how the individual paratextual elements analysed in Chapters 5 to 8 may have contributed to the reception, interpretation and use of the work. I present my conclusions and implications for future research in Chapter 10.

2   Paratext and textual organisation

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the present study. I will first consider how the concept of *paratext* has been defined and reshaped in research across different fields (Section 2.1). The section concludes with a discussion of how the concept of paratextuality may be applied to historical material, particularly to books produced before or shortly after the introduction of the printing press (2.1.4). This transition period is particularly interesting from a paratextual point of view, as the ways in which books were produced and marketed were transformed, first by the commercialisation of manuscript production before the arrival of print, then by the technological changes brought along by the printing press. However, paratextual studies focusing on this crucial period, especially ones with a theoretical orientation, are still scarce. There are both methodological and theoretical challenges in applying Genette's (1997b) paratext framework to manuscript and early print material. The purpose of this chapter is to pinpoint these challenges and to chart potential solutions offered by previous research in the multidisciplinary field of paratext studies and related fields, such as textual studies and material philology. Despite its challenges, I see the paratext framework as a useful way to map textual relationships and I hope to show that late medieval book production practices have great potential in furthering our understanding of what paratextuality is.

Section 2.2 discusses some key concepts and terminology drawn from manuscript and book studies, through which I demonstrate how aspects of layout, design and textual organisation are tied to questions of paratextuality. These connections are explored in detail in 2.2.6, which synthesises the discussion.

2.1   Defining paratext

The term *paratext* refers to all the verbal (and visual) productions that surround "*the* text" in a printed book (cf. Genette 1997b: 7).[7] Elements such as titles, prefaces and

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[7]   Genette has explored the concept in two works, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (1982) and *Seuils* (2002 [1987]). Both have been translated into English in 1997 (see Genette 1997a and 1997b, respectively). These works belong to a trilogy in which

tables of contents are not typically understood as part of the text, but they guide the readers' reception. Paratextual elements are therefore deemed by Genette as a necessary feature of any text materialised in the form of a book: their purpose is to "*present* [the text], in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book" (1997b: 1, emphases original).[8] What is problematic in the full application of Genette's paratextual theory is that his survey of paratextuality is mostly based on a narrow selection of material: books produced after the first centuries of print production, during an era when certain conventions have perhaps seen their most stable form. The current era of the Internet has, again, transformed the way written texts are published and disseminated, which makes the discussion on paratextuality particularly relevant.

Many of the elements which Genette identifies as paratextual have been studied already before his formulation of the paratext theory. The elements of the physical book or any *document* (see 1.3), often considered marginal, have been the target of interest of many a medievalist, manuscript scholar, bibliographer and book historian. However, Genette's survey has been invaluable in turning the focus to the marginal aspects of books in the context of literary studies, and in offering a ground for theorising textual relationships and conventions. As Birke & Christ summarise,

> [t]he concept's prime achievement […] is that it focuses attention on how an abstract entity like a text is always presented in a specific form, which is affected by historically and socially determined modes of production and reception. It brings into view the question of how readings are circumscribed by factors that are usually seen as marginal (or even external) to the text, and it supplies a vocabulary to talk about these aspects. (Birke & Christ 2013: 66)

Genette himself refers to some earlier attempts at defining the "zone" surrounding a text (1997b: 2), but none has been as successful and influential as his theoretisation of paratexts. The reason for this may be that Genette shifted the focus from the informational content of paratextual elements to their transactional nature, that is, how they influence the reader (Smith & Wilson 2011: 2).

Today, paratextual studies is a multidisciplinary field, and scholars working with paratextual questions have adapted Genette's framework to discuss heterogeneous

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Genette explores different types of "textual transcendance": intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality.

[8] "pour […] *présenter* [le texte], au sens habituel de ce verbe, mais aussi en son sens le plus fort : pour le *rendre présent*, pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa « réception » et sa consommation, sous la forme, aujourd'hui du moins, d'un livre" (2002 [1987]: 7).

materials, including texts which often take forms other that that of a (printed) book. Beside literature and book studies, another field that has recently embraced the concept of paratext and developed it further is that of media studies (see e.g. Stanitzek 2004; Gray 2010; Gray & Johnson eds. 2013; Rodríguez-Ferrándiz 2017). As the paratext theory was formulated on the basis of a rather uniform format, the printed book, applying the theory to the digital world requires similar re-evaluation and redefinition of the term as applying it to pre-print material, such as the manuscript codex.[9] The present section outlines some of the issues in the original formulation of the paratext theory, particularly those which affect the application of the theory to materials more versatile than those referenced by Genette (1997b). Many of the issues stem, on the one hand, from the ambiguous and inconsistent use of the term *text*, as noted in Chapter 1 above, and on the other hand, from Genette's view of paratext as an apparatus dependent on authorial approval (cf. 1997b: 2; 5, n8).

Below, I discuss how focusing on the definitions of *text*, *work* and related concepts, as well as on the distinction between the "abstract text" and the "material text", may help make the paratext framework more functional (Section 2.1.1). The question of authorial approval is addressed in Section 2.1.4, which discusses the problems and particularities of applying Genette's theoretical framework to pre-print and early print material. In his words, "[b]y definition, something is not a paratext unless the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it, although the degree of responsibility may vary" (1997b: 9).[10] Other paratext researchers have not accepted authorial approval as a defining criterion (see e.g. Birke & Christ 2013: 70–71; Rockenberger 2016). Rockenberger (2016: 25) maintains that it would lead to the situation where something would only be seen as paratext if it had been specifically created for this purpose. She argues that the criterion is neither necessary nor sufficient for defining paratext, because it is perfectly possible that an element not originally part of the paratext becomes part of it through later authorisation, and likewise it is possible that an element originally part of the paratext is later dropped (*ibid*.). Indeed, the idea of authorial control in Genette's approach is based on the present-day conception of authorship and publishing. In pre-print textual cultures, the notion of publishing as it is understood in the present day – linked with ideas of

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9   The term codex is used here to refer to a bound book consisting of stacked quires or gatherings of folded sheets (see e.g. Brown 1994: 30).
10   "Il est nécessaire à la définition d'un paratexte de toujours porter une responsabilité, de la part de l'auteur ou de l'un de ses associés, mais cette nécessité comporte des degrés" (2002 [1987]: 15).

committing something to print, dated and legitimised by a publishing agency, and stabilised at least until a revised edition is issued – did not yet exist.[11]

2.1.1   Paratext, text, work: Mapping relationships

The issue of defining *text* and how it stands in relation to *work* is particularly relevant with material such as the Middle English *Polychronicon*, as the many layers of production complicate the picture. The focus of the present study lies on the more or less unique material realisations – i.e. manuscripts and printed copies – of a work (Trevisa's annotated translation of the *Polychronicon*) which in turn is based on another work (Higden's Latin *Polychronicon*).[12] To complicate the issue further, the *Polychronicon* is a compilation from several sources, and the Latin manuscripts represent at least three different versions of the work, as Higden kept revising and rewriting it (see Section 4.2).

Genette's original formulation has been criticised for the lack of proper definitions for concepts such as *text* or *work*, and for insufficient consideration of the distinction between the abstract and the physical/material level (see e.g. Stanitzek 2004: 5; Birke & Christ 2013: 68–69). Wolf (2008: 79) and Rockenberger & Röcken (2009: 300) likewise argue that Genette is too vague in his definition and how to distinguish paratext from text. In some ways even more problematic is the vagueness of the word *book*. "Book" unambiguously describes a physical object (the book is a form of *document*) but in everyday language, the word is often used more or less synonymously with *work*. It is unclear whether Genette (1997b) refers to *books* only with printed books in mind, and whether some degree or manner of commercial publishing is always associated with the word. Genette also notes that "the need for a paratext is thrust on every kind of book, with or without aesthetic ambition", although he limits his own discussion to "literary works" (1997b: 3–4, n6).[13] Here,

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[11]   For conceptualisations of *publication* before print, see e.g. Doyle (1989: 110); Riddy (2004); Tether (2014). Common to these definitions is that the author's role is not central. Promising new work in this area, focusing on networks of transmission, is currently underway in the form of two research projects led by Samu Niskanen: *Medieval Publishing from c. 1000 to 1500*, funded by the European Research Council, and *Authorial Publishing in Early Medieval Europe (c. 400–1000)*, funded by the Academy of Finland.

[12]   Here I follow translation scholars who view a translated text as "a text in its own right and with its own paratexts, as opposed to being viewed as a paratext to an original text, as in Genette's model" (Batchelor 2018: 142; see also Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002: 46).

[13]   "Je dis maintenant *textes*, et non seulement *œuvres*, au sens « noble » de ce mot : car la nécessité d'un paratexte s'impose à toute espèce de livre, fût-il sans aucune visée esthétique, même si notre étude se borne ici au paratexte des œuvres littéraires" (Genette 2002 [1987]: 10, n1).

when discussing paratexts in all kinds of books regardless of their genre, he replaces *work* with *text*, stating that *work* carries a "noble", i.e. literary or artistic, connotation (*ibid.*). It should be pointed out that this is not how the terms are used in textual studies. In Section 1.3 above (see also Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019) I propose a more textual-theoretical approach as a starting point for defining paratextuality, where *work* is understood as an abstract entity made up of several *versions* (Shillingsburg 1986: 47–48) and *text* can be used to describe the *text of the document* (a unique material manifestation) or the *text of the work*, when referring to the text of any *version* (Tanselle 1989: 37–38).

The criticism of Genette's vagueness arises from the fact that he does not explicitly state what constitutes paratext. He uses the term as a collective noun for all the "paratextual messages", "*des messages paratextuels*" (1997b: 3; 2002 [1987]: 9) surrounding a single text. In other words, the paratext consists of all the elements of varying length and format which surround and comment on a single text, and by this logic the plural 'paratexts' refers to the collections of such elements surrounding more than one text. Yet this usage is somewhat confusing, primarily because Genette himself does not consistently follow his own terminology, as pointed out by Rockenberger & Röcken (2009: 303; cf. e.g. Genette 1997b: 7). It remains unclear how paratextual elements are identified and told apart from the text, or from other categories such as metatext. Following Genette, Batchelor (2018: 149) views paratext and metatext as complementary, and in some cases overlapping. She defines paratext as "a consciously crafted threshold for a text" (2018: 142) whereas metatext is "a commentary on the text" (2018: 149). Importantly, she notes that paratexts can be metatextual when they comment on the text, and some metatexts can be paratextual if they function as thresholds (2018: 151). It is worth noting that the text itself can also contain metadiscursive parts, although metadiscourse appears to commonly occur in paratextual elements such as prefaces. The overlapping of categories (between paratext and metatext, and indeed between paratext and text, or metatext and text) is the main reason I prefer to retain Genette's use of *paratextual elements* for the tangible, countable features rather than calling them *paratexts* in plural (cf. Batchelor's usage). An element can be said to be paratextual or metatextual when it functions like that in a given context, for example within a single document.

Several post-Genettean studies have addressed the question of boundaries between text and paratext. Finn Frandsen defines paratextual elements in newspapers as "one or more small 'texts alongside texts'" (1991: 82; my translation); these are separated from the main text in a typographic (e.g. size, colour), referential (semiotic status) or textual sense. By textual sense he means that paratextual elements have the same requirements as any text, e.g. cohesion and coherence, but may also be subject to certain requirements which arise from the paratextual status itself (*ibid.*).

Robert Allen (2010) is not satisfied with spatial boundaries determining the relationship between text and paratext, and proposes a temporal classification instead. By "focusing on moments of textual production and textual reception" (2010: 183), he adopts a theoretical approach where the diachronic relationship between the text and its paratext(s) is central. The issue of spatial boundaries is also addressed by Birke & Christ (2013: 69–70), who note that the question of spatial boundaries, especially with regard to Genette's division of paratext into peritext and epitext, is inherently linked to questions of materiality or medium rather than the literary notion of text.

2.1.2   Peritext and epitext: Modes of operation

Genette divides paratext into two categories, *peritext* and *epitext* (1997b: 5). The first refers to elements found on or within the covers of the book, in physical proximity to the text, while the second refers to paratextual elements which are located outside the book, such as reviews or author interviews. The peritext-epitext division is, however, not necessarily functional for classifying paratextual relationships in non-book format texts, and various other classifications have been proposed by post-Genettean scholars, among them Gray (2010 and elsewhere) and McCracken (2013).[14] While Genette's division proceeds from a spatial criterion, Gray's model for cinema and television paratexts divides the elements based on temporal criteria: *entryway* paratext(s) "grab the viewer […] and try to control the viewer's entrance to the text" and *in medias res* paratext(s) guide and control during the reading/viewing of the text (2010: 23). The third category includes fan productions and other non-industry created paratext(s) which take place after the exhibition (2010: 143–175). McCracken (2013), working on electronic literature, considers paratexts from the perspective of *centrifugal* and *centripetal* vectors. Centrifugal vectors direct the reader outwards from the (digital) text, for example through hyperlinks, whereas centripetal vectors draw the reader inwards by allowing them to engage with features of the text, such as font size (2013: 106–107). None of these later models defines paratextuality through authorial legitimisation.

Genette's inventory of epitexts mainly covers elements which are a phenomenon of commercial book production culture, and they are linked to the modern[15] understanding of authorship (I will return to this in Section 3.1). While I consider the spatial distinction as a possible way of conceptualising paratextuality in pre-print

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14   For a comparison of the different models in media studies, see Rodríguez-Ferrándiz (2017: 177–178, Table 1).
15   Cf. the medieval notion of authorship, on the one hand, and postmodern approaches, on the other.

(or early print) material, the epitext category is less relevant for earlier periods than it is after the establishment of the mass production of books. Indeed, it is possible to find some early examples of material that could be classified as epitexts, such as manuscript tables or indices circulating separately from their main texts (see Parkes 1991 [1976]: 62–63). Although epitextuality predating the early modern period merits research, the scope of the present study is limited to the physical boundaries of the codex, that is, peritext.

2.1.3   Forms and functions

The peritext-epitext division, particularly the latter category, brings about another cause for criticism, namely the danger that paratext as a concept becomes all-encompassing, as anything occurring in the context of a text may affect its interpretation. This danger is demonstrated in the type of paratext Genette calls *factual*, referring to information such as the author's gender, the prizes they have won, and so on (1997b: 7). While such information may affect the way (some) readers approach the text, including such a wide variety of mostly intangible information under the umbrella of *paratext* renders the concept practically useless.[16] It is for this reason that Batchelor argues for a more functional definition which limits paratext to "consciously crafted threshold[s]", excluding "broader context as well as happenstance" (2018: 142–143; see also Section 2.1.1 above).

Paratextual elements are not uniform in their forms or functions, and various kinds of expansions to the original formulation of the paratext theory have been suggested. Genette himself lists three areas which share similarities with paratextual elements; these are translation, serial publication, and illustration (1997b: 405–406).[17] It should be noted that Genette's focus on authorial intention prevents him from fully exploring the possibilities of these expansions.

Features like illustration and typography have been described by Genette as having "paratextual value", "*la valeur paratextuelle*" (1997b: 7; 2002 [1987]: 13) or "paratextual relevance", "*la pertinence paratextuelle*" (1997b: 405; 2002 [1987]: 408). However, Rockenberger & Röcken (2009) criticise Genette for not explicitly stating whether he considers something of "paratextual value" as paratext or not. Genette briefly addresses the issue of typesetting and material aspects when he discusses the publisher's peritext (1997b: 33–36, see also Chapter 7 below), and

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[16]   Genette himself warns his readers against overstretching the boundaries of the term by concluding that "*all* is paratext" (1997b: 407, my emphasis).

[17]   Beside literary and media studies, translation studies is perhaps the field that has most extensively embraced paratextual theorisation; see e.g. Tahir-Gürçağlar (2002); Pellatt ed. (2013); Batchelor (2018).

possibly assigns the status of paratext to typography by referring to "the typographical (and orthographical) paratext" (1997b: 34, parentheses original). The choice of support (e.g. paper) is apparently not considered paratextual, although Genette admits its influence on the reader's perception of the text, especially in relation to limited copies (1997b: 35). Nevertheless, the role of typography as paratext has been debated by other scholars, see e.g. Nutt-Kofoth (2004); Merveldt (2008); Rockenberger & Röcken (2009); Stanitzek (2013 [2010]). The extensiveness of such debates may be due to the fact that while Genette does recognise the possible implications of material aspects such as typography, he does not elaborate on this issue, possibly because as a literary scholar he is primarily interested in the text of the work rather than books as physical objects. Because a typographical dimension is necessary for a text to exist in a tangible form, it is perhaps rather to be understood as contextual, not paratextual (cf. Batchelor 2018). However, the visual means of highlighting certain parts, for example by switching typeface, may help the reader to identify paratextual elements (see Ruokkeinen & Liira (2017 [2019]: 116–117; and Section 7.2.1 below). Whether the highlighted element is to be classified as paratext depends on whether it functions paratextually. For instance, red ink is frequently used in manuscripts to highlight paratextual elements such as rubrics, but also elements within the main text, such as code-switches to Latin (see further Section 9.2; see also Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019).

Although the main function of paratext is to guide the reader's reception, the mechanisms in which paratextual elements do so vary. For instance, Smith & Wilson point out the different readings early modern paratexts evoked, "some literary or hermeneutic, some practical and physical" (2011: 4). One of the points they make is that not all paratextual elements are directed at the readers of the finished book, but some of them, such as signatures, primarily serve binders and other producers in assembling the physical book.

There have been various initiatives to classify paratextual elements more accurately based on their functions and forms. Guyda Armstrong (2007) classifies the title, title-page, table of contents, running heads, etc. as *organisational paratext* and elements such as the illustrated title-page, woodcuts, decorative initials, etc. as *visual paratext*; *editorial paratext* is used for dedications and addresses to the reader. However, this is not a purely function-based taxonomy but rather a descriptive classification which mixes function, form and sender as the basis of the categories, and I have not adopted this categorisation in my own analyses.

Birke & Christ (2013) divide paratextual functions into three categories: *interpretive* paratexts tell the reader how to approach and what to make of the text; *navigational* paratexts guide the reader in a more physical sense in moving about the page and the book (or other material form of the text); and *commercial* paratexts attract the reader to pick up the book (or, again, other material realisation of a text)

(2013: 67–68). There are parallels to Smith & Wilson's (2011) division into literary and practical functions, as the elements evoking literary readings could be classified as interpretive, and those evoking practical readings could be viewed as navigational or commercial. Birke & Christ's threefold categorisation, originally proposed in the context of digital books, works as a useful starting point in identifying the functions of individual paratextual elements also in other media. It should be noted, however, that the categories overlap and a single paratextual element may serve more than one of these functions at a time (see e.g. Silva 2016 on the overlapping functions in early modern print agents' paratexts). This will be evident in my analysis. The three functions are perhaps better described as metafunctions,[18] because they are broad categorisations under which may be classified the more specific functions each paratextual element has. Birke & Christ also argue that Genette is mostly interested in the interpretive function of paratexts and largely overlooks the commercial and navigational functions which he, perhaps, considers less important (2013: 67–68).

Ciotti & Lin (2016: vii) introduce another categorisation of functions in their Preface to the edited volume *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*. The three categories – *structuring*, *commenting*, and *documenting* – roughly correspond to those outlined by Birke & Christ (2013). The structuring function is similar to Birke & Christ's navigational function, comprising elements such as tables of contents and other navigational aids. Paratextual elements which have a commenting function "offer interpretations and explanations of a text" (Ciotti & Lin 2016: vii) and would thus be interpretive using Birke & Christ's terms. The third function is where the two categorisations differ the most: while Birke & Christ's commercial paratext refers to both elements that are designed to evoke the reader's interest (e.g. enticing covers) and elements that serve a function in the commercial business of book trade (e.g. ISBN numbers), Ciotti & Lin's category of documenting comprises all sorts of explicit or implicit information about the document itself and about the time, place and cultural environment in which it was produced. Although Ciotti & Lin's categorisation is developed for the manuscript context, the documenting function has potential for a wider application, expanding Birke & Christ's model. It would account for some of the issues in Birke & Christ's commercial function by better describing those elements which are not intended to persuade the prospective reader or buyer but are mainly informative, such as the publisher's details. At the same time, Ciotti & Lin's categorisation does not include any persuasive or promotional functions typically seen as characteristic of paratext, which is why I have chosen to base my own analyses on Birke & Christ's

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[18]   Not to be confused with the Hallidayan metafunctions of language, however.

classification. I will, however, evaluate the different classifications on the basis of my findings in Section 9.1.

2.1.4   Paratextuality before and after the coming of print

As Genette notes, "[t]he ways and means of the paratext change continually, depending on period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition" (1997b: 3).[19] However, it is worth noting that Genette's scope does not allow him to systematically study paratexts across a selection of texts from different periods, cultures, or genres, but he most often draws his examples from French novels of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Genette's omission of a wider diachronic perspective, although he justifies it, has been criticised on several occasions (e.g. Smith & Wilson 2011: 2; Ott 2010: 2). Indeed, Genette makes it clear in his Introduction to *Paratexts* that his intention was to establish and define the concept of paratext rather than to provide a diachronic view, pointing out that "each element of the paratext has its own history", which is why including a diachronic perspective was out of his scope (1997b: 14). Yet he mentions he does not refrain from making "diachronic considerations" (*ibid.*), which occasionally results in generalisations that do not hold true when material outside his corpus of French novels is considered, such as manuscript books.

Paratextual issues have recently gained increasing interest among scholars working with materials that predate Genette's. The volumes *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit* ('The Pluralisation of paratexts in the early modern period'), edited by Ammon & Vögel (2008), and *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Smith & Wilson (2011), paved way for the study of early modern paratextuality, now a vibrant field. Studies on medieval paratexts and the manuscript medium are scarcer, although the concept of paratext is increasingly used in medieval studies, as noted in Chapter 1 above.[20] For instance, William Slights (2004) connects marginalia, among other features of the page, with Genette's idea of a threshold – something that allows the reader to enter and exit the work (esp. 72–74). Victoria Louise Gibbons (2008) analyses the variant titles of Chaucer's poem commonly known as *Truth* and discusses the "medieval gap" in the field of titology.[21] Levilson C. Reis (2010, 2011) explores paratexts in Chrétien de Troyes's works. He notes that "although medieval manuscripts do not conform to the modern parameters of the

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[19]   "Les voies et moyens du paratext se modifient sans cesse selon les époques, les cultures, les genres, les auteurs, les œuvres, les éditions d'une même œuvre" (2002 [1987]: 9).

[20]   I here refer to studies explicitly positioning themselves within the Genettean paratext framework.

[21]   Genette refers to titology as an example of previous enquiries into paratextuality (1997b: 55, n1).

paratext, later thirteenth-century transmission of Chrétien de Troyes's romances exhibit marginal elements that could be considered paratextual" (2010: 377, n). The scarcity has mainly to do with theoretical approaches, while the term paratext has become more or less established. For instance, Stephen Partridge (2012: 4) refers to rubrics and titles as belonging to the manuscript paratext, and Leah Tether (2014) uses the paratext framework to address questions of publishing in the manuscript era. Pre-medieval and non-western materials have not gone without consideration either: paratextual studies in the Classical period have been edited by Laura Jansen (2014) in the volume *Roman Paratexts*, and the contributions to Ciotti & Lin (eds, 2016) study a wide range of manuscript material.

In the manuscript era the roles of producers and consumers are not clear-cut, let alone the roles of different types of producers such as authors, compilers, translators, or scribes. In monastic environments, for example, books were copied for the use of the community, in which case the producers are also the end-users of the resulting object. Even in the early ages of print, the roles of author, translator and editor, for instance, are less than straightforward. Thus, limiting paratext to "commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author" (Genette 1997b: 2)[22] fails to explain the complex mechanisms in which paratexts are generated and transformed, received and negotiated by text producers and consumers.

At most, the criterion of authorisation could only work in medieval contexts if one accepts individual copyists, illuminators, and other persons contributing to the production of the material book as "authors" or their "associates" (cf. Genette 1997b: 9). However, anyone provided with the necessary tools and skills could, in theory, copy a text and reshape it in the process. Thus the requirement of authorial approval in defining paratextual elements in manuscripts is not particularly functional in practice. Genette's approach is not entirely unproblematic with regard to printed books either: Peter Stallybrass (2011: 212) criticises Genette for deliberately ignoring the fact that many authors' works were printed posthumously. I would like, however, to point out that it is not clear whether Genette's use of "associate" (1997b: 9) only refers to those in mutual, contemporary interaction with the author, or if his idea of associates with the power to authorise paratexts could also include posthumous publishers, printers, translators, and other producers of paratexts.

As pointed out by Birke & Christ (2013: 67), Genette (1997b) mainly focuses on the interpretive functions of a selection of paratextual elements such as the title, the author's name, dedications, epigraphs, the preface, etc. Most of these are, however, features of the printed book and infrequent or completely absent in manuscript material, and in this regard there is some truth to Genette's claim that manuscripts

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[22]   "toujours porteuse d'un commentaire auctorial, ou plus ou moins légitimé par l'auteur" (2002 [1987]: 8).

lack a certain "formula of presentation" (1997b: 3). Yet this is a generalisation. While many such conventions were absent or less fixed, manuscripts are also rich in paratextual material that serves both navigational and interpretive functions, and most of these functions overlap with those we find in printed books. A title recorded in the prologue or in the margins[23] is no less a title than one announced on the title-page, and an incorporated preface, as Genette admits, has the functions of the preface if not the form of being presented separately from the main text (1997b: 163; see also Section 5.2 below). The division into pre-print and print eras is a simplification in itself, as early printed books were still very much tied to the conventions of manuscripts and many of the paratextual elements that are now considered essential features in books were not invented until later, such as the title-page introduced at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see M. Smith 2000). Moreover, the two media coexisted in book production for a long time. One of the aims of the present study is to examine how the early printers of the *Polychronicon* solved the question of presenting the text in a way that they found most appropriate for their contemporary readers.

2.2 Paratext on the page? Elements of layout in late medieval books

The various aspects of manuscript production and design have been studied extensively. The present study builds on this tradition, aiming, however, to shed further light on the ways in which books have been viewed across different periods and regardless of media (manuscript/print) by adding a paratextual perspective into this discussion. Collaboration between medievalists studying manuscripts and book historians studying early print has been increasing recently (see e.g. Crick & Walsham eds. 2004; Gillespie and Wakelin eds. 2011; and Peikola et al. eds. 2017 on the interaction and coexistence of manuscript and print material), but for the most part these two fields remain relatively separate. The present study aims to help bridge this gap by focusing on paratextuality, which can be viewed as a transhistorical phenomenon (see Varila et al., Forthcoming 2020). However, the present study can only offer a limited number of generalisable results. Future paratext research would thus greatly benefit from further collaboration that crosses the media boundary and acknowledges the dynamic nature of medieval and early modern textuality: for example, composite volumes, miscellanies, hybrids between manuscript and print, and other more complex types of books would open up new avenues for the refinement of the paratext framework.

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[23] See Gibbons (2008: 199–200) on the placement of titles in medieval manuscripts.

This section provides an overview of previous research on aspects of manuscript layout and design as well as the established terminology. As will be shown in Chapter 7, most of these elements have paratextual functions and they are an essential part in the framing of the work. The choices made in the production process demonstrate a conscious effort to present the book to a reader in a way that enables them to make the most out of it – whether primarily intended as a display ("coffee table") copy, with aesthetic reasons guiding the material and presentational choices, or a work copy which requires good finding aids and needs to sustain heavy use. Naturally, the design choices are often guided by multiple purposes. The majority of the surviving vernacular *Polychronicon* manuscripts are highly decorative, which suggests that they were intended for display as well as use: not merely a source of information, they were meant to be enjoyed (cf. Scott 1989: 31) – and possibly also to elevate the status of the owner of the copy (see Section 9.1.3). Even smaller, less decorative visual details can indicate the scribe's conscious attempt to reorganise the material in order to present it in a form that allows the reader to extract the meaning of the text more easily. This reorganising can be seen, for example, in the use of paraph marks (see Carroll et al. 2013: 60–61). Similar observations can be made of features such as punctuation and spelling, studied by Jeremy J. Smith, who notes that "every aspect of the physical manifestation of a text is a vector of meaning for contemporary readers, and thus crucial for our understanding of the socio-cultural functioning of that text" (2017: 59).

Malcolm B. Parkes has famously demonstrated how the development of new reading practices was reflected in the layout of the page as books became more structured (1991 [1976]). These new reading practices arose in the twelfth century from the needs of newly established universities: the new scholastic audiences required books which were easy to navigate. Parkes points out that academic reading practices differed from monastic ones; instead of linear meditative reading, the scholastic reading practice required navigational aids, such as numbered chapters, running-titles and tables of contents, which enabled the reader to make connections between different parts and to other texts (1991 [1976]: 36, 52–53). Parkes shows how the page layout reflects the text-organisation, *ordinatio*, by which term he refers to both the physical layout of the page (*mise-en-page*) and to the organisation of the ideas or arguments in the text. Stoicheff & Taylor (2004) argue that

> [t]he term *ordinatio* is more than just a synonym for layout. It alludes to the combination, or mutual reinforcement, of layout and certain kinds of intellectual structure. The more modest claim, advanced by Malcolm Parkes, is that *ordinatio reflected* the structure of high scholastic reasoning, with its elaborate subdivision of knowledge, a subdivision that can be seen in the schematic outline

of one of the most famous scholastic collections, or *summae*, the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. (2004: 11–12, emphases original)

Even from a more mundane perspective, it is clear that the elements of the physical page layout cannot be separated from the textual content and the structure of the narrative: they are what the reader uses to make sense of the structure.

The elements of layout or *mise-en-page* mainly comprise navigational aids which, as stated above, have largely been overlooked in previous paratext research (see, however, Merveldt 2008; Liira 2014; Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]; see also Bredehoft 2014: 33 on paratexts and *ordinatio*).[24] Although there are some elements that indicate textual organisation which Genette (1997b) does cover, such as running-titles and chapter headings, it is worth noting that his discussion is centred around their possible interpretive functions rather than the simple navigational function.

In manuscript material, the elements of layout can roughly be summarised as follows: (1) the ruling pattern, which separates the written area from the margins, and the main text from other written elements, such as commentary; (2) the hierarchy of scripts; (3) the hierarchy of decoration (chiefly borders and initials); (4) elements indicating textual divisions, e.g. chapter headings or numbers, incipits and explicits,[25] running-titles, and so on; (5) illustration (miniatures and marginal illustrations). Again, these categories overlap to some extent. For instance, the hierarchy of scripts serves to distinguish elements like commentary or rubrics from the body of text, enforcing other visual cues which tell these elements apart, such as colour or their location on the page in relation to the main text. Similarly, the hierarchy of decoration is employed to mark textual divisions by enhancing certain elements, such as initials, visually. It is important to note, however, that not all of the elements discussed here are necessarily paratextual; rather, many of them are part of the text itself, and can be described as elements of visual pragmatics, or "pragmatics on the page" (Carroll et al. 2013; see also Machan 2011). Nor are the textual and visual realisations of the elements necessarily the result of deliberate choices made by scribes, illuminators and other book producers – like any text production, the use of page elements is always tied to convention and influenced by local styles and other conditioning factors.

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[24]   For navigational aids in present-day newspaper paratexts, see e.g. Frandsen (1991); Hågvar (2012).

[25]   The *incipit* (Latin for 'here begins') refers to the opening words in a manuscript, often beginning with this word, while the *explicit* refers to the closing words (from Latin *explicitus*, 'unrolled'; see e.g. Brown (1994: 58, 43).

The five categories are here discussed briefly, placed in an order that proceeds roughly from the more or less obligatory to the more or less optional elements. A more extensive exploration into previous studies of these elements is reserved for Section 7.2, which serves as a background for the analysis of each category of page elements in the *Polychronicon* in Chapter 7.

2.2.1   Layout and ruling

Layout or *mise-en-page* refers to the arrangement of the textual and visual elements on a page. Presenting text in a material form on a page necessarily results in at least two separate areas: the text area and the surrounding area, i.e. the margins.[26] In manuscripts, the frame for the text area is typically created by ruling (see e.g. Peikola 2013). Methods of ruling varied over time and between places of production: the earliest method was to use a pointed tool such a stylus (dry-point ruling), whereas lead was commonly used from the twelfth century onwards and ink from the thirteenth century (Bischoff 1990: 22). The margins of the manuscript leaves were pricked with a sharp object to serve as guides for ruling; again, different tools could be used for this purpose and the methods of stacking the unbound bifolia for pricking and ruling varied. In early printed books, the individual types forming the text are locked into a *forme* with a heavy frame known as the *chase*; for any parts which are not to contain text, wooden blocks (*furniture*) are used (for a description of the printing process, see e.g. Febvre & Martin 1990 [1958]: 61–65). Any layout which involves printing elements outside the main text area, such as marginal commentary, thus requires more careful planning by the compositor who sets the type.

The ruling pattern determines the size and location of the text area and the number of columns (one, two, or more). More complex layouts are also found. From the twelfth century onward, layouts involving extensive commentary alongside the main text were common (see e.g. Parkes 2008a: 60–61). Just as the shape and size of the sheets and the format of the book is significant in how the (potential) reader perceives the text, the shape and size of the text area in relation to margins, and/or other elements, may carry important paratextual messages. The number of columns alone may be indicative of not only the period of production but also the genre of the text. For instance, multicolumn layouts (three, rarely even four columns) were common in the early ages of the parchment codex; according to Bischoff this layout derived from papyri and was used for both Classical and patristic or biblical texts (1990: 27). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, epic poetry in Middle High German and Middle Dutch was frequently copied in three columns (1990: 29).

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[26]   I will not discuss layouts in rolls and other textual items not in the form of a bound book.

Wide margins may signify prestige, or they can invite the reader to engage with the text by adding their own commentary, like the ruled margins in a volume of Aristotelian texts intended for notes taken in university lectures (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 12953, c. 1250–1260, see e.g. De Hamel 2012: 131). The majority of the Middle English *Polychronicon* manuscripts, particularly the most lavish ones, are copied in two columns similarly to many popular Middle English poetic texts, such as Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Edwards & Pearsall 1989; see Sections 4.3 and 7.4 below for further discussion of the *Polychronicon*).

2.2.2   The hierarchy of scripts

The second element that is inseparable from the material text is its physical makeup in the form of script. As Samuli Kaislaniemi (2017: 167) notes, the term *script* is, rather confusingly, used to refer to both writing systems (e.g. logographic, syllabic, or alphabetical systems) and models for letterforms, such as the formal Gothic script Textura (or Textualis) used in medieval Europe from the thirteenth century onwards (see Wakelin 2011: 38; for classification and development of Gothic scripts, see Derolez 2003). In the latter use, scripts are comparable to typefaces (founts) in printed books. The choice of script is not only indicative of the time and place of copying, but like the general layout of the text, it can also carry information on the perceived genre or status of the text, e.g. Latin versus vernacular texts (Wakelin 2011: 37). Similar practices are found in printed books, where blackletter founts (based on Gothic scripts) were frequently associated with vernacular texts while Roman founts were common in Latin books (see Section 7.2.1, where I further discuss the paratextuality of typography and script).

Scribes also intentionally employed a hierarchy of scripts to differentiate between several elements on the page, such as the main text and the commentary, and to highlight, for example, Latin quotations or rubrics within the text (Parkes 2008a: 64; see also Machan 2011; Wakelin 2011). It also seems that paratextual elements are frequently marked with a switch to another script or typeface (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]; Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019).

2.2.3   The hierarchy of decoration

By decoration I refer to elements whose primary function is to look pleasing to the eye and so enhance the physical appearance of the text, possibly imparting more value to the book. However, typically that is by no means their sole purpose: most decorative elements in manuscripts also carry navigational and text-organising functions. The division adopted here, into decorative elements and elements signalling textual divisions (Section 2.2.4 below), is necessarily somewhat artificial,

as the latter are often decorative as well. Furthermore, the hierarchy of decorative elements generally derives from their text-organising functions: the more important a textual unit or element is, the more prominent it is made through decoration.

Each manuscript has its own hierarchy of decoration (Brown 1994: 67–68), but there are some general tendencies as well. The time and place of production influence the style; therefore manuscripts produced around the same time and in a certain area may be comparable to some extent as the manuscripts are created to meet the intended audience's expectations. Economic aspects also play a part in manuscript design, and large elements are generally understood to have a higher position in the hierarchy as they require more investment in materials and workforce. For instance, full borders are at a higher level than three-sided borders (see e.g. Scott 2002: 7; borders are discussed in Section 7.2.2). Similarly, more expensive pigments and materials such as lapis lazuli and precious metals are naturally positioned higher in the decorative hierarchy than less expensive materials. The imagery plays a part as well: figurative images have a higher status than abstract ones (see e.g. Rudy 2017: 26). However, the exact position of each individual element in the hierarchy can usually only be assessed in relation to other decorative elements within the manuscript.

The most notable decorative elements are pictures (illustrations) – although they can be more than just decorative –, borders, and initials. There are also various smaller elements to consider, such as line-fillers, elongated ascenders and descenders with decorative motifs extending to the margins, and so forth. It should be noted that these smaller elements are not analysed in the present study in any detailed manner, but only in cases where they may serve other paratextual functions in addition to increasing the commercial value of the book. Illustrations are discussed under Section 2.2.5. While part of the decorative hierarchy, they are more varied in their functions and their relationship with the text is somewhat different from the other decorative items which are more intimately tied to textual organisation and manuscript culture.

2.2.4   Elements of textual organisation

This category comprises elements that are used to signal textual divisions: these can be either purely textual such as titles, purely visual such as borders, or a hybrid of the two modes, i.e., textual elements made more prominent by enhancing them visually (e.g. by rubrication, that is, the application of red ink). Most elements that are used to divide the text into smaller units, and to help the reader find their way about the text, show some form of hybridity. Textual elements themselves are often enhanced by visual means, for example by modifying the script or grade of script, using coloured ink, or separating the element from the main text by framing it or

leaving space around it. Furthermore, textual elements are often combined with decorative elements which serve the same function, e.g. signalling the beginning of a new textual unit.

The most common types of textual elements in this category are titles or headings. These include running-titles, chapter titles or other *intertitles* (cf. Genette 1997b: 294–318), and rubrics, heading-like elements usually written in red ink (see Section 7.2.3). But there are other elements as well, for example marginal notes which may function as finding aids similar to headings, as will be seen in Chapter 8 below. Catchwords[27] may be placed in this category as well, although they signal codicological units rather than textual units. Their primary audience or user is also different from that of the other elements: the intended receiver of these messages is the binder, or perhaps the scribe themself or other scribes, who may use them as guides during the working process (cf. Smith & Wilson 2011: 4). It is not impossible, however, to imagine that the reader could make use of catchwords as additional finding aids, especially in cases where the catchword has been decorated to make it more prominent, as in several copies of the *Polychronicon*.

There are some elements which are not purely text-organising or decorative but share aspects of both categories. These include paraph marks (¶) and whitespace. The paraph, introduced in the late twelfth century, is a prominent feature in both the manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well as early printed books. Like the older symbol with partly overlapping functions, the *paragraphus*, the paraph is used to mark textual divisions: not only paragraphs, sentences or other such units containing a "single thought", but it is also used to separate list items, chapter numbers placed at the ends of lines, and run-overs (Parkes 2008a: 68–69; M. Smith 2010: 198–199). Examples of all of these uses can be found in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts (see Carroll et al. 2013; Liira 2014: 51–52; on the use of paraphs see also Waldron 2018).

Whitespace, also known as negative space, is a concept that derives from visual arts and the printing and publishing industry. Whitespace as a text-organising device is typically not discussed in glossaries or handbooks of manuscript studies. However, when studying the layout of a text – any text – it is as important to pay attention to what is not there as it is to record the elements that are placed on the page. Recently, Justin A. Stover (2017) has argued that whitespace which occurs with a lacuna in the text should be regarded as paratextual: the space intended to be filled in later reflects scribal desire for accuracy, as scribes "give their readers additional information

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[27] Catchwords are typically found on the final leaf of the quire but may also appear in other places, sometimes on every page. They repeat the first word or words on the next page and thus ensure that the leaves and quires can be placed in the correct order for binding.

about the text they are reading, over and above what is contained in the words of the main text" (2017: 317). While the term whitespace can be used to refer to any blank space in a composition, including margins that surround the text area on a page, here I wish to emphasise the use of space as an element that separates textual units such as chapters. The use of whitespace as a separating element is not a convention often found in manuscripts, possibly because economic use of materials was often a priority. Other means to separate textual units were developed in the course of the history of the book, from the scroll to the codex. It should be noted that while effective, whitespace is rarely understood as decorative. If it carries any signification of wealth, that is reserved to features like sheet size and the width of margins rather than such smaller spaces as lines between chapters. Scribes conforming to the Gothic aesthetic strived to plan their text carefully in order to not leave blank spaces in-text, and whatever space remained was often filled with decorative line-fillers (see Derolez 2003: 38). Thus it was mainly after the introduction of print that whitespace assumed its visual text-organising functions: a heading surrounded by whitespace could be printed in black, which was easier and cheaper than using red ink which had to be printed separately.

2.2.5   Illustration

I have chosen to use *illustration* as an umbrella term for all types of pictorial information. Although roughly speaking all decorative elements can be classified as illustration, the term is most commonly used in reference to *pictures* in books, and I find it useful to differentiate between two categories, decoration and illustration. What they have in common is that both are typically not considered as part of the work; instead they are something additional to the text and thus potentially paratextual. However, this rule of thumb is by no means definitive: book producers (including but not limited to authors) have experimented with the format of the book to create an interplay of text and image, to the extent that the two may not be separable. Furthermore, it should again be borne in mind that present-day notions of authorship are not directly applicable to earlier periods; what is considered part of the text is not necessarily related to authorship but rather tradition.

An interesting theoretical question is whether diagrams should be considered illustrations or not. In present-day books the answer is relatively straightforward: Following the above-mentioned rule of thumb, diagrams typically provide information that is essential, or at least helpful, in understanding the text. Illustrations, arguably, are often related to the edition rather than the work and may not be essential in understanding the text in a way that diagrams are (undoubtedly, examples showing the contrary exist). In other words, diagrams belong to the text of the work whereas illustrations belong to the text of the document. A further

indication of this difference is that diagrams are often metadiscursively referred to in the text (e.g. "see the figure below") while illustrations are not, although this may vary between genres.

In a manuscript context, it is better to forget such rigid categories. As Peter Murray Jones emphasises in his study of medieval medical illustrations, "we cannot presume […] that all medical 'illustrations' can be considered as the intended accompaniment to a particular text – some may have circulated with no text at all, or with alternative texts", and furthermore, that "we cannot assume that the text takes priority over the illustration" (Jones 2006: 3). In a similar vein, Derek Pearsall (2009) calls for caution on the part of literary scholars (as opposed to art historians studying images in books) who may "have their own preoccupations, and a distorted impression of the production circumstances of vernacular text manuscripts and the function of illustration in them" (2009: 197). According to Pearsall (2009: 197), too much weight may be given to the relationship between the image and the text, when in reality the images may be quite unrelated to the text they illustrate, and they are always regulated by their own conventions, and for example, instructions given to the illustrators. This does not seem to be the case with the *Polychronicon* manuscripts, which contain no illustrations unrelated to the text, but a similar phenomenon may perhaps be observed in Treveris's printed edition (1527) (see Section 7.5).

2.2.6   Page elements and paratextuality

When discussing page elements as possibly belonging to the paratext, one of the biggest theoretical issues is the question of whether later additions should be accepted, or whether paratext only encompasses something put down on paper (or parchment) by the original producers. For Genette, this meant the author and their "associates" (1997b: 9). In the manuscript context, by "original" I refer to the scribe(s) and anyone responsible for the rubrication and decoration. It is often problematic, and perhaps unnecessary, to think of manuscript books in terms of completedness and to determine between "original" and "later" parts. As manuscripts were produced in several stages (see further Section 3.2), it may be challenging to differentiate between the original design and contemporary additions, such as those filled in by the owner, especially if they commissioned a professional scribe or artist for the task. Even more complex schemes are presented by composite volumes, miscellanies, unbound quires, and bindings containing both manuscript and printed texts, to mention a few – books which were perfectly acceptable to medieval and early modern readers but which present problems for the idea that paratextuality is linked to (commercial) publishing.

Even though this question is mostly relevant in relation to manuscripts and less so in relation to print (see, however, W. Sherman 2008 and Boffey 2014 for practices of customising printed books), Stallybrass (2011) argues that readers' additions in printed books should be taken into consideration when examining paratexts:

> If paratexts make readers, so readers both negotiate paratexts and make new ones. […] The paratexts – both epitexts and peritexts – of this book will proliferate, taking in underlinings and the residue of post-it notes, the ownership marks of libraries and individuals, reviews, and citations. Each of these alterations will not only add to the complex life of the printed volume but will themselves prompt and guide interpretation. Paratexts do not just mark the book; they make it what it is. (Stallybrass 2011: 219)

It should be noted that Stallybrass does not differentiate here between the two senses of *book*: some of his examples refer to the concrete, physical object (underlinings, ownership marks) while others refer to the abstract work (reviews, citations). From a reader's perspective, making the distinction may not be even meaningful, as their reception is guided by both types of paratextual material. Furthermore, the relations between peritexts and the physical book on the one hand and between epitexts and the abstract work on the other hand are complex: physical marks such as marks of ownership convey factual information,[28] which again may affect the reader's reception of the work, not only the specific copy they are looking at – if they are aware of the difference.[29] This may be one of the reasons Genette avoids explicit definitions for concepts such as *book*, especially as his focus is on the literary content rather than the individual, material copies. Although he does recognise the role of some material aspects (see e.g. 1997b: 7, 33–36), the peritextual elements he discusses pertain to editions or impressions rather than individual copies, whereas Stallybrass's quote above, bringing the reader into focus, allows one to expand the definition of paratext to include copy-specific alterations.

In print production, the division into "original" layout and "later" additions is relatively easy to make, at least in principle: anything added by hand is, by definition, a later addition. In early printed books handpainted initials and other elements were sometimes filled in at the printer's house (cf. Caxton's edition of the *Polychronicon*, see also Hellinga 2010), in which sense they could be considered "original"; at other times such finishing touches were perhaps commissioned by the owner of the book,

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28 Genette (1997b: 7); see also Section 2.1.3 above.
29 Joseph A. Dane effectively illustrates this by describing hypothetical visitors to the Huntington Library who will claim they have seen "the Gutenberg Bible" without realising that this is impossible (2011: 14).

and in these cases they could be considered "later" (for both kinds of manuscript additions to printed texts, see Boffey 2012: 65–74). However, this kind of classification again comes down to authorisation – who is it that assumes responsibility for the "additions"? – and does not account for material realities. The elements, although added by hand, have been accounted for in the original page design by leaving a blank space and sometimes printed guide letters or other instructions as to what should be filled in. The layout is planned before the actual printing takes place, even if the realisation of these elements (style, medium, colour, etc.) is up to the person filling them in or commissioning them rather than the original producers of the book. The empty space alone, marking the placement of these elements, may be enough to fulfil their navigational functions (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 115).

In manuscripts, identifying "original" and "later" elements cannot be done by medium but has to be determined through palaeographical analysis and dating of the hand and ink. Partridge (2011) notes that it is not only comments or decorative elements that were added onto manuscript pages by readers, but there is evidence of what Partridge calls the "ongoing 'finishing' of existing books", meaning that readers filled in navigational elements they had come to expect of books, possibly due to the standardising effect of print (2011: 101).[30] One such example is found in a *Polychronicon* copy, MS **G**, where a reader has amplified the running-titles (see Liira 2014: 53, 60). However, even if it were possible to date all the markings on the page, the division into original and later is not a sound criterion for defining authorised and non-authorised paratext due to the various ways in which material paratexts influence reading. For instance, reader notes could be compared to audience-created paratextual elements typical of film and television, such as fan fiction and fan sites, video commentaries, etc. (see Gray 2010: 143–174; Rockenberger 2016).

Matthew Fisher (2012) argues that scribal behaviour and the practices of copying were so versatile that it is misleading to simply group all of these processes under "copying" (2012: 190). Instead, he looks at manuscripts as sites for extensive textual transformation carried out by scribes. This kind of scribal reshaping of texts was sometimes extensive enough to obscure the authorship of the text, and at the very least it blurs the distinction between the categories of "author" and "scribe" (see the following chapter for further discussion of the different roles in text production). It should be noted, however, that Fisher (2012) is mainly concerned with more substantial textual transformation rather than changes made to the layout and visual

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[30] See also Reis (2010: 384) for discussion on how developments in the layout of the text are connected to a shift in reading practices from aural to visual; this theme is discussed further in Section 3.3 below.

representation of the text, or paratextual matter, only, although the two are naturally intertwined.

Copying is an interactional process: in order to copy a text, the scribe needs to read it and understand it. Whether in a monastic environment or commercial book trade, it can be assumed that in most cases copying books is not something that is done mindlessly or mechanically (see e.g. Bäckvall 2017: 25–26), but that scribes actively aimed to produce the text in a form that was accessible to the reader. Rather than simply reproducing the text, this means re-interpreting the text, or at least reshaping its presentation, while balancing between the realities of the working process: the allotted time, funds, materials, and the commissioner's or patron's requests (for re-interpreting the text, see Fisher 2012; for re-interpreting visual aids such as images and diagrams accompanying the text, see Murdoch 1984). The layout of the book is also dependent on conventions, which are built on past examples and readers' expectations, or what is believed to be the readers' expectations – the latter becomes more relevant in relation to books produced speculatively, as in the print era.

In the next chapter, I will provide an overview of the processes of text and book production in late medieval England and briefly discuss how books of vernacular literature like the *Polychronicon* were acquired and used.

3 Production and use of late medieval English texts

The process of composing texts and turning them into tangible documents accessible to readers involves several stages. These processes, in the medieval as in any period, are collaborative by nature (see e.g. Suhr 2011: 65; Varila 2016: 23). Consequently, paratextual elements found in any document, such as a copy of a book, are the results of several agents participating in the production of the text and the document in which it is preserved.[31] This angle is, however, largely missing from Genette's (1997b) formulation of the paratext theory, which focuses on two figures, the author and the publisher.

To support the analysis of paratexts in the *Polychronicon*, I briefly discuss the wider context of producing late medieval texts. This wider context includes both material aspects as well as social ones, both of which influence the text and the physical form it takes. Paratextual matter, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, is primarily a feature of the material text. At the same time, paratextual elements materialise the interaction between human agents: producers and consumers. Hence, paratextuality cannot be divorced from questions of authorship, reading practices, and the socioeconomic context of manufacturing and marketing books. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of these issues, as they have shaped the circumstances in which copies of the *Polychronicon* were produced.

My focus is on book production in Britain between c. 1300 and c. 1530. This timeframe, extending into the early modern period, encompasses the composition, translation and dissemination of the *Polychronicon* copies, in both manuscript and printed form. It will be necessary, however, to refer to book production practices

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[31] The terms *text* and *document* as used in this study are defined above in Section 1.3. A book is one of the possible forms for a document; here *book* is used to refer to the codex form, consisting of quires of folded sheets. To narrow down the topic of this chapter, I focus on books and exclude other types of text-producing activities, such as correspondence, account-keeping, or the production of various administrative documents.

before 1300, too, insofar as they have shaped later practices.[32] It is also clear that what marks the turn of an era is arbitrary, decided by those who write the history, not those who live and witness the events. The end of the medieval period is generally dated on the basis of certain significant cultural, social, and political changes occurring in various European countries around the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such as the Renaissance movement and the Protestant reformation. As regards book production, the line between "medieval" and "Renaissance" or "early modern" is often synonymous with the introduction of print technology, although this division fails to capture the complexities of the transition period, as shown in Section 3.2.[33] Many aspects of books which are generally associated with print technology have their roots in the medieval manuscript culture. The invention of moving type, traditionally attributed to Gutenberg, has been viewed as a revolutionary change to book production (e.g. Febvre & Martin 1990 [1958]; Eisenstein 1979). More recently, however, emphasis has been placed on the continuation of tradition, as the transition period and its complexity has become a target of scholarly interest (see e.g. McKitterick 2003; Baron, Lindquist & Shevlin eds. 2007; Boffey 2012, 2014; Tonry 2016; Varila 2016).

This chapter is divided into three parts. In Section 3.1, I discuss the role of the author and how different notions of authorship shape it, extending this discussion to the emerging roles of editor and publisher in connection to print. As the role of the author has such a central part in Genette's (1997b) paratext framework, it is necessary to assess how authorship was viewed in the late medieval period, and what this will mean for the conception of paratextuality. In order to understand the processes of book production in a specific period, one needs to consider how those taking part in the production and consumption of books were viewed by their contemporaries. It is important to note not only who the persons involved in the production process were but also what kind of roles they took, or what kind of roles they were considered to have. Section 3.2 outlines the processes of the production of books as material objects and how the two media, manuscript and print, coexisted in

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[32]   For wide-ranging accounts on the production of manuscripts in Europe, see e.g. De Hamel (1992; 2012); Clemens & Graham (2007); Kerby-Fulton, Olson & Hilmo (2012). For printed books and the history of book production in general, see e.g. Hindman & Farquhar (1977); Febvre & Martin (1990 [1958]); Greetham (1994 [1992], esp. chapters 2–3); McKitterick (2003).

[33]   My timeframe extends beyond what is generally considered the late medieval period in Britain. For instance, in Morgan (ed. 2001 [1988]), "Later Middle Ages" covers the years 1290–1485; this is followed by the "Tudor period" beginning from the ascension of Henry VII. The beginning of the Tudor period is also often used as a dividing line between Middle English and Early Modern English, although in practice the change was gradual (cf., for instance, Caxton's reference to "rude and old englyssh" in the epilogue to the *Polychronicon* (1482), see Section 5.8.2).

the latter part of this period. I will discuss the mechanics and economics of the two media in order to establish a picture of the circumstances in which the individual copies and editions of the *Polychronicon* were created, and, consequently, received. Finally, in Section 3.3, the focus is on the consumption of books. To contextualise the cultural environment in which the text(s) and the subsequent copies of the English *Polychronicon* were produced, I discuss how books of vernacular literature were used in late medieval and early Tudor England. Material aspects and paratextual matter can reveal much about the intended, and in some cases actual, owners and readers of books, and the purpose of this section is to provide an overview of reading cultures which have influenced the physical shape of the *Polychronicon* copies.

3.1   Producing the work

No text producer ever works free from influences from others. Producing new works typically means engaging in a conversation: texts communicate messages and they are usually meant to be shared and read by others. Scholars of medieval authorship have argued that originality was not an important goal; rather, medieval authors were expected to justify their works by explaining how they fit the larger conversation (see e.g. Wogan-Browne et al. eds. 1999: 4). The medieval notion of authorship differed from the novelty-focused modern conceptualisation which started to emerge after copyrights began to be regulated.[34] This partly explains why many of the paratextual features outlined by Genette (1997b) only emerge after the Renaissance.

Scholars such as Alastair Minnis (2010, first edition 1984) and Malcolm Parkes (1991 [1976]) have demonstrated how producing "new" works essentially meant showing an understanding of highly regarded older works, *auctoritates*, and contributing to the tradition (see also Wogan-Browne et al. eds. 1999: 4). The concept of author (Lat. *auctor*, originally meaning an originator or causer) is closely related to the concept of *auctoritates*. *Auctor* referred to "authoritative Latin writers" (Minnis 2010: 1) or "someone who was at once a writer and an authority, someone not merely to be read but also to be respected and believed" (2010: 10). According to the medieval notion, authors were respected and revered for their ideas. However, the idea of "authority" was not so much associated with the persons themselves, as it is today, but rather with the eloquent formulations of ideas. *Auctoritates* were the texts or extracts of texts written by the named *auctores*, and authorship was connected with the ideas of ancientness, and authenticity deriving from that

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[34]   For instance, in early sixteenth-century England, printers could not claim rights to the texts they printed; privileges protecting books for a few years after their publication only became more common after the 1520s (Blayney 2013: 233–235).

ancientness (see e.g. Minnis 2010: 9; Parkes 1991 [1976]: 36, n1; Carruthers 2008: 234–265, esp. 235). Minnis argues that it was, therefore, virtually impossible for a medieval writer to be considered an *auctor*, and because of this, some of the works of medieval authors that were deemed particularly good were attributed to some of the "ancients" instead (2010: 11–12).

Despite the revered status of the *auctoritates*, textual matter in general was not regarded as the property of any single writer. Robert R. Edwards, drawing from Minnis, notes in his introduction to *Invention and Authorship in Medieval England* that rather than a single role, the functions of medieval authorship "represent a spectrum of literary productions" (2017: n.p.). Furthermore, most of those who engaged in the various processes of producing and transforming texts were not considered *auctores*, although in present-day terms they could be viewed as authors.[35] For instance, the roles of compilers and translators, on the one hand, and the question of scribal authorship, on the other hand, will be discussed below in more detail. Considering all of these agents is necessary in the context of the present study, as they affect the material form of the text. Moreover, considering these different roles in relation to book production provides a fruitful starting point for the redefinition of paratextuality in pre-print and early print material.

The famous classification by Bonaventure in the mid-thirteenth century differentiates between four types of writers: author, compiler, commentator, and scribe (see e.g. Minnis 2010: 94). In practice, however, these can be interpreted as roles which are, at least to some extent, fluid. This is especially true when it comes to vernacular authorship (Wogan-Browne et al. eds. 1999: 5), and towards the late Middle Ages in general (see Minnis 2010: 216). Firstly, the distinction between a compiler and an author, in the present-day sense of the word at least, is far from clear-cut. A compiler, according to Bonaventure, adds no original material but only combines materials from others. Minnis notes that the manner of assuming responsibility for the text differed between the *auctor* and the compiler:

> Whereas an *auctor* was regarded as someone whose works had considerable authority and who bore full responsibility for what he had written, the *compilator* firmly denied any personal authority and accepted responsibility only for the manner in which he had arranged the statements of other men. (Minnis 2010: 192)

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[35] It should be noted that from here on I will adopt the Latin term *auctor* to denote author in the specialised, medieval sense as described above, whereas the English word *author* is used in a wider, more general sense when it is needed for ease of reference or comparison with the later notions of authorship.

However, Minnis continues that compilers often inserted some material of their own or added "some personal assertion to their reportage" (2010: 200). In the end, the borderline between one's own material and interpretation or metatext – or, indeed, any linking material necessary for a coherent production – is relatively fuzzy. The hierarchical thinking of the medieval mind is reflected in the classification. Just as contemporary medieval authors were no match to ancient authors (Minnis 2010: 11–12), the compiler may have been seen as inferior to the author in the hierarchy (see Galloway 2000: 28). This interpretation is likely based on expressions of humility in compilers' prefaces, and it is unclear to what extent these were formulaic (see e.g. Minnis 2010: 192–193).[36] According to this hierarchical conceptualisation, the scribe is the lowest in rank, a mere copyist. Other scholars have, however, argued against such intepretations of Bonaventure and the simplification of the various roles (see e.g. Gillespie 2006: 12; R. Edwards 2017: introduction, n.p.). Kathleen Tonry (2016) importantly reminds us that the classification focuses on the production of the abstract text while it "leaves the physical work of textual production relatively untheorized, standing as merely, 'purely', a necessary function" (2016: 4). As Tonry's study and others have demonstrated, Bonaventure's classification represents an ideal model with neatly defined categories; in truth there was much overlapping between these roles, and in many cases scribes were actively reshaping the texts they copied (on scribal authorship see Fisher 2012; Conti 2012).

It should be noted that one role is missing from Bonaventure's list, that of translator, which Elizabeth Dearnley (2016: 4) notes may be conflated with the role of commentator. The close relationship between commentary and translation in the Middle Ages has been explored by Rita Copeland (1991), who shows how the practices of translation were linked to the wider disciplines of rhetoric theory and hermeneutics. Translation was not a profession but a mode of writing; it was seen as interpretation of meaning, not necessarily attempting to "transfer meaning unchanged from one language to another" (Evans et al. 1999: 317). Thus, the role of translator does not neatly fall into any of Bonaventure's four categories but overlaps with several of them.

Considering these overlapping roles, defining medieval authorship is far from simple. As Minnis notes, "there was a rich abundance of kinds, degrees, properties and aspects of authorship to describe and relate to not one but several systems of classification" (2010: 2). Indeed, the idea of authorship was changing by the late medieval period. Minnis's *Medieval Theory of Authorship* is largely focused on

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[36]　However, a difference was made between assuming responsibility (*assertio*) and repeating or reporting the words of others (*recitatio*); these two modes reflect authorial and compiler's roles, respectively (Minnis 2010: 193). Minnis shows that Trevisa was aware of this distinction (2010: 193–194).

philosophical and theological works of the early and high Middle Ages, such as commentaries on scripture, which is a different scheme of authoring texts than vernacular literature, although vernacular writers were also influenced by the scholastic literary theory (2010: 160). Minnis also notes that towards the late Middle Ages, authors could more freely bring ancient authorities into discussion with influential writers of their own times, and cite pagan and Christian sources alike (2010: 216–217). This is clearly seen in Higden's work, although he felt compelled to justify the inclusion of such material (see Section 5.4).

The introduction of print, then, paved way for new roles in textual production. The act of printing became simultaneously the act of publishing, and printers assumed the role of publisher with varying degrees. Lotte Hellinga (1983: 6) has described William Caxton as an editor and publisher. As an example, she discusses Caxton's process of correcting his first edition of the *Canterbury Tales* after coming across a better manuscript exemplar. Hellinga observes that although Caxton seemed to aim at completedness of a text, this was not yet linked to ideas of "textual purity" or reconstruction of an original version reflecting authorial intention; until these were brought along by "textual scholarship, antiquarian interest and, probably much more stridently, contemporary authors" who insisted on accuracy, printers were free to express their own (editorial) intentions (1983: 8).

It should be briefly noted here that readers are not a separate category from writers or producers of texts: in some cases the intended reader of the text or copy of a text is the person who composed or copied it; in other cases readers interacted with texts by filling in comments and other textual items (see further Chapter 8). Medieval authors also defined their authorship in terms of reading, for example by presenting themselves as readers or attempting to influence their readership (Partridge 2012: 5; see further the contributions to Partridge & Kwakkel eds. 2012).

To return to the question of text production as teamwork, those creating new works could either write them down by themselves, or dictate them to someone else who would act as a scribe (Carruthers 2008: 241–242). Dictating appears to have been more common in late antiquity and in the early Middle Ages, since writing in *scriptura continua* (unseparated script) did not easily allow composing at the same time (Saenger 1997: 249). Saenger argues that word separation, adopted throughout western Europe by the twelfth century, contributed to an increase in autograph writing (1997: 249). It is almost certain that Higden acted as his own scribe (see further 4.2). The collaborative nature of this phase, i.e. the creation of the abstract text and the act of transferring it onto parchment, paper, wax or other surface, could be debated if collaboration is defined in strict terms, requiring a two-way interactional process. However, after the production of a tangible version of the text, at the latest, other people would be involved: texts could be multiplied and disseminated through copies, receive commentaries, and be corrected, emended and

expanded by people other than the original author or scribe. Minnis (2010: xxx) emphasises that whenever the source texts used by medieval writers are discussed, what needs to be taken into account is not only the original works but also the commentaries accompanying them in manuscripts, because that is the form in which the medieval writers encountered them.

In the following, I will discuss the production of the physical copies in more detail.

3.2   Producing the document

If the collaborative nature of authoring texts is debatable, the production of the material object, a handwritten or printed book, is undeniably a task that requires multiple skills, rarely possessed by a single person. Scribes were often responsible for both writing and rubricating (see e.g. Partridge 2011: 84), as seems to be the case with many of the scribes working on the *Polychronicon* (e.g. the Polychronicon Scribe of MSS **M** and **C**, and Scribe Delta copying MSS **AJP**, see Section 4.3 below). They also generally prepared their own inks (Da Rold 2011: 14). Furthermore, scribes typically prepared their own parchment or paper sheets by pricking and ruling them, since this was a crucial stage in designing the layout (see e.g. Lyall 1989: 11; Partridge 2011: 84; Section 2.2.1 above). However, manufacturing the writing support, whether parchment or paper, required a specialised set of skills, as did the binding of finished quires.[37]

Medieval book design in Europe can be roughly divided into two periods, monastic and scholastic; these were discussed in Section 2.2.6 above in connection to page design and paratextuality. Initially, books were almost solely produced by religious communities for their own use. The emergence of universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in an increasing demand for books and created the basis for commercial book production in Europe. This categorisation is, however, somewhat misleading because the emergence of a scholarly audience did not mark the end of the monastic period – monastic communities continued to produce books for their own purposes (Doyle 1989; 1990a). The scholastic period nevertheless brought about significant changes in the presentation of books as well as in the ways and volume of book production (Parkes 1991 [1976]). New kinds of texts were copied and layouts were developed to better suit the newly emerged needs of consumers, as noted in Chapter 2. The volume of production increased significantly and more effective ways of copying were sought to answer the needs of commercial book trade.

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[37]   It is possible, however, for one person to be specialised in more than one profession, e.g. a scribe may also work as a bookbinder (Kwakkel 2011: 182).

By the late medieval period, there were four kinds of circumstances in which books were produced: books were either commissioned from professional scribes, produced speculatively for sale, produced by religious communities for their own use,[38] or copied for the private use of the copyist themselves (Lyall 1989: 14). The first two categories represent commercial production, while the latter two represent private production. Furthermore, the two categories of commercial production reflect two different modes: bespoke, which means that the copy is produced to order, and speculative, which means that the copy is produced with no specific buyer in mind, to be sold in a shop (see e.g. Mooney 2011: 193; on the bespoke book trade in England, see also Hanna 1992: 116–117).

Patrons desiring to acquire a new book could either contact the scribes and artists directly or approach a stationer as a middleman (Kwakkel 2011: 176; see also Overty 2008: 2).[39] It is uncertain how common it was in England for book production to be coordinated by a stationer, like it often was in Paris and elsewhere on the continent (Kwakkel 2011: 177–178; see also Gillespie & Wakelin 2011: 3). Presumably, the involvement of stationers became more common by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, although in 1403 the Writers of Text Letter (i.e., scribes who worked in the book trade rather than legal or business writing), illuminators, bookbinders and booksellers had formed a guild which would later become the Company of Stationers (Boffey 2012: 127; see also Blagden 1960: 22–23; Mooney 2011: 193).

The people involved in the central stages of manuscript production, i.e. designing the layout, writing, and illustrating, could be members of a community such as a monastery or a shared workshop producing manuscripts commercially, or sort of freelancers. In the light of recent study it seems that in continental commercial production, scribes and other artists lived close to each other but they worked alone rather than in a scriptorium, completing one stage before the manuscript was brought to another artist for the next stage (Kwakkel 2011: 177, 181; see also Christianson 1990: 29–31; Parkes 2008d: 49–50). This is probably true for England as well, where it has been argued, for instance, that the group of scribes who copied a number of works of vernacular authors worked alone or in shared workshops (see Doyle & Parkes 1978: 199–203). However, copying literary texts appears to not have been a full-time job for them but many, including some of the *Polychronicon* scribes (see

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[38]   For monastic book production in England, see Doyle (1990a).

[39]   The term stationer has various connotations but is here used in the sense Kwakkel (2011: 176) defines it, someone who "sold books or arranged to have them made for sale, be they members of a guild or not, and no matter what other professions they may have had". The term was probably originally used of those book artisans, e.g. illuminators, scribes or binders, who also acted as book dealers, rather than describing a specific line of profession (Christianson 1990: 24).

Section 4.3.1.1), possibly worked as professional clerks (cf. Mooney & Stubbs 2013: 2). In London, many booksellers' shops or stalls were located around St Paul's, the same area that had a long tradition of manuscript production and that gradually attracted printers as well (Boffey 2012: 127–128; see also Christianson 1990: 21). It would thus have been easy for the stationer to coordinate commissioned work from scribes, limners and binders alike, in addition to buying printed sheets and having them decorated and bound for further sale (Boffey 2012: 127–128).

London was, of course, not the only place were books were produced: other sites of manuscript production included university and cathedral cities such as Oxford and Lincoln (Doyle 1990b), and authors could also disseminate their works through local scribes (see Mooney 2011: 194–195). Indeed, the early copies (**C** and **M**) of the English *Polychronicon* and other translations by Trevisa suggest provincial (Gloucestershire) production (Waldron 2004: xxxix; Mooney 2011: 195).

3.2.1   Manuscript and print: Differences in production

It has been shown that several changes in book production methods were already taking place before and at the time of the first experiments with printing. Book production had commercialised and become more organised: a trend that was also visible in other trades in the late medieval period (Kwakkel 2011: 175; see also Mooney 2011: 193–194). This was partly related to the economic situation after the Black Death, which increased wages and drove down the costs of raw materials; the effects of these developments on book production have been outlined by Overty (2008). Furthermore, there were different means for reducing the costs of manuscripts, which made it possible to respond to the increasing demand for books (see Overty 2008; Kwakkel 2011). Cheaper alternatives included cursive and less formal scripts, which were fast to execute,[40] as well as cutting the costs of materials used. Paper and lower grade parchment (for example, off-cuts, i.e. the edges of skin left over when the sheet had been trimmed) could be used for this purpose, as well as limp bindings, which were easier and faster to produce compared to bindings with wooden boards.

The standardisation of layouts and decoration may also have been a response to the increasing demand for books (Overty 2008: 12). These practices of the late Middle Ages undoubtedly caused an increase in the number of books produced at the time, although they had little effect on the production of *de luxe* volumes such as the *Polychronicon*. Kwakkel notes that "[w]hile many patrons in the manuscript age did not choose to cut costs, it is important to note they had the choice to do so over

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[40]   Scribal work was the most costly part in manuscript production (Parkes 2008d: 48; Overty 2008: 7).

a century before the market started to provide cheaper books on a large scale through the printing press" (2011: 191).

The introduction of paper was a key factor in the changes to the volume and cost of production. The new writing support was introduced in Europe in the twelfth century via Arab Spain, from where it gradually spread to Italy and other countries, reaching England around the fourteenth century (see e.g. Bischoff 1990; De Hamel 1992: 16; for the use of paper in England specifically, see Da Rold 2011: 24; Robinson 2014). According to Lyall (1989: 12), paper was rarely used before the fifteenth century, and only became popular in the course of that century. However, recent study shows that paper was already widely used in fourteenth-century England, primarily by merchants and for administrative record-keeping but also in educational contexts (Da Rold 2011: 24–25). From practical uses, such as records, registers, school books and recipe collections, the new material then spread into the production of literary works (Da Rold 2011: 24–25; see also Lyall 1989: 13). Da Rold proposes that professionals, such as clerks who used paper in their daily duties, were the ones to apply the new material to literary books (2011: 24–25). Once paper had been fully established as an alternative to parchment, it was up to the scribe or the commissioner of the manuscript to decide which material was more suitable for their purposes. As Lyall summarises, "[t]wo related factors, then, can be seen at work in the choice of material for the making-up of fifteenth-century books: the type of volume, and the audience for which it was intended" (1989: 13).

For printed books, paper seems to have been the standard choice of support; some scholars have even viewed paper as the necessary facilitator for the development of printing techniques due to its suitability for the inks used in printing (Febvre & Martin 1990 [1958]: 29–30; see also Greetham 1994 [1992]: 81–82). However, parchment editions and editions combining both parchment and paper copies were also issued especially in the early years of printing (Needham 2015).[41] The technique that enabled the fast multiplication of copies was the invention of movable type. The invention has generally been attributed to Johann Gensfleisch, also known as Gutenberg, a goldsmith from Mainz, but there is evidence of similar experimentations taking place elsewhere in Europe around the same time (Febvre & Martin 1990 [1958]: 49–54; Füssel 2005: 15).[42] The first printing press in England was set up by William Caxton at Westminster in 1476, some twenty years after the invention of the new craft (see e.g. Hellinga 2010: 1; Boffey 2012: 5).

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[41]   Needham uses 'vellum' instead of 'parchment' but for him, too, the two are interchangeable rather than linked to the quality or type of animal skin used (2015: 247, n2).

[42]   For critique on the narrative privileging movable-type printing at the expense of woodblock printing, see Chow (2007).

The new craft of printing was met with two kinds of reactions: some embraced the new technology and its possibilities while others spoke in favour of the traditional skills of scribes and illuminators (see Boffey 2012: 3; Hindman & Farquhar 1977: 101). However, different forms of hybrid production were also available.[43] Printed books could be illuminated, like many copies of the Gutenberg Bible were, or otherwise enhanced with elements added by hand (see Section 7.2.1). Needham suggests that beside cost and purpose, which were the main factors in deciding which support to use, tradition may also have played a role: his examples from early Mainz printers show that works printed on parchment continue the manuscript tradition of copying these works on parchment, while e.g. vernacular literature, typically copied on paper, was also printed on paper (2015: 247). From 1470 onward, paper is the default support (Needham 2015: 254).

The purpose of the present study is to examine different copies and editions of a single work in detail, and to compare the printed editions with the manuscript copies in terms of their physical properties. It is important to keep in mind, however, that many of the differences found have likely been caused simply by differences in the production techniques. For example, type-switches can be interpreted as paratextual choices, whereas the lack thereof may equally well have been either a deliberate choice, or a technological or material necessity, if the compositor only had one set of types to work with. Early printers such as Gutenberg strived to produce page layouts that closely resembled the books they knew, i.e. manuscripts (see e.g. Füssel 2005: 17). However, producing features such as colour proved to be problematic in the early age of printing, as the whole sheet is pressed at once – it was easier to leave blank spaces to be filled in by hand later than to print the sheet twice, covering sections which were to be printed in a different colour (see e.g. Füssel 2005: 17, 19). Consequently, "printers had to train readers to accept a book printed in just one colour" (Pettegree 2010: 34). The present study explores some of the mechanisms for this change through paratextual elements and their visual characteristics.

3.3   Readers and buyers of late medieval books

I will now turn my attention to the user of the end-product: the audience, that is, the readers and listeners, the patrons and commissioners of books. It is not my intention

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[43]   Between the two media of producing the text and the two writing supports, book producers of the fifteenth century had four different types of hybrid production: manuscript books consisting of both parchment and paper leaves, printed books consisting of both parchment and paper leaves, printed books copied from manuscripts and other printed books, and manuscripts copied from other manuscripts and printed books (Needham 2015: 260–261). None of these forms of production is attested in the *Polychronicon* material, however.

to study the reception of the *Polychronicon* as such. Rather, I am interested in how the anticipated audience inevitably influences the book's production, particularly its paratextual apparatus. Although readers' notes are part of the analysis in Chapter 8, my main motivation to examine them is to see whether they may be counted as part of the paratextual apparatus, an extension to the one provided by the producers of the manuscript copy. My focus is thus primarily on the *audience*, defined by Pahta & Taavitsainen (2004: 15) as the "potential readership the work is targeted at", and only secondarily on the *readership*, which Pahta & Taavitsainen define as "those who have actually read the text".

However, as Charles Briggs has noted,

> establishing the medieval audience of any text is a tricky business […]. A work's audience could, after all, be associated with the text and its manuscripts in several ways. The text could be read from beginning to end or partially, once or repeatedly; it could be recited to a group of listeners, a practice common to both the university classroom, the monastic or college refectory, or the royal or noble hall. Someone might have possessed but not read it, using it rather as a kind of talisman or symbol of status or power, or indeed not using it at all. (1999: 6)

Briggs importantly draws attention to various kinds of "reading", as well as uses of books other than reading, in some cases pertaining more to books as objects rather than repositories of texts. As discussed throughout this chapter, the intended use of the text dictates many aspects from size, layout, text-organisation, and choice of script or typeface to support, style of decoration, and type of binding. For instance, books that were intended for heavy use required sturdier materials, as illustrated by Needham's example of Donatus's *Ars Minor* printed on parchment to be used by schoolmasters (2015: 247). Books which were intended for scholarly use required different layouts and finding aids than those aimed at lay readers. For instance, Briggs (1999: 26–31) found that the often illuminated vernacular copies of *De Regimine Principum* were aimed at aristocratic readers while the more modest Latin copies were intended for private or communal scholarly use.

The issue of establishing an audience can be divided into two parts, the first of which is linked to the question of the relationship between the abstract (*texts of works*) and the material (*texts of documents*, i.e., books). The majority of medieval people accessed texts through aural means, and Wogan-Browne et al. (1999: 109) maintain that for this reason it is more appropriate to refer to audience rather than readers (see also Coleman 1990, 1996; cf., however, Pahta & Taavitsainen's 2004 definition of audience cited above). Furthermore, for the medieval audience texts are not always associated with books, as books may simply act as mnemonics in a culture where memorising texts was the norm (Carruthers 2008: 9–10). The second part of

the issue is related to the materiality of the book. A hand supplying notes or doodles in the blank spaces of a book may or may not belong to someone who has read the text, and the notes or doodles may or may not relate to the text at hand. These issues will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Additionally, as Briggs reminds us, books themselves can be valuable objects, sometimes intended primarily for display or for symbolic and talismanic purposes rather than for reading or studying (1999: 6).[44] Moreover, in some cases merely owning or possessing a certain book may have had dire consequences, for social or political reasons among others (see e.g. Scase 2010: 568). I will briefly discuss such consequences as a result of the Arundelian Constitutions, which banned the translation of the scriptures, in Section 4.2. Although these questions of social and political contexts are not a major strand in the present study, which focuses primarily on the production process, they illustrate the intimate connection of the abstract text and the material copy.

In the past few decades, medieval manuscript studies have been bridging the gap between orality and literacy on the one hand, and between the textual and the visual culture on the other hand (see e.g. Coleman 1990, 1996; Starkey & Wenzel eds. 2005). In the history of reading, two partially related dichotomies emerge: private versus public reading (defined here as reading aloud to one or more listeners), and silent versus voiced reading (see Coleman 1996: 38–39 for a taxonomy of the different modes).[45] Reading can be both a private and a community activity (on reading communities, see Scase 2010). The private mode has, perhaps, sometimes been given too much weight through the assumption that anyone who was able to read and had access to books would prefer to consult them privately. This assumption has been challenged by Coleman (1990, 1996), who argues that many late medieval readers, in fact, chose to have books read to them (1996: 55). Coleman shows that shared reading sessions were not only an enjoyable pastime but also an important part of identity formation. Furthermore, she identifies a political use of community reading: affirming one's role as a leader and showing off one's role as a patron of the arts (1990: 132–133; see Section 4.2 for the patronage of the English *Polychronicon*). Elspeth Jajdelska (2016) pinpoints the turn in reading practices

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[44] For talismanic use of the Bible, see Poleg (2013: 59–91). Exceptionally large or small books often suggest purposes other than purely informational; for examples, such as a tiny (71×51 mm) fifth- or sixth-century copy of the gospel of St John possibly worn as an amulet (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 10439), see e.g. Bischoff (1990: 24).

[45] The classic source is *Orality and Literacy* by Walter J. Ong (1982), which explores how writing as a technology shapes human consciousness. However, my focus here is narrower, that is, limited to aural perusal of written texts, or oral in the sense of voicing the words when reading.

from public to private and from voiced to silent to the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, arguing that the shift to silent, private reading as the predominant mode eventually resulted in a change in the prose style, too.

The question of the extent to which texts were read privately as opposed to reading them aloud in a group is relevant in connection to paratextuality. Examining the paratextual apparatus of a manuscript may help us determine whether the particular copy was used for private or public reading. While certain paratextual elements can aid either private study or a group negotiating which parts of the text to read,[46] for instance tables of chapters and rubrics summarising the contents of passages, other elements are more clearly intended for the visual, private reader, such as indices and chapter numbers.[47] Similarly, other physical evidence may sometimes lead to discoveries regarding the use of a manuscript book. A fascinating example of such evidence is the Aberdeen Bestiary; in addition to accent marks added to aid reading aloud, the manuscript also shows dirty marks in the top margin, which scholars have interpreted to mean that the book was frequently held in front of students (*History of the Aberdeen Bestiary* 2020).

Even though public recreational reading may have retained its popularity well into the Victorian era (Coleman 1996: 147), it is evident that the two modes existed side by side and that private reading became increasingly common. This can be observed, for example, in the proliferation of reader marginalia and the shift in their type in the early modern period (see further Chapter 8). However, for the aims and scope of the present study, the question whether public reading remained a standard practice into the age of print is not a major concern.

The emergence of silent reading as opposed to voiced reading, or forming the words with one's mouth, has been debated at some length. Saenger (2011 [1982]; 1997: 83) links silent reading with word separation, first occurring in the western Europe in the Irish manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries (for word separation and punctuation practices, see also Parkes 2008b). Saenger's 1982 article has been criticised by Coleman (1996: 6, 54), who is not satisfied with attributing change in the mode of reading to any single technological advance. The purpose of reading and the genre of the text may better explain the choice between the two modes; for instance, Camille (1992: 62) notes that in monastic contexts, voiced reading and repetition was used in order to memorise texts (see also Carruthers 2008: 111). For reasons of scope, Coleman's exploration of aurality, i.e. the practice of

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46   See Coleman (1996: 65–66) for ways in which the reader and the listening audience may have negotiated the passages to be read.
47   It should be noted that I here refer to manuscripts because by the invention of printing, many such elements had been standardised to the extent that they can be expected to be found in any book.

reading texts aloud, in medieval culture purposefully focuses on secular, vernacular literature and excludes, for instance, histories and scientific and philosophical texts (1996: xi). She acknowledges, however, the role of genre in her presentation of the forms and modes of reading: in her typology of literacies, *pragmatic*, *professional*, *religious* and *recreational* forms of reading are divided into subcategories – the division into *public* and *private* reading is present in all of them (1996: 88). In contrast with Coleman's (1996) focus, Saenger's discussion on the emergence of silent reading as a predominant mode mainly covers the scholarly study of texts:

> The transformation from an early medieval oral, monastic culture to a visual, scholastic one had at first only a limited effect on the reading habits of lay society, particularly in northern Europe, where oral reading and dictation of vernacular texts were commonly practiced until at least the thirteenth century. (Saenger 1997: 265)

His use of "northern Europe" here includes France and England, where literature read to princes comprised especially verse genres, including romances and chronicles (*ibid.*). It should be noted that connecting monastic culture with orality (and voiced reading) and scholastic culture to visual (and silent reading) gives a simplified view, since both cultures also heavily feature communal reading (aurality).

Nevertheless, the emergence of scholasticism, according to Parkes, resulted in a shift in the manner of reading. He contrasts the monastic and the scholastic reading (*lectio*), the first of which approaches reading as part of meditation and devotional exercise, whereas the second involves a more systematic examination of a text (1991 [1976]: 35).[48] The way in which texts were studied was directly linked to the changes in the layout of manuscript pages in the twelfth century (Parkes 1991 [1976]; see also discussion above in Section 2.2.6), and is therefore also relevant in terms of paratextuality. As noted in Chapter 2, this period saw the emergence of many paratextual elements, such as tables of contents and running-titles, which made their way from Latin manuscripts into manuscripts of vernacular literature and, eventually, printed books. The emergence and transformation of such elements is always based on the shared understanding of conventions between those who produce books and those who use them. A text intended for consultative use, thorough study and comparison with other texts requires a more sophisticated set of

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[48] *Lectio* refers to private reading (voiced or silent) and can be contrasted with *pr(a)electio*, reading aloud (Coleman 1990: 126). Cf. Saenger's (1997) use of *praelectio*, referring to the act of preparing a text by punctuation before it was read aloud.

finding aids than one intended for continuous or recreational reading, whether private or public.

Nevertheless, certain paratextual elements such as running-titles and other headings have become standardised to the point that they are provided even when not strictly necessary for the intended non-scholarly use. Such a phenomenon can be seen, for instance, in manuscripts of English vernacular literature produced between 1350 and 1500 (Partridge 2011: 79). Readers' desire for standardisation may also be suggested by the practice of filling in paratextual elements where such elements have not been provided (Partridge 2011: 100–101). Partridge (2011: 80) notes that his discussion of page design in the fifteenth century revolves around "pragmatic challenge" (e.g. speed of production) and "commercial expectation", in contrast to Parkes's approach which emphasises the scribe's intellectual work behind the layout and design. All three aspects are, of course, important in that they influence the production process. The shift of focus from the scribe's intellectual work to questions of economy and audience expectation reflects the commercialisation of book production, emerging around the twelfth century and evolving throughout the late medieval period and beyond.

4 The Middle English *Polychronicon*

This chapter provides an introduction to the primary material used in the present study: John Trevisa's English *Polychronicon* as a literary work and its material witnesses. Drawing from the more general discussion in the previous chapters, I will contextualise the primary material by tying it to the tradition of universal chronicles and other forms of medieval history writing (Section 4.1). Section 4.2 describes the cultural environments in which Higden's Latin original and Trevisa's English translation were created, and the audiences of the texts. Section 4.3 provides descriptions of the paratextual matter in the manuscripts and printed books analysed in the present study.

4.1 Medieval historiography

As Chris Given-Wilson has remarked, "it was from the *Brut* and the *Polychronicon* that late medieval English men and women learned their history" (2004: xxii). These were the bestsellers of their time. The purpose of this section is to offer an overview of how history was recorded in medieval England in order to place the *Polychronicon* in context and provide background for the analysis of its presentation.

The definition of a chronicle[49] is elusive, and the boundaries between genres or categories of historical writing are fuzzy at best. The generally agreed definition is that a chronicle is a written record of events in the order they happened. In twentieth-century scholarship, a distinction was often made between *chronicles* and *annals*, where chronicles (Lat. *chronica*) are the work of named authors, with longer entries that may include times not witnessed by the writer, whereas annals (Lat. *annales*) may be defined as anonymous records of contemporary events, with brief entries noting the year (see Dumville 2002: 5–7 for a summary of definitions). However, David Dumville disagrees with this distinction, arguing that there is no etymological or semantic reason to distinguish chronicles from annals based on contemporary usages in late antiquity and the Middle Ages (2002: 2, 6). A more important

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[49] Derived from Greek χρονικός 'concerning time', ultimately from χρόνος 'time'; see Dumville (2002: 1) for a discussion of the etymology.

distinction, therefore, is that between annals or chronicles and *histories* (Lat. *historia*), which already emerged in the classical Greek usage (Dumville 2002: 2; see also Claridge 2017 on linguistic differences in these genres). The writing of history was seen as a literary enterprise; histories were narrative and interpretive rather than mere records of events (2002: 2).

Nevertheless, in the course of the Middle Ages even these categories get somewhat blurred. Peter Damian-Grint (1999) has surveyed the terms referring to works of history used in the Anglo-Norman vernacular tradition of the twelfth century, noting that the most common terms by far are *estoire* 'history', *geste* 'deeds' and *livre* 'book', while *croniche* or *cronique* 'chronicle', for instance, are less frequent (1999: 210). This may be a result of the Anglo-Norman writers following the distinction between chronicles/annals and histories which, however, disappeared after the twelfth century as *cronique* gained ground as the default term for historiography (1999: 226). Dumville (2002: 8) mentions Higden's *Polychronicon*, or *Historia Polychronica*, describing it as "an elaborate work largely in chronicle-form, whose title might be rendered somewhat etymologically as 'A History of Many Times' rather than taken to be a history advertising itself as based on many chronicles" (see also Section 5.4.1).

If the definition of a chronicle is elusive, so is the definition of a universal chronicle, or indeed universal history, as demonstrated by Ian Wood (2015) and Michele Campopiano (2017). Although notions of the totality of history arise in antiquity, based on classical philosophy, the genre of universal chronicles thrives after the emergence of Christianity.[50] For early Christian writers, such as Eusebius (260–339), God would be the unifying power as the creator of the world and humankind (Campopiano 2017: 4–6). The late antique chronicles would also set the tone and models for medieval universal chronicles: Orosius's *Historiae Adversus Paganos*, for example, begins with a geographical account, and is arranged according to the scheme of four world empires (Campopiano 2017: 7). The popular scheme of the six ages of the world goes back to Augustine and was also used by Isidor of Seville and Bede (*ibid.*). Following these *auctoritates*, Higden chose this model for his own chronicle (see Taylor 1966: 36–37; Gransden 1982: 47). The geographical and anthropological parts in Higden's chronicle were also influenced by Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Gerald of Wales (Gransden 1982: 47).[51]

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[50] It should be noted, however, that the term *universal chronicle* itself, although now applied to works of the Middle Ages and late antiquity, is a modern invention (Wood 2015: 47).

[51] For fuller accounts of Higden's sources and their treatment, see Taylor (1966: 72–88) and Gransden (1982:47–50).

Campopiano concludes that "[u]niversal chronicles […] intersected with aspects of medieval learning as diverse as geography, exegesis, and theology. Medieval lore had also insisted on the fact that history was part of grammar, following Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*" (2017:17). The diverse aspects of medieval learning are illustrated by Alfred Hiatt (2015), who discusses how universal histories, encyclopaedias and world maps were used to represent and organise information about the world, drawing several examples from Higden's *Polychronicon*.

The compiling of the *Polychronicon* is situated around what Gransden calls a "brief revival of monastic historiography", in the first half of the fourteenth century, before monastic chronicles first gave way to the accounts of secular clerks and later, in the fifteenth century, to history written by laymen (Gransden 1982: xii). Higden modelled his own universal chronicle after several forerunners in the genre, not only the ancient authors but also more recent ones, such as Marianus Scotus and Vincent of Beauvais among others. The *Polychronicon*, in turn, influenced other English historiographers such as John of Tynemouth, the Cistercian abbot John of Brompton, Sir Thomas Grey and Henry Knighton, although their works were not universal in their scope (Gransden 1982: 56–57). The only universal chronicle of the fourteenth century borrowing from Higden was the *Eulogium Historiarum* written by an anonymous monk of Malmesbury (Gransden 1982: 57, 103–104).

According to Gransden, the fifteenth century was an important period of historical writing in England, with the changes from monastic to secural historiography and from Latin to English as the main language (1982: 466). This period coincides with the dissemination of the copies of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, part of the movement towards vernacularisation of the history. However, Gransden notes that despite the influence of the *Polychronicon* on English historiography, Trevisa's translation was not widely popular among lay readers judging by the number of surviving manuscripts; the average fifteenth-century reader was more interested in contemporary history (1982: 221). Other popular chronicles at this time were the London chronicles, initially in Latin but by the fifteenth century in English, and the *Brut*, which circulated in Latin, French and, most numerously, English copies (1982: 466). The two works are closely related, as the *Brut* continuations from 1377 are based on the London chronicles (Gransden 1982: 227, for a detailed discussion of these chronicles see 220–248; see also Matheson 1984).[52] Both of these chronicles were employed by Caxton in the writing of the *Chronicles*

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[52]   Steiner (2005: 175) presents an opposing view of the popularity of the *Brut* versus that of the *Polychronicon*, as Higden's chronicle received more than a dozen continuations by the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it should be noted that this refers to Higden's Latin text rather than the English translation.

of England (STC 9991), on which he later based his Liber Ultimus, a continuation to the *Polychronicon* (see Matheson 1985).

Open-endedness is a distinctive feature in the chronicle genre, to such an extent that Dumville (2002: 18) views this as a function of the chronicle in itself. Chronicles, whether compiled by named individuals or institutions, were usually meant to be continued. In the case of the *Polychronicon*, it is notable that Caxton essentially puts a stop to this tradition by naming his continuation Liber Ultimus rather than Book 8, implying that that the work was now finished (Tonry 2016: 178–179; see Section 6.6.1 below for discussion of this point).[53] However, this did not prevent further use of the textual material: Boffey (2012: 61, see also 2014: 22) has identified several cases where scribes repurposed Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, the printed *Brut* continuation and Liber Ultimus for new compilations.

4.2   Context and audience

The Latin *Polychronicon* was Higden's major work. It went through constant revision, resulting in three versions surviving in more than 120 manuscripts (Waldron 2004: xiii). The process of revision is visible in San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 132, now widely accepted as the autograph copy of Higden's work (see Taylor 1966: 89; the original identification was made by V. H. Galbraith 1959). The majority of the extant Latin manuscripts have the intermediate version, which extends to 1342–6 and expands Higden's first, or "short", version, ending in 1327, with many additions. The final state of the work, the "long version", is preserved in a small number of manuscripts, although Freeman (2013: 2) notes that these are not always easily distinguishable from the intermediate version due to Higden's cumulative revision and scribal emendations. For the intermediate version, Higden revised the chapter beginnings in the first book, to insert an acrostic made up of the chapter initials that claims the compilation as his, and made a number of other changes, for instance to the index (Taylor 1966: 103–104; see also Freeman 2013). It is the intermediate version that served as the source text for Trevisa's translation and as the basis for the Rolls Series edition by Babington and Lumby (Higden 1865–1886, henceforth the RS edn).[54]

The circumstances of production for the Latin and English texts of the *Polychronicon* and their copies were in many ways different, but some overlapping

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[53]   Continuations to the *Polychronicon* include e.g. Adam Usk's chronicle and the Westminster chronicle (see Given-Wilson 2004: xxii).

[54]   The chronology was not entirely clear to the editors. Their manuscripts C and D represent the short version, while A and B represent the intermediate and E represents the long version (Taylor 1966: 89). See also Waldron (2004: xiii).

aspects can be found as well. The Latin original was created in a monastic setting, for primarily clerical and scholarly audiences; Hanna (1992: 113, n12) notes that "a minimal number of surviving [Latin] copies show any sign of medieval lay ownership".[55] The English translation made the text available to a lay audience, mainly aristocratic. Explicit marks of ownership, such as inscriptions, sometimes provide concrete evidence of aristocratic readership, and the target audience is also suggested by other kinds of material evidence, such as the size and high quality of the manuscript copies. Nevertheless, the audience of Trevisa's translation likely comprised clergy as well as aristocrats (Shepherd 1999: 31). Jane Beal has proposed that Trevisa intended the *Polychronicon* "to serve as a historical resource for preachers composing sermons and homilies on Bible stories"; his interest in preaching is reflected, for instance, in the Lord's comments in the *Dialogue* (2012: 68). As will be seen in Chapter 6, Trevisa's index could potentially also serve as a tool for such use, although I am not aware of any evidence showing that the English *Polychronicon* was used for this purpose. However, Anthony S. G. Edwards (1980: 114) shows that Higden's Latin work was sometimes used this way and cited in devotional literature.

Higden worked on his chronicle in the age of an emerging national consciousness.[56] Gransden (1982: 52) argues that despite its universal coverage and even suppression of local matters, the work is patriotic in the sense that it provided the English audience with a universal history, in addition to which it lauds the English language and the Anglo-Saxon past. Supporting Gransden's argument, it should also be noted (as Waldron does, see 2004: xiv) that approximately half of the geographical description in Book 1 is devoted to the British and Irish Isles, and three of the six other books are centred around Britain. Higden himself states in his preface that his intention was to write a history of Britain but that his friends persuaded him to take a universal approach (see Section 5.4). This choice is likely behind the immense popularity that the *Polychronicon* enjoyed for the following two centuries. Taylor connects this to a wider "universalizing trend in historical thought" which continued up to the Renaissance (1966: 3). It is notable that even in the books dealing with Britain, Higden devotes more space to the early history than the events of his own century; Taylor maintains that "it is clear that the present and the recent past considered as history held few attractions for him, and that his interest lay in the

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[55] See, however, Freeman (2013: esp. 20) for a more nuanced view; his study provides an in-depth analysis of the dissemination and use of the Latin *Polychronicon*. See also Taylor (1966) for information about the provenance of extant Latin copies; and A. S. G. Edwards (1980) on the audience and afterlife of the work.

[56] For the widespread interest in universal chronicles with a national focus in the fourteenth century, see e.g. Turville-Petre (1996).

earlier centuries" (1966: 45). However, Higden's evident lack of interest in the more recent history may be partly explained by the novelty of his approach. Taylor notes that the monastic chronicles of the time typically recorded contemporary events (1966: 17). Taylor's account of other fourteenth-century histories (1966: 17–25) reveals that Higden was, essentially, filling a gap, which ensured the success of his work. To what extent this reflects his personal interests is a matter of speculation.

In his preface, Higden labels himself *compilator* in the medieval fashion, which is true in the sense that most of the material in his chronicle is gathered from a variety of sources. The role of compiler also allows him to add some of his own comments (see Section 3.1). The fact that he is careful to indicate which parts of his text derive from his authorities – although he occasionally fails to credit them (Taylor 1966: 75) – and which parts are his own comments may reinforce the image of a humble compiler. However, it has been pointed out that Higden also took on authorial responsibility, in ways that are somewhat exceptional in his time (see e.g. Galloway 2000: 28–29). He does not wish to remain anonymous, and with the acrostic structure worked into the intermediate version he aims to make sure that his work is copied faithfully: in the correct order, the chapter initials in the first book spell out "PRESENTEM CRONICAM CONPILAVIT FRATER RANULPHUS CESTRENSIS MONACHUS", 'The present chronicle was compiled by Brother Ranulph, monk of Chester' (see Taylor 1966: 93–94; Nielsen 2014). According to Melinda Nielsen (2014: 481), prose chapter acrostics like Higden's were also used to identify standardised versions from competing ones. Similar acrostic structures are also found in his other works (see Jennings 2003: 19). Additionally, by clearly separating his own additions from the material derived from his authorities, Higden claims his own authority (Fisher 2013: 218–219; see also Beal 2012: 92; Liira 2014: 6–7). Indeed, Freeman (2013: 35) shows how Higden balanced the different authorial roles (*compilator* and *auctor*).

The English translation of the *Polychronicon* was created in a setting quite different from that of the original. Several of the texts Trevisa translated, including the FitzRalph sermon and the Pseudo-Ockham dialogue prefixed to the *Polychronicon* (see Section 1.2), may reflect his antimonastic views (Waldron 2004: xvi).[57] Trevisa worked on commission, and although he was probably an advocate of vernacular translations, as suggested by both his own prefatory material to the *Polychronicon* and his probable connections to Wycliffites at Oxford, it is possible that the initiative was his patron's (see Minnis 2009: 24–25).[58] The other translations

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[57]   For these texts, see Perry (1971 [1925]); Fowler (1995: 145–176); for their potential paratextual connections with the *Polychronicon*, see Liira (2014).

[58]   Cf. Given-Wilson, who connects Trevisa's expression of initial reluctance towards the commission with an awareness of "the idea that vernacular history was somehow not

Sir Thomas is known to have commissioned from Trevisa include Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De Probrietatibus Rerum* and Aegidius Romanus's *De Regimine Principum*. He also owned a lavish copy (now MS Bodley 953) of Richard Rolle's glossed prose Psalter (see Hanna 1989: 883).

Given-Wilson (2004: 139–140) notes that the English translation of the *Polychronicon*, along with the translations of the *Brut* chronicle, indicate a general shift from French to English in vernacular history writing, and simultaneously reflect a wider interest in English language literature. This is supported by Ralph Hanna's (1992: 116) findings that lavish copies of the English *Polychronicon* seem to have been produced for the same aristocratic patrons who also commissioned works by Chaucer and Gower. It also appears that the production of copies of the works of Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Trevisa, and others was centred in London around the beginning of the fifteenth century, where they were produced by clerk-scribes (Mooney & Stubbs 2013: 16; see, however, Warner 2018: esp. 114; and Section 4.3.1.1 below, which focuses on the scribes copying the *Polychronicon*). Lord Berkeley visited London frequently and seemingly had a role in the dissemination of the *Polychronicon* in the London scribal circles (Hanna 1989: 909; see also Mooney & Stubbs 2013: 59–60). One of the extant manuscripts produced by these circles is MS **A**, which also served as ancestor for many others. It is one of the most lavish copies and was likely made for Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who married Sir Thomas's daughter and heir Elizabeth.[59]

Lord Berkeley's patronage could be perhaps linked to reading practices in the fourteenth century. It is not entirely clear whether the *Polychronicon* was frequently subject to public reading (cf. Section 3.3). Narrative chronicles in general would be suited for such a purpose and aurality could explain, at least in part, Sir Thomas's desire to have an English translation. Trevisa's *Dialogue* suggests that his patron knew Latin, but not at an advanced level. Even for advanced language learners it is generally easier to follow a text recited in one's native language. Furthermore, if the *Polychronicon* was being read aloud in his or his daughter's household, a vernacular version would have attracted more listeners. Not only would a wider audience understand the language, but having an English text read aloud, especially one with contents highlighting interest in national history, would have shown that Lord Berkeley supported vernacularisation in general (see Hanna 1989; cf. Coleman's, 1990, "political reasons" for public reading mentioned in Section 3.3 above).

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quite serious history" (2004: 141). I do not think this is the case, as it seems clear that Trevisa took pride in his translation work. See also Turville-Petre (1996: 13–14, 73) for the use of English in chronicles of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, reflecting the emerging sense of nationhood.

[59] For further discussion of the Berkeley family patronage, see Minnis (2009: 23–24).

However, Higden's Latin original with its complex paratextual apparatus, consisting of the index, different systems of chapter and folio references, the calendar device in the margins, and so on, enabled scholarly study as well as sequential reading (see Freeman 2013: 200–201). The majority of the English copies retain these paratextual elements, and what we do know about the English *Polychronicon* is that at least some readers appear to have studied it privately, as testified by the readers' notes in the margins of the copies (see further Section 8.6).[60] Furthermore, the majority of these paratextual elements are in Latin, and Latin is also found within the main text in the form of code-switches, typically quotations.[61] I will return to the question of languages in Chapter 9.

Finally, although Trevisa's need to justify vernacular translation (see Section 5.5) may have been warranted, the topic was not as current as it would become some decades later. The production of the fifteenth-century copies of the *Polychronicon*, however, may have been affected by concerns for religious controversy, as suggested by Beal (2012: 86). The Constitutions of Arundel, drafted in 1407 and issued in 1409, forbade the making and ownership of any written translations of the text of the scripture, including single verses as well as full translations (Watson 1995: 828–829). The legislation was issued mainly as a response to Lollardy, and the aim of the Constitutions was to regulate theological discussion at Oxford as well as more generally (1995: 827). Beal argues:

> [t]o the extent that the English *Polychronicon* looked like an English Bible or acted as propaganda for such a Bible or for vernacular preaching, owners and copyists and other users of the *Polychronicon* could expect certain kinds of consequences they might otherwise wish to avoid. (2012: 86)

Yet Watson notes that there seems to have been "[n]o serious attempt […] to restrict circulation of texts written before 1409 among professional religious or the wealthier laity", although owning and reading works such as the *Canterbury Tales*, *Dives and Pauper*, and the *Prick of Conscience*, among others, was dangerous for the lower

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[60] Cf. Briggs's findings on the visual appearance of manuscript copies reflecting the primary audience of *De Regimine* (1999: 26–31); see also Section 3.3 above.

[61] Code-switching may be defined as "[t]he mixing of languages within one communicative event (or stretch of discourse/text), be it spoken or written" (Schendl & Wright 2011: 23). The code-switching that occurs in the main text of the *Polychronicon* appears to be of the type discussed by Skaffari (2016), where a Latin quotation is followed by a translation, explanation or other form of *support* in the vernacular. For Trevisa's translation practices in the *Polychronicon* and *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, see Lawler (1983, esp. 273). For code-switching practices in Trevisa's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, see Pahta (2004).

classes (Watson 1995: 831). This could in part explain why almost all of the extant English *Polychronicon* copies are luxury items.[62]

Regarding the sustained interest in the *Polychronicon* towards the late fifteenth century, Beal argues that the biblical content was partly what the readers of Caxton's edition (1482) were interested in, although the edition was primarily presented as a work of national history (2012: 129). Caxton had already published parts of the *Polychronicon* in different forms: The *Chronicles of England* (STC 9991), which Caxton repurposed for his Liber Ultimus as discussed in the previous section, was published in 1480. Later the same year Caxton published the *Description of Britain* (STC 13440a) adapted from Book 1 of the *Polychronicon*. The titles of both works explicitly frame them as knowledge of national history and geography.

4.3   Textual witnesses: Manuscripts and printed editions

Descriptions of all fourteen[63] surviving ME manuscripts of the *Polychronicon* can be found in Waldron (2004: xxiii–xxxviii) and on the website *Late Medieval English Scribes* (Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs 2011). The latter also includes a description of the fragment MS Osborn a.20. The descriptions provided here are indebted to theirs, as well as to various catalogues and other sources, but I have attempted to organise the information in a way that facilitates paratextual comparison between the copies. Descriptions of the printed editions are based on the *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Library. BMC Pt. 11: England* (Hellinga & Painter 2007). I have provided additional information and some corrections on the basis of my consultation of the manuscripts and printed editions via microfilm, digital images, and/or *in situ*.

In the descriptions below, special focus has been given to the paratextual elements of each manuscript copy, as well as other features which carry significance for paratextuality, such as physical dimensions. The descriptions proceed in the following order:

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[62]   Luxurious copies are also numerous among the surviving Wycliffite Bible manuscripts (see Peikola 2008). However, it should be noted that *de luxe* copies may have been more treasured in general and therefore more likely to survive.

[63]   The number excludes fragments. In addition to Trevisa's translation, an anonymous *Polychronicon* translation dating from the first half of the fifteenth century survives in a single manuscript, British Library MS Harley 2261. The text of this MS is edited, alongside with Trevisa's translation, by Babington and Lumby (see Higden 1865–1886). I have omitted this manuscript from my analyses, deciding to focus on manuscripts with Trevisa's translation to enable textual comparison in the paratextual elements.

1. Dating, support (parchment[64] or paper), binding, and other general information

2. Front matter

3. End matter

4. Indices

5. Dimensions and layout[65]

6. Scripts and scribal hands / typefaces

7. Programme (hierarchy and style) of decoration

8. Marginalia

9. Diagrams and illustration.

The following stemmatological diagram (**Figure 1**) by Waldron (2004: xxiii) illustrates the textual relationships between the manuscript witnesses and Caxton's print (designated **K** in the figure). Waldron notes that the "connecting lines may represent the direct relationship of exemplar and copy" (as in the case of **S** and **T**; and **M** and **A**) "or descent through now-lost intermediates" (2004: xxiii). An important feature in the identification of the stemmatological relationships is the lacuna in Book 6 in MS **A** (within chapters 14 to 26). This lacuna has resulted in two distinct versions: MSS **CGSTMHB** contain the Major Version, assumed to be part of the original text translated by Trevisa, whereas MSS **DLRFJP** have the so-called Minor Version, a passage which differs in style from Trevisa's translation (Waldron 2004: xii, xxxviii–xliii). MS **D** differs from the other descendants of **A** in that it appears to have initially reproduced the lacuna of **A**, and the Minor Version has been copied into a separate booklet inserted into the manuscript (2004: xliii).

In my descriptions as well as in any tables provided in the analysis chapters, I follow Waldron's example and present the manuscripts in the order they occur in the stemma (**CGSTMHBADLRFJP**) instead of adopting a more conventional chronological (by date of production) or alphabetical order. This facilitates the comparison of paratextual and material features in closely related manuscripts. For the same reason, all printed editions and MS Osborn a.20 (**Osb**) are grouped together in the tables, although **Osb** is placed with the manuscripts in the descriptions.

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[64]   I use the word *parchment* to cover all types of animal skin.

[65]   I have not measured the manuscripts myself (except **Osb**) but will quote here the dimensions of leaves and the written space as given in Waldron's edition (2004), unless otherwise indicated. The measurements differ somewhat from those of Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs (2011). This information is not central in the analyses below but it will give a general idea of the size of the manuscripts.
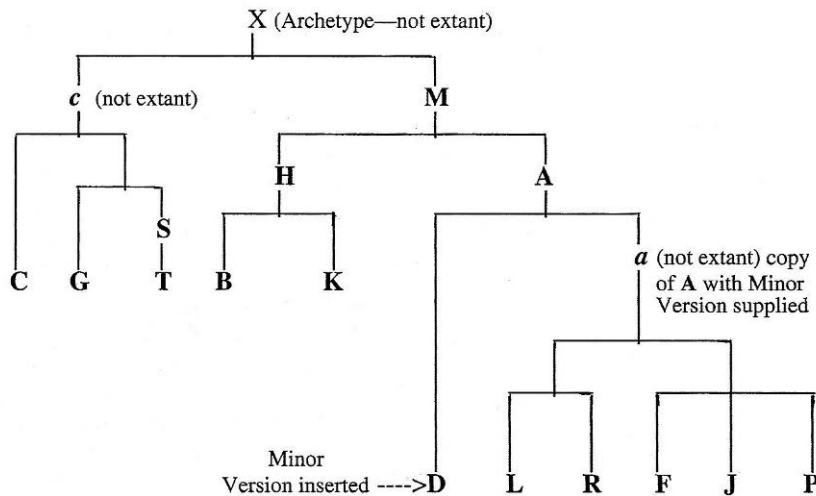
Figure 1. Stemma of the witnesses to Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon. Reproduced from Waldron (2004: xxiii) with permission.

The descriptions are followed by brief introductions to the known scribes (Section 4.3.1.1) and the printers (Section 4.3.2.1). Particularly the latter only provide the most basic information and are included with those readers in mind who are interested in the paratextual arguments of this dissertation but are not familiar with early English print culture.

4.3.1   Manuscripts

C London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius D. vii

Dated c. 1390–1415. Two volumes: 1. ff. 1–164, 2. ff. 165–296. Parchment with paper flyleaves. Damaged in the Ashburnham House fire (1731), inlaid leaves, current binding is from 1958. Sigla: **C** (Waldron), γ (RS edn). Quiring: twelves, last quire an eight.

Front matter

Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), f. 1^r–2^v.
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, f. 2^v.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, not copied in full, ends "after the conquest of Engelonde" (f. 296^r).

Indices

None.

Dimensions and layout

Current size (inlaid) 380 × 280 mm, parchment leaves 320 × 245 mm; written space 285 × 185 (Waldron 2004). Single column layout, 37 lines (35 in quire 20, ff. 229–240). No pricking survives. Ruling: the frame "invisible on most folios; appears to have been two verticals and three horizontals enclosing top line and under bottom line" (Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs 2011). Ruled within, faint grey lines.

Scripts

Two hands, Hand 1 (henceforth, 'The Polychronicon Scribe', see Section 4.3.1.1) copies volume 1 and the beginning of volume 2. Unknown Hand 2 copies the remaining text from f. 169^r onwards. The main text is in Anglicana Formata. Textura Rotunda is used for rubrics and source references up to f. 7^r of the first volume (Waldron 2004: xxiv). Bastard Anglicana for rubrics (Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs 2011).

Programme of decoration

No borders. Painted red and blue initials with pen-flourishing: eight-line initial at the beginning of Trevisa's *Dialogue*, two-line initial at the beginning of the *Epistle*, three-line initial at the beginning of the main text (Higden's Preface, Ch 1). The beginnings of books have three- or four-line initials in red, the beginnings of chapters have two- or three-line initials, red and blue alternating. Initial I/J occasionally taller and placed in the margins as per standard practice. Catchwords framed in red. Few paraph marks, plain, with explicits and incipits at beginnings of books.

Marginalia

Manicules, possibly fifteenth-century, and reader annotation in several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams, seven and two lines in height, illustrating musical intervals, ff. 92^r and 92^v.

G Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 367

Dated 1440–1465. 209 ff. Parchment. Eighteenth-century binding. Sigla: **G** (Waldron). Quiring: eights, some leaves missing.

Front matter

Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), short version, f. 1.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "this translacion fyue and thritty. Amen Amen Amen", f. 202ᵛᵇ.

Explicit: "Explicit Liber Qui Vocat*ur* Policronica siue Policronicon" in a Textura-influenced display script, f. 202ᵛᵇ.

English index, ff. 203ʳ–209ᵛᵇ, followed by "Explicit Tabula Sup*er* libris Historie Policronice" in a Textura-influenced display script.

Indices

English index, placed at the end, ff. 203ʳ–209ᵛ.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 360×255 mm; written space 250×160 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 46–51 lines. Pricking survives in the bottom margin and on occasional quires on sides. Frame: four verticals enclosing two columns, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in ink.

Scripts

Possibly three different hands, but could be one scribe (see Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs 2011). The main text is in Anglicana Formata. Enlarged Bastard Anglicana used for rubrics.

Programme of decoration

Borders in blue, pink, white and gold; e.g. on f. 1ʳ at the beginning of Trevisa's *Dialogue* a bar border down the left side of page with sprays filling top and bottom margins, attached to a six-line initial. Similar bar borders at beginnings of books. Four- to seven-line foliated initials in blue, red and green on gold grounds at beginnings of books. Three- or four-line initials at chapter beginnings, gilded on blue and red grounds. I/J occasionally taller, e.g. ten-line <I> with space reserved for it by the scribe, f. 5ᵛ. Running-titles in red and blue. Catchwords in black, some framed in black, e.g. scroll shape f. 21ᵛ. Paraph marks in blue and gold alternating in the first quire, thereafter blue and red.

Marginalia

Reader annotation and additional running-titles on rectos (e.g. "L scdo", "L tercio") in a sixteenth-century hand.

Diagrams and illustration

Eight- and two-line spaces left for diagrams illustrating musical intervals, f. 61^r. Diagrams not filled in but the eight-line space carries the word "musicke" in a Secretary hand.

S London, British Library MS Stowe 65

Dated 1400–1420. 222 ff. Parchment with paper flyleaves and inserted paper leaves to fill gaps in the text, emendations copied from Treveris's 1527 edition.[66] Sigla: **S** (Waldron). Quiring: eights.

Front matter

None; user notes on flyleaves.

End matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 202^r–205va.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 205va–217ra.
Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), short version, f. 217ra.
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, short version, f. 218ra.
English index, ff. 218rb–221^v.

Indices

English index, placed at the end, ff. 218rb–221^v.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 370×260 mm; written space 280×175 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 49 lines. Pricking survives on some folios. Frame: four verticals, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in ink.[67]

Scripts

Single hand copies the original parts, Anglicana Formata.

Programme of decoration

Full bar borders on four sides and between columns at beginnings of books, mostly blue and red on gold grounds, some inhabited by dragons and hybrid

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[66] The hand imitates a blackletter fount, and the initials emulate those used in Treveris's edition. The scribe also follows Treveris in spelling (e.g. "Asia" and "South", cf. de Worde's "Asya", "Southe", f. vii^{rb}).
[67] Cf. Waldron (2004: xxvi) who states lead point, but there is occasional bleeding.

creatures, attached to six- to eight-line initials. Two-line initials at beginnings of chapters. Running-titles in black. Catchwords inside scroll-shaped frames, in black. Paraph marks alternating in blue and red.

Marginalia

Annotation in Latin (scribal or fifteenth-century reader) and English (in graphite, modern); some manicules.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals in black and red, placed in the margins, f. 64^v.

T Princeton, University Library MS Taylor 6

Dated 1450–1475. 225 ff. Parchment with flyleaves of paper and parchment. Nineteenth-century binding. Sigla: **T** (Waldron). Quiring: eights.

Front matter

English index, ff. 1^r–8ra.
List of accession dates of kings of England, sixteenth-century hand (Waldron 2004: xxvi), f. 8rb.
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, short version, f. 8vb.

End matter

None.

Indices

English index, placed at the beginning, ff. 1^r–8ra.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 460×310 mm; written space 330×185 (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 46–55 lines. Pricking survives on some folios. Frame: four verticals and four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in purple ink.

Scripts

Single hand, the 'Upright Hooked-g Scribe'. The main text is in Bastard Secretary.

Programme of decoration

Partial foliated border with sprays on two sides at the beginning of Higden's preface (Book 1), attached to an eight-line foliated initial red, pink, blue and

green on gold ground. Chapter beginnings have three- to six-line blue and red painted initials with pen flourishing. Calligraphic letters in margins in the index. Running-titles in a large Textura-influenced display script. Catchwords in black ink, centred, and preceded by red paraphs which extend to underline the catchword. Paraph marks in red ink, capital letters rubricated.

Marginalia

Reader annotation, several hands.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, placed in the margins, f. 73^r.

M Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 (MS 11379)

Dated 1390–1415. 178 ff. Parchment. Nineteenth-century binding. Sigla: **M** (Waldron). Quiring: twelves. Significant portions of text missing (see Waldron 2004: xxvii–xxviii).

Front matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 1^r–5^v.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 5^v–18^v.
Latin index, ff. 19^r–27^v.
English index, ff. 28^r–34^v.

End matter

None / not extant (end defective).

Indices

Latin index, placed at the beginning, ff. 19^r–27^v.
English index, ff. 28^r–34^v.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 350×265 mm; written space 260×190 mm (Waldron 2004). Single-column layout, 37 lines. Indices copied in two columns of 37 lines. No pricking survives. Frame: four verticals, outer one often cropped, enclosing the main text area and a column for marginal annotation, two horizontals with top line inside frame. Ruled within but invisible on most folios, faint grey lines (see e.g. f. 48^v).

Scripts

Single hand, 'The Polychronicon Scribe'. Main text in Anglicana Formata, Bastard Anglicana for rubrics and marginal notes by the scribe.

Programme of decoration

Partial bar border in blue, red, pink, gold and white on three sides at the beginning of Book 2, f. 60^r, attached to a foliate four-line initial in the same colours. No other beginnings of books survive. Partial border extending from a three-line parted initial in blue and red at the beginning of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* on f. 1^r, blue and red segments running down the inner margin, with red pen flourishing. Three-line blue initials with red pen-flourishing in the Latin index; similar two-line initials in the English index. Chapter beginnings have two-line initials in blue, gold, and red, with pen-flourishing in red, purple, and blue respectively. Running-titles in red ink, catchwords in black. Paraph marks in red and blue.

Marginalia

Calendar system, f. 70^r until end.
Scribal annotation in red ink (occasionally black), in Bastard Anglicana.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark, consisting of two ships, in the bottom margin of f. 65^r.

H London, British Library MS Harley 1900

Dated 1400–1425. 310 ff. Parchment. Sigla: **H** (Waldron), **β** (RS edn). Quiring: twelves, but quire 1 is a ten and quire 3 has an inserted leaf.

Front matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 1^r–5^v.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 6^r–21^r.
Pseudo-Methodius (*The Beginning of the World and the End of Worlds*) in English, ff. 21^v–23^v.
Latin index, ff. 24^r–32^r.
English index, ff. 32^v–41^v.
Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), ff. 42^r–43^r.
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, f. 43^v.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "þis translacioun fyue and þritty", f. 310^v. Followed by three lines of Latin notes in a different hand.

Indices

Latin index, ff. 24^r–32^r.

English index, ff. 32^v–41^v.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 350×240; written space 260×175 (Waldron 2004). Single-column layout, 40 lines. The Pseudo-Methodius copied in two columns of 49 lines (ruled for 52); the indices copied in two columns of 40 lines (first page 48 lines). Frame: two verticals and two horizontals, ruled within, faint grey lines.

Scripts

Single hand, Anglicana Formata.

Programme of decoration

No borders. Four-line parted initial in blue and red, with red and purple pen-flourishing, at the beginning of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, f. 1^r. Two-line initial at the beginning of FitzRalph's sermon, blue with red pen-flourishing. Two- and three-line initials with pen-flourishing in the Pseudo-Methodius. Three- and four-line initials in the indices, alternating blue with red pen-flourishing and red with blue pen-flourishing. Two-line red initial with dark pen-flourishing at the beginning of Trevisa's *Dialogue*; two-line red initial (plain) at the beginning of the *Epistle*. Five-line blue initial with red pen-flourishing at the beginning of Book 1. Chapter beginnings have alternating two- to four-line initials in red and blue with pen-flourishing. Catchwords in black, in the same hand and script as main text, at quire ends, and in a smaller script on every page. Red plain paraph marks.

Marginalia

Calendar system, f. 97^r until end.
Scribal and reader annotation and manicules.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams, nine and three lines in height, illustrating musical intervals, f. 128^v.

B San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 28561

Dated 1450–1475. 337 ff. Parchment. Fifteenth-century binding. Sigla: **B** (Waldron). Quiring: eights.

Front matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 1^r–5^v.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 5^v–20^v.

Pseudo-Methodius (*The Beginning of the World and the End of Worlds*) in English, ff. 21^r–23^v.

Latin index, ff. 24^r–31^v.

English index, ff. 32^r–40^v.

Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), f. 41^r–42^r.

Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, f. 42$^{r–v}$.

End matter

Latin verses on the kings of England; genealogical tables, ff. 320^r–325^r.

Pseudo-Turpin (*Historia Karoli Magni*) in English, ff. 326^r–337^v.

Indices

Latin index, ff. 24^r–31^v.

English index, ff. 32^r–40^v.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 380×275 mm; written space 265×175 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 40 lines. Pricking occasionally survives on sides and top and bottom margins. Frame: four verticals enclosing two columns, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled in lead point.

Scripts

Four hands as identified by Dutschke (1989: 686); two hands copy the *Polychronicon*, Anglicana Formata and Secretary scripts. Hand 1 copies ff. 1^r–78ra (Anglicana Formata and Secretary), then alternates with Hand 2 ff. 78^r–123^r. Hand 2 copies 123^v–319^v (Secretary). Hand 3 copies the Latin verses on ff. 320^r–325^r (Anglicana Formata with Secretary forms). Hand 4 copies the Pseudo-Turpin on ff. 326^r–337^v (Secretary).

Programme of decoration

Full bar border in pink, blue, green and gold, enclosing each column, with some wider foliate panels and initials attached to or incorporated in the border at the beginning of Higden's preface, f. 43^r, at chapter five of the first Book, f. 46^r,[68] and at the beginning of Book 2, f. 88^r. Full bar borders (four sides) with large foliated initials at the beginning of the *Dialogus*, f. 1^r, and the Pseudo-Methodius, f. 21^r; partial bar borders and a three-line foliate initials at the beginning of the *Sermon*, f. 5^v, and Trevisa's *Dialogue*, f. 41^r, and *Epistle*, f. 42^r. Partial borders with foliate initials at the beginning of each alphabetical section in the indices, decoration unfinished from f. 25^r onwards. Similar partial borders at chapter

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[68]   See Chapter 7 below.

beginnings until f. 73$^\text{v}$ and in quire 12, occasionally replaced by champ initials. In quires 11, 13 to 15, and 17 chapter borders or champ initials are incomplete, in other quires they have not been filled in. The border designs on f. 1$^\text{r}$ and f. 88$^\text{r}$ incorporate the arms of Thomas Mull the younger of Harescombe, Gloucestershire, who is presumed to be the commissioner of the manuscript (Shepherd 2004: xviii–xix). Red paraphs and underlinings. Catchwords occasionally boxed.

Marginalia

Calendar system, f. 99$^\text{v}$ until end.
Scribal and reader annotation in Latin and English, a note in French on f. 249$^\text{v}$.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams, nine and two lines in height, illustrating musical intervals, ff. 129$^\text{v}$ and 139$^\text{r}$.

A London, British Library MS Additional 24194

Dated 1400–1425. 263 ff. Parchment, f. 2 is a tipped-in paper leaf, paper flyleaves. Sigla: **A** (Waldron), **α** (RS edn). Quiring: eights.

Front matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 4$^\text{r}$–8$^\text{ra}$.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 8$^\text{ra}$–21$^\text{ra}$.
Latin index, ff. 21$^\text{rb}$–28$^\text{rb}$.
English index, ff. 28$^\text{rb}$–35$^\text{vb}$.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "þis translacioun fyue and þritty", f. 262$^\text{rb}$.
Explicit

Indices

Latin index, placed at the beginning, ff. 21$^\text{rb}$–28$^\text{rb}$.
English index, ff. 28$^\text{rb}$–35$^\text{vb}$.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 420×290 mm; written space 270×185 (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 47 lines. Frame: four verticals enclosing two columns, four horizontals

enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in ink,[69] prick marks survive in the bottom margin.

Scripts

Single hand, 'Scribe Delta'.[70] Anglicana Formata.

Programme of decoration

Full bar border, enclosing each column, in red, pink, blue, green and gold, attached to an eight-line historiated initial at the beginning of Higden's preface, f. 36^r. Full bar border (four sides) in blue, red, green and gold attached to an eight-line historiated initial at the beginning of the *Dialogus*, f. 4^r. Partial, three-side bar border in blue, red and gold attached to a four-line foliate initial at the beginning of the *Sermon*, f. 8^r. Similar partial borders and six-line foliate initials at the beginnings of Books and the indices. Chapter beginnings and the alphabetical sections in the indices have three-line gilded champ initials on red and blue grounds. Pen-flourished paraph marks in blue and gold. Catchwords in black, occasionally underlined or framed in the shape of a scroll in red, e.g. 163^v.

Marginalia

Calendar system, from f. 86^r until end.
Reader annotation in at least two different hands, e.g. f. 51^r; some scribal notes/rubrics.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark, consisting of two ships on f. 81^v, fully painted over the ruled lines.
Two diagrams, eight and two lines in height, illustrating musical intervals, ff. 110^v and 111^r. Black and red ink.

D Aberdeen, University Library MS 21

Dated 1400–1425. 171 ff. Parchment. Sigla: **D** (Waldron). Quiring: eights. Significant portions of text missing.

Front matter

Latin index, ff. 1–8ra.
English index, ff. 8ra–11vb.

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[69]   Waldron (2004) states lead point, but see e.g. f. 50^v, where the pen has jumped, and f. 66^r, which shows bleeding.

[70]   See Doyle & Parkes (1978: 206–208).

End matter

None or not extant (end defective).

Indices

Latin index, ff. 1^r–8ra.
English index, ff. 8ra–11vb, incomplete.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 395 × 285 mm. Written space 270 × 180 mm. Two-column layout, 45–48 lines. Frame: four verticals, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom line, ruled within columns in fine ink or plummet.

Scripts

Anglicana Formata. Two, possibly three, scribes. Higden's preface f. 12^r onwards appears to be copied in a different hand than the index. According to Waldron & Hargreaves (1992: 278), Hand 2 copies ff. 107–159 and 169 onwards. The unknown hand (who may or may not be the same scribe as Hand 1) copies the Minor Version of a portion of text inserted into Book 6, ff. 159^r–168^v (Waldron & Hargreaves 1992: 278).[71]

Programme of decoration

Full bar border (four sides) in gold and colours, attached to a five-line historiated initial at the beginning of Higden's preface, f. 12^r. Three-side bar border attached to a six-line foliate initial at the beginning of the indices, f. 1^r, similar partial borders and five- to eight-line initials at beginnings of Books. Chapter beginnings and the alphabetical sections in the indices have three-line champ initials. Pen-flourished paraph marks in blue and gold. Catchwords placed within scroll-shaped frames.

Marginalia

Calendar system from f. 61^r until end.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark, f. 56^v.

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[71] Hands 1 and 2 attributed to Scribe Delta by Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs (2011). For a comparison of the linguistic profiles of the three hands and that of Delta (MS **A**), see Waldron 2004: liv–lv.

L Liverpool, Public Libraries MS f909 HIG

Dated 1440–1465. 220 ff. Parchment. Nineteenth-century binding. Sigla: **L** (Waldron). Quiring: eights.

Front matter

Latin index, ff. 1^r–7^r.
English index, ff. 7^r–13ra.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "fyue and þritty", f. 220^v.

Indices

Latin index, ff. 1^r–7^r.
English index, ff. 7^r–13ra.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 365 × 255; written space 250 × 170 (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 53–54 lines. Frame: four verticals, five horizontals enclosing top line and two bottom lines, ruled within columns in fine ink. Prick marks survive in the outer and bottom margins on some folios.

Scripts

Fere-Textura, modified by Secretary (Waldron 2004: xxxv).

Programme of decoration

Full bar border (four sides, with sprays extending into the space between columns) in red, blue, green and gold, attached to a seven-line foliate initial (damaged) at the beginning of the Latin index, f. 1^r. Partial three-side border attached to a six-line foliate initial at the beginning of Book 2, f. 48. Eleven- or twelve-line foliate initials in gold, blue, red, green and, with sprays extending to the top margin and intercolumn or inner margin, at the beginning of Books 3 to 7. Similar foliate initials, six lines in height, at the beginning of Higden's preface, f. 13^r and at chapters five (f. 15^v) and eight (f. 16^r) of Book 1. Pen-flourished initials for smaller divisions: five-line blue initial at the beginning of Higden's *Prefacio secunda* (f. 14^r), three-line initials at the alphabetical sections in the indices and at chapter beginnings. Catchwords in black. Plain, coloured paraph marks, red and blue alternating.

Marginalia

Annotation by scribes and/or early readers.
Some calendar dates have been entered by scribes but no *Anno* headings.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark, f. 51$^\text{v}$, in black and red.
Two diagrams, eleven and three lines in height, illustrating musical intervals, f. 77$^\text{r}$. Black and red ink.

R Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 354

Dated 1485–1510. 182 ff. Paper. Currently unbound. Sigla: **R** (Waldron). Quiring: sixteens.

Front matter

None or not extant.

End matter

None or not extant.

Indices

None or not extant.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 295×210 (Waldron 2004); written space 275×195 (Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs 2011). Single-column layout, lines varying between 32 and 74.

Scripts

Secretary, several sixteenth-century hands, Waldron suggests six (2004: xxxvi).

Programme of decoration

No decoration executed; some two-line spaces with guide letters have been reserved for initials. Rubrics underlined or partially boxed in black. Catchwords in black.

Marginalia

Annotation by scribes and/or early readers.
Some calendar dates have been entered by scribes but the practice is inconsistent and there are no *Anno* headings.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, on f. 60$^\text{r}$ only outlines provided (13 lines in height), on f. 60$^\text{v}$ complete (2 lines in height).
No space reserved for the illustration of Noah's Ark but it is referred to in the scribal note on f. 31$^\text{r}$, "here must be the liknes of the ship", framed in black for emphasis.

F Tokyo, Senshu University Library MS 1

Olim Oslo/London, Schøyen Collection MS 194; Penrose MS 12. Dated 1400–1425. 214 ff. Parchment, flyleaves modern. Nineteenth-century binding. Sigla: **F** (Waldron). Quiring: eights, but quire 2 is a six.

Front matter

Latin index, ff. 1^r–7^r.
English index, ff. 7^v–14^r.

End matter

None.

Indices

Latin index, ff. 1^r–7^r.
English index, ff. 7^v–14^r.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 420×285; written space 285×190 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 47 lines. Pricking survives at top and bottom. Frame: four verticals, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in fine grey ink.

Scripts

Single hand, the 'Trevisa-Gower Scribe', Fere-Textura script.

Programme of decoration

Full bar border in red and blue at the beginning of Book 1 (Higden's preface), f. 15^r, adjoined to a historiated six-line initial. Three-side bar borders at the beginnings of books, adjoined to foliated five- to seven-line initials in red, blue and gold. Three-line gilded initials on blue and red grounds. Alternating paraphs in blue with red flourishing and gold with blue flourishing.

Marginalia

Calendar system, from f. 59^r until end.
Annotation in a Secretary hand, by scribe or early readers.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark, f. 55^r.
Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, f. 79$^{r–v}$.

J Cambridge, St John's College MS 204 (H.1)

Dated 1400–1425. 280 ff. Parchment. Sigla: **J** (Waldron). Used as the base manuscript in the RS edn. Collation: eights.

Front matter

Pseudo-Ockham (*Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*), ff. 1^{r}–5rb.
Richard FitzRalph's sermon (*Defensio Curatorum*), ff. 5rb–18vb.
Latin index, ff. 19^{r}–25vb.
English index, ff. 26vb–35va.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "þis translacioun fyue and thrytty", f. 280^{r}. Followed by "Deo gracias" in Textura.

Indices

Latin index, ff. 19^{r}–25vb.
English index, ff. 26vb–35va.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 395 × 300 mm; written space 290 × 195 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 44 lines. No pricking survives. Frame: four verticals enclosing two columns, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns in grey-black ink.

Scripts

Anglicana Formata, single hand, 'Delta'.

Programme of decoration

Full bar borders in blue, pink and gold at the beginning of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* (f. 1^{r}) and at the beginning of Book 1 of the *Polychronicon* (f. 34^{r}), adjoined to initials. Three-side bar borders at beginnings of books. Nine-line historiated initial on f. 1^{r}, six-line decorated initials at the beginning of FitzRalph's *Sermon* (f. 5^{r}), at the beginning of the Latin index (f. 20^{r}) and at the beginning of Book 1 on f. 34^{r}. Two-line initials at chapter beginnings and at the beginning of the English index, f. 27^{v}. Alternating paraph marks: blue with red flourishing, gold with blue flourishing.

Marginalia

Calendar system, f. 84^{v} until end.
Reader annotations, some scribal annotations.

Diagrams and illustration

Illustration of Noah's Ark in the form of two ships, fully painted over ruled lines, f. 79^{v}.

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals in black and red ink, eight and two lines in height, f. 111^{r}.

P Princeton, University Library MS Garrett 151

Dated 1400–1425. 212 fols. Parchment with paper flyleaves. Nineteenth-century binding. Sigla: **P** (Waldron). Quiring: eights, with many leaves missing.

Front matter

None or not extant.

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, ending "þis translacioun fyue and thritty. Explicit", f. 212va.

Indices

None or not extant.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 450×300; written space 325×205 mm (Waldron 2004). Two-column layout, 47 lines. No pricking survives. Frame: four verticals enclosing two columns, four horizontals enclosing top and bottom lines, ruled within columns, fine grey lines.

Scripts

Anglicana Formata, single hand, 'Delta'.

Programme of decoration

Full bar borders in blue, red, pink, green and gold running along all four sides and between columns at the beginning of books, five- or six-line blue and pink foliate initials on gold grounds attached to borders. Three-line (occasionally two-line) gilded initials on blue and pink grounds at chapter beginnings. Paraph marks alternating in blue with red flourishing and gold with blue flourishing. Decorative line-fillers in gold and blue frequently occur at chapter ends and after rubrics.

Marginalia

Calendar system, ff. 44^{r}–211^{v}, the outer corner of the final leaf damaged.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, in black and red ink, ten and two lines in height, f. 68^r.The missing leaf after f. 39 may have contained the illustrations of Noah's Ark.

Osb New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS Osborn a.20

Dating: Early sixteenth-century, copied from de Worde's printed edition (1495). Extract on paper, containing only front matter, iii + 25 ff.

Front matter

Caxton's *Prohemye*, ff. 1^r–3^r
Index (partial), ff. 3^r–18^r
Trevisa's *Dialogue*, ff. 19^r–20^r and *Epistle*, ff. 20^r–20^v
Higden's Preface, ff. 20^v–25^r

End matter

n/a

Indices

English index, incomplete, modified from de Worde's index.

Dimensions and layout

Measures 260 × 175 mm. Single-column layout, 38 lines. Ruled faintly in graphite, vertical ink rulings on some folios in the index.

Scripts

Secretary, single hand, sixteenth-century

Programme of decoration

None.

Diagrams and illustration

None.

4.3.1.1   Scribes

Polychronicon Scribe

Copies **C** (vol. 1) and **M**. These two manuscripts were produced in the Berkeley area (Waldron 1991: 76; see also 2004: xliv). For the linguistic profile, see *LALME* (LP 7051). A linguistic profile for the anonymous Hand 2 in MS **C** (vol. 2) has been compiled by Waldron (2004: xlvi–xlviii).

Delta

Copies **A**, **J**, **P**. Tentatively, one or two of the hands in MS **D** may also belong to him (see Mooney & Stubbs 2013: 60, n53;[72] and Waldron 2004: xlix–lvii for linguistic profiles of the hands in **D** and discussion). In any case, the copy is closely related to **AJP**, and Delta appears to have specialised in *Polychronicon* manuscripts, although his output also includes a copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (London, British Library MS Royal 18 C.XXII), de Chauliac's *Cyrurgie* (first scribe in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Anglais 25) and Love's *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* (Oxford, Brasenose College MS 9); see Waldron (2004: liv–lv). The linguistic profile LP 6710 (*LALME*) is based on the Brasenose MS. Delta is closely associated with Scribe D, a prolific copyist of Gower and other Middle English works (Doyle & Parkes 1978).[73]

Trevisa-Gower Scribe

Copies **F**. The other manuscript attributed to him are all copies of *Confessio Amantis*: London, University College Library, Special Collections MS frag. Angl. 1, and three copies at Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS Bodley 693 and MS Laud Misc. 609 as well as MS Bodley 902 in collaboration with Scribe D.

The Upright Hooked-g Scribe

Copies **T**. See Mooney & Mosser (2004); Mosser & Mooney (2016), who present palaeographical and linguistic evidence that the scribe of **T** is one of the two primary scribes (formerly thought of as a single scribe) in a group of affiliated scribes. They

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[72]   It should be noted that Mooney & Stubbs provide no evidence here for the attribution.

[73]   Scribe D has been identified as John Marchaunt by Mooney & Stubbs (2013: 39); see, however, Warner (2018: 97–103) for a refutation of this identification. See also Warner on the differences of D and Delta's hands (2018: 100).

call him "Hooked-g Scribe 1". In addition to the *Polychronicon* MS **T**, Mosser & Mooney assign two copies of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* to this scribe: London, British Library Additional MS 21410 (Hand A, ff. 1–25) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 2 (Hand B, ff. 24, 34–41ᵛ, 66–73ᵛ).

4.3.2   Printed editions

Cax STC 13438

Printed by William Caxton, Westminster, 1482. [20], CCxxv, [1], CCxxxi–CCCCxxviij [i.e. 430] leaves (*ESTC*). Paper. Sigla: **K** (Waldron). *ISTC* lists 60 holding institutions. Copies consulted: London, British Library G.6011-12 (via *EEBO*); London, British Library C.10.b.7. (*in situ*).

Front matter

Caxton's *Prohemye*, sig. a2ʳ–a3ᵛ
The Table, sig. a4ʳ–C4ʳ
Trevisa's *Dialogue* (*Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum*), sig. 1 2ʳ–1 4ʳ
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, sig. 1 4ʳ⁻ᵛ
Title "Prolicionycion", sig. 1 5ʳ (f. 5ʳ)

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, f. CCClxxxixᵛ
Caxton's epilogue, f. CCClxxxxʳ
Caxton's Liber Ultimus and colophon, ff. CCClxxxxiʳ–CCCCxxviijʳ

Indices

Caxton's English index (The Table)

Dimensions and layout

Format: small folio. Single-column layout, 40 lines.

Types

Blackletter: Caxton's Type 4: 95B[74]

Programme of decoration

Red handpainted initials and paraph marks in the copies examined.

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[74]   *BMC 11*: 116. For a description of the type, see Blades (1965 [1863]: xxxv–xxxviii; Plates xviii and xix).

Marginalia

Calendar system from f. lxxxv^r until end in the copy reproduced on *EEBO*, handwritten in red ink.

Diagrams and illustration

Spaces, 4 and 2 lines in height, reserved for the two musical diagrams in Book 3, f. Cxxv^r, not executed in the copies examined.

Wor STC 13439

Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1495. [50], CCCxxxvi, CCCxxxvi-CCCxlvi, [1] leaves (*ESTC*). Paper. *ISTC* lists 50 holding institutions. Copies consulted: London, British Library C.11.b.2 (via *EEBO* and *in situ*); London, British Library Hirsch IV.1504 (*in situ*).

Front matter

Title-page
De Worde's *Introductorie*
Caxton's *Prohemye*, sig. aa ii^r–aa iii^{va}
De Worde's English index, sig. aa iiii^r–[hh vi^r]
Trevisa's *Dialogue (Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum)*, sig. a i^r– a ii^{vb} (ff. i^r–ii^{vb})
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, sig. a ii^{vb}–a iii^{ra} (ff. ii^{vb}–iii^{ra})

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, f. CCxv[i]^r
Caxton's epilogue, f. CCxv[i]$^{r–v}$
Caxton's Liber Ultimus and colophon, f. CCxv[i]^v–f. CCCxlvi^v
De Worde's imprint, f. CCCxlvi^v
Caxton's device

Indices

De Worde's English index

Dimensions and layout

Format: small folio. Double-column layout, 42 lines.

Types

Blackletter: Type 4: 96G, Type 2: 114G for headlines and foliation.

Programme of decoration

Woodcut on title-page, with xylograph title. Woodcut initials.

Marginalia

Some printed marginal annotation.
Calendar system from f. lxvii^v until end.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, 16 and 2 lines in height, f. Ci^r.

Tre STC 13440

Printed by Peter Treveris, Southwark, 1527. [50], CCCxliiij, CCCxliiij-CCCxlvi, [1] leaves. Paper. *ESTC* lists 43 holding institutions. Copy consulted: London, British Library C.15.b.3 (via *EEBO* and *in situ*).

Front matter

Woodcut title-page with panel (see Bowers 1962 [1949]: 143–144)
De Worde's *Introductorie*
Caxton's *Prohemye*, sig. aa ii^r–aa iii^r (aa iii^v blank)
De Worde's English index, sig. aa iiii^r–[hh vi^r]
Trevisa's *Dialogue (Dialogus inter Dominum et Clericum)*, sig. a i^r– a ii^{vb} (ff. i^r–ii^{vb})
Trevisa's *Epistle* to Sir Thomas Berkeley, sig. a ii^{vb}–a iii^{ra} (ff. ii^{vb}–iii^{ra})

End matter

Trevisa's colophon, f. CCxvi^r
Caxton's epilogue, f. CCxvi$^{r–v}$
Caxton's Liber Ultimus and colophon, f. CCxvi^v–f. CCCxlvi^v
Treveris's imprint, within woodblock compartment

Indices

De Worde's English index

Dimensions and layout

Format: small folio. Double-column layout, 44 lines.

Types

Blackletter (larger for headlines and foliation).

Programme of decoration

Woodcut on title-page. Woodcut initials and illustrations.

Marginalia

As in de Worde's edition.

Diagrams and illustration

Two diagrams illustrating musical intervals, 17 and 2 lines in height, f. Ci[ra].

4.3.2.1   Printers

William Caxton

Caxton (d. 1491/2) started his career as a mercer. Based in Bruges in the Low Countries at the time, he learned of the craft of printing during a visit to Cologne (see e.g. Hellinga 2010: 1–2, 26–32; Blake 1976: 26). His first book was published in 1473 – the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, famously the first book printed in the English language, and one of the first vernacular printed books – while he was settled in Flanders (see Hellinga 2010: 2, 34). In 1476 he set up his print shop in Westminster. He was the first printer in England, but what makes him a particularly notable figure is his innovative approach to printing: Blake notes that while most printers at the time published texts in Latin, targeting learned audiences, Caxton focused on vernacular texts aimed at a wider, popular audience (Blake 1976: 30). This strategy was successful in that "he was able to create a substantial business in the metropolis that was sufficiently economically viable to be handed on to his successor, Wynkyn de Worde" (Atkin & Edwards 2014: 29). Much of this success probably owed to Caxton's presumed familiarity with current trends in manuscript production and reading tastes in the Flemish cities, as outlined by Hellinga (2010: 15–17).

Caxton's literary contributions were not limited to printing, but he was also active in translating and editing the texts he published. Additionally, he acted as a bookseller and traded in both printed and manuscript books (Blake 1976: 35). To promote his publications, Caxton relied on aristocratic and royal patronage, although it seems unlikely he had any personal relationships with the nobility and none of his patrons seems to have supported his business out of "real love of literature" (Blake 1976: 54; on Caxton's patrons, see 47–54 and Hellinga 2010: 52–63).

Wynkyn de Worde

De Worde (d. 1534/5), a Dutchman, continued the business Caxton established at Westminster and in about the year 1500 moved it to Fleet Street in London (see e.g. Moran 2003: 17; Hellinga 2010: 132). Atkin & Edwards note that he "was the most prolific and wide-ranging of the early printers. He seems to have sought to develop markets, particularly for smaller, hence cheaper books, that required less capital investment and could be produced more quickly" (2014: 30). His output mainly

consists of grammars and other educational works, both devotional and secular literature, verse romances and even contemporary verse, and for the most part, he presumably published his books speculatively (2014: 32). The *Polychronicon* is notably different from these books, but likely he had some financial support for the undertaking, as well as for the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (STC 1536) also published in 1495 (Atkin & Edwards 2014: 31).

De Worde appears to have strived to make his books attractive for commercial purposes, for example using woodcuts, which distinguishes him from his contemporaries (Atkin & Edwards 2014: 30; see also Hellinga 2010: 139–140). De Worde seems to have had a keen eye for popularising printed books, in which he differs from other contemporary and later printers who relied on patronage (Moran 2003: 21–22). According to Blake (2004b), de Worde built a successful business partly through focusing on areas avoided by Caxton, such as religious works.

Peter Treveris

The dates of Peter Treveris's birth and death are unknown as is his origin; he was likely a foreigner (possibly from Trier, Germany) and was active between 1525 and 1532 in Southwark (Blake 2004a; Blayney 2013: 191–194). Atkin & Edwards (2014: 36) describe him as one of de Worde and Pynson's "lesser contemporaries"; the majority of the c. 70 books Treveris published were reprints of de Worde and Pynson's books (Atkin & Edwards 2014: 36). The *Polychronicon* is no exception in this regard. However, it differs in its scope from most other books Treveris issued, as his output mainly consisted of small grammar books. Treveris is also noted for having printed several of his early books for others, the *Polychronicon* being one of these, as it was printed for the bookseller John Reynes (Blayney 2013: 193). As Blayney notes, this does not imply that the persons distributing the books supported their production financially (2013: 193–194). However, as discussed in Section 7.5.3, Reynes may have been involved in the design of the book.

4.4   Citation and transcription conventions

In the following analysis chapters, two forms of citation will be used to discuss examples from my primary materials. Words and phrases quoted are *italicised throughout* when they represent an abstract textual level which does not account for spelling variation, abbreviations, or other characteristics of the material text. This form of citation is used in order to discuss similarities between copies, for instance when several copies have equivalent rubrics or marginal notes. I also use this form when citing from scholarly editions instead of my primary sources.

   Examples cited within "quotation marks" are transcribed from the manuscripts or printed copies and retain the original spelling and punctuation as closely as possible: the full stop represents the *punctus* in any position; the semicolon is used for *punctus elevatus*; single (/) and double virgules (//) and paraph marks (¶) are retained. The distinctions between <i>/<j> and <u>/<v> are retained where possible; the ligatures <ff> and <þþ> likewise, although they generally represent capital letters. Line breaks are indicated with a vertical line | but for legibility, I have chosen to omit them when not relevant for the argument. Abbreviations have been expanded and the supplied letters are marked in *italics*. [Brackets] indicate my own reconstructions (e.g. where a page has been trimmed) and <angle brackets> indicate uncertain readings (e.g. smudged letters).

5   Prefatory matter and end matter

Beginnings and endings are crucial in catching and maintaining the recipients' attention. I will begin my analysis of the *Polychronicon* paratexts with front and end matter. This is partly because of their vital role in the presentation of the text, but also because prefaces, which form the majority of the material discussed in this chapter, are perhaps the most established among peritext types. The preface is the paratextual element which receives the lengthiest and most thorough treatment in Genette's work on paratextuality (1997b). It is also an element that has a continuous tradition from antiquity to the present day. While I also count indices and title-pages as front (or end) matter, they are excluded from this chapter. The functions of indices are different from those of prefaces and dedicatory material, and as a prominent paratextual element in the *Polychronicon*, they warrant a chapter of their own (see Chapter 6 below). Title-pages, an important element of the front matter in printed books, only became standard in England in the 1490s (Atkin & Edwards 2014: 28). Caxton's 1482 edition of the *Polychronicon* does not have a title-page, and the title-pages in de Worde's and Treveris's editions comprise the title of the work and a large woodcut image. I will return to the title-pages in Section 7.5.3, discussing them together with other woodcut illustrations in these editions.

Although both Higden's and Trevisa's prefatory elements have been studied in detail before (on Higden, see e.g. Fisher 2013; Freeman 2013: 27–55; Steiner 2015: esp. 77; on Trevisa, see e.g. Waldron 1988a, 1988b; Shepherd 1999; Fowler 1995; Beal 2012), this research has not been conducted with reference to the paratext framework. Moreover, while prior research has been crucial in shaping our understanding of the authors' roles, motives, and the cultural contexts of their work, the physical forms in which readers encountered these texts have gained less attention. By tackling this level, I hope to shed new light on the practical matters of presenting the vernacular *Polychronicon* to its readers.

The present chapter and the following three chapters (6, 7, 8) each share a roughly similar structure: I begin by discussing the paratextual questions pertaining to specific elements, then provide a brief overview of previous studies exploring these elements, and explain my methods and focus. Following the analysis in each chapter, I briefly summarise the paratextual implications specifically concerning the

elements under focus in that chapter. The discussion of paratextual implications is continued in Chapter 9, which brings together the main points of each individual chapter and gives a broader picture of the framing of the *Polychronicon*.

5.1 Paratextual questions

Definitions of prefaces are often centred around the authorial preface, while prefaces produced by other persons involved in the transmission and presentation of the text, such as translators, printers and publishers, are less typically accounted for in the definitions. To begin with Tore Janson's formulation (1964: 12), the preface can be defined as "the introductory part of a long text, where the author has not yet begun to treat the main subject". The first question, then, is: How does one recognise the introductory part? As is evident from previous research into prefatory material, overviewed in Section 5.2 below, both form and function play a role in defining this paratextual element. By form I refer to (1) the textual label given to the element, such as *prologus* or *prohemye*, (2) the physical location of the element in relation to the text, and (3) its visual separation from the text through the use of e.g. whitespace, borders or a page break. All three aspects of form are strongly linked to the material manifestation of the text, subject to change in the course of transmission, even though their origin may be authorial. By function I refer to the communicative goals that manifest in the contents of the preface and in the rhetoric models the writer follows. These may serve either the broad functions as identified by Birke & Christ (2013; see also Section 9.1), such as guiding the interpretation of the text, or specific functions such as those identified by Genette (1997b), and outlined below in Section 5.2.

As regards the front and end matter in the *Polychronicon*, one can already observe the layering of prefatory matter which became typical in Renaissance books (see Ruokkeinen, in prep.). Introductory parts are provided by the author Higden, the translator Trevisa, the first printer Caxton, who takes on authorial and editorial roles,[75] and the second printer, de Worde, who reprints a previous edition. The third printer of the work, Treveris, does not add an introduction of his own but reproduces all the previous layers of prefatory discussion. To approach the more general questions raised here, I investigate the following set of questions in the *Polychronicon*:

- What are the elements that precede and follow the text of the *Polychronicon*, and what functions do they serve?

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[75]   For Caxton's role and intentions as editor, see Hellinga (1983).

- How do the elements of the front and end matter match the structures and contents of prefaces/postfaces as outlined in previous studies? What roles do the preface writers assume?

- What kind of physical forms do the prefaces and end matter take? How do the scribes, printers and compositors, and other producers of the physical documents present these introductions, and how does this affect the reading?

In relation to the materiality of the work, also relevant is the placement of the introductory material which may have an effect upon the reading. For example, in MS **S** Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle* are placed after the main text of the *Polychronicon*, while Higden's preface is always at the beginning, being incorporated in the first book. I will return to this question in Section 9.3. Book endings have received significantly less attention in paratext studies than book beginnings (but see W. Sherman 2011). Genette regards postfaces or epilogues as varieties of the preface (1997b: 161). As noted in the list of research questions above, here I will examine what type of information is found in the end matter and how it is presented in the copies of the *Polychronicon*.

As a final note, there is an interesting paratextual problem related to prefatory matter, namely that of the other texts accompanying the *Polychronicon*. Nearly half of the extant Middle English *Polychronicon* manuscripts contain a pair of texts likewise translated by Trevisa: Richard FitzRalph's *Sermon* and the anonymous *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*. These two are occasionally accompanied by a third text, *The Beginning of the World and the End of Worlds*, attributed to Methodius (henceforth, *The Book of Methodius*), or other material not directly related to the *Polychronicon* (for descriptions of the contents in each manuscript, see Section 4.3). These are independent texts which are not part of the *Polychronicon* nor in a paratextual relationship with it on the abstract level (Liira 2014: 40–41), yet they share some visual and textual similarities with Trevisa's prefatory texts. They may reflect a desire to collect Trevisa's translations together (Hanna 1992: 118). In any case, these texts are part of the transmission of the work and share the same material space and visual appearance with the prefatorial material in the *Polychronicon*, and can thus give important clues as to how medieval book producers made textuality and paratextuality visible, for instance through the hierarchy of decoration. The implications of this hierarchy are analysed below in Chapter 7. Since the texts have no characteristics of prefaces (see Liira 2014), they will not be discussed further in this chapter.

5.2   Previous studies

The study of medieval prologue material has been important in shaping our understanding of medieval vernacular literature and vernacular authority. *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520* (Wogan-Browne et al. eds. 1999) is a landmark contribution to the field. With or without explicit reference to the paratext framework, prefaces continue to provide rich material for the study of late medieval literary and textual culture. Recently, the field of Middle English prefatory writing has been explored in translators' prologues (Dearnley 2016), and in medical prologues (Litzler 2011). Sobehrad (2017) focuses on medieval prefatory writing in Latin and in English, specifically concerning genres of history writing.

In defining her object of study, Middle English medical prologues, Litzler summarises the inherent challenges in identifying prologues (2011: 16–17). These include (1) the fact that the prologue does not always precede the text but may be placed elsewhere, for example at the end; (2) the lack of a title or other appellation designating the passage as prologue; (3) "organic" prologues which "cannot be distinguished from the accompanying texts" (2011: 16);[76] and (4) the fact that it is often difficult to draw a line between short prologues and long rubrics, considering that they share the function of indicating the beginning of a text (see also Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019: 117–120).

I would like to add another issue not addressed by Litzler (2011) but which is related to her second and third challenge: there is a fundamental difference in the functions of narrative/fictional prologues (such as the prologue to *Canterbury Tales*) and metadiscursive prefaces/prologues (such as Trevisa's *Epistle*). Yet, this distinction is not always acknowledged in the discussion of prefatory elements. It is sometimes reflected in the terms used for describing or titling these textual items: *prologue* may be used to specifically refer to introductions in drama and fictional works: the first sense given in the *OED* defines prologue as "[t]he preface or introduction to a text; *esp.* a speech (usually in verse) forming the introduction to a play; a preamble, a preliminary discourse" (*OED*, s.v. *prologue* [n.]). The term *preface*, in contrast, is perhaps more closely associated with metadiscursive features: "[t]he introduction to a literary work, usually stating its subject, purpose, scope, method, etc." (*OED*, s.v. *preface*, [n.]). However, the terms are often synonymous in everyday language use, which is reflected in the dictionary definitions: the third

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[76]   Genette calls these incorporated prefaces in discussing the "prehistory" of the preface (1997b: 163–170, see esp. 164).

definition for preface in the *OED* is "[t]he introductory part of a **speech**; a **prologue**; an introduction or preliminary explanation" (boldface added).[77]

No clear preference for one or the other term exists in academic literature, either. While *prologue* tends to be favoured by medievalists as a general term, I prefer *preface* for metadiscursive introductions, to distinguish them from introductory parts that are, actually, part of the text. I have intentionally avoided both terms in the title of this chapter, choosing instead to refer to my object of study collectively, and more vaguely, as "prefatory matter".[78] This decision goes back to one of the inherent difficulties Litzler maps out (2011: 16): manuscripts, in particular, do not always include a title or rubric for the introductory part at all. The title designating the part may also vary from copy to copy (Evans 1999: 373); see, for instance, the confusion arising from the rubrics to Higden's preface, discussed in Section 5.4.2 below.

The terminology used by Middle English writers themselves has been explored by Ruth Evans (1999: 373), who finds that *prologue/prologe* is the most common term in Middle English, while the related terms *prohemy* and *proheymm* are less common and share a connotation of an elevated status. By the late fourteenth century, *prologue* had apparently been fully adopted into the English language, whereas Latin(ate) terms such as *prohemy* may have been associated with the scholastic tradition (*ibid.*). The Latin *prefacio* or its English form *prefacyon* are also found, although in some cases they are used in the specific, liturgical sense (1999: 373; see also *MED*, s.v. *prefacioun* [n.]). The final term Evans lists is *preamble*, for which the earliest known mention is in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. Furthermore, Evans notes that Middle English manuscripts often carry Latin titles (*Prologus, Prefacio, Prohemium*) in the framing elements, but these uses "may not all be authorial" (*ibid*.). It should be noted here that the focus of the present study differs from that of Evans: I am particularly interested in non-authorial uses and variation between manuscripts of the same text, including multilingualism, whereas Evans (1999) is concerned with terms used in English by vernacular authors referring to their own writing. Epilogues or postfaces are not noted by Evans (1999), but the *MED* cites two fifteenth-century uses of *epiloge*: in the Middle English translation

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[77]   The first sense listed for the word does not refer to books at all but a special use in Christian liturgy, "[t]he introduction to the central part of the Eucharist, consisting principally of an offering of thanksgiving and praise to God" (*OED*, s.v. *preface* [n.]).

[78]   Due to the varying labels given to prefatorial paratext elements in the *Polychronicon*, or the lack of such labels, I refer to them as "introductions" in the titles of this chapter. This usage should be understood in the everyday sense of the word, as a general description rather than a technical term (a specific type of prefatory text) or a label arising from the primary material. This solution also allows me to group one or more paratextual elements, such as Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle*, under one heading.

of Chauliac's *Grande Chirurgie* and in Bokenham's *Mappula Angliae* (*MED* s.v. *epilōge* [n.]).

The matter of naming the introductory parts of texts is not straightforward in printed books either, not even printed books of later periods, as shown by Genette's survey of the wide array of French terms referring to prefatory material.[79] According to Genette, the multitude of terms does not hinder the classification of the functions of prefatory texts; he finds the differences between the terms to be mostly connotational (1997b: 161–162). Indeed, both modern and late medieval uses, as discussed by Evans (1999), show that while a certain term may be associated with a particular genre or group of genres, the terms may nevertheless be used more or less interchangeably. Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek (2010) has worked towards a taxonomy of the preface through a survey of terms used to describe prefaces and their dictionary definitions in three languages – French, German and English. He points out that "the taxonomical state of the preface is an indication of a certain indecision as to what to call a type of text placed typographically separate at the beginning of a more clearly definable type of text, such as the main body of a novel or an anthology, for instance" (2010: 76). Importantly, Tötösy de Zepetnek here notes the typographical aspects, which separate the paratextual from the textual content, regardless of the label given to the item.

In Genette's definition, the preface covers all types of authorial and non-authorial introductions "consisting of a discourse produced on the subject of the text that follows or precedes it" (1997b: 161).[80] It should be noted that Genette regards postfaces as a subtype of the preface, and that the label or title given to the paratextual item, or the lack of such a title, does not play a role in its definition (*ibid*.).[81] "Internal prefaces" are also possible (Genette 1997b: 172). The preface is thus defined by its function and content (presenting and/or commenting on the text it precedes or follows) rather than its form or placement. In this, Genette's definition is in line with that of Janson's, quoted above in Section 5.1, which defines preface as "the introductory part of a long text" (1964: 12). However, Janson poses the important question: what counts as a preface? For him, the question is mainly

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[79] The terms listed by Genette include "*introduction*, *avant-propos*, *prologue*, *note*, *notice*, *avis*, *présentation*, *examen*, *préambule*, *avertissement*, *prélude*, *discours préliminaire*, *exorde*, *avant-dire*, *proéme*"; the additional terms *après-propos*, *après-dire* and *postscriptum* are listed for the postface (1997b: 161). For a discussion of Genette's list and a similar multitude of terms found in German and English, see Tötösy de Zepetnek (2010).

[80] "consistant en un discours produit à propos du texte qui suit ou qui précède" (2002 [1987]: 164).

[81] However, the lack of a title may present some practical problems, for example, for a researcher who needs to identify material to analyse (see Litzler 2011: 16–17).

theoretical, as the majority of Latin prose works in antiquity either have no preface or their prefaces are "fairly clearly *separated* […] with a particular type of *content*" (1964: 13; emphases added).

5.2.1   Chronology: The Classical tradition

According to Lake (2013: xiii), three major aims may be identified in prefaces to works of history throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages: definition of the subject, explanation of the author's motives and methods, and evoking the audience's benevolence. In the following, I will delineate the typical themes as identified by Janson (1964) in Latin prose prefaces, before returning to the origins of these strategies in rhetoric. Medieval prefaces will be discussed in more detail in the following section (5.2.2) exploring the different forms and functions of prefaces.

Janson finds that the genre of history was the first to develop an identifiable type of preface, characterised by three themes: praise of history (*laudatio historiae*), reason for the choice of subject, i.e. the specific field treated by the historian, and declaration of impartiality (1964: 66–67). Janson adds that the historical type is also initially characterised by the absence of dedication (1964: 16). Although the earliest prefaces were typically written in the form of a dedicatory letter – this was common especially in prefaces to rhetorical works – dedication did not become typical in the genre of history until the fourth century (1964: 116). The dedication, then, brought along the theme of request, by the dedicatee or other persons, as a motivation for writing (1964: 116–117). This last feature, as well as the others mentioned by Janson, are all present in Higden's preface (see Section 5.4.1).

Some common themes in prefaces by ancient authors, according to Janson (1964: 96–100), include emphasis on brevity, which is highlighted as a virtue; references to previous authors; the theme of "nocturnal studies" (nights spent in study was a common rhetoric to emphasise diligence); and lastly, discussion of the author's qualifications. By praising the vast or difficult subject matter, the author could imply that they deserve merit (1964: 99). Of references to previous authors, Janson notes that they "could swell to formidable catalogues, clearly designed to give the reader an impression of great learning", although previous authors were not presented entirely without critique either (1964: 97).

In later Latin prefaces, from the second and third centuries onwards, Janson (1964: 113–161) identifies further themes, which I summarise here. Firstly, the author needs to skilfully balance between expressing their desire to fulfil the dedicatee's request and performing humility by expressing their reluctance to write (1964: 120). Statements of incompetence and lack of style are common (1964: 124–125). Secondly, the importance of content is highlighted over that of form (1964: 133; cf. also Genette 1997b: 178). Thirdly, the author may ask for assistance: the

reader is asked to correct or emend the text, although copyists may be asked to respect the text and not change it (1964: 141–144); a Christian author may also ask for help from God (1964: 144–145). Although the last can be an honest request for assistance, the appeal to the highest authority also functions in legitimising the author's work (cf. 1964: 159). Fourthly, brevity becomes further favoured in the Middle Ages, especially among compilers, and the carefulness of selection may be emphasised in order to highlight the value of the digest (1964: 154). Janson notes that late Latin authors rarely compare themselves with their predecessors, a theme which was commonly found in earlier prefaces. "When it does happen, […], the author naturally, in accordance with the accepted rules of behaviour, stresses how inferior he feels." (1964: 157). The most important, overarching theme in prefaces is modesty. According to Janson, the only positive statement the author can make in relation to their own person is diligence, which can probably be explained by the fact that writing was rarely creative but compiling and extracting were the most prolific forms of text production and thus diligence was indeed a virtue (1964: 160).

The tradition of preface writing has its origins in rhetoric oratory, where the introduction to a speech begins with an *exordium* (Dunn 1994, 1988: 10–11; see also Lake 2013: xii). Kevin Dunn (1994) discusses two types of *exordia* that Roman orators derived from Aristotle:

> for "honorable" (*honestum*) cases, the *principium*, which is little more than a statement of the facts of the case, what we would call an introduction; for all other cases, those in which the hostility or suspicion of the audience can be anticipated, the tellingly named *insinuatio*. The speaker who "insinuates" is the speaker with personal motive, the speaker not in honest possession of "the actual facts" or for whom those facts are inconvenient. (Dunn 1994: 2)

The *insinuatio* can be linked to Aristotle's comment in his *Rhetoric* about prefaces as "slave's discourse", only necessary for those whose case is too weak to speak for itself (see Dunn 1988: iii). Dunn (1988: 7) points out that in spite of this comment against prefatory discussion, many of the themes found in *Rhetoric* would become canonical. Important is the rhetorical device of *ethos*, pertaining to the person of the speaker, which Aristotle does not, however, discuss in relation to the *exordium* (1988: 7).

In addition to the theory of rhetoric, conventions could be based on literary examples (Dunn 1988: 11). Dunn discusses the anonymous treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, whose preface introduces three topoi that would become common in *exordia* and later transferred to Renaissance prefaces. All three topoi are ultimately used in *captatio benevolentiae*, securing the hearer's (or reader's) goodwill: firstly, reference is made to *otium* (philosophical retirement), which the author claims to

prefer to *negotium* (the active life of an orator); secondly, the author claims that only the desire of the dedicatee or audience has convinced him to enter public discourse; and thirdly, the worthiness or utility of the subject matter justifies taking on the task despite the author's worthlessness (Dunn 1988: 11–13, see also 1994: 4–6). All of these topoi – the author's unwillingness, the request to write, and the worthiness of the subject in relation to the unworthiness of the author – have been introduced above in connection to later Latin prefaces examined by Janson (1964). Both Janson (1964) and Dunn (1988) emphasise in this context the overarching topos: modesty. According to Dunn, its functions are twofold: to help overcome the listener's or reader's defensiveness, and to defend the author against possible criticism (1988: 14).

From the introduction to the types and topoi of rhetoric *exordia* in antiquity, Dunn (1988, 1994) proceeds to examine his subject, the Renaissance preface. Although the themes outlined, including the "increasingly ritualistic modesty" (1988: 18), were carried over to medieval and Renaissance prefaces, Dunn shows that the concept of authorship was changing during the Renaissance era (1988: 21). This has to do with the Renaissance writers' relationship to the public sphere, which had been becoming more complex in the course of the Middle Ages (Dunn 1994: 7–8). Dunn notes that this growing complexity resulted in a shift in prefatory functions already in the early medieval period. "By late antiquity, the rhetorical exordium had been largely shaped by its frequent doubling as an epistle dedicatory, if not totally assimilated to it" (Dunn 1994: 7, see also Janson 1964: 126). In the early modern period, "public" was understood in two ways: as a counterpart to private in the economic sense and as a synonym for status in the social and political sense (public presence, only possessed by persons of rank). Despite the different nature of the author's relationship to the public sphere compared to the situation in late antiquity, the rhetorical devices were employed to serve the same function (Dunn 1994: 7).

5.2.2   Function and form

According to Genette, the functions of prefaces vary depending on the type of preface (1997b: 196). He maintains that different types are "determined jointly by considerations of place, time, and the nature of the sender" (*ibid*.). The detailed typology he provides next is not particularly useful for the purposes of the present discussion, which focuses on a period much earlier than Genette's main corpus. Therefore I will here summarise only the main categories: the original authorial

preface[82] and the various types of third-party prefaces which Genette (1997b: 178–179) refers to as *allographic* (in contrast to *autographic*, i.e. authorial).

The main purpose of an original (authorial) preface is to ensure, firstly, that the text is read, and secondly, that it is read "properly", i.e. the way the author intended (Genette 1997b: 197).[83] To achieve the first, the preface needs to address the question *why should one read the text?* Genette's "themes of the why" (1997b: 198–209) all revolve around putting a high value on the subject matter without doing so to the author. The themes are (1) importance, i.e. usefulness (documentary, intellectual, moral, devotional); (2) novelty vs. tradition; (3) unity (unity can be formal or thematic, particularly important in collections of e.g. essays or studies); (4) truthfulness or sincerity ("[t]he only aspect of treatment the author can give himself credit for" (1997b: 206); at the very least the author can assure the reader of their sincerity, i.e. effort to achieve truthfulness, as is common in historical works); (5) "lightning rods", for example, fending off criticism through a plea of incapacity (cf. the modesty topos), or otherwise attacking critics before they have the chance to criticise the work. As seen in the work of Janson (1964), many of these themes are already found before the Middle Ages.

To achieve the second objective, proper reading, the preface guides the reader in *how to read the text*. Genette's "themes of the how", he states, have since the nineteenth century more or less overshadowed the question of "why" in prefaces, mainly because authors presuppose that the reader of the preface is indeed going to read the text (1997b: 209). Genette outlines eight strategies, among which six seem potentially relevant to prefaces predating Genette's corpus.[84] The author may discuss the origins of the work and the circumstances of writing (e.g. by commission), and the sources used (these are grouped under "genesis", 1997b: 210–212). The preface may include references to the target audience (1997b: 212–213) and comments on the title, for example to defend it against criticism or to clarify if the title has been changed (1997b: 213–215). The author may advise the reader on the structure of the text and the recommended order of reading (1997b: 218). Genette considers

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[82] By "original", Genette refers to a preface first published at the same time as the main text (1997b: 174). Other types of authorial prefaces, i.e. later prefaces (prefaces to new editions) and delayed prefaces ("pre-posthumous", see 1997b: 175) are not directly relevant to an analysis of the English *Polychronicon*.

[83] Cf. Osbern Bokenham (b. 1393), who explicitly notes that a preface should contain discussion of the "what" and the "why" by addressing the four Aristotelian causes (see e.g. Wogan-Browne et al. 1999: 66).

[84] The themes I consider non-relevant for the present study are "contracts of fiction" (1997b: 215–218), which emphasise the fictiveness of the text (specific to genres of fiction), and "contextual information" (1997b: 218–220), which Genette defines as foreshadowing future publications when the work at hand is considered as part of a larger whole.

"statements of intent" the most important theme in authorial prefaces (1997b: 221–224, at 221). These are what give the preface power to function as a vehicle of authorial control of the interpretation (1997b: 222). The final theme, genre definitions (1997b: 224–229), may also function to impose the author's interpretation on the reader, particularly so when the text does not conform to established genres or takes place in a time of transition from one movement to another. In other words, the author may wish to take a position between tradition and innovation.

A preface produced by someone other than the author of the text is termed allographic by Genette (1997b, see esp. 263–275). Like authorial prefaces, this category encompasses original, later and delayed prefaces; prefaces to translations are placed under later allographic prefaces (1997b: 264). This has, however, not been accepted by translation scholars. For instance, Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that translations are to be seen as "mediated products" and translators as "author[s] or at least the co-author[s] of the book", and translators' prefaces thus authorial rather than allographic, because the alternative is to disregard the translator's agency (2002: 52). Indeed, Genette notes that in the case of translators' prefaces, the parts where the translator discusses their own work, rather than the work done by the author, are not considered allographic (1997b: 264, n22). The functions of a third-party preface overlap with those of authorial prefaces: their purpose is to praise the text (by recommending it) and to provide information about it, such as the circumstances of production and the history of the text, as is typical of scholarly editions, or biographical information (Genette 1997b: 265–266). The way of recommendation, then, is often implicit – the presence of the allographic preface can be interpreted as an act of recommendation in itself (1997b: 268).

Since Genette (1997b) emphasises function as the basis of definition, his treatment of form is relatively brief. The placement (preludial/postludial) is discussed (1997b: 172–174), but as pointed out above, it is not seen as a defining characteristic. Neither is the preface required to be separate from the text; Genette maintains that incorporated prefaces pose no problems with regard to location, date of publication or the establishment of the sender and addressee (1997b: 170). Through examples, he lists the different forms – prose, verse, drama (dialogue or a short play), and narrative – pointing out that the mode of the preface may be different from that of the text (1997b: 171). Examples of this are also found in the *Polychronicon*: Trevisa's *Dialogue* takes the dramatic form and de Worde's *Introductorie* is in verse. It should be noted here that the epistolary form is not listed among these modes, possibly because Genette discusses the dedication as a paratextual element separate from the preface (see 1997b: 117–143), although the overlapping of dedications and other paratextual elements is noted in the context of earlier periods (1997b: 118).

The epistolary form, among others, is noted by Evans (1999: 372), who draws attention to the variance in medieval prologues, encompassing such forms as "narratives, lyrics, letters, exhortations, and prayers, as well as formal discussions of a work's structure along academic lines" (1999: 372).[85] Hence, she maintains, they cannot be taken straightforwardly as versions of formal Latin prologues (*ibid*). This is echoed by Dearnley, who emphasises that whenever vernacular translations are considered, non-academic models for translators' prologues need to be taken into account, including "the interplay of written and oral traditions in the translation process, often exemplified in the rivalry expressed in a number of texts between 'clerk' and 'minstrel' translators" (Dearnley 2016: 9).

The academic prefaces Evans (1999) and Dearnley (2016) refer to are those identified by R.W. Hunt (1948) and later famously elaborated on by Alastair Minnis (2010, originally published 1984); many of these models make use of the Aristotelian division into four causes. However, none of these models is directly applicable to the *Polychronicon* prefaces, not even Higden's Latin preface. The academic prefaces they discuss are mostly prefaces to commentaries, which makes them somewhat different from authorial prefaces to independent works, on the one hand, and from allographic prefaces, such as translator's or editor's prefaces, on the other hand.

5.3 Methods

The analysis in this chapter consists of two aspects, textual analysis (content and themes) and analysis of the material presentation, foreshadowing the discussion in Chapter 7. The former is mainly conducted through editions (at the level of *text of the work*), while the latter is based on individual copies (*text of the document*). The process of collecting data will be described in more detail under Section 7.3.

To overcome the challenges listed by Litzler (2011), I follow Genette (1997b) in discussing both front and end matter and look for visual cues and the content when determining what constitutes a preface. This also solves the problem of organic/incorporated prefaces (cf. Higden's preface, which is not truly "organic" in the sense that it is visually separated and often titled). The challenge of distinguishing between short prologues and long rubrics mentioned by Litzler is less relevant in my material. My usage of these terms is based on both visual cues and functions of the element: if the element *only* identifies/entitles the text *and* is

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[85] Sobehrad (2017: 3) goes even further in defining a prologue as "a distinct text that occurs before the main narrative of a given work" and allowing "nontextual forms and structures" such as calendars, genealogical records, illustrations and maps (2017: 4) among medieval prologues. In my view, these are paratextual elements but not prologues or prefaces.

somehow visually highlighted (e.g. colour, script-switch), I will classify it as a rubric. If it provides more information and serves additional functions, I will classify it as a preface (prologue), particularly so if it is metadiscursive rather than part of the narrative. However, this is a methodological solution rather than a theoretical classification. The same issue concerns epilogues and explicits (see Section 5.8 below).

5.4   Author's introduction: Higden's preface in four chapters

Higden's preface spans chapters 1–4 in Book 1 of the English *Polychronicon*.[86] Below, I analyse the main themes discussed in each chapter; the chapter division itself is discussed in Section 5.4.2, which focuses on the organisation and presentation of the preface in the manuscripts. It should be noted that although I analyse the contents of the preface with the aim of finding out how Higden fashions himself as the author of the work paratextually, the main weight of the analysis lies on the presentation of the preface in the hands of later text producers. In Section 5.4.1, this means that I compare the English and Latin (on the linguistic level) where relevant.[87]

5.4.1   Content and themes

Higden's preface begins with the standard theme Janson (1964) has identified in prefaces to historiographies, *laudatio historiae*. A lengthy praise of past authors and their diligent study leads to praise of history writing itself as a means against *forȝetingnes* in the third paragraph (RS edn, vol. 1: 6–7). The second theme, choice of subject, follows closely, as Higden informs the reader how he intended to compile a history of Britain but was persuaded by *special frendes* (*sodalis*) to write a universal history instead.[88] As expected, the request to write leads the author to

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[86]   Edited by Babington and Lumby (1865, vol. 1, 2–40). For a Present-Day English translation of Chapter 1 of Higden's preface, see Lake (ed. 2013: 279–282).

[87]   For finer points of Trevisa's translation work, including a discussion on a passage in Higden's preface, see Lawler (1983: 270–271).

[88]   Higden's preface is not analysed in any detail by Taylor (1966), although he notes that the author discusses his encyclopaedic methods at the beginning of the *Polychronicon*. From Higden's praise of history, Taylor concludes that "his aim was to record" (1966: 47–48). Taylor also briefly discusses Higden's decision to alter his original plan of writing a national history at the request of his friends (1966: 49). He explains this with Higden's interest in universal history and a suitable time for writing such a chronicle; however, Taylor does not compare the contents of Higden's preface with the themes or topoi Janson (1964) identifies in the Latin prefaces of antiquity.

express his uncertainty when facing such a daunting task. The unwillingness to write is realised through conventional themes: Higden emphasises the vastness of the subject matter – here, he is undoubtedly sincere even if the theme itself is a convention – by comparing it to Daedalus's Labyrinth, and expresses his fear for critics. To fend them off, he employs several expressions of modesty, downplaying his own skill (in Trevisa's translation, *my witt is ful luyte*) and comparing himself to previous authors with metaphors drawn from ancient mythology.

As regards the roles of text production, particularly interesting is how compilation as a method is addressed. Higden's discussion of the benefits of compilation as a gathering of knowledge is used as a justification for writing, and, implicitly, to invite credit for his hard work since information is gathered from many sources.[89] It is notable that Trevisa's translation describes the work as a *schort tretys* (RS edn, vol. 1: 15); at this point, it should be clear to any reader that the humility is not entirely sincere. The first chapter of the preface ends in a disclaimer: by including non-Christian matter Higden does not imply that he subscribes to the truthfulness of everything he records, but that he aims for coverage for educational purposes and a faithful representation of past authors. This theme is linked to credibility through accuracy. As Given-Wilson (2004: 1–3) notes, in the medieval period, accuracy was understood in three ways: as precision in recording dates, names and places, but also in the sense of extracting the "universal truths" which can be learned from past events, and in the sense of how plausible the stories are in comparison to other similar events, which is the notion Higden here refers to. Furthermore, this part could also demonstrate the unity of the compilation, although it may somewhat stretch the meaning of unity as intended by Genette. As another demonstration of accuracy, Higden explains his citation methods and the use of his initial "R" to distinguish his own contributions from those of the 'giants', his *auctores*. However, Matthew Fisher convincingly argues that although Higden calls these *auctores* to shield him, by citing himself in a similar visual manner as he cites his sources Higden claims authority; he becomes an *auctor* worthy of being cited in future histories (2013: 219; on Higden's authority and the complexity of his relationship with his *auctores*, see Freeman 2013: 35–43).

The second chapter comprises a list of Higden's sources. Similarly to the source references in the running text, these remain in Latin. The visual impact (which I describe in the following section) lends further weight to what Janson (1964: 97) has called "formidable catalogues" intended to emphasise the extent of the author's reading. Such may indeed be the purpose of this list, which, again, measures the author's credibility. Alternative, or additional, motives for detailed references may

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[89]　See Freeman (2013: 35–37) for further discussion on how Higden may have conceptualised *compilatio* and his role as a compiler.

include the desire to stress the compilatory nature of the work, and practical concerns. The first is perhaps unlikely in light of Fisher's (2013) argument that Higden elevates himself at the level of his authorities through visual means.[90] Practical motives should therefore not be completely ruled out: the in-text citations tend to be heavily abbreviated, and the list functions similarly to a modern academic bibliography, providing fuller references.

The third chapter contains information about the work. Higden announces the title (*Historia Polychronica*, which Trevisa translates as *Polichronicon*) and explains his choice (see Dumville 2008: 8 and Section 4.1 above). The reasoning he gives is, however, brief; there is no element of defence against criticism (cf. Genette 1997b: 214). This chapter also discusses the organisation of the work, the division into seven books echoing the biblical creation of the world in seven days, and provides an outline of the contents of each book.

The final chapter of the preface gives further guidance as to how the reader should approach the text. Higden lists eight things important for the 'full understanding' of history, all reflected in his chronicle:

1. descriptions of places, which are provided in Book 1;

2. two states of things, the state of misgoing (*status deviationis*, from the beginning of the world until Christ)[91] and the state of grace and mercy (*status reconciliationis*, from Christ until the end of the world);

3. the distinction of three eras, the first before the written law, the second after the written law, the third under grace;

4. the successions of four principal kingdoms;

5. five manners of living, the first in the first age under natural law common to all people; the second is the practice of idolatry in the second age; the third in the third age as the law and circumcision separated Jews from pagans; the fourth under the mercy of Christ; the fifth manner is Muslims following Muhammad;

6. the six ages, a model Higden derived from other universal chronicles;

7. seven persons representing important social themes: kings in their kingdoms (*principis in regno*), representing the building of cities; knights in battle (*militis in bello*), representing the victory of enemies; judges in court (*iudices in foro*), representing the making of laws; bishops among

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[90]   See, however, Freeman (2013: 43–44) on the organisation of the list and how Higden used it to place his own work in context with his sources.
[91]   The English forms I cite are based on Trevisa's translation and modernised.

clergy (*praesulis in clero*), representing the correction of crimes; politicians among the people (*politici in populo*), representing the gathering of common profit; husbands in the house (*oeconomi in domo*), representing the division of property; religious men in the church (cf. *monastici in templo*), representing the earning of redemption;

8. eight ways of calculating years: three different calendars used by Hebrews; three used by Greeks; one used by Romans (*ab urbe condita*), and one by Christians (from the birth of Christ).

The chapter concludes with a note on the erroneous calculation of dates, a difference of twelve years between Dionysius Exiguus and Jerome, and how Higden overcomes this problem by recording the dates in the margins (see Section 8.4 for further discussion of the calendar system); this is perhaps one place where Higden implies the novelty of his contribution.

5.4.2   Organisation and presentation

In the course of revising the text, Higden expanded his preface and divided it into four numbered chapters in the intermediate/long version (Freeman 2013: 27; for the different versions, see Section 4.2 above). The division into four chapters is also present – explicitly or implicitly – in the English copies, while the rubrics in the manuscript frequently label three distinct "prefaces" (see **Table 1**). This alteration between three and four textual units (prefaces/chapters) has clearly caused some problems for the scribes and, later, printers working with the text, while the first chapter of the main text (*De orbis dimensione, Priscianus in Cosmagraphia*) is consistently designated Chapter 5.

Table 1.   Chapter division in Higden's preface.

	ENGLISH MSS	PRINTED EDS	LATIN, LONG VERSION (RS EDN MS E)
CH 1	Prefatio prima	Prefatio prima, ch 1	Prologus
(CH 2)	(þe names of auctours)	no chapter break	Prefatio secunda
CH 3	Prefatio secunda	Prefatio secunda (ch 2)	Prefatio tertia
CH 4	Prefatio tertia	Prefatio tertia, ch 3	Prefatio quarta
		Prefatio quarta, ch 4	

Chapters 1 and 2 are typically brought together: these comprise the first preface entitled *Prefacio prima* in MSS **CSB**, and *Prefacio prima ad historiam, Capitulum primum* in all the printed editions (**Table 1**). The majority of the manuscripts

(**THADLFJ**), however, give no rubric or chapter number for the first preface.[92] Only three manuscripts (**CFJ**) divide the first preface into two chapters: **F** and **J** insert the chapter number in the text while **C** places it in the margin. MSS **GSTMHBAL** have no chapter break here, and **DRP** are wanting leaves. However, **H** and **B** have a scribal rubric *þe names of a[uctours]* in the margin (see further Section 8.4). This scribal insertion could be an original innovation or prompted by a consultation of a Latin manuscript of the intermediate version; for instance, Cambridge Caius College MS 82 (designated B in the RS edn) has *Nomina auctorum in hoc opusculo allegatorum* ('The names of the authors referenced in this work') for chapter 2.[93]

Chapter 3 is equivalent to the second preface in the English copies, entitled *Prefacio secunda ad historiam* (**CSTMHBALFJ** and **Cax**) or *Prefacio secunda ad historiam*; *Capitulum secundum* (**Wor**, **Tre**). Chapter 4 is equivalent to the third preface, entitled *Prefacio tercia ad historiam* (**CSTMHBALFJ**) or *Prefacio tertia ad historiam*; *Capitulum tertium* (**Cax**, **Wor**, **Tre**). MS **G** gives no rubric for either of these chapters but inserts the Arabic numbers 2 and 3 in the margin; **DR** are wanting leaves.

The printed editions keep the division into four chapters yet none of them has a chapter break within the first preface, probably because Caxton's edition follows the **HB** subgroup. Instead, Caxton updates his chapter numbering to match the preface numbers, which results in his skipping number four altogether: the chapter following the third preface is, conventionally, Chapter 5. In order to fix this issue, de Worde introduces a new break in the third preface after "fro Cryste to the worldes ende" (sig. [a vi^r]). The new unit is entitled *Prefacio quarta ad historiam*; *Capitulum quartum*. A similar development towards better systematisation is found in the Latin manuscript Cambridge Univ. Library MS Ii.III.1 (RS edn MS E) containing the long version. According to the RS editors, the four chapters are renamed as four prefaces, but the manuscript retains the original division (see **Table 1** above). This suggests that the correction made by de Worde is his own invention, not prompted by consultation of a Latin manuscript.

Table 2 presents a comparison of the visual features – prominent initial, border design and headings – used to indicate the beginning of Higden's preface.

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[92] MSS **GMRP** are wanting leaves here.
[93] Quoted from the edition. These rubrics are also present, for instance, in Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS Osborn fa.51.

Table 2. Presentation of the first leaf of Higden's preface.[94]

MS/EDN	FOLIO	INITIAL STYLE	BORDER STYLE	RUNNING TITLES & HEADINGS
C	2v	Not inserted or damaged, 3 lines	n/a[95]	"P*ref*acio p*rim*a"
G	not extant			
S	2r	Foliate, 8 lines	Full (both columns enclosed)	"prefac*io* p*rim*a"
T	9r	Foliate, 8 lines	Two sides	none
M	not extant			
H	44r	Pen-flourished, 5 lines	n/a	"Cronica Ranulphi mo*nac*hi cestr*ensis*"; "p*ref*acio p*rim*[a]" (both later additions)
B	43r	Foliate, 5 lines	Full (both columns enclosed)	"Incipit p*ref*acio prima."
A	36r	Historiated, 8 lines	Full (both columns enclosed)	none
D	12r	Historiated, 5 lines	Full (four sides)	"p*rim*us" (running-title)
L	13rb	Foliate, 6 lines	Sprays from initial, two sides	none
R	not extant			
F	15r	Historiated, 6 lines	Full (four sides)	none
J	19r	Foliate, 6 lines	Full (four sides)	none
P	not extant			
OSB	20v	n/a	n/a	"[The fyrst booke]" (running-title, partially trimmed); "Prefacio Prima ad historiam. capitul<inus>. 1."

[94] For definitions and discussion on the implications of different border and initial types, see Chapter 7.

[95] This manuscript has no borders (see Section 4.3.1). Henceforth in all tables I distinguish between "n/a" (not applicable) and "none". The first is used when the category is not relevant for the particular copy, while the latter indicates that the omission of the element is part of the page design.

MS/EDN	FOLIO	INITIAL STYLE	BORDER STYLE	RUNNING TITLES & HEADINGS
CAX	sig. v r	Painted, 7 lines	n/a	"¶ Prolicionycion" (running-title position); "¶ Prefacio prima ad historiam ¶ Capitulum primum"
WOR	sig. iii rb	Woodblock, 6 lines	n/a	"Polycronycon" (running-title position); "¶ Prefacio prima ad hystoriam Capitulum Primum."
TRE	sig. iii rb	Woodblock, 5 lines	n/a	"Polycronycon." (running-title position); "¶ Prefacio prima ad hystoriam Capitulum Primum"

Table 2 shows that the English manuscript copies commonly employ only visual elements, i.e. initials and/or borders, to mark the beginning of the preface, while headings (rubrics) are less frequent. This is interesting considering that the preface is part of Book 1: the prominent initial and border designs appear to be related to the beginning of the *Polychronicon*, the text of the work proper, to which the preface belongs. It is thus clearly differentiated from the front matter preceding it. I will elaborate on the initial and border design hierarchies in Section 7.4.2.

The paratextual status of the preface would, most clearly, be indicated by a rubric explicitly naming the textual unit "preface". However, this is the case in only four manuscripts (**CSHB**), and only in **C** does it seem to be a stable, intentional part of the design: the rubric is in red ink and in a more formal grade of the script. The scribe of **S** treats this heading differently from the rubrics to the second and third prefaces: the latter two are placed in the text column according to the usual practice and highlighted with coloured paraphs and red underlining, while the heading to the first preface is plain and placed in the top margin outside the decorative border. It is possible that the heading was intended as a guide for the rubricator or illuminator rather than aimed at the reader, or possibly it was added as an afterthought. Similarly, in MS **B**, the heading is found in the top margin: the somewhat unconventional placement disrupts the sprays of the border.[96] MS **H** appears to have received the headings at a later stage.

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[96]   The heading was probably added by one of the scribes but at a different stage than the main text. Vanessa Wilkie, Curator of Medieval Manuscripts and British History at the Huntington Library, suspects that the border decorations were completed first and space was reserved for the incipit (personal communication, October 2019).

An interesting question regarding the presentation of the preface is the list of Higden's sources, a prominent chunk of Latin text at the beginning of Chapter 2, or, indeed, in the middle of the first preface as it is presented in most manuscripts. While the list is not a paratextual element in its own right, its visual prominence raises questions concerning the links between paratextuality and the visual articulation of text (see Carroll et al. 2013). In some manuscripts, the scribes have used red ink for the complete list. In others, the list items are in black but they have been separated with prominent decorative paraphs. The visual highlighting may be indicative of nothing more than a conventional way of marking code-switches to Latin, a more prestigious language (cf. Skaffari 2016: 213; questions of language are discussed further in Section 9.2). However, the visual prominence may also be practical, in the sense that the list is easy to find should the reader wish to check full references for any of the sources mentioned in the text. The marginal heading added by the scribes off MSS **HB** perhaps witnesses a desire to make the list easier to find; I will return to this heading in Chapter 8.

5.4.3   Paratextual observations

Higden's preface is an incorporated preface in the sense that it is placed under Book 1. However, there are various textual and visual cues which communicate to the reader that it is a *preface*, or rather, a collection of prefaces, and thus clearly separate from the rest of the Book. While it is impossible to discern exactly how contemporary readers viewed the preface in terms of (para)textuality, the presentation suggests that it was seen more intimately as part of the text compared to the other front matter, especially towards the end of the period examined: all three printed editions indicate the beginning of the *Polychronicon* at Higden's preface by running-titles (see **Table 2**), and the annotator of MS **H** does the same by adding the title "Cronica Ranulphi mo*n*achi cestr*ensis*" (f. 44ʳ) in the top margin. The same conclusion can be drawn from the style of borders and initials in the earlier manuscripts; this will be discussed further in Section 7.4.2. The idea is also supported by the fact that none of the English manuscripts has differing layouts for Higden's preface and the main text of the *Polychronicon*, while the Latin copy Princeton University Library MS Garrett 152, for example, features a single-column layout for the preface whereas the main text, from ch. 5 onwards, is in two columns. The layout thus marks the preface as distinct from the rest of the text, highlighting its paratextual role. In the English manuscripts, it is Trevisa's introduction that is presented as more clearly paratextual, as discussed in the following section.

A closer look at the contents of Higden's preface shows his awareness of the conventions of preface writing: the preface includes all the major themes Janson (1964) has identified in Latin prefaces to historiographical texts. Present are also the

majority of the themes which Genette (1997b) has outlined, although the expressions in which these themes manifest may be different due to the developments in the early moden period as summarised by Dunn (1994) and questions of genre (Genette's main focus is on fictional novels). Higden covers the motive and circumstances of writing, choice of public (at least indirectly), and addresses the sources he used and his choice of title. These are also used to contextualise the work and place it in the genre of universal histories. The structure of the text is discussed, and through his list of eight important things Higden advices his readers on interpretation, the lessons that can be taken from the text. Finally, the author's intention is made clear in the theme of *laudatio historiae*.

What is not addressed explicitly is the positioning between novelty and tradition, i.e. the ultimate motive for writing: what makes the *Polychronicon* different and better than other universal histories out there? The novelty is implicit in Higden's references to the national focus, and in what Fisher (2013: 219) calls his "staged role as a compiler", the attempt to juggle between presenting his work as a mere compilation part of a long tradition, and claiming a status of an *auctor* for himself. Higden's reference to his paratextual devices such as the calendar system (see Section 8.4) could also be read as an advertisement of novelty as well as truthfulness and diligence.

5.5 Translator's introduction: Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle*

Trevisa's introduction consists of two paratextual items: a preface written in the form of a dialogue (*Dialogue Between the Lord and the Clerk*, henceforth *Dialogue*) and *Epistle to Thomas, Lord Berkeley*, a dedicatory letter which takes on some of the typical functions of translator's prefaces (henceforth, *Epistle*). The two items will here be discussed together, as they are almost always copied together and the *Epistle* always follows the *Dialogue*, and indeed, because the contents and functions of the two items complement each other.

The themes of Trevisa's introduction, particularly the *Dialogue*, have been much discussed in previous *Polychronicon* studies, and the main purpose of my analysis is to see how these themes map with the functions of prefaces outlined above in Section 5.2. For edited versions of Trevisa's prefaces, see Waldron (1988b) and Shepherd (1999; extract).

5.5.1 Content and themes

The *Dialogue* presents a dramatised version of the discussions leading to the commissioning of the *Polychronicon* translation. The speakers are left anonymous,

only named by their roles: the *Lord* and his *Clerk*, the patron and the translator. Despite the superficial anonymity, the reader is invited to make the connection to Trevisa and his patron: the *Dialogue* explicitly identifies Higden's *Polychronicon* as the subject of discussion, and the naming of Sir Thomas and Trevisa himself at the beginning of the *Epistle* makes it clear whom the characters of the *Dialogue* represent. Hanna (1989: 892) demonstrates a link between Sir Thomas's leisure time (the time he was not involved in governmental service) and his patronage, and suggests that the Lord's support of literary production corresponds to the image given in Trevisa's *Dialogue*.

One of the main functions of Trevisa's *Dialogue* is to justify translation into English, in the case of the *Polychronicon* as well as in more general terms. Waldron (1988a: 183) connects this main intention with "a new sphere of activity in the translation of non-canonical works" Trevisa aimed to establish for himself, distinct from the Bible translations in process at the time.[97] Prevalent in the *Dialogue* is also the aim to deflect criticism in advance, one of the overarching functions of authorial prefaces (cf. Genette's "lightning rods", 1997b: 207). As shown by Janson (1964), this function was commonly achieved through the topos of modesty, which was realised, for instance, in expressions of reluctance to comply with requests to write. On the surface level, much of the *Dialogue* consists of the back-and-forth arguing of the Lord, who makes the request, and the Clerk, who repeatedly implies his unwillingness. The Lord begins his request by referring to the biblical story of the tower of Babel and how the problem of language diversity can be overcome by the use of a *lingua franca* such as Latin, or through translation; embedded in this first speech turn is the praise of the author Higden and the worth of the *Polychronicon* as a source of knowledge. Here, elements of authorial and allographic prefaces overlap, but both types serve the first of Genette's "themes of the why" (1997b: 199–200), i.e. highlighting the importance or usefulness of the work.

Many of the Clerk's counter-arguments stem from defending Latin, due to its status as a widely-understood *lingua franca* and as a language superior in elegance. The Clerk claims that an English translation would not guarantee a wider reception for the work, because the Latin original will be available to non-English audiences and because the Lord himself knows Latin. Although the Lord points out that he is no professional and that there are others who are not proficient in Latin, the Clerk suggests that those unable to learn the language do not deserve to read the *Polychronicon*; the judgemental attitude is then condemned by the Lord. The exchange summarised here serves, perhaps among other purposes such as flattering

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[97] Fowler (1995: 230) views this general justification as defending Trevisa's own part in the translation of the Wycliffite Bible. His contributions to the Bible's translation work have not, however, been confirmed (see further Fowler 1995: 213–231).

the patron, the function of defining the target audience. Primarily, this means the patron himself, secondarily, others like him: aristocrats who are literate but who do not wish to spend the time or resources in making sense of the Latin original. Particularly when the Latin is so advanced, according to the Lord, that even the trained Clerk needs to consult other books to understand it. References to the elegance of Latin can be interpreted as a theme equivalent to the presentation of subject matter in authorial prefaces as too vast or difficult: by referring to Higden's Latin as advanced and arguing that the translation can never be worthy of the original, the translator implies that he deserves merit for the work. This is made explicit in the Lord's arguments, through which the status of the English language is endorsed. Waldron interprets this promotion of the status as the underlying purpose of the *Dialogue* after identifying a theme of orality present throughout the preface (1988a: 198–199). He notes (*ibid.*) that Trevisa presents language as primarily oral, from Babel, mentioned at the beginning, to the end of the *Dialogue* where the biblical creation in seven days is recounted. Another link to orality is the dialogue format itself, which points to the academic tradition of *disputatio*. According to Waldron, through this format Trevisa demonstrates "the adequacy of English as the vehicle of learned and gentle communication, and therefore its adequacy as a vehicle for the book-learning of gentle folk" (1988a: 199).

The Clerk's final attempt at showing unwillingness is realised as a fear of getting blamed for a faulty translation. The Lord dismisses this as unnecessary, for he does not expect a perfect but a skilfully made translation. This marks a turning point in the pair of prefaces: the unwillingness and feigned modesty is abandoned as the Clerk accepts the commission. Although the topos of modesty is present, the dialogue format renders it more subtle than using the translator's own voice would. This could be related to the phenomenon John Spence (2013: 26–39) has found in Anglo-Norman vernacular chronicles: instead of the modesty topos, authority is claimed through "a rhetoric of confidence". Indeed it seems that the Clerk's unwillingness, which is apparently a rhetoric device for Trevisa, not a true account, is the only reflection of the modesty topos in the *Dialogue*. Trevisa spends the majority of his words on borrowing authority and demonstrating his suitability for the task. It is worth noting that the Clerk never states that he is not able to do the translation, in which Trevisa's preface is in contrast with authorial prefaces where excusing one's poor skills or lack of style is commonplace.

At the beginning of the *Epistle*, Trevisa identifies himself and explicitly expresses his submission to Sir Thomas and his eagerness to fulfil his lord's request. The overarching theme of modesty is replaced with more practical concerns (cf. Genette's "themes of the how", 1997b: 207–229) as well as more direct ways to deflect criticism in advance, mainly by borrowing authority from third parties, both secular and heavenly. Firstly, the Lord assures the Clerk that even Origen and Jerome

revised their translations, which demonstrates that no translation can ever be perfect. This echoes the earlier turns where the Lord has brought up previous translations of the scriptures, as well as John Scotus Eriugena's translation of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius at the behest of King Charles (Charles the Bald); the reference to a royal commissioner lends additional authority to the justification of vernacular translation.[98] Secondly, the Clerk's final turn begins with a plea to God for assistance, one of the standard themes identified by Janson (1964: 144) in Latin prefaces. God is further mentioned in the *Epistle*: to attack potential critics and legitimise his work, Trevisa assures no 'backbiters' will make him forsake the task given by his patron, and ultimately he aims to please God.

The practical matters addressed by Trevisa include discussion of the form – in the *Dialogue*, the Lord expresses his desire for a prose translation as it is easier to understand than verse – and translation methods. The *Epistle* contains an explicit explanation of methods, uncommon in later, early modern translators' prefaces (Ruokkeinen, in prep.), although Waldron comments on these as "rather sparse and general" (1988a: 184). Trevisa assures the reader of his truthfulness even when not translating verbatim.[99] For a translator, truthfulness in the sense of accuracy is the most direct way in which one can advertise one's skill, much like Genette considers truthfulness, in the sense of sincerity, "[t]he only aspect of treatment the author can give himself credit for" (1997b: 206). If an author is compelled to praise the content and discredit the form, as stated by both Janson and Genette, so must a translator give at least some value to the form, as it determines how well the reader will be able to access the content. The discussion of translation methods could also be seen as a variety of the "carefulness of selection" theme which Janson (1964: 154) has observed in compilers' prefaces, although it does not relate to brevity but other virtues, such as accuracy.

Finally, the *Epistle* serves the function of dedicating the work to Sir Thomas. Even though it is composed in the form of a dedicatory letter, beginning with the address and ending with an elaborate plea to God to bless the patron, the majority of the themes discussed here are more common in prefaces and the order of the elements – preface before dedication – is unconventional (Ruokkeinen, in prep.). When viewing the two elements together, however, the order of arguments seems logical, proceeding from general themes such as the origin of the work through commission and target audience to more specific and practical themes such as translation

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[98] For a detailed analysis of the connection between these parts and the issue of Bible translation, see Waldron (1988a, esp. 179–181).

[99] Again, Waldron details the connections to the discussions of biblical translation, where accuracy is crucial, see esp. 1988a: 187. Lawler (1983: 268) points out Trevisa's models in the writings of Horace and Cicero.

methods. The free prose style of the *Epistle*, rather than the dramatised dialogue form, is perhaps more suited for the practical themes.

5.5.2   Organisation and presentation

Both *Dialogue* and *Epistle* are extant in full and shortened versions.**Table 3**, which has been modified from Waldron's (1990: 286) and expanded to include MS Osb a.20 and the two later printed editions, shows the extant witnesses of each version.

Table 3.   The witnesses of Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle*.

MS	DIALOGUE	EPISTLE	PLACEMENT
C	Y	Y	beginning
G	Y (short)	N/not extant[100]	beginning
S	Y (short)	Y (short)	end
T	N	Y (short)	beginning
M	not extant	not extant	not extant
H	Y	Y	beginning
B	Y	Y	beginning
A	N	N	n/a
D	not extant	not extant	not extant
L	N	N	n/a
R	not extant	not extant	not extant
F	N	N	n/a
J	N	N	n/a
P	not extant	not extant	not extant
OSB	Y (extract)	Y (edited)	beginning
CAX	Y	Y	beginning
WOR	Y	Y	beginning
TRE	Y	Y	beginning

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[100]   Due to a missing leaf after the *Dialogue*, the alternative of loss cannot be completely ruled out. However, Waldron (1990: 286) gives this as "N" and this interpretation seems reasonable; see below for further discussion.

Following Waldron's practice, **Table 3** distinguishes between manuscript copies which purposefully omit one or both of the items (*N*) and those which are missing leaves so that their presence in the original state of the copy cannot be determined (*not extant*).

The presence of the *Dialogue* and/or *Epistle* is linked to the Major Version of Book 6 (**CGSTHB**; MS **M** is defective), while manuscripts containing the Minor Version do not have them (**ALFJ**; MSS **DRP** are defective) (Waldron 1990: 284–285; for the two versions, see Section 4.3 above). The shortened prefaces are attested in MSS **GST**. The short version of the *Dialogue* ends with the reference to the Trinity; what is omitted is the description of the creation of the world in seven days, the fall of man and the loss of Paradise, the Holy Ghost and Christ's birth and death, His ascension to Heaven, and the salvation of souls. The short version of the *Epistle* omits references to 'all the holy saints of mankind' and the list of the nine orders of angels.

The printed editions (**Cax**, **Wor**, **Tre**) fall into the Major Version group, and MS **Osb** also has versions of the *Dialogue* and *Epistle* based on de Worde's edition. However, the versions in **Osb** prove somewhat trickier to classify. They match neither the full versions of Trevisa's prefaces nor the short versions in other manuscripts. In **Table 3**, I call this version of the *Dialogue* an "extract", as the scribe ends the text abruptly after the Lord's turn where he explains that not everyone has access to Latin books or time to read them, wherefore an English translation is required. The scribe copies "The clearke" but omits his words, cutting the rest of the *Dialogue* off with "etc.", then proceeds to copy the *Epistle*. This version of the *Epistle* is unique, too, and I call it "edited". It resembles the short version found in MSS **S** and **T** but the cut-off point is slightly different: saints and angels are mentioned, only the list of the nine orders of angels is omitted and the ending reworded: "to inyoie the companye of the holy sayntes, and | Angeles, to beholde the maiestys of god for ever. Amen." (f. 20ᵛ). The text is thus longer than the "short version", and close to the full version in length. In addition, many parts of the text are reformulated, possibly to update the lexis and make the text more readable for a sixteenth-century audience. For instance, where **Wor** has *Welthe & worshyp to my worthy and worshypfull lord syr Thomas lorde of Barkley*, **Osb** has "Prosperitye and honour, be to my worthys, and honerable lorde | Syr Thomas lorde Barkley" (f. 20ʳ); *do him mede* and *medefull* have been changed to "Reward hym for it" and "charitable", respectively (f. 20ᵛ). Similar or even more substantial editing occurs in Higden's preface in this copy and in the indices, and I will argue below (see Section 6.7) how this evidence could suggest that the manuscript was used to plan for a new printed edition, although this is a tentative interpretation until the prefatory matter has been fully collated.

The omission of the *Dialogue* and *Epistle* from the Minor Version manuscripts as well as the shortening of these paratextual elements has been noted by Beal (2012: 86), who proposes that these modifications "may suggest a fear of ecclesiastical authority and a self-imposed scribal censorship of the kind we might expect after Arundel's Constitutions of 1409" (see Section 4.2). According to Watson (1995: 831), the primary effect of the Constitutions was the creation of an atmosphere which encouraged self-censorship. Indeed, Beal (2012: 86) suggests that the short version of the *Dialogue* in MSS **S** and **G** may well be a result of such scribal censoring, as the end of the text contains a word-for-word translation of Genesis.

There are also alternative explanations offered by material concerns. In MS **G**, the *Dialogue* takes up a full leaf, leaving only about three lines blank at the foot of the last column (linefillers have been added to complete the antepenultimate line; these indicate that the text was cut off intentionally). For the full version of the *Dialogue*, the scribe would have needed a new leaf. This would have resulted in wasted space, as even together with the *Epistle* (c. 380 words in the full version), the remaining text would have taken up only one side of the leaf (cf. folio 2, which contains about 1800 words, or 900 per page). As it is customary to begin Higden's preface on the recto side of the leaf (see **Table 2**), the omission of the end of the *Dialogue* as well as the *Epistle* in whole could have been a solution that enabled the scribe to avoid a blank page.

Alternatively, it is possible but unlikely that the *Epistle* was once part of MS **G**. Some 1580 words of Higden's preface are wanting, which together with the short version of the *Epistle* could just about fit on a single leaf. It is also not unattested to have prefatory material in column a and to begin Higden's preface in column b, as proven by MS **L** (see **Table 2**). However, the level of decoration in MS **G** supports the idea that the *Epistle* was never included. Trevisa's *Dialogue* receives a three-side border and a six-line initial with gold leaf, which leads me to believe that the missing leaf was even more lavishly decorated, and that the whole recto side of the leaf would have been reserved for Higden's text. As discussed in Chapter 7 below, this is the typical pattern in the *de luxe* type of *Polychronicon* manuscripts.

Whether the omission of Trevisa's prefatory material in MSS **ALFJ** is because of self-censorship is a more difficult question. Beal describes the absence "from several of the extant fifteenth-century English *Polychronicon* manuscripts" as "striking" (2012: 86), but it should be noted that the manuscripts Beal refers to all belong to a group textually and physically close to each other: MS **A** and its descendants. A single scribe, Delta, is strongly represented among this group, and although it is possible that the scribes of MSS **L** and **F** also made a conscious choice to leave out the possibly sensitive material, it seems equally likely that they simply followed the exemplar.

Although Trevisa's prefaces are now conventionally referred to by their English titles, these are not adopted until Caxton's edition; the manuscripts invariably use Latin. The *Dialogue* is rarely named at the beginning. Instead, a rubric is generally placed between the two paratextual items to indicate both the end of the *Dialogue* and the beginning of the *Epistle* in the form *Explicit Dialogus. Incipit Epistola*. Most manuscripts use these short titles, *Dialogus* and *Epistola*, to identify the items. MS **S** differs from both practices: it has a longer title for the *Dialogue*, "Dialogus inter d*omi*n*um* & cleric*um*", reminiscent of the anonymous text *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, and this title is given as a rubric at the beginning of the text (f. 217ʳ). The *Epistle* begins, however, with a simple rubric "Epistola./".

The printed editions, and consequently MS **Osb**, introduce a more detailed title for the *Epistle*. In Caxton's edition, the *Dialogue* still lacks an incipit, and the explicit is similar to the manuscript practice, only in English: "¶ Thus endeth the dyalogue" (sig. a iiᵛ). The *Epistle*, however, begins with an elaborate rubric: "¶ The Epystle of sir Johan Trevisa chapelayn vnto lord Thomas of Barkley vpon the translacion of Polycronycon in to our Englysshe tongue" (sig. a iiᵛ) and concludes with "¶ Thus endeth he his Epistle" (sig. a iiiʳ). Remarkable here is the possessive form: the *Dialogue* retains its outwardly anonymous status with no reference to Trevisa, but the *Epistle* is very visibly attributed to him in both the incipit and the explicit. This seems somewhat redundant considering that the identification is also given in the address at the beginning of the *Epistle*. De Worde, Treveris, and the scribe of **Osb** reproduce Caxton's rubrics with only small modifications. The two printers introduce running-titles, *Dyalogue* and *The Epystle*, which identify the prefaces and distinguish them from the main text, indicated by the running-title *Polycronycon* (**Figure 2**).[101]

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[101] Running-title is a bit of a misnomer here in the case of *Polycronycon*, as it only occurs once – from the verso of the leaf onwards, the running-title is *Liber primus*. I have, however, used running-title for all titles that are placed outside the text area. *The Epystle* is also found only once, but this is because of the brevity of the text.

Figure 2. The *Dialogue* and the *Epistle*. STC 13439, de Worde, 1495. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2., sig. a ii v– a iii r). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

Caxton or his compositor employs running-titles in the *Prohemye* and index but not in Trevisa's prefaces placed after them, although this difference is explained by a quire boundary. The beginning of the main text is marked with a centred title ("Prolicionycion" [sic]) followed by rubrics introducing Higden's preface.

The scribe of **Osb** does not adopt the running-titles used in the printed edition but writes "The fyrst Booke" throughout the leaves containing Trevisa's prefaces. Although this could simply indicate a working process where the running-titles are written when the leaves are prepared for the rest of the text, the result has paratextual significance: the running-title acts as a title for Trevisa's *Dialogue*, implying that it is part of the main text of the *Polychronicon*.

As both *Dialogue* and *Epistle* are short units, there is not much variation in how they are structured and presented in each copy beside the variation between the long and short versions. The words *Dominus* and *Clericus*, often abbreviated, are used in the *Dialogue* to indicate speech turns. These are always embedded in the running text, typically highlighted visually through the use of paraph marks, red ink and/or a more formal script. In the printed editions, paraphs (pilcrows) are used. Additionally,

in MS **H** the speech turns are marked in the margins in a smaller, cursive script in the hand of the scribe (ff. 42^r–43^r). These are probably intended as guides for the rubricator, but they can be used as an additional navigational tool by the reader also. The Lord (*Dominus*) opens the *Dialogue*, but as most manuscripts only employ a decorative initial at the beginning and no rubric, the first speaker can only be inferred by the reader. MS **S**, again, differs from the other manuscripts: the rubric is immediately followed by an abbreviated "¶ D*ominu*s.", clarifying the first speaker.

5.5.3   Paratextual observations

Genette (1997b) does not address translators' prefaces in any detail, and only vaguely notes that they can have both authorial and allographic features. The examination of Trevisa's prefaces shows that there are, in fact, only few elements which are allographic and quite many which are authorial. Three of the five "themes of the why" of authorial prefaces are present: usefulness, accuracy of treatment, and fending off criticism through modesty and other means. The discussion on translation could also indirectly advertise the novelty of the work, thus leaving "unity" as the only theme of Genette's not relevant for Trevisa. Genette's "themes of the how" are not as strongly represented, beside "genesis" (the origins of circumstances of writing) and "choice of a public" – it appears that the rest are more relevant for authorial prefaces.

Trevisa's introduction has been subjected to textual editing by scribes, either due to self-censorship or because of material constraints, or both. In the printed editions, starting with Caxton, Trevisa's contributions are highlighted even as they are visually marked as paratextual rather than part of the main text of the *Polychronicon*. Yet the addition of further prefatory material by the printers, even more clearly marked as paratextual, as will be shown in the next section, suggests that Trevisa's prefaces had become an inseparable part of the English *Polychronicon*.

5.6   Editor's introduction: Caxton's *Prohemye*

Caxton was a prolific preface writer and his introduction to the *Polychronicon* is only one among many prefaces which he produced to accompany his printed editions (see Crotch ed. 1956 [1928]). His paratextual additions to the *Polychronicon* include the *Prohemye* and a brief untitled introduction to the Liber Ultimus, as well as untitled epilogues (for these, see Section 5.8.2).

5.6.1　Content and themes

There are plain similarities in Caxton's *Prohemye* to the introductions of Higden and Trevisa (see e.g. Beal 2012: 126; Tonry 2016: 181–184). Beal notes that Caxton's preface addresses the reader directly, which is not entirely true, but it is certainly written to the reader and Caxton uses "we" to establish group identity, see for example "GRete thankynges lawde & honoure we merytoryously ben bounde to yelde and offre vnto wryters of hystorye" (sig. a2ʳ, ll. 1–3) and "We rede of other noble men / somme lordes & somme other of lower astates" (sig. a3ʳ, ll. 4–5). Trevisa's prefaces, in contrast, do not acknowledge the presence of the reader: all communication happens between the translator and his patron, while the reader is left in the position of an eavesdropper (Beal 2012: 126). Beal's observation of this different "rhetorical situation" (*ibid.*) is important: by not engaging with a larger audience directly, Trevisa may consciously protect himself from critics.

Much of Caxton's preface consists of praising the profitability of history, including the two quotations above, and this part appears not to be original: Samuel K. Workman (1941) has identified it as a translation of the preface to *Library of History* by Diodorus Siculus. Although this is an unsurprising theme in a historical preface, the justification of history (cf. Beal 2012: 126) is much more prevalent than it is even in Higden's preface, covering more than one fourth of the length of the *Prohemye*. After this, Caxton addresses his additions to the *Legenda aurea* and the text at hand, the *Polychronicon* (sig. a3ʳ, ll. 29–35). In this part, Caxton shows his concern with authority (see also Beal 2012: 126). Authorial concerns are also present in the description of contents which follows (sig. a3ʳ, ll. 35–40 & a3ᵛ, ll. 1–2). Notably, Caxton includes his own continuation when indicating the extent of the chronicle: "syth the fyrst makyng of heuen & erth || vnto the begynnyng of the regne of kyng edward the fourth / & vnto the yere of our lord M/CCCC lx" (sig. a3ʳ⁻ᵛ; ll. 40, 1–3), although he some lines later elaborates on the original text and his own additions.

At this point, the preface shifts to a more allographic type of content. First, Higden and Trevisa are named (sig. a3ᵛ, ll. 3–8), and Caxton presents himself as their follower, a simple printer who "emprynted & sette in forme" the text although he "lytel embelysshed" it (ll. 8–9). Potential criticism is deflected with a reference to the aid of God. Caxton elaborates on his additions by discussing his continuation to 1460 (from Higden's ending at 1357).

The end of the preface contains, again, themes that are rather authorial (cf. Genette's notions of translators' prefaces): first, a dedication to King Edward IV (sig. a3ᵛ, ll. 13–18) and a request to readers to emend the text (ll. 18–21). Caxton also mentions the index which follows the *Prohemye*, and notes how it is organised (ll. 23–28). The preface ends in conventional formulae, thanking God (ll. 28–30 and, again, in the Latin explicit "¶ Deo gracias").

5.6.2   Organisation and presentation

Caxton's preface is laid out in a single column like the rest of the text apart from the index. It is placed before the tables and is thus the first item the reader encounters. This placement gives the *Prohemye* a certain kind of prominence: Trevisa's and Higden's introductions, which come after the index, are more clearly part of the text proper, the text which Caxton edits and presents for the reader in a new printed form. This shows how Caxton can be seen as assuming the role of an editor (see also Hellinga 1983). I argue that Caxton's *Prohemye*, then, takes on the roles Genette (1997b: 197) assigns for authorial prefaces: it informs the contemporary reader how and why the text should still be read. At the same time, the *Prohemye* is, in Genette's terms, an allographic preface, which recommends the text by praising it. Although Caxton shows humility in comparing his efforts to those of Higden and Trevisa, modesty is overall not an important feature in the preface like it is in authorial ones.

The title *Prohemye* is given as a running-title on both rectos and versos (sig. a2^r–a3^v), centred in the top margin and preceded by a handpainted paraph mark in the two copies examined (British Library, G.6011-12 and C.10.b.7). The preface ends in a Latin formula "¶ Deo gracias" (sig. a3^v), which functions visually as a closing rubric (explicit): it is centred and separated from the body of text with a space of one line. In the other copy examined, the running-title and end formula have also been underlined in red. In his edition, de Worde switches to a two-column layout but otherwise keeps the presentation close to Caxton's. However, he adds an explicit ("¶ Explicit Prohemium.", sig. aa iii^v), placed between the body of text and "¶ Deo gracias.", and set apart from both by a space of one line. The addition of a Latin explicit could indicate a desire for systematisation and perhaps imply learnedness; de Worde also concludes his index with a Latin explicit. The changes introduced in Treveris's edition are typographical: the explicit and "¶ Deo gracias." have been brought together, although they are still separated from the body of text by a single line. This could imply that they are seen as more or less a single element, but it is also possible that the compositor ran out of space, as the rubrics are found at the foot of column B. Another small typographical change is made to the final word *Amen*, which in Treveris's edition is printed in upper case letters and set slightly apart from the preceding words for additional emphasis.

5.6.3   Paratextual observations

Caxton's *Prohemye* demonstrates the difficulty of classifying prefaces in terms of roles (authorial/allographic). There are allographic elements in the praise of the author and translator as well as the text itself; at the same time, the printer needs to justify his work in a similar manner as authors. There is, however, a subtle difference in the way humility is expressed. Caxton presents his unworthiness in comparison to

Higden and the text itself rather than the subject matter – his concerns seem more practical (lack of source material) than specific to his character (lack of skill). Consequently, the addition of Liber Ultimus is presented as necessary, and it is used as a selling point, to advertise the novelty. All of these are evidence of Caxton's role as an editor and publisher of the work.

5.7 Printer's introduction: De Worde's *Introductorie*

De Worde's *Introductorie*, written in verse (rhyme royal), identifies the commissioner of the print work, Roger Thorney (c. 1450–1515; London mercer, book collector, and patron) as well as the printer, de Worde. However, it lacks the formulae typical of early modern dedications, nor does it contain a request for protection or financial support from the commissioner indicative of patronage, and is thus analysed here as a preface. The explicit mentioning of Thorney's name nevertheless suggests that Thorney may have financially supported the publication of de Worde's large editions, the *Polychronicon* and *De Probrietatibus Rerum*, as speculated by Atkin & Edwards (2014: 32; on Thorney's impact on book production and distribution, see Boffey 2014: 19–20). It should also be noted that the verse was not necessarily composed by de Worde himself; Hellinga (2010: 143) refers to it as the work of an "anonymous rhymer".

5.7.1 Content and themes

The preface consists of five stanzas. The first stanza offers general praise of reading to avoid idleness or sloth, especially the reading of books "whiche gyue Instruccion". Hereby the work at hand is named: "As dothe this boke / of Polycronycon". The text is thus framed as useful reading material. The second stanza covers the origins of the work: it identifies the commissioner (Thorney) and the printer (de Worde); de Worde's desire to comply with the request is also expressed. The third stanza returns to the general theme of the virtues in keeping oneself busy and working in order not to become idle and "beastly". The fourth stanza outlines the importance of the printer's work. Here, de Worde compares books to buildings: castles and towers need to be maintained and renovated in order not to crumble, and similarly, books need to be "renewed" so that people may continue to enjoy the "Fruytes of lernynge". Finally, the concluding stanza includes a plea to God to bless the work. Contrary to how this plea functions in earlier prefaces such as those by Trevisa, to legitimise the act of translation, here it seems to be more of a convention.

5.7.2   Organisation and presentation

De Worde entitles his verse "¶ An Introductorie Anno d*omi*ni. M.cccc.lxxxxv.".
MED defines *introductorie* as "An introductory treatise or textbook" (s.v.
intrōductōrīe [n.]), although it is used as a synonym for preface at least by the Middle
English author Reginald Pecock (d. c. 1461) in his *Reule of Crysten Religioun*: "Here
bigynnyþ þe entre, or þe introductorie or þe inleding, into þe book" (MED, *ibid.*).
The application to introductory verse does not appear to be common; perhaps de
Worde aimed to avoid using any of the terms already present in the front matter of
the work.[102] The inclusion of the year of publication seems like a strategy to advertise
the new edition right from the start, particularly as this function was not yet fulfilled
by the title-page (the title-pages are discussed in Section 7.5.3 below). The verse
form chosen for the introduction may reflect de Worde's personal interests,
considering his publications of contemporary poetry (see Section 4.3.2.1).

The modifications made to the preface in Treveris's edition are, again,
typographical. Where de Worde has one-line *litterae notabiliores* at the beginning
of each verse, Treveris's compositor uses the regular capitals but adds paraph marks
for visual emphasis. This solution seems practical as it requires less effort or special
equipment; at the same time, the introduction of paraphs suggests that the *litterae
notabiliores* were considered to be at a higher level of hierarchy than regular capitals.

5.7.3   Paratextual observations

De Worde's introduction is more clearly an allographic preface than Caxton's. The
topos of modesty is not present; the printer does not evaluate his own skill, nor does
he excuse his work, although he justifies why it is necessary to issue reprints of old
texts. However, it seems likely that the introduction is chiefly a nod to Thorney,
whether or not there was a relationship of patronage between him and de Worde.
Although the *Polychronicon* is named, de Worde does not mention or praise Higden
or Trevisa like Caxton does. De Worde's *Introductorie* does, however, recommend
the text, which Genette (1997b: 267) identifies as the primary function of an
allographic preface.

5.8   End matter

Terminal paratexts have received remarkably little attention, as pointed out by
William Sherman (2011: 65). Genette (1997b: 161) considers prefaces and postfaces

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[102]   His verse introduction to *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1495, STC 1536) is entitled
"Prohemium" (see e.g. Moran 2003: 30–31).

variations of a single type of paratext but does otherwise not devote attention to how books are brought to a close. Sherman (2011: 66) notes that many elements, such as details of the time and place of publication which we now expect to find at the beginning of a book, were placed at the end in early printed books, following the manuscript tradition of colophons. However, the similarities between postfaces/epilogues and colophons in the late medieval period remain largely uncharted. Below, I examine what paratextual functions the colophons have (Trevisa's and Caxton's; there are no scribal colophons) and how they are presented. In Section 5.8.2 I also discuss Caxton's epilogue and his front and end matter for Liber Ultimus; indeed it seems that Caxton's epilogue serves a double function: to end the text, but also to begin a new one, his continuation.

5.8.1   Trevisa's colophon

¶ God be þonked of alle his dedes þis | t*ra*nslaciou*n* is ended in a þursday þe xviij. day of Aueryl. Þe ȝer*e* of our*e* lord a þousand | þre hundrid four*e* score & seuene. ¶ Þe tenþe ȝer*e* of kyng Richard þe Secunde aft*er* | þe conquest of Englond. Þe ȝere of my lordes age Sire Thom*as* lord of berkeleye þ*at* | made me make þis t*ra*nslaciou*n* fyue and þritty. (MS **H**, f. 310ᵛ)

Trevisa's colophon can be found in all manuscripts where the end is intact, except MS **T**. Two manuscripts (MSS **C** and **F**) have a slightly shortened version which omits the last 20 words referring to Sir Thomas's age. As the manuscripts are not closely related (cf. **Figure 1**), the scribes seem to have made the decision independently. In **C** this could be because of spatial concerns (the page is damaged but the colophon is found on the final lines), whereas **F** has plenty of ruled space, so perhaps the information was considered superfluous in addition to the conventional ways of announcing the date by years of grace and the regnal year: "¶ þþe[103] ȝere of oure lord aþousand þre hundred foure score & seue*n*. þe tenþe ȝere of kyng Richard þe secou*n*de aft*er* þe co*n*quest of Engelond" (f. 212ᵛ). This is supported by the addition of the paraph mark, drawing the eye to the date.

In the manuscripts, the colophon is usually not separated from the main text; only punctuation and paraph marks are used. However, the ending is more creative: several manuscripts introduce explicits or other concluding additions recording scribal voices. Delta tends to place this directly after the colophon, separating it only by punctuation or paraph marks (MSS **AJP**). Apparently the choice was made on a whim: MS **A** and **P** have *Explicit* while **J** has *Deo Gracias*, preceded by a prominent

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[103]   This scribe uses <ff> and <þþ> to represent capital letters.

gilded paraph. MSS **G** and **B** both have explicits in display script, but this comes after some blank lines below the colophon. The scribe of **G** has, however, added *Amen* thrice at the end of the colophon.[104] In MS **H**, the scribe may have added the colophon later for some reason: the hand is similar but the strokes are narrower, suggesting a different pen, and the first words of the colophon are written in the margin, as if intended as a guide for rubricator.

In the printed editions, Trevisa's colophon is visually separated from the text by one blank line. **Wor** also has a paraph, which in **Tre** is switched to a two-line initial. More notable are, however, the textual edits: Caxton has made a mistake in the year of completion, recording it as 1357 instead of 1387,[105] and consequently has "corrected" the regnal year into the thirty-first year of King Edward III (see Matheson 1985: 602). These errors are preserved by de Worde and Treveris. De Worde has also modified the beginning by replacing Trevisa's *God be ponked for all his dedes* with "Thankynges and praysynges / be to almyghty god of all his dedes".

5.8.2   Caxton's epilogue and Liber Ultimus

The contents of Caxton's epilogue and the untitled introduction to Liber Ultimus partially overlap, which is why they are best discussed together; his colophon also belongs in this set of paratextual wrapping.

The epilogue is untitled and it begins with a typical explicit formula, "Thus endeth the book named Proloconycon [sic]" (f. CCClxxxxʳ). The roles of Higden, Sir Thomas and Trevisa in the production of the work are named, after which Caxton proceeds to justify why a continuation was needed (the theme of "genesis"): after the end point of the original work (given as 1357)[106] many notable things have happened, and Caxton laments the scarcity of chroniclers in his own time. The claim for authority is performed with due humility: Caxton, "a symple persone" had to take up the task. At this point, Caxton explains in more detail what he meant in the *Prohemye* by "lytel embelysshed", i.e. changes to the "rude and old englyssh / that is to wete certayn wordes / which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden" (ll. 15–16). As a statement of intention, Caxton claims he printed the work in order to bring it to a wider audience. The conventions require him to express his insecurity, which he

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[104]   Both *Explicit* and *Amen*, as well as praises of God, were widely used as concluding words also in the earliest printed books, but during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *Finis* became more common (see W. Sherman 2011: 68–70).

[105]   See Section 5.8.2 below; Caxton confused Trevisa's date of completing the translation with the end point of the text.

[106]   The correct date is 1360: the last event recorded is about the peace between England and France during Edward III's reign (the Treaty of Brétigny) and its ratification in Calais later that year.

explains by lack of sources reliable enough (in addition to *Fasciculus Temporum* and *Aureus de Universo*);[107] additionally, Caxton presents his skills as uncomparable to those of the original compiler (cf. "for as moche as my rude symplenesse and ignorant makyng ought not to be compared / set ne ioyned to his boke", ll. 27–29). He, however, contradicts himself somewhat when he says he will not dare incorporate his Liber Ultimus into the original work, but it "shal be sett here after the same / And shal haue his chapytres & his table a parte" (ll. 20–21). As will be shown in Chapter 6, he does incorporate the headwords to Liber Ultimus into the same index, and the very name of the final Book suggests that Caxton's continuation was to be seen as part of the work, as does the way in which Caxton gives his own end point as the end point for the whole *Polychronicon* in his *Prohemye*. The epilogue finishes with a statement of the extent of his continuation, down to 1460 (103 additional years).

The presentation of the epilogue is relatively similar across all printed editions: in **Cax** it begins on a new page, with a two-line hand-rubricated initial, in **Wor** and **Tre** there is a small space of one and two blank lines, respectively, between Trevisa's colophon and Caxton's epilogue, and woodblock initials similar to those at chapter heads.

The introduction to Liber Ultimus could be classified as an "internal preface" (Genette 1997b: 172), although it is brief. The introduction works as a pair with the epilogue, as it mostly repeats what is already stated in the epilogue. Caxton mentions the title of Higden's work again, apparently to contextualise the text of the final Book, and states he adds his own continuation after it "by the suffraunce of Almyghty god" (f. CCClxxxxiʳ, ll. 2–3). The Book itself is referred to as "this newe booke", but the running-title names it as Liber Ultimus. After this he explains the range of his continuation, from the point where Higden left off to the first regnal year of Edward IV. The wording here is close to that of the epilogue, which may be a strategy to emphasise the independent nature of Liber Ultimus, the way Caxton frames it in the epilogue. However, there is no trace of modesty in this brief introduction like there is in the epilogue; presumably, Caxton expects that the reader has been convinced by this point and accepts his authorship. Genette's "themes of the how" are not present at all, and the only part that could fall under the "themes of the why" is the link established between the original work and the continuation, implying unity.

The discussion is continued in Caxton's colophon after Liber Ultimus. It contains some of the standard preface themes, namely a request for readers to emend the text and a statement of intention linked to the theme of *laudatio historiae*. The modesty

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[107] See Matheson (1985: 594, 599) on Caxton's sources and role in the production of this text.

topos is present again: "prayenge all them that shall see this symple werke to pardone me of my symple / and rude wrytynge /" (f. CCCCxxviii^r, ll. 19–21). The colophon concludes with the day of completion, July 2nd, 1482. The colophon bears no title or incipit but is set apart from the text by one line. It is written in the first person, but the reader needs to look at the end to find Caxton's name: "Fynysshed per Caxton". In de Worde's edition, this has been replaced with the imprint: "¶ Enprynted at Westmestre [sic] / by Wynkyn Theworde /" (f. CCCxlvi^v). The date of completion is also updated to April 13th, 1495. The removal of Caxton's name obscures the first person reference in the colophon, although this is likely accidental as the other paratextual material does not indicate that de Worde had any desires for authorial recognition.[108] Another, smaller edit is the deletion of "and rude" from Caxton's colophon, which is a subtle but likely intentional change (rather than a compositor's mistake, since "and" has also been dropped). The original phrase *simple and rude* downplays the extent and/or style of Caxton's continuation in comparison to Higden's, and de Worde's intention may have been, not only to pay respect to his former master, but perhaps also to soften this evaluation in order not to contradict his *Introductorie* where he praises the value of the work.

Although Treveris's edition follows **Wor** closely in most regards, even including de Worde's *Introductorie*, he corrects the potential confusion in the first person reference by omitting the date from the colophon, replacing it with a simple explicit "¶ Finis. vltimi libri.". His own imprint, bearing the date, is then placed on the facing page within a woodblock compartment: "¶ Imprented in Southwerke | by my Peter Treueris at | ye expences of Ioh*n* Rey|nes boke seller at | the sygne of | saynt Ge=|orge in | Poules chyrchyarde. | ¶ The yere of our lorde god | M. C C C C C . & . xxvii. | the .xvi. daye of | Maye" (f. [CCCxlvii]^r). I will return to these changes in Section 7.4.2.1 below when discussing how the beginning and end of the main text are signalled.

5.9   Summary

The importance of prefatory and end matter in "wrapping" the text to be presented to a reader is evident also in the different materialisations of the *Polychronicon*. Paratextual items create the spaces where the text producers in different roles may present their own comments of the work. For instance, Higden's preface fulfils most of the functions Genette (1997b) has identified in authorial prefaces. However, as Genette's outline of the functions of prefaces is highly author-centred, allographic prefaces receive a much briefer consideration. The analysis of the different prefaces

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[108]   See also de Worde's edition of *The Golden Legend* (STC 24875), where Caxton's self-reference is retained (Moran 2003: 27).

and postfaces in the *Polychronicon* shows that in most cases, non-authorial prefaces may contain a significant number authorial features, especially when the writer is in some way personally invested in the text, as translators or editors usually are (cf. Trevisa and Caxton). These differ from the kind of allographic prefaces Genette apparently primarily refers to, where a third party has been invited to write the preface. This type understandably is not characterised by the modesty topos, seen in authorial as well as allographic prefaces of the first kind. In contrast to Trevisa's and Caxton's paratextual material, the later printers de Worde and Treveris add material which is more clearly allographic and/or practical.

It is noteworthy that all the layers of prefatory matter make their way to the last printed edition. Treveris's work is a reprint, much more so than de Worde's, as he does not insert a voice of his own into the prefatory and end matter; the elements he adds, such as the imprint, are standard and serve a documenting function (cf. Ciotti & Lin 2016: vii). The layering of paratextual items, and the presentation of these items in new material copies, suggest that with every new layer, the old paratextual items become more intimately connected with the text whereas the new items are "more paratextual". This is natural, considering that the newest layer is always most relevant for the reader, who needs to be convinced that the reissued text is still current and desirable. At the same time, the conventions of preface writing, such as the topos of humility, apply in varying degrees to all prefaces, especially if the preface writer is responsible for any changes to the text. These changes, however, appear not to include those which mainly enhance the usability of the text, such as the scribal modifications made to the rubrics and chapter division in Higden's preface. These are silent emendations.

The definition of a preface (or postface) is elusive, as has been noted by Litzler (2011), who presents it as a methodological problem, and Janson (1964), for whom the question is theoretical. Like Genette claims, aspects of form (including titles) seem to be less relevant than functions when determining what is a preface even in early material. For instance, the function of an incipit or explicit could be said to be merely navigational (or interpretive in the sense that they name the textual unit), whereas prefaces and postfaces serve various types of functions, which can be grouped under the interpretive and commercial categories outlined by Birke & Christ (2013). The textual labels given to the prefatory items matter, however. Higden's preface is entitled *prefatio* in the English copies, which may connect the text with academic (scholastic) tradition (cf. Evans 1999: 373), perhaps even acknowledging the metadiscursive nature of the preface. According to Evans (*ibid.*), *prohemye* was used similarly, and potentially Caxton's choice reflects an attempt at giving a

sophisticated, learned image.[109] In contrast, Trevisa's prefatory elements are not labelled *prologues*; more specific terms (*dialogus*, *epistola*) are used instead, reflecting the wide variety of forms Evans (1999) lists for late medieval vernacular prefaces. Despite these forms, the elements clearly serve the functions of authorial and allographic (translator's) prefaces outlined in previous studies.

[109]   The majority of Caxton's prefatory items seem to be called *prologues* or go without a title, and he only uses *prohemye* a couple of times: notably, in the second edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1483, STC 5083), where the layout of the page and the opening words echo those of his *Polychronicon*, and in *Caton* (1484, STC 4853), where *prohemye* is paired with *prologue* ("Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the book callid Caton", sig. ii^r).

6   Indices

"An index is many things. It is a map, a mnemonic, a digest" (Byatt 2011: 11).

A particularly notable aspect in the *Polychronicon* indices is that in approximately half of the manuscript copies, the index consists of two parts, one in Latin, the other in English. The Latin index is found in the **M-**group, always preceding the English index, while the ***c***-group manuscripts only have the English index, or none at all. The English index is similar across both groups, and I will discuss the two indices separately: the Latin index in Section 6.4 and the English index in 6.5. The print tradition shows some more significant variation, and the indices do not directly derive from the manuscripts; these will be discussed in Section 6.6. Part of the print tradition is the manuscript exctract Beinecke MS Osb a.20 (**Osb**), copied from de Worde's edition, which will be discussed in Section 6.7. The extract was included in this study because of its index and other paratextual matter.

Alphabetical indices became especially popular in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Parkes 1991 [1976]: 62). Briggs (1999: 129), studying the indices in the English group of manuscripts of *De Regimine Principum*, points out that their significant number suggests that "the compilation and use of alphabetical indexes were common features in the late medieval intellectual landscape". Although *De Regimine* was popular across Europe, Briggs notes that indices to the text are most common in the manuscripts produced in England, while the number of indices in copies produced in France or Italy is less than half of the number in the English group (1999: 29, 129).[110]

Genette (1997b) does not explore the index as a paratextual element.[111] He briefly touches upon a related element, the table of contents (1997b: 316–318), in the form they appear in modern (narrative) books. However, the table of contents is

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[110]   Note, however, that these are not copies in the English language. The sole copy containing Trevisa's translation of *De Regimine*, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 233, does not have an alphabetical index but only a list of chapters (see Briggs 1993b: 72, no. 46; Fowler, Briggs & Remley eds. 1997: ix).

[111]   This may be related to the general lack of indices in modern French books (Weinberg 2000; the fact is also lamented by Byatt 2011: 16).

mainly presented as a location where the reader can encounter intertitles and preview the contents, and thus make interpretations before reading the text, rather than as a navigational tool. Genette does, however, point out that while the modern table of contents is essentially a list of chapters, the "classical custom was […] to put a table of chapters at the beginning of a work and, at the end, an actual table of contents, a sort of detailed index" (1997b: 317, n20). The two elements, the index and the table of contents, are thus closely linked and, indeed, sometimes confused with each other (see Scase 2013: 107). The confusion may partly arise from the name of the element, as *tabula*, or table in English, has been used for both (Wellisch 1994: 3; Briggs 1999: 101; Dionísio 2005: 91). Both the index and the table of contents are unquestionably paratextual elements used for identifying and locating information within the book, although they function somewhat differently. The differences between the two will be discussed below (Section 6.2) in light of previous studies. Here the difference may briefly be outlined as follows: a table of contents presents the information in the order in which it is found in the main text, whereas an index uses a different method of organisation, such as alphabetical or thematical. However, as will be seen in the analysis sections below, in practice the two elements are not so clearly distinguishable.

6.1　Paratextual questions

As the index is a somewhat neglected paratextual element, there is much to discover about the kinds of functions it may have. These functions are also linked to the question of what the difference between an index and a table of contents is, especially in medieval material where both were generally referred to as a 'table' (Lat. *tabula*). In this chapter, I will focus on the following questions regarding the indices in the *Polychronicon*:

- What is the purpose of having an index in two languages in some of the manuscripts?

- How do different layouts affect the use of the index? How are the indices organised in the manuscripts and the printed editions?

- What changes are made to the printed indices and MS Osb a.20, and how does this affect the use of the index?

6.2　Previous studies

The alphabetical index is one of the elements that proliferated in the thirteenth century to enable consultative reading for academic purposes and preaching (see e.g. Parkes 1991 [1976]; Rouse & Rouse 1979; Briggs 1993a, 1999). The practice seems

to have begun in Paris in the first half of the century (Rouse & Rouse 1979: 6; see also Briggs 1993a: 254). The emergence of indices and tables of contents is linked to the other developments in the organisation and presentation of books around this time; Parkes notes that the quick and widespread adoption of the academic apparatus was enabled by organised book trade close to universities, Paris among others (Parkes 1991 [1976]: 68). According to Parkes, the mendicant orders founded in the thirteenth century also played a significant role in the proliferation of the academic apparatus, as the orders required material in an easily accessible form for preaching (*ibid.*). Rouse & Rouse (1979: 6) take a slightly different approach, arguing that the origin of alphabetical reference tools[112] predates these institutions and lies in the "growing concentration upon pastoral ministry and preaching". They maintain that "[t]ools, mendicants, and (to a large degree) university are all responses to the same demand, the Church's need for a clergy properly trained and provided with the necessary books to preach and to minister to a Christian community" (1979: 7). Nevertheless, they agree that the wider dissemination of the alphabetical tools is rightly associated with both universities and the orders of friars. By the end of the thirteenth century, indices and concordance tools in Latin books had become widespread (1979: 4).

Parkes associates the emergence and development of the alphabetical index with the practice of compilation, another phenomenon of the thirteenth century which answered the need for easier access to existing material, *auctoritates* (1991 [1976]: 58–62; for *auctoritates* see Chapter 3 above). In the hands of compilers, old texts were organised in new ways, and the index provided a tool for accessing specific information within the texts so as to be used "in the context of different arguments" (1991 [1976]: 62). Because of this purpose, indices were typically made for old texts, or new compilations of old material, and not prepared for new works. Rouse & Rouse (1979: 23), however, mention a pioneer in this regard – John of Freiburg, whose *Summa Confessorum* (written 1297–98) contained an index prepared by the author. As the works which were indexed were standard authorities, sometimes the indices circulated separately from the texts, often bound together with other indices (Parkes 1991 [1976]: 62–63). The manner of reference to sections, such as Books and chapters, allowed this, although the index could also be copy-specific, containing folio references (*ibid.*). Physically separate indices are one of the less than common

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[112] By alphabetical reference tools, Rouse & Rouse refer to biblical distinctions and concordances, library catalogues, as well as subject indices arranged alphabetically (1979: 7–26).

instances of epitextuality in manuscript culture, and they are a type of epitext which is not included in Genette's (1997b) inventory.[113]

The typical structure of the subject index has been outlined by Briggs (1993a). The medieval *tabula* contained subject entries which consisted of a headword (*lemma*) followed by a citation and reference to the section (Briggs 1993a: 25). These parts correspond, respectively, to *headings*, *subheadings* and *locators* in modern indexing terms (Weinberg 2000: 5). The subject entries were alphabetised to a varying degree: in some indices the alphabetisation was done throughout the word, while others were arranged according to the first letter or the first two or three letters only (Briggs 1993a: 254; see also Parkes 2012 [1995]). Daly (1967: 19–20) has traced the origins of alphabetisation back to antiquity, where the practice was used to arrange lists of names. Daly concludes that for the early instances of alphabetisation, arrangement according to the first two or three letters may have been sufficient enough, and that the gains of a fuller alphabetisation would not have been great enough to justify the effort (1967: 95, see also 85–90 for the process of alphabetisation). Saenger (1997), referencing Daly, states that "[f]or the Greeks and Romans, alphabetical order was chiefly an aid to grammarians in assembling collections of grammatical definitions […] and as a mnemonic tool for relatively short lists of names. The alphabetical principle was never used to facilitate rapid consultation, as in modern indexes"; this kind of use emerged with medieval glossaries (1997: 90).

In the context of late medieval Portuguese manuscripts, Dionísio (2005) notes that the table of contents and the index (*tabulatio*) "intend to facilate the rapid consultation of texts" by allowing the reader to "rapidly locate a subject, a word, or a passage in a text or in a series of texts", yet they are "substantially different devices" (2005: 91). For Dionísio, too, the most remarkable difference is that the table of contents follows the structure of the text while the index makes use of a different organisation, for instance alphabetical (2005: 91–92). Confusion arises from the fact that the name *tabula*, referring to their tabular form, is used for both devices (2005: 92).

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[113]   The number of different types of epitext is practically unlimited, but Genette's discussion of epitext focuses on primarily interpretive (and, in some cases, promotional) material, divided into four categories: publisher's epitext, semiofficial allographic (i.e. third-party) epitext, public authorial epitext, and private authorial epitext (1997b: 345). The index, a primarily navigational tool, is not directly comparable with any of the epitextual elements outlined by Genette, although he notes the fluidity of paratextual elements: epitexts are distinguished from peritexts only by the criterion of spatial, physical separation (1997b: 344). Thus, epitextual material can become peritextual if it is appended to the text in a new edition or copy, and vice versa.

The term *tabula*, in both senses, was also the most common term used in the incunabula period, along with *registrum*, *repertorium*, and some other terms (Wellisch 1994: 4–5). While Wellisch's data do not include any incunabula printed in England, his examination of 83 early printed indices provides some useful context for the later *Polychronicon* indices, those in de Worde's and Treveris's editions. Wellisch discovered that about a third of the indices he examined instructed the reader in their use, and that almost all indices claimed to be arranged alphabetically, although in more than half of them this meant that the headwords were alphabetised by the first few letters (1994: 5). English printed tables, including both indices and tables of contents, have recently been studied by Alex da Costa (2018), who found that in the editions produced by English printers before 1550, less than a quarter of the tables were organised alphabetically; most often these were scholarly works in Latin or French, or their English translations (2018: 302). It should be noted, however, that da Costa's figures contain all finding aids labelled as tables, which makes it difficult to say whether the numbers mostly indicate the proportion of alphabetical indices to other finding aids such as lists of chapters.

On the functions of early printed indices, da Costa (2018: 308) emphasises that "tables could be used polemically as well as to market books, seeking to control how readers read rather than simply guiding them to material they desired". Indices were not neutral finding aids but could be used to direct how the reader approached the text and how they were to remember it (2018: 313). In a similar vein, Briggs (1999: 142) concludes that the indices to *De Regimine* would have "influenced and to some degree predetermined what their users would have looked for in the text". It is important to note that while indices and other finding aids are primarily navigational, they also serve commercial and interpretive functions.

6.3 Methods

In the following sections I analyse the paratextual functionality of the various *Polychronicon* indices. A full collation of the headwords in the manuscript indices is outside the scope of the present study, but samples have been collated to support the analysis. The main focus of my analysis is on the index as a functional, paratextual tool: I examine the layout of the indices, the organisation of the headwords, and, particularly, the differences between the English index transmitted in the manuscripts and the later indices, printed and handwritten (**Osb**).

For textual comparison, I used the transcription of Caxton available through *EEBO* created as part of the Text Creation Partnership; I transcribed selected parts of the indices in MS **H** (sections A and D in Latin and English) as well as selected parts in de Worde's index (see Section 6.6.2) myself. The choice of sections was at

least partly random; I wished to look at the first section and choose another one further down the alphabet. Other alphabetical sections were spot-checked as needed.

6.4 The Latin index

The Latin index is present in eight of the fourteen extant manuscripts. No Latin index is found in Caxton's or the subsequent printed editions, although it appears that Caxton used the Latin index of MS **H** (or its descendant) as a starting point for his own (see Waldron 1990: 284; 1991: 77). Caxton's index will be discussed in detail in Section 6.6.1 below. It is worth noting that the Latin index is preserved in MS **M** and in the majority of the manuscripts in the **M-**group (**HBADLFJ**; no indices survive in **R** or **P**), while none of the manuscripts in the **CGST** group has it. Waldron interprets this to mean that Trevisa's translation was only accompanied with an English index while the Latin index is a scribal addition to MS **M** or its ancestor (1990: 284). Nevertheless, the Latin index attested in the Middle English manuscripts has an authorial origin and appears to derive from the same textual tradition as Trevisa's source text, the intermediate version,[114] whereas most indices to the short version of Higden's text are different in their content, layout and system of reference (these differences have recently been examined in detail by Freeman 2013). For example, the indices to the short version manuscripts use folio and column references, which makes them impractical to copy from one manuscript to another (see Freeman 2013: 190). Some short version indices are also prefaced with an explanation of this reference system; no such instruction appears to be needed for the intermediate version index, which contains references to Books and chapters rather than folios (Freeman 2013: 188–189, 192).

The eight manuscripts in the **M-**group all employ a tabular layout, in which each of the two text columns has been divided into three: a wider column has been ruled

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[114] A comparison of the beginning of the index (*Abraham–Antonio Augusto*, f. 284ʳ) in Huntington Library MS HM 132 – Higden's autograph manuscript – with the corresponding sections in MSS **M** and **H** shows that they belong to the same tradition. The tabular layout and column headings in the autograph also match the Latin index of **MHBADLFJ**. However, MSS **M** and **H** have some additional headwords, and the order of some entries has been inverted. These changes can be observed in another Latin manuscript of the intermediate version, British Library Royal MS 14 C IX (s. xiv⁴), which is thus closer to the index in **M** and **H**, although the index of this manuscript does not match exactly with them either: for instance, the headword *De Alexandro qui et paris* is omitted in MS Royal 14 C IX but can be found in both Higden's autograph and in **M** and **H**. Comparison with the other Latin manuscripts of the intermediate version in order to establish the possible exemplar for the index in MS **M** is unfortunately outside the scope of the present study.

for the headword, narrower columns for the Book and chapter numbers (see **Figure 3**, left, and **Figure 4**).

		Bk	Ch			Bk	Ch					
Headword	1.	14.	Headword	3.	24.		Headword. 1. 14.	Headword. 3. 24.				
Headw.	1.	22.	Headword	3.	26.		Headw. 1. 22.	Headword. 3. 26.				
Headword	1.	23.	Headw.	3.	33.		Headword. 1. 23.	Headw. 3. 33.				
Headword	2.	2.	Headw.	3.	41.		Headword. 2. 2.	Headw. 3. 41.				
Headword	2.	4.	Headword	3.	47.		Headword cont-	Headword. 3. 47.				
Headword							inues 2. 4.					
continues	2.	11.					Headword. 2. 11.					
Headword	2.	25.					Headword. 2. 25.					

Figure 3. Tabular (left) and non-tabular layout (right).

This is notable in comparison to Briggs's (1999: 139) findings regarding the English manuscript group of *De Regimine*, in which a non-tabular layout (cf. **Figure 3**, right) is used almost exclusively, while only one index in Briggs's material, a mid-fifteenth century index added to the early fourteenth-century manuscript Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 3.3., has what Briggs calls an "improved" tabular structure (*ibid.*). All the other manuscripts Briggs examined place the Book, part and chapter references directly after the headwords, which means that no special ruling pattern is required but the scribe may use similarly ruled folios for main text and index alike, provided that the main text is copied in two columns. Briggs's description of the tabular layout as "improved" perhaps refers to the more careful planning and additional work required from the scribe rather than navigational usability, but I will return to this question when discussing the English index in Section 6.5.

In the tabular layout in MS **M** and its descendants, the columns for Book and chapter numbers have abbreviated headings (li. or lib. for *liber*, ca^m or c^m for *capitulum*), as seen in **Figure 4**. When both the Latin and the English index are present, the Latin index always precedes the English one. None of the manuscripts gives the Latin index a title; the beginning is only signalled by the initial <A>, usually larger than the other initials in the index.
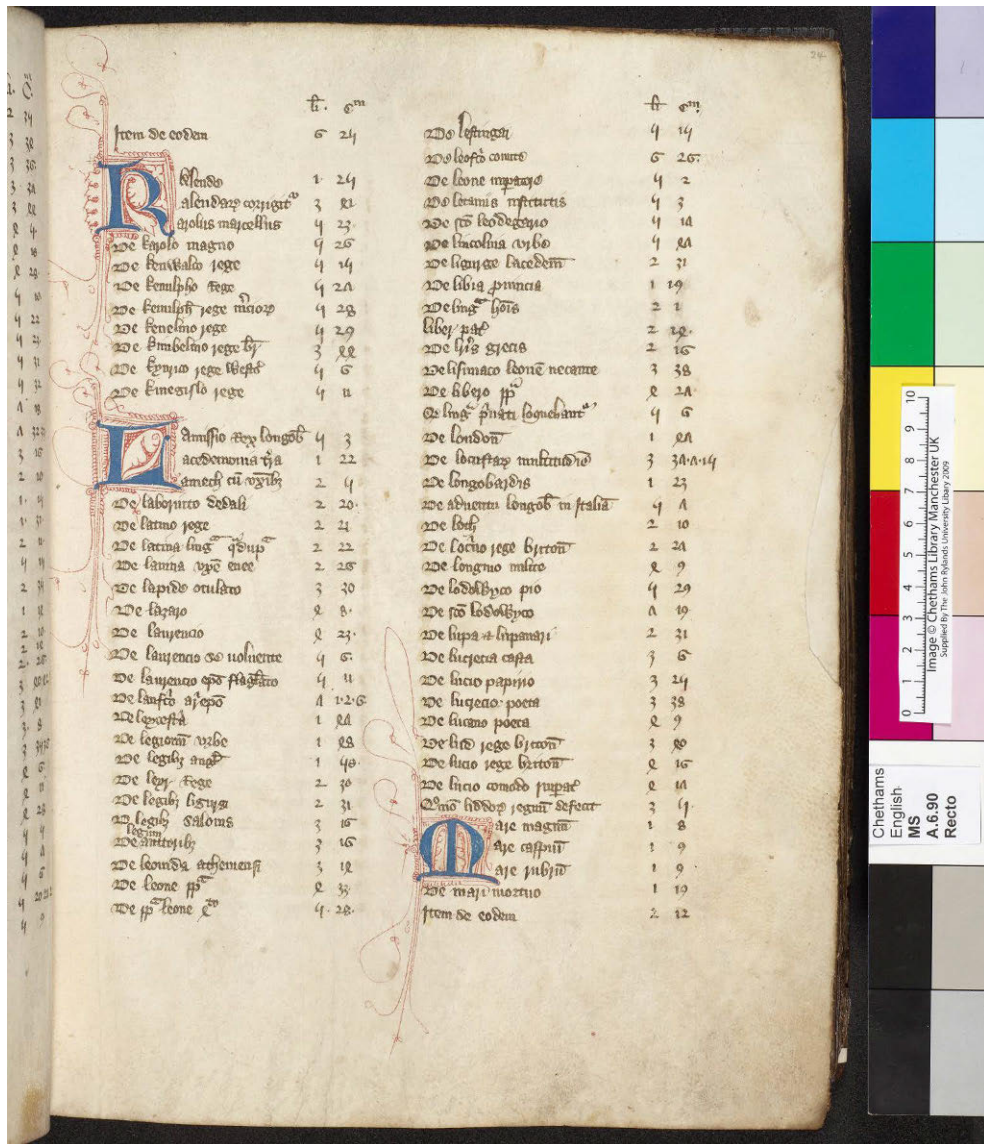
Figure 4. Latin index. Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 (**M**), f. 24r. Image: Chetham's Library, reproduced with permission.

The index is organised alphabetically from A(braham) to Z(orobabel), although the headwords in all eight copies of the Latin index are not alphabetised throughout the words but only by their first two letters. The entries in the index consist of a headword or -phrase, Book number and chapter number(s), for example "De grecia p*ro*uincia 1. 22." (MS **M**, f. 22ᵛ); "De decio cesare 4. 21. 22." (MS **L**, f. 2ᵛ); "Regnu*m* francor*um* incepit 4. 33." (MS **F**, f. 6ʳ). The headwords, typically introduced by the

preposition *de* ('of'), most commonly refer to persons and places, sometimes to events of interest, e.g. "De bello punico p*rimo* 3. 22." (MS **M**, f. 20ʳ); "De vij. dormentib*us* 4. 22. 23."[115] (MS **H**, f. 26ʳ). The purpose of repeating the preposition *de* can be postulated. No parallel prepositional construction is used in the English index, although Caxton occasionally uses 'Of' when translating headwords from Latin (see Section 6.6.1). The repetition of the preposition possibly functions as a visual marker, equivalent to a paraph mark or double virgule used as a list signifier (see Carroll et al. 2013: 61). A notable example of visual prominence is found in the index to British Library Royal MS 14 C IX, a copy of the Latin *Polychronicon*, in which the <D> is written slightly apart from the following <e> (cf. also Dionísio 2005: 93; his Figure 1 shows a visually prominent list structure with *litterae notabiliores*). This practice is often seen in manuscripts containing works of poetry, and it may be here used similarly to verse layouts: to emphasise the list structure by distinguishing individual items within the index. The English copies of the *Polychronicon* show no such prominent ways of marking the row-initial letters, but the first letter is often emphasised with a yellow wash or, in the case of MS **H**, a red stroke.[116] Retaining the preposition may also be inspired by the other common form of a *tabula*, the table of contents, which generally consisted of chapter rubrics where the *de*+ablative construction is typical (see Section 7.4.2.3 for further discussion of rubrics; for tables of contents, see Scase 2017).

The visual, rather than linguistic, meaning of the preposition is also suggested by scribal practices: the preposition is often dropped, either intentionally or accidentally. It is typically omitted from the first few entries in each alphabetical section, namely those which begin with the decorative initial. In MS **M** (as shown in **Figure 4** above), the three-line initial serves as the first letter for all three headwords written next to it; the preposition *de* is dropped from these entries. However, there are some inconsistencies in this practice and in most cases it appears that scribes follow their exemplars when copying the entries, rather than attempt to systematise the form when the initial size differs from that of the exemplar.[117] The scribes of **H** and **B** drop the preposition similarly to MS **M**, although they introduce regular capitals for the second and third headwords. In MS **D**, the headwords under A have been systematised: the six-line initial <A> begins all six headwords while both the preposition and capital letters have been omitted. However, the scribe is not

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[115] This entry is found under the letter D.
[116] This is a common way to highlight capital letters also in the running text, but the headwords in the index rarely have other capital letters than the one at the beginning of the row; the highlighted letters are thus neatly aligned.
[117] For instance, initial <A> in **M** is four lines deep but the fourth entry begins with 'De' and is written in full, whereas initial <B> is three lines deep yet the fourth headword is without the preposition.

consistent with the systematisation: the rest of the alphabetical sections in MS **D** follow the practice seen in MS **M** in the inclusion/omission of *de*, regardless of the size of the initial, and this is the case for MSS **L** and **F** as well. The headwords in MS **J** are treated very similarly to those in MS **D** except that the scribe has apparently made a mistake in copying the first headwords in section A: the order of two headwords has been inverted and consequently, also the one written below the initial has been left without the preposition. A few more examples show that the scribes are not meticulous about systematising the use of prepositions and capital letters in relation to initials. For instance, the fourth entry under B, *Baleares insule*, is left without preposition regardless of the initial size (two or three lines), even though Delta includes the preposition in the preceding entry in MS **J**, where the initials are only two lines deep. The scribes of MS **DLF**, in turn, include the preposition in *De Caldea terra* although the initial extends to this line (i.e., it should be systematised as '(C)aldea terra').

6.5   The English index

The English index survives in eleven manuscripts (**GSTMHBADLFJ**) and is thus attested in both groups **M** and *c*, but not in **C** itself.[118] Emily Steiner (2016: 233) suggests that it is likely the first historical index, and possibly the first alphabetical index, in English. The way of reference to Books and chapters rather than folios (as in some indices to the short version of the Latin *Polychronicon*) allows the index to be copied from one manuscript to another without updating the references, which would be a laborious task for the scribe, as Waldron (1990: 284) notes. Folio references are later introduced in de Worde's index (see Section 6.6.2).

The majority of the eleven manuscripts employ a tabular layout with narrow ruled columns for Book and chapter numbers; the only exceptions to this are MSS **G** and **S**. In **G**, the Book and chapter numbers are simply written after each headword (see **Figure 3** for a comparison of a tabular and a non-tabular layout). In **S**, the numbers are written on each side of the vertical line at the end of the column, which creates a sort of *ad hoc* tabular structure although it has not been accounted for at the ruling stage (cf. **Figure 5**).[119]

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[118]   MS **P** also likely once had the index, but it is unclear whether MS **R** ever did; both manuscripts are now defective at the beginning.

[119]   It should be noted that **Figure 3** and **Figure 5** are not accurate representations of the ruling patterns or punctuation conventions used in the manuscripts, but rather schematic illustrations of the different types of layouts available to scribes.

Headword.	1.	14.	Headword	3.	24.
Headw.	1.	22.	Headword.	3.	26.
Headword.	1.	23.	Headw.	3.	33.
Headword.	2.	2.	Headw.	3.	41.
Headword cont-inues	2.	4.	Headword.	3.	47.
Headword.	2.	11.			
Headword.	2.	25.			

Figure 5.   "Ad hoc" tabular layout.

Figure 6 shows the tabular structure in MS **M.** The ruling pattern is similar to the Latin index, shown in **Figure 4**, but a third column with Roman chapter numbers has been added next to the Arabic numbers on some folios (ff. 28ʳ–30ʳ). The hand appears to be that of the scribe although the ink colour is different; perhaps the Roman numbers were added as an afterthought, to make locating the chapters easier, as this manuscript features double chapter titles in left and right margins, one in Roman and one in Arabic numbers. Almost all other manuscripts use Arabic numbers only.
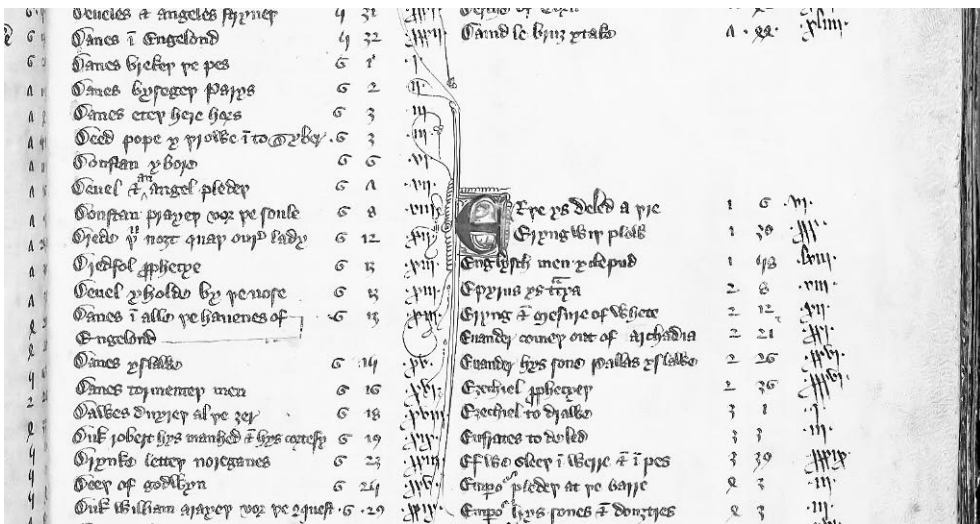
Figure 6.   English index. Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 (**M**), f. 28r (detail). Image: Chetham's Library, reproduced with permission.

In the **M-**group, where the English index follows the Latin one, none of the manuscripts provides a title for the indices. The English index typically continues

right after the Latin index on the same folio, and the break is only indicated by a slightly larger blank space than is otherwise left between the alphabetical sections. In **GST**, which only have the English index, the index is referred to as *tabula*. MSS **S** and **T** place a heading *Tabula. A* above the column in which the index begins. MS **G** does not have a heading at the beginning of the index, but the explicit on f. 209ᵛ reads "Expl*ic*it Tabula Sup*er* libris | Historie Policronice".

The primary method of organisation in the English index is alphabetical order, by first letter only, and within each alphabetical section the headwords have been sorted by Book and chapter. In practice this means that all headwords (beginning with the same letter) follow the narrative sequence, starting from Book 1 and running up to Book 7, as seen in the first column of numbers in **Figure 6**. In this regard the English index differs from the Latin one, where the somewhat thorougher alphabetisation by two letters means that the narrative sequence is lost. This difference in the organising method, alphabetical vs. sequential,[120] can be observed in all manuscripts which have the index in both languages (**MHBADLFJ**). It may in part explain the need for two indices, although in the English index the number of headwords under each letter of the alphabet is relatively small, and the desired headword is thus relatively easy to locate even when one does not know in which Book it is found.[121]

However, a stronger motivation for retaining or reintroducing the Latin index may lie in complementary contents. The headwords in the Latin and English indices differ dramatically. The difference in contents has also been noted by Steiner, who observes that the English index shows a personal approach: it is not "monumental" like Higden's index, but could be described as "a tabloid index, favouring the generic over the proper, the sensational over the heroic, and the local over the universal" (2016: 233). Steiner further notes that the English index is "spectacularly unsuccessful as a finding aid: a user would have to come to it with a list of key words like lord, wench, false, three, and huge, to make any sense of it" (2016: 233–234). Presumably, a reader who wishes to consult the chronicle for information would prefer a more functional navigational device. We may therefore ask: Why did the compiler of the English index change the system of organising the headwords? Were

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[120]   Briggs uses both "serial" (1999: 130) and "sequential" (1999: 134) to describe this type of order. See also Parkes (2012 [1995]) on elements of the scholarly apparatus which followed the narrative order, for instance the table of contents, and those which "provided independent access to the subordinate material in a text", for example the alphabetical index.

[121]   See Briggs (1999: 130–131) for a similar "hybrid" between a list of contents and an alphabetical subject index in a copy of *De Regimine*, alphabetised by the first letter only.

the readers of the vernacular more familiar with the sequential system? Or did the indexer think the sequential order was more suitable for a chronicle text?

In Waldron's view (1991: 76) the sequential order in the English index supports the idea that Trevisa compiled the index himself, making notes of topics of interest during the process of translation. Waldron also notes that the headwords in the English index match the antimonastic interests and national pride indicated by the texts Trevisa translated, and that the headwords display an extent of familiarity with the work which makes it implausible that the index could have been compiled by a scribe (1991: 76–77; see also Steiner 2016: 234 on the "Englishness" of the index).

While I subscribe to Waldron's interpretation of the evidence, the question remains: why did the compiler of the English index, or a later scribe, not reorganise the headwords alphabetically (by more than one letter) for easier consultation? The answer perhaps lies in Steiner's (2016) suggestion that the index was one of the first indices compiled in English; the alphabetisation could be rough because there were no models available yet, and because spellings were not standardised – the f/v variation certainly caused problems for the scribes copying the index (see Waldron 1991: 76–82). Another possible answer is that the index was intended either as a preview of the topics, similarly to a table of contents, or as an aid for locating desired passages when one was already familiar with the text, or at least, as suggested by Tonry (2016: 175), the topics within it. Considering the types of the entries chosen for the index, familiarity seems a more plausible explanation: entries such as "Acorde betwene kynges 7. 44." or "Etyng of fisshe 5. 29." are perhaps not ideal to pique the interest of a new reader, but they may be useful for a reader familiar with the text. Presumably retaining the order of the narrative also helps the reader place the headwords in context, whereas a fully alphabetised subject index requires either more specific or more general headwords. Nevertheless, some degree of alphabetisation was used for ease of reference, and perhaps first-letter alphabetisation was sufficient enough, considering the laborious process of fully organising the headwords.[122]

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[122] The labouriousness is well illustrated in the scribal treatment of the sections for letters F and V. Waldron (1991: 77–80) found that the frequent use of <v> by Trevisa and the scribes of the earliest manuscripts caused problems for scribes whose dialects did not have this feature. He discusses the different scribal approaches: The scribe of MS **G** copies the headwords as is, although he does not use word-initial <v> in the text. In MSS **H** and **B**, the initial <v> has been changed to <f> when it represents a voiceless consonant (cf. also "Our*e* lady" pro *Vr lady*) but the headwords have not been moved to their appropriate place, they are still found at the end of the alphabet (MS **H** also features a large initial <F> for this section). The **A-**group manuscripts, however, leave a space for the V-headwords (MSS **AF**) or eliminate them completely (MSS **LJ**).

The somewhat different treatment of the Latin and English indices by the same scribes can be seen in the blank spaces which separate the sections. For example, in MSS **M** and **H**, the spaces in the English index are almost consistently six lines deep, with only a few exceptions,[123] whereas in the Latin index the spaces are smaller: zero to one line in MS **M**, one to four lines in MS **H** (three being most common). Similarly, in MS **A** the keyword sets are generally adjacent or separated with a single blank line in the Latin index, while the English index has more whitespace between the keyword sets, commonly four lines. In MS **D**, the Latin index is regular with a single blank line between each set and the English index has a varying number of blank lines, from zero up to six but most frequently four.

Not all scribes are as consistent, but the pattern is similar: a single blank line, or even none, separates the letters of the alphabet in the Latin index, but several lines are left between them in the English index. Tonry (2016: 176) interprets these as an invitation to add new headwords, just as the chronicle itself invites continuations. In MS **A**, a reader has used the blank space available precisely this way, and has filled in "William Waleys" as the last entry under W. However, the other manuscripts do not show evidence of inserted headwords, and some of the more ample spaces are caused by the f/v issue. Possibly, the blank spaces are a remnant of the alphabetisation process (cf. Daly 1967: 89), and the scribes simply reproduced what they found in the exemplar. The space does not appear to be decorative or navigational, since the number of blank lines is usually consistent regardless of column breaks (cf. e.g. MS **H**, ff. 36ᵛ–37ʳ; a similar practice is found in a Latin copy, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 021).

6.6   The printed indices

The differences between Caxton's index and the indices of the manuscript tradition have been noted by Waldron (1990; 1991), yet the index in de Worde and Treveris's editions has received little attention thus far. This may be because the later editions have been considered reprints of little additional editorial value to someone interested in Trevisa's original text. The later printed indices are, however, interesting from a paratextual viewpoint: changes introduced to the organisation of the headwords and the manner of reference, for instance, reveal attempts at enhancing accessibility, considering the length of the text. The following sections

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[123]   See, for example, MS **H**, which has five lines only between P and Q (f. 39ʳ), possibly by mistake, and three lines between R and S due to a page break – the scribe has omitted blank lines at the top of the new page, f. 39ᵛ (cf. K and L, ff. 36ᵛ–37ʳ, where the space of six lines is evenly distributed between the pages).

aim to assess the motivations of renewing the index, and the navigational, promotional (and interpretative?) implications of the changes.

6.6.1 Caxton

In his printed edition (1482), William Caxton replaced the original English index with one he perhaps compiled himself, using a Latin index as his starting point. In this section, I look at the possible reasons for his doing so.[124] It is likely that the manuscript Caxton used as his copy-text had both the Latin and the English indices, as is typical in the **M-**group manuscripts: Waldron (1999: 393) places the text of Caxton's edition in the **HB**-subgroup, and since there are no marks in MS **H** which would prove it was used as a printer's copy-text, he hypothesises that Caxton used **H** to make a revised version of the text which was then set to print. The headwords in Caxton's index are indeed similar in content and arrangement to those in the Latin index of MS **H**.

The title for Caxton's index is "The Table" (cf. Latin *tabula*) – this is repeated as a running title on each page throughout the index – and the abbreviations used as column headings for Book and chapter numbers are in English, contrary to the manuscripts in which all headings are in Latin. The reason for this is unclear, as within the main text Caxton retains the Latin rubrics: the incipits and explicits at Book breaks are in Latin, and chapters are designated *capitula*.

The headwords, following manuscript tradition, are organised alphabetically by their first and second letters,[125] with occasional errors. Book and chapter numbers are given as references to location. The index is printed in two columns, with the lines justified to create a tabular layout (see **Figure 7**). However, only the chapter numbers align neatly while the Book numbers form merely a roughly aligned column. Above these columns, headers *bo* for 'book' and *ch* for 'chapter' are printed.[126] The numbers are Arabic; for Caxton's own Liber Ultimus, the abbreviation "vl" (with a crossed ascender in <l>) is used instead of a Book number. Unlike de Worde's index (see Section 6.6.2), Caxton's does not include instructions to its use. There is a passage at the end of the *Prohemye*, however, referring to the index: "And folowynge this my prohemye I shal set a table | shortly towchyd of the

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[124] For other indices and tables of contents printed by Caxton, see da Costa (2018: 295–298).

[125] Medial <y> is considered a variant of <i>, cf. "Aydan bisshop", "Aioth Iuge", "Aylon Iuge" (f. a4ra).

[126] The abbreviations are sometimes, not always, punctuated. The <h> in the abbreviation for 'chapter' has a stroke though the ascender as an abbreviation mark, although the crossed variant may have been used also when no abbreviation was intended (see Adair 2017).

moost parte of this book" (f. a3ᵛ). Duncan (2016) tentatively suggests this can be read as "[a]n admission, or perhaps a warning: it's not just that the entries in the table are, of necessity, briefer – less plain – than the main text; there seems to be an implication here that parts of the book are uncharted territory as far as the table is concerned." An alternative interpretation of Caxton's wording here is that he originally planned to have a separate index for Liber Ultimus, as he mentions in his epilogue (see Section 5.8.2), so this index would indeed cover the "most", i.e. the original, parts of the work.

Figure 7. STC 13438, Caxton, 1482. © British Library Board (G.6011-12, sig. [a8ᵛ], detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

The sections for each letter of the alphabet are separated by white spaces of a varying number of lines, typically four to five. This practice seems to derive directly from the English manuscript tradition, and while the number of lines is not systematised, the layout is visually effective to separate the letters of the alphabet. A copy-specific analysis would reveal whether some readers made use of this space and added their own entries, as postulated by Tonry (2012: 176; see Section 6.5 above). However, it seems less likely considering that Caxton's fashioning of his continuation as the 'Final Book' invites no further continuations or modifications (see below for further discussion on this point).

The alphabetisation becomes haphazard after some 140 entries under A, after the entry "Aurelie Ambrose 5 3" (sig. a4^{rb}). Henceforth the remaining headwords beginning with the letter A are organised sequentially, as in the English manuscript index. Headwords referring to Liber Ultimus are placed at the end of the section for letter A, and likewise in the other sections. The other alphabetical sections also show a mixture of the two systems, possibly telling of the method of constructing the index from various sources. Letter D seems particularly messy, while letter E is neatly alphabetised (by first and second letters) until "Ezechyel prophete 36 2" [sic] (sig. b1^{rb}), after which the sequential order resumes. Letters H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P repeat the pattern: alphabetical changing to sequential at some point. Letters F, R, S, T, V and W appear to be mainly (but not consistently) sequential, while G is again alphabetised – any "errors" may be due to pronunciation (for example, *Gerebertus*, *Guerra*, *Gignosophystis*, *Geantes*, *Gisericus*). Headwords beginning with X, Z, and Y (respectively) seem to be sequential rather than alphabetical, but they are too few to say for certain.

Some individual errors in the alphabetisation can be explained by careless reading of the exemplar or a mistake by the compositor. For instance, *India* and *Iudea* have been confused twice on the same folio: first, "**Iudea** & his meruelys 1 11" is found between "Imperatryx matyld 7 13" and "Ilo*n*des of the grete see / 1 30" (sig. b4^{ra}). MS **H**, however, has "De **India** & ei*us* mirabil*ibus* 1. 11." (f. 28rb). Second, "**Indya** a lond 1 14" is found between "Isaye a prophete 2 35" and "Iubulee the yere 2 10" (sig. b4^{rb}), while MS **H** has "**Iudea** t*er*ra 1. 14" (f. 28va). An inverted type could possibly explain these errors, but considering that the vowels in the second syllable have also been changed, this does not seem a likely explanation. In MS **H**, the <e> in "Iudea" may be mistaken for an <i> due to biting, but "India" appears clear enough.

To find further explanations for some of the inconsistencies in organising the headwords, samples (sections for the letters A and D) from Caxton's index were collated with the equivalent alphabetical sections in the Latin and English indices of MS **H**. The collation reveals that Caxton's headwords beginning with D initially match both the contents and the order of the Latin index ("Dalmacia a londe 1 22", sig. [a7^{vb}] to "Item of other slepers 1 20", sig. [a8^{rb}] – cf. MS **H** "DAlmacia t*er*ra 1. 22.", f. 26ra, to "Ite*m* de aliis dormientib*us* 1. 26., f. 26rb). These have been translated into English, which is why the alphabetisation becomes muddled as soon as the first word is something else than a proper noun or a Latin-derived loan. Since the majority of the headwords consist of proper nouns, this is not a major problem, but it does affect the navigationability of the index. For instance, under the letter D there are entries "How god is knowen 3 12", "Of Cybele and boncincia /3 /33", "Of the goddys of the peple 2 9" and "Of the day naturel 4 1" after which the alphabetical order resumes (**Figure 8**). The placement of these entries under D is easily explained by

comparing them to a copy of the Latin original, cf. MS **H** (f. 26ʳ): "Quo*niam* **deus** cognosci*tur* 3. 12.", "De **de** cibele *id est* b*er*ocincia 3. 33."[127], "De **dominis** genciu*m* 2. 9.", "De **die** naturali 4. 1." (headwords in bold).

Figure 8.   STC 13438, Caxton, 1482. © British Library Board (G.6011-12, sig. [a8r], detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

Interestingly, after copying all of the headwords from the Latin index, Caxton continues by adding headwords from the English index in the order they appear in the manuscript (sequential). Some headwords have been omitted. For instance, "Athene is ybuld 1. 22." (MS **H**, f. 32ᵛ) has been omitted, but a corresponding headword *Athenis* is already included in the alphabetical part of Caxton's index, derived from the Latin index. It appears that the compiler of Caxton's index was well aware of the superiority of the Latin index as a finding aid, but also aimed to improve its coverage by introducing selected headwords from the English index, likely from the same manuscript.

   Tonry (2016) maintains that the visual prominence of Caxton's headwords marked with *vl* rather than a number makes for a "dramatic" effect – an "everywhere-present reminder that Caxton's edition has finished the *Polychronicon* in some sense, and added not just a continuation but the last such extension to the tradition" (2016: 179). However, while I agree that an implication of completedness is inherent in the title *ultimus*, this interpretation in the context of the index seems somewhat

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[127]   Caxton's (or his compositor's) reading is erroneous here; the entry refers to the Phrygian mother goddess Cybele (Berecyntia). The second 'de' [dea], i.e. 'goddess', has probably been interpreted as error and dropped, and the abbreviated form of Ber- has been misread, as well as the scribal abbreviation for 'id est', which has become "and" in Caxton's index.

grandiose. Firstly, it is possible that Caxton chose to call his continuation something else than "Book 8" out of respect, perhaps to highlight his own contribution, but at the same time to clearly distinguish between the original parts and his own additions. Secondly, the visual prominence of Liber Ultimus in the index is probably reflective of Caxton's working process: the headwords taken from the English index received a natural continuation in the headwords referring to Liber Ultimus, and their insertion in the alphabetical system deriving from the Latin index would have required additional effort.

6.6.2 De Worde and Treveris

In the editions printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1495) and Peter Treveris (1527), the index has been organised differently from Caxton's. The differences in both layout and the headwords themselves suggest that it may have been compiled from scratch for de Worde's edition, instead of being a reorganised version of Caxton's or the manuscript index. Treveris's index is effectively a reprint of de Worde's index, as he does not introduce any major changes. I will therefore focus on de Worde in this section, and only return to Treveris's index briefly at the end of the section to discuss the minor differences.

De Worde (and Treveris's reprint) divides the index according to Books. In practice, there is a separate *tabula* for each Book, with the running-title denoting the Book in question. Within these Book-specific indices, the entries are sorted into alphabetical sections; each alphabetical section is preceded by a heading, for example "¶ De littera A", "¶ De littera B" (sig. aa iiiiʳ).[128] The individual headwords, however, do not follow an alphabetical but a sequential order of the chapters, similarly to the English manuscript tradition. The indices of de Worde and Treveris also provide folio numbers in addition to chapter references. In this regard, the index serves a double purpose: while it can be viewed as an alphabetical subject index, the division according to Books and the headwords sorted by chapters mean that this paratextual element essentially functions as a detailed table of contents. In the following, I explore the possible reasons for these changes.

It is noteworthy that de Worde's index is considerably longer than Caxton's. Whereas Caxton's index takes up 33 pages, de Worde's 91-page index has been nearly tripled in length. Measured in the number of entries, the difference is not as drastic but still significant: Caxton's index contains c. 1950 entries while de Worde's index contains over twice as many, c. 3040.[129] The difference in the number of pages

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[128] The organisation is again revamped by the scribe of MS **Osb**, who otherwise copies the text from de Worde's edition with mainly minor changes (see Section 6.7).

[129] Rounded to the nearest ten. Entries were counted by Book and alphabetical section.

is also due to the form of entries, not only their number. De Worde's entries are generally longer (cf. Examples 1 and 2 below) and thus, a single column can only accommodate approximately half of the number of headwords compared to Caxton's index, in which the majority of the entries take up only one line.

1. Asia the lasse 1 18 (STC 13438, Caxton, sig. a4^{vb}).

2. Asya minor ca. xviii. A & is called | Pamphilia and Jsauria ca. xviii. C | folio .xvi. (STC 13439, de Worde, sig. aa iiii^{rb})

While a great number of the headwords match Caxton's (in that the headword is the same or similar even if de Worde's entries provide much more detail), de Worde does not include all Caxton's headwords, and introduces many new ones that are found neither in Caxton nor in the English manuscript index.

To examine the differences in more detail, I chose a selection of headwords to Liber Ultimus for comparison in Caxton's and de Worde's indices, more specifically entries under A, B, G and H. De Worde provides nearly twice as many headwords to Liber Ultimus as Caxton (**Wor** 292, **Cax** 152). Not all alphabetical sections are equal, however: Caxton has nine entries under A while de Worde has ten, wheras under B Caxton has 18 and de Worde 30. Under G, Caxton has three headwords but de Worde only one. Entries under H again show a typical pattern, Caxton's six against de Worde's fourteen.

The headwords beginning with A provide an interesting case for comparison: although the number of entries is almost the same, de Worde's set is almost completely different from Caxton's. They only share one entry, that referring to the town of Sancerre in France (cf. "Ancerre vl*timus* 1", **Cax** sig. [a5^{rb}] and "ANserre cite ca. *primo*. A fo. ccc.xvii", **Wor** sig. hh i^{rb}). A few of de Worde's headwords are also included in Caxton's index, but under a different alphabetical section. For example, the entry referring to Queen Anne is placed under A by de Worde ("¶ Anne quene ca. v. D fo. ccc.xx. ca. vij. E. fo. ccc.xxii", sig. [hh i^{va}]) but under Q by Caxton. Similarly, de Worde's entries for Henry IV and Henry V are indexed under H, while Caxton places them under K for *Kyng*. De Worde's entry "¶ Adamitarum heresy ca. viij. B fo-|lio .ccc.xxiij" is equivalent to Caxton's "Heresye of admytarum byganne vl*timus* 7" (sig. [a8^{vb}]) indexed under H. The chapter numbers differ, but this seems to be an error in Caxton's index; de Worde has the correct chapter reference. Sometimes a double entry is utilised by de Worde, as in the case of the Battle of Agincourt, indexed under A and B both: "¶ Agyncourte ca. xiij. G fo. ccc.xxix." (sig. [hh i^{va}]) and "¶ Batayle of Agyncourte ca. xiij. H folio .ccc.xxix." (sig. [hh i^{vb}]); the only difference is the letter which denotes the part of chapter; I will explore this practice below. Caxton only includes an entry under B for *Batayll*, but de Worde's double entry shows an awareness that a reader interested in this topic may be looking for it under the letter A.

Under G, de Worde retains none of Caxton's three entries for Liber Ultimus: "Galeys brente grauysend vl*timus* 5", "Grete mayster of rhodes / vl*timus* / 5", "Grete fisshes take*n* in te*m*se vl*timus* 28" (**Cax** sig. b3ʳᵃ). Instead, he introduces "¶ Gregory the .xi. pope ca. iij. B folio .ccc.xix." (sig. hh iijʳᵃ). Here de Worde's index seems to come closer to Higden's "monumental" index in the types of headwords chosen for the index, while Caxton's choices emulate the English manuscript index (cf. Steiner 2016: 233).

Indeed, it seems that de Worde's index has been made anew, possibly with the help of Caxton's index but by consulting the text itself for additional references. If this is what happened, going through the work, Book by Book, seems like a logical way to proceed. In that case, the similarity to a table of contents would be the result of this method of constructing an index rather than intentional, although this kind of sequentially ordered tables were prevalent after Caxton's time (see da Costa 2018: 298).

Each entry in the index begins with a printed paraph mark. The entries consist of the headword or -phrase, chapter number (abbreviated "ca." and accompanied with a Roman number) followed by a letter or letters of the alphabet referring to a more specific location within the chapter, and finally, the folio number (abbreviated "fo." and accompanied with a Roman number). The system of referencing small units within chapters by employing letters was established in medieval finding aids (see e.g. Rouse & Rouse 1979: 12, 33–34; Briggs 1999: 134) and is found in some indices to the Latin *Polychronicon* (see Freeman 2013: 190, 193–194, 197); however, none of the English manuscripts of the *Polychronicon* utilises this system. Furthermore, the standard way was to use a sevenfold division (letters A–G)[130] or a sixfold division (A–F), whereas de Worde's units run up to O, possibly modelling another manuscript system where the recto side of the leaf has sections labelled A–F and the verso side sections labelled G–O (cf. Weinberg 2000: 7). Yet this practice is challenging from a navigational point of view, as the letters marking the divisions only occur in the index; they are not printed in the margins of the text (cf. Wellisch 1986: 76).[131] Occasionally the location is simply given as "in the ende", without a letter specifying the location. Latin "in fine" is also used but it only occurs together with a letter denoting a chapter division, for example "¶ Helle / how many myle to helle af-|ter the opynyon of the maker ca. v. in | fine C" and "¶ Humores causeth boldenesse & co-|wardyse ca. vii. in fine B" (sig. [aa viʳᵃ]). This kind of reference could be intended

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[130] This system was based on the Dominican division of the Bible text, also employed in the English Wycliffite Bible manuscripts (see Peikola 2013: 359).

[131] It should be noted, however, that in the Latin *Polychronicon* indices the letters were frequently copied outside the pricking marks and hence in danger of being trimmed off (Freeman 2013: 194).

to provide an even more specific location: at the end of division C, for instance.[132] In both of these cases, however, the specified location coincides with the end of the chapter so it is unclear whether "in the ende" and "in fine" are considered interchangeable. Furthermore, these examples show that a short chapter could only consist of two or three parts (A–C). In these particular chapters (Chs 5 and 7), the letter division could be thought to refer to columns, as the number of columns matches the number of divisions. However, this is not the case in all chapters and this might be coincidental.

Dividing chapters into smaller sections for reference purposes seems useful considering the nature of the chronicle text, which consists of relatively brief records of events although in the *Polychronicon* they are worked into a longer narrative. The letter references and folio numbers do not make each other redundant either: the folio number given in the index refers to the beginning of the chapter rather than the specific location discussing the subject of the headword. Furthermore, de Worde uses a system familiar from manuscripts, where the folio number refers to the opening rather than the recto and verso of the same leaf (see Rouse & Rouse 1979: 33). Da Costa (2018: 299) notes that this system was abandoned by printers in the 1520s–30s. However, Treveris (1527) still reprints de Worde's index without changing the references.

De Worde's index is printed in two columns; the typeface is the same as the one used for the main text. Due to the new Book-specific organisation, there is no need for a separate column for Book numbers, and the length of the entries would render the former layout used by the scribes and Caxton more or less useless. Instead, the two columns are justified and white space, if there is any, is left between the letter designating the part of the chapter and the folio number (see **Figure 9**).

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[132] Cf. the *directoria* discovered by Freeman (2013: 197) in a *de luxe Polychronicon*, Cambridge, Trinity MS O.5.12.

Spypa ca.xxxvi. A   fo.c.xxxiiij.

¶ De littera E

¶ Ezechiell was drawen to deth in Caldea with wylde horses of the tribus of Dan & Gad. Ezechiels vplyons of renewyng of the Temple ca. puⁿ H iŋ fine   fo.lxxxxiŋ
¶ Enylmerodach regned in babylon & put Joachym out of pryson & toke his faders body out of the erthe after he was dede & cutte it an hondred peces & gaue ꝑ peces to an hondred vulters to ete it ca.ij. L   fo.lxxxxiiij.
¶ Enoke & Hely & of theyr deth ca. iij. B   fo.lxxxxiiij.
¶ Errous of phylosophers ca.xij. f folio   .c.i.
¶ Elpyes kyng of Athenes was put downe by the comyn people ca.xiij. L

Greke tonge ca.xxx.D   fo.c.xxiii
¶ Emilius paulus Consull of Rome toke perseus kyng phylypes sone in batayll & kylde .xxx. thousande of his host/this brought bokes of Greke to Rome ca.xxxv. D L   fo.c.xxii.
¶ Ennius the poete dyed atte Rome ca.xxxv. G   fo.c.xxxiiij.

¶ De littera f

¶ fygures of mulyke ca.xi. J & R folio   .c.
¶ feretydes wryter of stoyres flouryshed/Herodot⁹ & Tytus liuius ca.xv. D in fine   fo.c.iij.
¶ feruneus gaue lawes to the Grekes ca.xvi. A   fo.c.v.
¶ fyre hydde in ꝑ vale of Josephat by Jeremias ca.xvi. D   fo.c.v.
¶ fogodian⁹ kyng ca.xvii. B fo.c.vi
    cc iiŋ

Figure 9.   STC 13439, de Worde, 1495. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2., sig. cc iiii r, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

Folio numbers are thus placed at the end of the line, visually separate from the other information in each entry. This suggests that it is considered the most important information after the headword itself, possibly even important enough to warrant the lack of full alphabetisation.

The index begins with a brief one-paragraph instruction to its use:

¶ Here foloweth the Table of this | presente booke named Polycronycon | the whiche booke treateth of dyuerse | thynges as is rehersed in the prohe- | mye a fore / & where that I wryte ca. | that is to vnderstande capitulo / and | fo for folio / and ibi or ibidem is in | the same chapitre and leue afore / and | the leues be marketh in the hede. (STC 13439, sig. aa iiiiʳ)

The reader may be familiar with the Latin-derived terminology (*capitulo*, *folio*) but the metatextual comment seems to assume that assistance with the abbreviations is needed. No guidance is offered, however, on the structure of the index – the division

based on Books – nor the system of using the letters of alphabet to refer to specific locations within the chapters.[133]

Each page of the index, recto and verso, features a running-title in Latin, for example "Tabula primi libri" on the first page (sig. aa iiii[r]) and the following pages. Additionally, the Book-specific indices are introduced with incipits, e.g. "¶ Jncipit Tabula secundi libri et | primo de littera A" (sig. bb i[v]) and woodblock initials. The index to the Liber Ultimus, and thus the whole index, ends with "¶ Explicit Tubula [sic] vltimi libri." (sig. [hh v[r]]). Each new alphabetical section begins with a heading, e.g. "¶ De littera A", preceded by a paraph and surrounded by white space, a single blank line before and after the heading.

6.6.2.1 Treveris

Treveris's index appears to be similar to that of de Worde down to folio references: despite the introduction of woodblock illustrations and other differences in the layout of the text, Treveris's edition follows de Worde's closely enough so that the foliation matches and the index is applicable as such. The only changes are those made to the orthography and typesetting. The latter differs because of the different blackletter typeface, which means that the space needed is not always identical. Yet in some cases the typesetting also results in less optimal solutions concerning the navigational quality of the index. For example, de Worde's compositor generally abbreviates the word 'folio' and places it at the end of the line with the number, except when there is a linebreak, in which case 'folio' is spelled out at the beginning of the line and the number placed at the end (see **Figure 10**, left). Treveris's compositor follows this practice for the most part. However, in some instances the compositor inserts a white space between "ca." and the chapter number, too, as in the next two entries "¶ Alpes hylles ca. xxi. C" (l. 6) and "¶ Achaya […] | there is Albestone when it is a fyre | it neuer quenched ca. xxii. H" (ll. 8–10) shown in **Figure 10** (right).

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[133] To provide a comparison point, the index to Augustine's *De Arte Praedicandi*, printed in Mainz by Fust & Schoeffer in the early 1460s, uses letter combinations to denote specific paragraphs, and corresponding letters have been printed in the margins of the text; the reader is instructed in the use of this reference system in the preface (Wellisch 1986: 76–77).
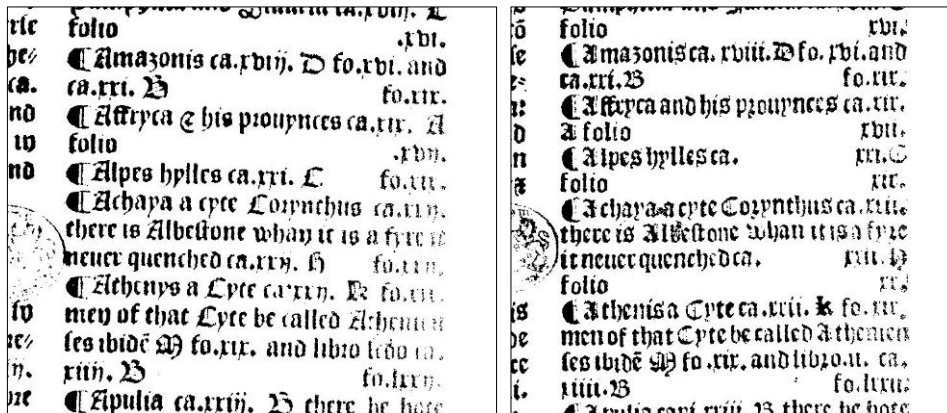
Figure 10.   Left: STC 13439, de Worde, 1495. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2, sig. aa iiii r, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Right: STC 13440, Treveris, 1527. © British Library Board (C.15.b.3, sig. aa iiii r, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

Although this may be an attempt at systematisation, it easily results in confusion between chapter and folio numbers alternating in the right hand side of the column and, consequently, some of the navigationability of de Worde's index is lost.

6.7   Beinecke MS Osb a.20

While this manuscript has been produced using a copy of de Worde's edition as the exemplar, the scribe has made some significant changes to the organisation of the information in the index.

The scribe has copied the instructive paragraph at the beginning of de Worde's index, but introduced some modifications apparently to shorten the text and/or clarify the syntax (the omitted part in italics, differences marked in bold):

Here foloweth the Table of this | presente booke named Polycronycon | *the whiche booke treateth of dyuerse* | *thynges as is rehersed in the prohe-*| *mye a fore / &* **where that** I wryte ca. | **that is to vnderstande capitulo** / and | fo for folio / and ibi **or** ibidem **is** in | the same chapitre and leue afore / and | the leues **be marketh** in the hede.	Here foloweth the table of this Presente booke, named Policronicon, | **wherein** I write .ca. **for chapter**. And fo. for folio, and Ibi. | **for** Ibidem, **whiche signifieth** in the same chapter, and the leafe | afore, and the leaues **to be marked** in the heade.
STC 13439, sig. aa iiii[r]	MS Osb a.20, f. 3[r]

All the other changes point to the shortening of the text except the substitution of "ibi or ibidem is in | the same chapitre" with "Ibi. | for Ibidem, whiche signifieth in the same chapter", and the change from "leues be marketh" to "leaues to be marked", which could refer to a future task. It is possible that the scribe wanted to systematise the list of abbreviations (abbreviation followed by 'for' and the full form of the word), or the scribe may have simply misread 'or' for 'for'. In either case, the longer clarification "whiche signifieth" is needed to clarify the syntax and to explain the Latin term. It should be noted that the scribe has also replaced the Latin 'capitulo' with 'chapter'. Similar translations of paratextual matter are found elsewhere in the manuscript, too, for instance in the running titles (see Section 7.4.2.2). The instructive paragraph is placed at the end of Caxton's *Prohemye* on the recto of folio 3 while the index begins on the verso. The paragraph only takes up four lines; there would have been space for another ten lines or so. Spatial contraints cannot thus explain the shortening of the instructive paragraph; rather, the modifications seem editorial and match with those the scribe has introduced in the prefaces (see Section 5.5.2).

However, the systematisation of abbreviations does not make much sense when one looks at the reorganised index. The index is copied in a single column with four narrow columns for Book and chapter numbers ruled within (on some pages, these are ruled in ink, on others, only lead or graphite – see **Figure 11**).

Figure 11. New Haven, CT, USA, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library MS Osborn a.20, f. 8r (detail). Image: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (public domain).

Contrary to the abbreviations provided in the instructive paragraph, the abbreviation used for chapter is "capi". This and "booke" are not provided as headers, they are repeated on each line. The reasons for this laborious practice could be practical: to keep the lines straight, or to make sure the scribe was not confused when modifying the entries on the go.

Most importantly, the index has been constructed differently. The entries are still grouped by Book and by alphabet, as in de Worde's index, but the primary method of organisation is different. Unlike in **Wor**, in which the primary grouping is done by Books and the alphabetical divisions occur within the Book-specific sections, the scribe of **Osb** groups the headwords primarily by alphabet, and secondarily by Book. That is to say, under each letter of the alphabet, Book 1 headwords are copied first, followed by headwords to Book 2, and so on. This practice was already seen in the manuscript tradition of the English index, although there the system was not structured by headers.

My tentative suggestion for the scribe's undertaking is that they were preparing a new index for publication; the editorial changes to the prefaces would support this, as would the fact that the table is not complete but ends after the letter E of Liber Ultimus. There are about eleven blank lines at the end of the page (f. 18^r). The verso of the leaf (f. 18^v) is blank and shows dirt and signs of wear; it is the last of a quire (the verso of the final leaf 25 is much cleaner in comparison). This indicates that the index has at some point been separated from the following quire containing the prefaces. The blank space, beginning on the recto side of the leaf, suggests that the scribe either intentionally stopped copying here, perhaps giving up on the laborious task, or that their process was interrupted for some reason.

The language of the index is English. The scribe has provided a number of headings for the newly structured index. The first heading, provided before the instructive paragraph, reads "The table of the fyrst booke." (f. 3^r). This heading comes after Caxton's *Prohemye* with its Latin rubrics or closing formulae "Explicit Prohemium." and "Deo gracias."; all of these are centred and treated otherwise visually similarly. The rest of the headings follow a systematic form: "Here shall folowe the letter .a. of the seconde booke." (f. 3^v), "Here shall folowe the letter .a. of the thyrde booke." (f. 4^r), and so on. Caxton's Liber Ultimus is called the "Eyght booke", even though in most places the scribe retains the Latin rubrics. This could indicate a desire for systematisation as well as "Englishing" the parts that are still in Latin.

The entries in the index have undoubtedly been copied from de Worde's, but the scribe has shortened or otherwise reformulated quite a few of them; some have been omitted completely. The system of using letters to denote parts of chapters has been dropped as well as folio references, which already shortens the entries. Futhermore,

the scribe omits all the extra detail provided in de Worde's index, cf. Examples 3 and 4 below.

3. Aucthours of this booke. book 1 capi 1
    Ages sixe. book 1 capi 2
    Asia. book 1 capi. 7. 11. 15.
    Africa. book 1 capi 6. 14
    Angels, that kepe Paradise. book 1 capi. 10
    (MS Osb a.20, f. 3ᵛ).

4. AVctours of this boke in | the ende of the fyst pre-|face ca. p*rimo*. B folio. iij.
    ¶ Ages sixe y*e* thyrde pre|face ca. iij. B fo. vi.[134]
    ¶ Asya conteyneth halfe the erthe ca|pitulo vii. A fo. viij. & ca. xi. A fo. x.
    ¶ Affryca the thyrde parte of the er-|the ca. vi. B fo. vij.
    ¶ Angelys kepe paradyse with fyry | walles ca. x. in the ende fo. ix.
    (STC 13439, de Worde, sig. aa iiiiʳᵃ).

The details dropped from the entries include, for example, the specification that the first two entries, *auctours of this boke* and *ages sixe*, refer to Higden's prefaces. Most of the additional descriptive information is also dropped, such as the size of the continents of Asia and Africa and the mention of the fiery wall enclosing Paradise. The simplification of the headwords means that the table is easier to navigate and better functions as a searchable index, compared to the detailed preview of contents de Worde provides. This is particularly clear in headwords to Book 2, under A: chapter four deals with Adam's Creation and his life, and de Worde gives seven different entries detailing the events. The scribe of **Osb** only retains the first of these, modifying it to "Adam, and where he was made. booke 2 capi 4". While the omission of the other entries may tell of the need to alleviate labour where possible, it may also indicate a conscious attempt at creating a functional index, where multiple entries referring to the same chapter would be superfluous.

However, the order of the headwords remains sequential, and not all explanatory parts have been dropped from the entries. For instance, de Worde's lengthy "¶ Adryan the Emperour larged Je|rusalem & called it Helya & walled it | & closed the sepulcre of our lord with-|in the walles" (STC 13439, sig. aa iiiiʳᵃ) is changed to "Adrian y*e* Emperour, what he dooth to Jerusalem." by the scribe (Ms **Osb**, f. 3ᵛ). This makes sense, as the focus is not on Hadrian and his life, but on his actions in Jerusalem specifically.

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[134]   It seems that de Worde's entry is incorrect and the scribe of **Osb** corrects the reference.

Not all changes are about shortening the entries; the scribe has added additional chapter references to Asia and Africa (Example 3). These appear to be emendations, although the latter is only explained by Higden's note at the end of the chapter, *But there is another Pentapolis in Affryca* (cf. **Wor**, f. xiii^{vb}, ll. 22–23). In some cases, the scribe clarifies the syntax even if this results in a longer entry, cf. for example "Alexander, was forbyden to come into Babylon" (MS **Osb**, f. 3^{v}) with "Alysander was forboden Babylon" (STC 13439, sig. aa iiii^{ra}). My initial hypothesis was that this manuscript extract was made to emend someone's defective printed copy. However, all these changes, especially when taken together with the modifications to the prefatory matter, could suggest that the manuscript was created as a "test run" for a new edition of the *Polychronicon*. That would explain why the scribe copied all the prefatory matter rather faithfully, albeit with some omissions and editorial modifications, and why the index was not completed.

6.8   Summary

The subject indices in the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Polychronicon* are always visually separate from the text or the paratextual item following the index, such as Trevisa's *Dialogue*. In the majority of the manuscript copies this means that the following (para)textual item begins on a new leaf;[135] in **G** and **S**, the index is the last item in the manuscript. None of the English manuscript copies or printed editions of the *Polychronicon* have a table of contents as such.[136] In his preface, Higden summarises the contents of each book, which fulfils, at least partially, the function of a table of contents.[137] Putting together a list would have been a laborious task for a scribe to do later, as they would have needed to read the text closely and extract the main topic of each chapter; this is because aside from Book 1, the chapters usually have no rubrics (see further Chapter 7). Furthermore, due to the large number of chapters, such a list would probably have had too much overlapping with the subject index. In fact, as shown in the analysis above (see esp. Section 6.5), the organisation of the English manuscript index indicates that the element can take on some of the functions of a table of contents. The printers of the *Polychronicon* continue the manuscript tradition of including alphabetical subject indices. In this

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[135]   MS **L** is an exception to this rule: perhaps to save some space, the index ends in column A and Higden's preface begins in column B.

[136]   For an example of a Latin table of contents, followed by a customised index, see New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 114, which contains an abridged version of the *Polychronicon* (ca. s. xv^{4}).

[137]   In the Latin copy New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library,Takamiya MS 43 (f. 1^{r}), the scribe has made this list of contents easier to navigate by inserting Book references in the margins in red ink.

regard, the alphabetical index of the *Polychronicon* stands out among the output of Caxton and his successors: a table of chapters was much more common (da Costa 2018: 297).

There are several possible reasons for the addition of the Latin index found in eight of the **M-**group manuscripts, which was likely done by the scribe of **M** or its ancestor. The headwords in the Latin and English indices are sufficiently different to warrant the use of both side by side. MS **M** contains more paratextual matter in Latin than most of the manuscripts, suggesting that the copy was aimed at a reader proficient in Latin. Moreover, it is possible that the English index – not fully alphabetised, as the headwords are organised sequentially under each letter of the alphabet – was simply not useful enough as a navigational aid. The entries in the Latin index seem to function much better for this purpose, especially when paired with marginal annotation (see Chapter 8). Caxton's index also lends support to this interpretation: presumably he chose the more functional index and translated it from Latin, inserting, however, additional entries from the English index to cover topics not included in the Latin index.

The indices may offer some cues to the intended audience and the producers' motives. As a compiler, Higden would have appreciated easy-to-use subject indices. It is possible that he created his own to serve not only the average monastic/scholastic reader but also future compilers and others who wished to use his chronicle as a literary source. This would be in line with Fisher's (2013: 218–219) idea, discussed in Chapter 5, that Higden elevated himself to match the *auctores* he cited, and Freeman's (2013) findings. Conversely, the English index, presumably Trevisa's, may have been compiled to suit preachers (cf. Beal's 2012 notions of the purpose of the English *Polychronicon*), or, perhaps more likely, to accommodate the interests of an aristocratic reader (cf. Parkes 1991 [1976]: 68).[138]

With these different audiences in mind, it could be argued that the indices served different navigational, and perhaps promotional, functions, as well as interpretive ones. The scribes and printers have worked to make the indices functional by systematising and reorganising the entries as needed, although not always without mistakes. The different solutions for tabularising the Book and chapter references (as shown in **Figure 3** and **Figure 5**) show that the producers aimed to enhance the usability of the index. Yet the English manuscript index, as well as the printed index in de Worde's and Treveris's editions, demonstrate the interpretive power of indices, offering a glimpse into the knowledge and wondrous tales contained in the work before the reader enters the main text.

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[138]   In contemporary copies of *De Regimine Principum*, the index commonly occurs in less lavish copies produced for university-educated audience, and is only found in one illuminated, lay-ownership copy (Briggs 1999: 70).

To make use of an index and its locators referring to specific places within the book, the reader also needs other finding aids. As Weinberg (2000: 4) notes, there are various "features germane to indexing, such as tables of contents, chapter numbers, running heads, pagination or foliation, and internal cross-references". Except for tables of contents, these features are found on the pages carrying the main text, serving as structuring and navigational devices. Their paratextual aspects are the focus of the following chapter.

7 The layout of the page

Both textual and visual information are used in making sense of the structure of the book and the texts within it. It is worth noting that a book, particularly a manuscript codex, may contain several texts, and these can either be produced around the same time or they can be collected and bound together later. In such instances, the overlap of 'book' and 'work' is less obvious than in volumes which only contain a single text, and the relationship of the terms with the act of publishing becomes complicated. The basic elements of layout were introduced in Section 2.2 above. In this chapter, I will dig deeper into the ways in which page elements may function paratextually.

As shown in the previous chapter, indices are important navigational aids: a subject index may point the reader to a specific location within the text. However, in order to locate the desired information, readers make use of various elements in the layout of the page. From the reader's perspective, perhaps the most straightforward way of reference is to use page or folio numbers: the reader only needs to find a single element, the number which matches the one given in the index, and the amount of text they need to skim through is thus narrowed down considerably. This manner of reference does not require any particular understanding of the structure of the work: each page/folio is treated as equal. In contrast, adopting a reference system such as the one found in Trevisa's index, i.e. reference to Book and chapter, requires the reader to pay attention to various elements on the page in order to locate the desired Book and chapter. These may include, for instance, running-titles, and especially when those are not provided, borders and initials, chapter numbers and/or rubrics. These elements contribute to textual organisation by offering the reader both visual and textual cues for interpreting the structure of the text.

Locating specific information with the help of an index is only one example of a case where the reader is required to pay attention to elements of layout. The very structure may be employed as a tool for argumentation and knowledge construction; it has been shown that the proliferation of the elements of page layout is linked to the shift of reading habits from meditative reading to scholarly, consultative reading (Parkes 1991 [1976]; see also Section 2.2 above). The reader's ability to make use

of the page elements, then, is dependent on both convention (similar elements found in other books) and the hierarchy internal to the book.

The present chapter examines various aspects of page layout, structure of the text (*ordinatio*), and the interplay of textual and visual signposting. The aim is to establish what kind of a role these have in communicating paratextuality in the *Polychronicon*, both text-internally (organisation within the main text) as well as text-externally: to indicate what is understood to be part of the main text(s) and what is paratextual.

7.1   Paratextual questions

Historical linguists and scholars working with early printed and manuscript books have recently showed increasing interest in applying Genette's paratext framework to the study of page layout (e.g. Merveldt 2008; Suhr 2011; Tonry 2012, 2016; Liira 2014; Mackay 2017; Moore 2017). As Genette's (1997b) treatment of elements of the layout is cursory, the most pressing question yet unanswered is how readers identify *paratext*, especially when it shares the space with *text*. Some explorations into this problem have been made by Ruokkeinen & Liira (2017 [2019]) and Liira & Ruokkeinen (2019), and it is my intention here to further develop the approach. To what extent visual elements influence the meaning and interpretation of the text is another unanswered question pertaining to paratext theory. The present chapter aims to address these broader themes by answering the following questions on the *Polychronicon*:

- How does the layout of the page vary between each manuscript copy or printed edition, and what are the paratextual implications of this variance?

- What kind of paratextual functions does each of the page elements serve (interpretive, navigational, commercial/promotional, other)? How do the changes made to these elements affect the presentation of the work?

My aim is to find out how the paratextual text-structuring elements vary between copies/editions of the work or within a single copy/edition, and how and why they have been changed. Although the why can rarely be ascertained, I hope that analysing the functions of the elements will shed light on the possible reasons motivating the changes made by the book producers.

7.2   Previous studies

As pointed out above in Chapter 2, elements of layout and navigational aids are not central in Genette's paratextual typology. He does, however, take some aspects of

materiality into account, particularly in the chapter "The publisher's peritext", "*Le péritexte éditorial*" (1997b: 33–36; 2002 [1987]: 21–40). With this term, he refers to

> the whole zone of the peritext that is the direct and principal (but not exclusive) responsibility of the publisher (or perhaps, to be more abstract but also more exact, of the *publishing house*) – that is, the zone that exists merely by the fact that a book is published and possibly republished and offered to the public in one or several more or less varied presentations. (Genette 1997b: 16, emphasis original)[139]

The material level and the variance connected to multiplication are thus recognised, although Genette associates this type of paratextuality with (commercial) publishing, on the one hand, and print technology, on the other hand (1997b: 16–17). The reference to the publishing house implies that the actual process of book production is complex, with multiple participants responsible for different aspects of the final product (cf. the stages of manuscript and early print production described in Section 3.2 above). However, when referring to single agents like publisher and author, these realities of production are obscured.[140] As the circumstances of production vary depending on time and place, the manner of publishing Genette discusses is not directly comparable with early printing, let alone manuscript production. However, in order to discuss the paratextuality of material text, it is important to begin the exploration from the elements that are commonly part of the publisher's peritext.

The peritextual elements which Genette regards as the responsibility of the publisher include format (in the bibliographical sense of folding pattern and/or size[141] of the book as well as the modern sense of contrast between "trade editions" and "pocket editions"), series, the cover with its appendages, the title-page with its appendages, and typesetting (1997b: 16–36). Some of these, namely series,

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[139] "toute cette zone du péritexte qui se trouve sous la responsabilité directe et principale (mais non exclusive) de l'éditeur, ou peut-être, plus abstraitement mais plus exactement, de l'*édition*, c'est-à-dire du fait qu'un livre est édité, et éventuellement réédité, et proposé au public sous une ou plusieurs présentations plus ou moins diverses" (2002 [1987]: 21).

[140] Genette's (1997b) idea seems to be that by signing the name of the publishing house, the publisher accepts responsibility for all the features, material and textual. It is, however, also worth noting that not all features of the final product are the result of conscious choices. Technological or economical constraints, miscommunication and accidents may all affect the final look.

[141] Using format to describe the size of the book is somewhat inaccurate; nevertheless, the term is often used this way. Here my inaccuracy does not particularly matter: a specific size is what the publisher most likely aims at, and the folding pattern is chosen accordingly.

(illustrated) covers, and format in the sense of trade/pocket editions, are inventions of later periods and thus not relevant in the context of the present study. The rest, that is, format in the sense of folding pattern, title-page, and typesetting, are relevant for my discussion on early printed books and to some extent extendable to manuscript books as well. Perhaps the most controversial of these elements is typesetting, and I will start with an overview of previous studies addressing the paratextuality of typography and script before moving on to other aspects of layout in the following sections.

7.2.1   Typography and script: Visual highlighting as a potential marker of paratextuality

Genette recognises typesetting as potentially paratextual insofar as it provides an "indirect commentary" on the text (1997b: 34), yet it is left vague how its paratextual relationship with the text is to be defined. For this reason, the paratextuality of typography has been debated in later paratext studies (see e.g. Merveldt 2008; Rockenberger & Röcken 2009; Section 2.1.3 above). Typography, or script in handwritten books, is an essential feature of all text that takes a physical form and, similarly to format and the quality of materials used, it has an impact on the viewer, as Genette notes (on the visual impact of typography, see e.g. Drucker 2006). However, it would be virtually impossible to have a written text in a readable form without any typographical dimension, which makes typeface and script different from other paratextual elements. Therefore, instead of debating the status of typography in general, it may be more fruitful to to focus on changes such as typeface- and script-switches as they may indicate the paratextuality of other elements on the page (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 116–119; on the term *script-switch*, see Kaislaniemi 2017).

There are other elements intimately connected to the layout and organisation which Genette discusses elsewhere, not as part of the publisher's peritext: intertitles (1997b: 294–316), tables of contents and running-titles (316–318), and notes (319–343). These elements are, however, mostly analysed in terms of their content and their interpretive functions by Genette, rather than their material appearance, apart from location. Barely any attention is given to the arrangement of text and paratext on the page and how these paratextual elements interact with the text on the material level.

More importantly, it is not problematised how the reader is able to *identify* these elements when looking at a book. It is beneficial to examine typeface- and script-switches as well as other visual means of highlighting as markers of potential paratextuality (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 117; see also Suhr 2011: 72). Conceptualised this way, it is the change in the script or typeface that functions

navigationally, whereas the typeface or script of the main text does not serve navigational purposes in itself, although it may serve interpretive or commercial ones. Furthermore, the paratextual (navigational) function of the script-switch should be separated from the paratextual function(s) of the highlighted element itself, such as the interpretive and navigational functions of notes (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 119). Not all instances of script- or typeface-switches and other highlighting necessarily mean that the highlighted part belongs to the paratext, however. In a corpus of early modern witchcraft pamphlets, Suhr (2011: 76) found that, in addition to paratextual, text-structuring functions, typeface-switches were also used "to highlight references and quotes, words in foreign languages and proper names", or what Bland (1998: 97) calls "different voice[s] in the text". Other scholars, such as Machan (2011), Carroll et al. (2013), and Moore (2017), have identified various pragmatic functions of visual highlighting within the main text.

Highlighting specific elements within and around the text is commonly done by using a contrasting colour, typically red. Margaret Smith (2010) traces the uses of the colour red in the transition period from manuscript to print, drawing attention to its frequent dismissal as mere decoration in book historical studies (2010: 187). Rubrication was a practice that was carried over from manuscripts and could be done by hand or by printing the red parts separately. Smith examines the use of red as *textual articulation* in the printed books of this period; what is meant here by textual articulation greatly overlaps with the paratextual elements examined in the present chapter, such as the marking of headings and textual divisions.[142] According to Smith (2010: 189), rubrication was considered the norm for incunables, even though she estimates that less than half of the surviving books from this period received the intended rubrication. After the incunable period, the number of rubricated books further decreased and the functions of the red colour were substituted by other means such as whitespace (*ibid.*).

7.2.2   Borders and initials

As noted in 2.2.3, borders and initials in manuscript books indicate textual organisation, in addition to enhancing the value of the book. The two are part of the same decorative programme and, thus, hierarchy. The techniques of decoration available to English illuminators in the late medieval period included a fully painted style (opaque pigments and gold leaf) and two forms of drawing, coloured or

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[142]   However, M. Smith's (2010) analysis of textual articulation also includes smaller elements such as *initial-strokes*, i.e. capitals touched in red – cf. Noelle Phillips's (2013) term *secondary rubrication* – and the various uses of paraph marks and underlinings.

produced with pen and ink (Driver & Orr 2011: 105). The majority of the English *Polychronicon* copies feature the fully painted style. However, these techniques could be combined in various ways to produce decorative programmes of varying degrees of luxury.

Margaret Rickert (1940: 562–563) has identified the following hierarchy of borders and initials in manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, listed from higher-end to lower-end: (a) the *vinet*, which refers to a full-page border and a decorative initial attached to it; (b) the *demi-vinet*, which refers to an initial and all variations of partial borders: usually circling the page on three or two sides or running between the columns as a *central demi-vinet*; (c) *champ initials*, which are gilded initials on painted, usually red and/or blue grounds, with sprays extending to the margin; and (d) *pen-flourished initials*, which are gilded or painted (often red or blue) initials with hairline decoration around them in a contrasting colour, e.g. red decoration on a blue initial.[143] The demi-vinet and the central demi-vinet border types are common in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts, as the majority of them are copied in two columns.

Three kinds of programmes utilising the abovementioned types of decoration were used by the producers of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts: (1) Vinets and/or demi-vinets for major divisions, champs for minor; (2) vinets and/or demi-vinets for major divisions, pen-flourished initials of varying sizes for minor; (3) champs for major divisions, pen-flourished initials for minor (Rickert 1940: 564). The order these are presented in also reflects their frequency: the first programme is the most popular, while the third only occurs in a few copies of the *Tales*.

The initial programmes used in manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible (WB) have been examined by Matti Peikola (2008: 48–50), who identifies three lavish types of programmes, and as many as seven more modest ones. The lavish programmes are: (1) foliate initials for books, champs for chapters; (2) foliate initials for Books, champs for prologues, pen-flourished initials for chapters; (3) foliate for Books, pen-flourished initials for prologues and chapters.[144] Of these, the first scheme is rare in the WB manuscripts (2008: 48–49), although it is the most popular one in the *Tales* manuscripts and common also among copies of the *Polychronicon*, as shown in Section 7.4 below. The cost-friendlier types include: (1) foliate initials for the most important Books, champs for lesser ones; (2) foliate for most important Books,

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[143] For an account of pen-flourished initials in England from the late fourteenth century onwards, see Doyle (2009). The details of pen-flourishing in thirteenth-century French and English manuscripts have been analysed by Scott-Fleming (1989).

[144] See also Pearsall (2004: 89–90) and Partridge (2011: 97) on the "sliding scale of luxury": "In what [Pearsall] calls the 'economy deluxe' manuscripts, the borders found in the most lavish manuscripts remain at the most important textual divisions, but pen-flourished initials replace champs elsewhere, and undecorated paraphs are substituted for decorated ones." This is seen in the *Polychronicon* data, too – cf. e.g. MS **L**.

parted initials (*littera duplex / littera partita*) for lesser ones; (3) champs (or champs + parted) for Books, pen-flourished initials for smaller divisions; (4) champs for most important Books, parted or pen-flourished for lesser Books; (5) parted initials for Books, pen-flourished for smaller divisions; (6) pen-flourished initials for Books; (7) only plain initials of different sizes (Peikola 2008: 48–50). No matter what programme is chosen, the larger textual units (e.g. Books) are always differentiated from smaller units (e.g. chapters), even when plain initials only are used.

It should be noted that there are some differences in the production of different programmes: while the borders (vinets) with their accompanying initials and the champ initials are the work of illuminators, also known as limners, pen-flourished initials were generally produced by scribes, or in some cases specialised flourishers (Rickert 1940: 563; see also Doyle 2009: 66; Driver & Orr 2011: 109). Driver & Orr note that the champ initial was "probably the most widely found initial type in late medieval English manuscripts" (2011: 106).

Kathleen L. Scott (1989; 2002) has identified the common types and functions of different border designs. She discusses three kinds of borders, all in the fully painted style: the *bar-frame border*, the *trellis border*, and the *band border*. The bar-frame border is the most common type found in late medieval manuscripts produced in England (1989: 48); this is also true for the vernacular *Polychronicon*. This type of border consists of two parallel, adjoined bars, one typically gilded, the other painted in red or blue, and decorative motifs or sprays extending into the margins.[145] In the trellis border, space is left between the two bars and filled with vines or flowers, while the band border consists of bars accompanied with a panel decorated with scrollwork or foliate designs, or, alternatively, with gold filigree or details painted in white (Scott 1989: 50). The band border type is found in some of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts, but there are no examples of the trellis border in my data.

7.2.3 Rubrics

Rubric is a well established term in manuscript studies. It refers to headings or other similar introductory elements typically written in red ink (Brown 1994: 111); the act of providing rubrics is known as *rubrication*, although this term can refer to the addition of any red elements (cf. Section 7.2.1 above). However, the use of the term *rubric* varies, and a waterproof definition seems elusive. For example, in Chapter 5, I referred to Litzler's (2011) methodological challenge of distinguishing long rubrics from short prologues. Kathryn M. Rudy begins her study of Middle Dutch

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[145] For a detailed account of the variant forms and the development of the bar-frame designs in England, see Scott (1989: 49).

prayerbooks (2017) by defining rubric ("simply") as "a heading written in red ink", yet she notes that rubrics are more complex than that (2017: 3). The simple definition prompts the next question: what is a heading, then? The rubrics Rudy (2017) studies are more than simple headings; she demonstrates how they are firmly tied to religious images and the practice of indulgences, providing the reader with instructions to performing prayers. In the same vein, K. S. Whetter (2017: 30) argues that the rubrics in the Winchester manuscript of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* (BL MS Additional 59678) are an "integral part of the main text, not an addition, gloss, narrative title or division". The simple definition can only provide a starting point.

If the elements written in red ink comprise more than titles or headings, *rubric* is a problematic term in another way, too: title- and heading-like elements in manuscripts are not always copied in red ink, as will be shown in the analysis below. Therefore, the definition I adopt is based on function rather than form: in the present study, rubric refers to all incipits, explicits and other similar pieces of text that either name a specific part of the text (cf. Genette's *intertitles*) or have a metadiscursive element to them (i.e., they comment on the text or some part of it). In short, they have a text-organising function. Typically they are also differentiated from the main text visually, not necessarily by switching to red ink but other means may be used instead (or in addition), for instance a larger or more formal script. They may also stand out from the main text linguistically: it is not uncommon that a rubric appears in a language different from that of the main text (see e.g. Partridge 2011: 98; Rudy 2017: 9). Rudy argues that vernacular rubrics suggest the reader was able to read or recite Latin but did not grasp its full meaning (2017: 10). It is noteworthy that the *Polychronicon* presents and opposite situation where the text is in English, rubrics in Latin.

I do not wish to claim that the term may not encompass different kinds of material; there appear to be some genre-specific functions as well as universal ones. Among the six functions identified by Rudy in prayerbooks, only the first seems universal: rubrics preface, differentiate and emphasise (2017: 13).[146] That is to say, they are primarily navigational in the sense that they structure the text by distinguishing textual units and indicating beginnings and endings. Other, more specific functions seem to be optional, although depending on context these other functions may be more important, as in the case of Rudy's (2017) materials.

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[146] The functions specific to (Middle Dutch) prayerbooks include choreographing; connoting blood; announcing indulgences and other benefits of prayer; authenticating prayer; and providing testimonials (Rudy 2017: 13–24).

7.2.4   Illustration

The paratextual nature of images remains a little explored field, even though Genette calls for their further study (1997b: 406). The interaction of text and image has, however, intrigued manuscript scholars and book historians (see e.g. Hindman & Farquhar 1977; Murdoch 1984; C. R. Sherman 1995; Jones 2006). Diagrams offer another type of element whose potential paratextuality is worth examining, as they fall between textual and visual/pictorial modes of conveying information.

Historiated initials, while part of the hierarchy of decoration, fall under illustrations: they depict a person or a scene related to the content of the text or otherwise identifiable (Brown 1994: 68). In that sense they differ from other types of initials, such as inhabited initials which depict non-specific human or zoomorphic characters. In her survey of decoration and illustration in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English manuscripts, Scott (1989: 39) maintains that historiated initials are the most frequent type of illustration in the fifteenth century; they occur in all types of texts from religious to medical, to name a few, and are often present even when the manuscript does not contain other illustrations. According to Scott, the popularity of this format may be due to its intimate connection to border designs, which makes historiated initials less formal and less disruptive than other types of pictures (1989: 39–40).

Scott (1989: 45–48) proposes a threefold classification of pictures in late medieval English books based on their thematic content: narrative, static, and utilitarian. She argues that the narrative type, depicting events or points of action in a narrative, is what is most typically associated with 'illustration'. The static type refers to human figures and portraits, the typical subject matter of historiated initials, whereas the utilitarian type refers to pictures and diagrams with specific functions. Scott also points out that these thematic categories are overlapping to some extent: narrative and static images can also have utilitarian functions. However, utilitarian images cannot be classified as narrative or static in her classification (1989: 45–46). Her examples of the utilitarian type include the illustration of Noah's Ark in the *Polychronicon* (see Section 7.5).

Suhr (2011: 123) found that illustrations in early modern pamphlets were likely used primarily for marketing purposes (i.e. in a commercial function), since the types of illustrations in her material, mostly generic illustrations but even ones with a direct relationship with the text, rarely aid in text comprehension. She also noticed a trend of gradually replacing generic woodcut images in the body text with commissioned text-specific illustrations placed on the title-page, where the illustration had more power as a marketing device (2011: 123–124). As will be shown in Section 7.5.3 below, the woodcut illustrations in the printed *Polychronicon* are also primarily of the generic type.

7.3   Methods

In order to keep the amount of data manageable yet sufficient for the analysis, for the purposes of Section 7.4 the closer examination of the material was limited to Books 1 and 6, in addition to which all major section breaks were examined. Books 1 and 6 were chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, Book 1 differs from the other books in its geographical focus and because it contains prefatorial material, whereas Book 6 is typical in its content but has two different versions, entitled the Major and the Minor Version by Waldron (2004 and elsewhere). Waldron's recent edition of Book 6 (2004) is an additional reason for choosing this part of the text. Secondly, the selection was based on tendencies of book production: in both manuscripts and early printed books the first quires generally show the level and style of decoration and rubrication intended, even if this work was not completed (see M. Smith 1990 on incomplete rubrication). Selecting another book towards the end of the work may therefore shed light on the elements that were deemed most important to execute by the books' producers. For the analysis of diagrams and illustrations in Section 7.5, limiting the material was not necessary due to the low number of such elements in the copies.

The selection of features to examine was partly informed by my previous study of two manuscripts, MSS **M** and **G** (Liira 2014). To collect the data, I examined all pages within the abovementioned range, entering descriptions of the following features in MS Excel files: foliation (contemporary and later); running-titles; borders; initials; rubrics/headings; chapter beginnings/endings (e.g. chapter numbering, location of rubric, whitespace and other visual features); punctuation (paraph marks; general features of punctuation); catchwords; layout (number of columns and lines, pricking and ruling); other notes as relevant (e.g. annotation, corrections, illustrations, the use of red ink or script-switches). The most prominent of these features, such as rubrics, borders and initials, and illustration appeared more relevant for a discussion on paratextuality and were chosen for a more systematic comparison in this chapter. Others, such as catchwords, paraphs and other punctuation marks, were not analysed in a systematic manner – this choice was primarily practical, to keep the amount of data manageable. However, their detailed descriptions allow me to refer to them as needed when discussing specific elements, as they provide codicological and paleographical detail. Although visual prominence appears to be relevant in recognising paratextual elements on the page, determining whether an element actually is paratextual depends on its functions. Thus, textual/linguistic cues such as code-switches (whether visually highlighted or not) and metadiscourse (e.g. *incipit*, *explicit*, reader address etc.) were also taken into account when collecting the data.

7.4 General layout and programme

All the copies consulted in this study are in folio format, including the printed editions and the two paper manuscripts (MSS **R** and **Osb**), which are "small folios", i.e. closer to a quarto in size.[147] The choice is relevant commercially, as the expense of producing folio books of this length, particularly manuscripts on parchment, was considerable.

A two-column layout is prevalent, although the oldest of the surviving manuscripts, **C** and **M** by the Polychronicon Scribe, are both copied in single columns of long lines (37 lines per page, with some exceptions). Two other manuscripts in the **M**-group (cf. **Figure 1**), **H** and **R**, as well as **Cax**, follow the single-column layout (40 lines in **H**, a varying number in **R**) while the two other printed editions as well as the majority of the manuscripts in both groups *c* and **M** switch to two columns (ranging between 46 and 56 lines in each column; MS **B**, a descendant of **H**, retains the 40 lines despite the switch to two columns).[148] The general diachronic development is thus from one to two columns, although **Cax** deviates from this practice, and **R** is an outlier.

The choice of single- or two-column layout may reflect scribal preferences, but also the genre of the text. Edwards & Pearsall (1989) note that in the London workshops (also associated with MS **A** and its descendants), a desire for uniformity seems to have governed the manuscript design of certain popular poetic texts; particularly, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* was commonly copied in two columns of forty-six lines (1989: 264).[149] Uniformity was characteristic to the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, perhaps due to the demands of fast production as discussed in Section 3.2, and similar tendencies have also been identified in the Wycliffite Bible manuscripts (Peikola 2008: 31). Although not a poetic text, some copies of Trevisa's *Polychronicon* by Delta and the Hooked-g Scribe have been noted by Edwards & Pearsall (1989: 263, 265), as they share scribes with popular poetic texts such as *Confessio Amantis*. The phenomenon of standardisation in the *mise-en-page* definitely also concerns the *Polychronicon*, as approximately half of the surviving copies are datable to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Although

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[147] The format can be determined on the basis of chain lines, which are vertical (cf. the horizontal chain lines typical of the quarto format), and the position of the watermarks in the middle of the page.

[148] Both layouts are found in the Latin manuscripts of the *Polychronicon* (see Freeman 2013: 156).

[149] One of the scribes working on Gower manuscripts was the so-called Scribe D (see Doyle & Parkes 1978; see also n73 above). Edwards & Pearsall also refer to another scribe identified by Doyle & Parkes (1978), Delta, who was "a contemporary and emulator of Scribe D" (1989: 263). Delta's output, in addition to several *Polychronicon* manuscripts, also includes a copy of the *Confessio* (see also Section 4.3.1.1 above).

the *Polychronicon* copies are not quite as regular as copies of Gower, there are a few by Scribe Delta and others which have forty-seven lines (MSS **AFP**; **D** is close with its 45–48 lines). Curiously, MS **J**, also attributed to Delta, only has 44 lines, although in most other respects it closely resembles MSS **A** and **P**.

On a few occasions, there are verse passages within the narrative; these are sometimes indicated in the layout of the text, sometimes not. Most notably, the whole of chapter 38 in Book 1, on Wales, is in verse.[150] In the single-column manuscripts, this is usually not reflected in the layout; see, however, MS **R** and **Cax** where the verse chapter is in two columns, probably to save space). In the two-column manuscripts and printed editions, each ruled line generally carries one line of verse, so that the rhyming ends are easily visible (MSS **GADLFJP**, **Wor** and **Tre**; in **G** the rhyming pairs are indicated by bracing). In MS **S**, however, the verse chapter is copied continuously and the structure is indicated by punctuation only, as in the single-column MSS **C** and **H**: *puncti elevati* separate the lines, paraphs or double virgules occur at the end of each pair of rhyming lines. It is likely that the scribe of **S** followed the (now lost) exemplar, which may have been in a single column like **C**.

Compared to those manuscripts where the scribes have accommodated the layout, keeping up with the structure indicated by punctuation only is probably more challenging for the reader. Some scribes, however, employ both methods; for instance in MS **A**, chapter 38 is laid out as verse lines but this is not done for a short passage at the end of chapter 41 (f. 66ᵛ); Delta uses punctuation instead.[151] Occasionally, a verse passage is noted in the margin by the scribe (*versus*) especially when it is not indicated in the layout; see e.g. MS **M** (f. 160ʳ), and two manuscripts marking the same passage in Book 6 thus, **D** (f. 165ʳ) and **J** (f. 234ʳ). This may be because some of the passages are brief, sometimes only a single pair of rhyming lines and not always obvious at glance. A similar practice is used consistently in the Latin copy Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 152, where verse passages are not indicated in the layout.

7.4.1 The hierarchy of scripts/typefaces

This section focuses on the choices of scripts or typefaces and their functions in the copies. In particular, I will examine the hierarchy of scripts employed in the manuscripts, aiming to map the relationship between this hierarchy and the

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[150] For an edited version of this chapter, see Waldron (2008). For the layout of verse passages in the Latin copies, see Freeman (2013: 156).

[151] Outside the page range examined, MS **F** shows an additional method: the scribe generally uses red for code-switches, but in the Latin verse on f. 207ᵛ alternates between red and black to indicate each pair of lines.

paratextual apparatus in each copy. The concept of hierarchy is less relevant in the context of typography in the printed editions of the *Polychronicon*, as typeface-switching is not a commonly used highlighting strategy in these editions (see **Table 7**). In the printed editions, other means of highlighting paratextual elements on the page are used instead, for instance, positioning and whitespace. These means are also sometimes used in the manuscripts, in addition to script-switching and red ink. The visual features of individual paratextual elements, including colour, will be discussed further in Section 7.4.2.

For the main text, Anglicana Formata is by far the most common script, as can be expected considering the timeframe and place of production as well as the high quality of most of the manuscripts.[152] The exceptions to this also conform to the general diachronic developments in England: MS **T**, for instance, features Bastard Secretary typical of the latter half of the fifteenth century (on this script, see Parkes 2008c: xxi), and MSS **R** and **Osb** are written in rapid cursive forms of Secretary, which was common in the sixteenth century (Parkes 2008c: xxv; see also Derolez 2003: 160–162 on this script). A few manuscripts (**L**, **F**) feature a script sometimes called Fere-Textura, a variant of Anglicana which lacks looped ascenders and some other typical Anglicana forms, such as the v-shaped <r> (see Parkes 2008c: Plate 8 (ii); Derolez 2003: 140–141).

However, my main point of interest here is the variety of scripts, or grades of scripts, employed in the manuscripts, rather than the one used for the main text. The main text script may be viewed to serve commercial functions, such as fashionability, and perhaps some interpretive functions such as indicating genre, whereas switches serve navigational (text-organising) purposes. A grouping of the programmes employed by the scribes is presented in **Table 4**. The grouping is, however, relatively rough, as most scribal hands show variation in grade and/or size. For instance, the presence of Textura (Textualis) could be debated; the difference between more formal Bastard Anglicana and less formal Textura can be rather arbitrary. I have here classified as Textura those hands which show no clear Anglicana features (esp. the letterforms of <a>, <g> and <r>) and are significantly formal in their execution (e.g. forked ascenders, descenders that sit on the line).

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[152] "About 1400 the writing of Anglicana Formata reached a climax in the large well-spaced calligraphic hands used for the massive volumes containing vernacular texts" (Parkes 2008c: xxiii).

Table 4.   Overview of scripts used in the manuscripts.

Single script	Anglicana (Formata), one size	Anglicana (Formata), two sizes	Secretary, one size	
	D	**S** (orig. parts)[153]	**R, Osb**	
Two scripts	Anglicana (Formata) & Bastard Anglicana	Anglicana Formata & Textura	Fere-Textura & Textura	Bastard Secretary & Textura/display script
	C, M, J, P	**H, A**	**L, F**	**T**
More complex programmes	Anglicana (Formata) & Bastard Anglicana & Lombardic initials	Anglicana (Formata) or Secretary & Bastard Anglicana / Bastard Secretary & Textura		
	G	**B**		

The Polychronicon Scribe (MSS **C** and **M**) uses Anglicana Formata to copy the main text, and often switches to the more formal Bastard Anglicana in the paratextual elements, such as rubrics, and in other elements to highlight, such as the speakers *Dominus* and *Clericus* in Trevisa's *Dialogue*. The change of script co-occurs with switches to red ink. However, the script-switch is not always apparent: highlighted elements display a varying amount of Textura influences, making the script in some instances closer to Bastard Anglicana, in others closer to carefully executed Anglicana Formata. The variation indicates that script-switching was not necessary for the navigational function because the red colour alone makes the element stand out; instead, the more careful script-switches suggest a higher commercial value. This is supported by the fact that the two manuscripts differ somewhat. MS **C**, which has a lower level of decoration, has a less pronounced hierarchy of script-switches, too: Bastard Anglicana is mainly employed in the rubrics at major textual/paratextual boundaries, that is, where prefatory matter is distinguished from the main text of the *Polychronicon* (see **Table 5**), while the divisions to Books and chapters within the *Polychronicon* have rubrics in Anglicana Formata (**Table 6**). MS **M**, in contrast, has most of its rubrics in Bastard Anglicana, which the scribe also uses for the marginal notes/rubrics in Latin (see further Section 8.4). It should be noted here that MS **C** is copied by two scribes but this has no effect upon the hierarchy of scripts: the

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[153]   The inserted leaves are copied from Treveris's edition (1527) in an imitative hand, and the imitating scribe follows the look of the printed page in most aspects.

unidentified scribe who copies the latter half of the text, including Book 6, follows the Polychronicon Scribe's programme.

Table 5.   Script-switches at major (para)textual boundaries.

MS	MAIN TEXT	RUBRICS AT (PARA-) TEXTUAL BOUNDARIES	RUNNING-TITLES
C	Hand 1: Anglicana Formata; Hand 2: Anglicana Formata	Bastard Anglicana	Not extant[154]
G	Anglicana Formata (3 hands?)	Tall display script (Bastard Anglicana/Textura with flourished ascenders & descenders)	Lombardic
S	Anglicana Formata (original parts)	Anglicana Formata, slightly larger	Anglicana Formata
T	Bastard Secretary	Tall and narrow display script, Textura influences	Tall and narrow display script, Textura influences
M	Anglicana Formata	Bastard Anglicana	Anglicana Formata?[155]
H	Anglicana Formata	Bastard Anglicana/Textura	Anglicana Formata?
B	Hand 1: Anglicana Formata and Secretary; Hand 2: Secretary	Textura	Anglicana Formata / Secretary? (guides for rubricator)
A	Anglicana Formata	Textura	Anglicana Formata?
D	Anglicana Formata	Not extant	Anglicana Formata
L	"Fere-Textura modified by Secretary" (Waldron)	n/a	Textura, larger
R	Various Secretary hands	n/a	n/a
F	Fere-Textura	n/a	Fere-Textura
J	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata / Bastard Anglicana, larger
P	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata / Bastard Anglicana
OSB	Secretary	Secretary	Secretary

Scribe Delta's manuscripts (**AJP**) and MS **D** are relatively similar but not identical in their selection of scripts and employment of script-switches. While MS **D** has

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[154]   Mooney, Horobin & Stubbs's (2011) description is erroneous here: "Chapter numbers as running titles also by scribe in roman numerals in upper right corners recto eg 'xliiij' on f48." These are not chapter numbers or running-titles but foliation numbers. The citation is also incorrect, the correct reading on f. 48[r] is xlviij, while the chapters on this folio are 54–55.

[155]   In **M** as well as some other MSS (**HBADJ**), the running-titles consist of a single letter or number, which is why the script identifications are provided with a question mark. Cf. also **Table 9**.

Anglicana Formata only,[156] MSS **J** and **P** feature a more formal script in their running-titles (**Table 5**). Out of the four, MS **A** (presumed to have been the exemplar for the other three) is most formal: it has Textura in the major rubrics at textual boundaries as well as beginnings of Books (cf. **Table 6**).

Table 6.   Script-switches in Book and chapter rubrics.

MS	MAIN TEXT	RUBRICS AT BOOK BREAKS	CHAPTER RUBRICS
C	Hand 1: Anglicana Formata; Hand 2: Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata
G	Anglicana Formata (3 hands?)	Bastard Anglicana	none (in-text rubrics Bastard Anglicana)[157]
S	Anglicana Formata (original parts)	Anglicana Formata, slightly larger	Anglicana Formata
T	Bastard Secretary	Textura, tall and narrow display script	Bastard Secretary
M	Anglicana Formata	Bastard Anglicana	Anglicana Formata / Bastard Anglicana
H	Anglicana Formata	Textura	Anglicana Formata / Bastard Anglicana
B	Hand 1: Anglicana Formata and Secretary Hand 2: Secretary	Textura, larger	Bastard Anglicana/Bastard Secretary/Textura, larger; same size or larger in the in-text rubrics
A	Anglicana Formata	Textura	Anglicana Formata
D	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata
L	"Fere-Textura modified by Secretary" (Waldron)	Fere-Textura/Textura, larger	Fere-Textura/Textura
R	Various Secretary hands	Secretary (similar to main text)	Secretary (similar to main text); some in-text rubrics moved into margins, smaller but similar script
F	Fere-Textura	Fere-Textura[158]	Fere-Textura
J	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata
P	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata	Anglicana Formata
OSB	Secretary	n/a	n/a

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[156]   MS **D** has three hands (see Section 4.3.1); all use Anglicana formata.

[157]   By this term, I refer to rubrics that occur within a chapter (see further Section 7.4.2.3).

[158]   *Litterae notabiliores* in the rubric at the beginning of Book 2, f. 50ᵛ and the beginning of Book 5, f. 129ᵛ, but these are not found in all Book rubrics.

All four manuscripts are, however, consistent in their script choice for rubrics at the beginnings of chapters. These are only highlighted by using red ink, while the script itself is the Anglicana Formata of the main text. The switches (or lack thereof) thus serve navigational functions by making the hierarchy of textual units visible together with the other elements analysed in Section 7.4.2 below.

Some more complex programmes are presented by MSS **G** and **B**, both of which are dated to the latter half of the fifteenth century. MS **G** has explicits in a tall, narrow display script (most formal level) at the end of the main text of the *Polychronicon* as well as at the end of the index placed after the main text. Book and chapter rubrics are written in Bastard Anglicana, more formal than the main text but less formal than the display script. **G** also has decorative, coloured running-titles in Lombardic initials, in contrast to most other manuscripts, which have non-prominent running-titles by the scribe, in the same hand and ink as the main text. MS **B** is mainly complex due to the scribes alternating between Anglicana and Secretary, although likely this posed no problems for the reader and the alternation is not paratextually significant. Major textual boundaries and Book breaks (i.e., all incipits and explicits) are indicated by Textura, but there is much variation in how each scribe writes the rubrics at chapter beginnings. Each has a tendency to switch to a more formal script (Bastard Anglicana or Bastard Secretary), but neither is entirely consistent with the grade (more/less formal), aspect (upright/slanted) or size of script.

In addition to rubrics, script-switching to a more formal (grade of) script sometimes occurs in source references (e.g. MSS **GBL**), code-switches to Latin (e.g. MS **R**), and scribal marginal notes. Often the scribes are not entirely consistent in highlighting these elements by script-switching: the scribe may begin by writing these in a more formal grade like rubrics but gradually move towards less formal execution. A similar phenomenon of scribal "fatigue" in producing elements is commonly observed in manuscripts (see e.g. Partridge 2011: 95). Presuming that all rubricated elements were added at one go, in some cases it is possible that the scribe associated red elements with the more formal script, even if the script was not originally planned for all of these elements. Somewhat more consistent is the marking of speech turns in the Latin *Dialogus* and Trevisa's *Dialogue*. Often these are in red and written in a slightly larger and/or more formal script such as Bastard Anglicana (e.g. MSS **C** and **M)** or even Textura (MS **A**). Some scribes use black ink and highlight the elements with paraph marks and red underlining (e.g. MSS **S** and **H**), others also modify their script (e.g. MS **G**, cf. also the scribe of **S** who initially uses larger script but the difference gradually becomes less pronounced). In general, the style chosen for these speech turn markers tends to match the style of rubrics rather than the one chosen for source references, including references to Higden and Trevisa's comments. A possible reason for this is that the dialogues are brief and contain no other textual divisions so the script reflects the highest level of

subsections. However, the position of the dialogues at the beginning of the volume could also explain the formality of the script.

Table 7.   Typefaces in the printed editions.

EDN	MAIN TEXT	RUBRICS AT (PARA)-TEXTUAL BOUNDARIES	RUBRICS AT BOOK BREAKS	CHAPTER RUBRICS	RUNNING-TITLES	FOLIATION
CAX	Blackletter (Caxton's Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)
WOR	Blackletter (de Worde's Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter (Type 4)	Blackletter, larger (de Worde's Type 2)	Blackletter, larger (Type 2)
TRE	Blackletter	Blackletter	Blackletter	Blackletter	Blackletter, larger	Blackletter, larger

It is clear from **Table 7** that in print, there is no hierarchy comparable to script hierarchy in manuscripts. Caxton's edition features a single typeface throughout, and the later editions only switch for the running-titles (or titles which occur in this position) and foliation which shares the space with running-titles in the top margin. Within the main text area, other means of highlighting rubrics are used instead, most importantly whitespace, as shown in the following section.

7.4.2   Elements signalling textual divisions

The purpose of this section is to examine the hierarchy of elements signalling textual divisions in each copy/edition of the *Polychronicon* and to compare them, aiming to find out how paratextuality becomes visible on the page. By textual divisions, I refer to (1) the division between the *Polychronicon* (along with its paratextual matter) and any other texts in the manuscript, where applicable; (2) the division between the main text of the *Polychronicon* and the paratextual front/end matter; and (3) the organisation within the main text of the *Polychronicon*, i.e. the division into Books and chapters, or similar organisation within any other unit (text or paratextual element). These divisions are indicated by a variety of textual and visual elements: running-titles, borders and initials, rubrics, and chapter numbers. In relation to these, also whitespace and any other visual or textual means of dividing the text, as well as the lack of such divisions altogether, play a role in how the textual matter is structured. Smaller textual units such as paragraph divisions indicated by paraph marks, and sentences or clauses indicated by other punctuation marks, are not

included in the analysis. Paraphs and punctuation marks are, however, discussed when they occur with rubrics and other elements analysed.

The majority of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts, eleven out of fourteen, have decorative borders, one of the most prominent ways of introducing new sections. A summary of the borders found in the manuscripts is presented in **Table 8**; although heavy to read, this table enables comparison between the different categories of textual divisions which I will discuss individually in the following sections (7.4.2.1, 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.2.3).

The presence of borders seems to be linked to the general layout: all two-column manuscripts have borders, while MS **M** is the only single-column manuscript that has them,[159] otherwise the single-column layout correlates with the absence of borders (MSS **CHR**). This evidence supports what is already known about mostly bespoke medieval book production: borders are not an element which is copied from the exemplar, but book producers will revamp them in a way that suits the commissioner's desired level of luxury. In MS **R**, the absence of borders can be explained by the absence of visual elements in general: for instance, there are some spaces reserved for initials that were never filled in, and the manuscript does not have any kind of co-ordinated design overall. This is most likely due to rapid production and the manuscript's possible intended purpose as an exemplar or copy-text for a printed edition (see Waldron 1990: 283, 288). In contrast, **C** and **H** are complete with initials, which means that the absence of borders is part of the design: the functions of the borders are fulfilled by other paratextual elements, such as initials and rubrics. This is also the case with the printed editions and MS **Osb**, none of which has borders; instead, initials and whitespace are some of the most important elements for textual organisation in these later witnesses.

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[159]   It should be noted, however, that MS **M** has lost a significant number of leaves, including all beginnings of books with the exception of Book 2. Therefore it can only be postulated that the other book beginnings had borders as well.

Table 8. Borders.[160]

MS/edn	Other texts			Paratextual front matter			Books of the Polychronicon						
	Dialogus	*Sermon*	*Methodius*	*Dialogue*	*Epistle*	*Indices*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C	n/a	n/a	n/a	–	–	n/a	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
G	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	n/a	–	?	+	+	?	+	?	?
S	–	–	n/a	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
T	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	–	–	+	+	+	+	?	+	+
M	+	–	n/a	n/a	n/a	–	?	+	?	?	?	?	?
H	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	not filled in	not filled in	?	not filled in	not filled in
A	+	+	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
D	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
L	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)
R	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	?	–	–	–	–	–	–
F	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
J	+	–	n/a	n/a	n/a	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
P	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	?	+	?	+	+	+	+
Osb and all printed editions: No borders													

[160] Notes on the table: + indicates the presence of a border but does not differentiate between types of different border designs, except for MS **L** where (+) in Books 3 to 7 represents border-like sprays extending from initials. – indicates that the unit does not have a border. n/a indicates that the copy does not include the unit in question; ? indicates that the leaf where the border would be does not survive.

7.4.2.1   Indicating textual boundaries: *Polychronicon* and the other texts

As noted above, several of the manuscripts have other, short texts preceding or following the *Polychronicon*: the Pseudo-Ockham *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* (*Dialogus*), FitzRalph's sermon *Defensio Curatorum* (*Sermon*), and the *Book of Methodius* (*Methodius*) (on these texts, see Sections 1.2, 5.1; the contents of each manuscript are listed in 4.3.1). None of the manuscript copies is a composite volume, rather, these texts were included from the beginning.

The independent texts *Dialogus* and FitzRalph's *Sermon* are present in six of the fourteen manuscripts (**SMHBAJ**), and in four (**MBAJ**), one or both of them are introduced with borders. The hierarchies of the border decorations suggest that the book producers had a clear idea of how to differentiate between textual and paratextual material and how to indicate textual relationships. For example, MS **A** has borders at the beginning of both texts, but not of the same level of hierarchy: the one which opens the *Dialogus* is a full four-side bar-frame border, accompanied with an eight-line historiated initial depicting two characters (the soldier and the cleric) engaged in a discussion (f. 4ʳ). The *Sermon* (f. 8ʳ) has a partial three-side border, consisting of a bar running between the columns and sprays extending to upper and lower margins, with a four-line foliate initial. The beginning of the indices (f. 21ʳ) has a similar partial border but with a slightly taller initial (six lines, this height is also used for Book divisions) and the second full border is reserved for the beginning of the main text of the *Polychronicon* (Higden's preface / Book 1), again accompanied by a historiated initial, this one depicting a monk in black robes seated at a desk reading (f. 36ʳ). This initial has been discussed by Scott (2006: 116–117, Fig. 3) and Fisher (2013: 222). While Scott describes the figure as "[a]uthor (Ranulf Higden) writing in bound book", Fisher emphasises that the monk is not portrayed writing but reading with a pen in his hand, which potentially represents Higden's role as a compiler.

Historiated initials, which rank the highest in initial hierarchy, are found in four manuscripts (**ADFJ**), all produced in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The three other manuscripts descend from MS **A**, which together with **J** is copied by Scribe Delta. MS **J** is similar to MS **A** in that the most prominent, full borders occur at the *Dialogus* and the main text. The *Dialogus* also receives a nine-line historiated initial, depicting two characters in a conversation (f. 1ʳ). The *Sermon*, however, is left without a border. In this manuscript, Higden's preface does not receive a historiated initial but the border is accompanied with a foliate initial of six lines (f. 34ʳ). In contrast, in both **D** and **F** the single historiated initials are placed at the beginning of Higden's preface. MS **D** (f. 12ʳ) has a five-line initial and MS **F** (f. 15ʳ) has a six-line initial; both depict a black-clad monk seated at a writing desk. Neither

MS has the independent texts or they do not survive, which means the intended hierarchy cannot be fully ascertained. A general pattern, however, emerges: highlighted are the very first text in the manuscript (*Dialogus*) and the beginning of the *Polychronicon*. Considering the similarity of the initial programmes in **ADJ**, it is possible that MS **P**, also attributed to Delta, once had a historiated initial as well at the beginning of the text, now lost. This seems particularly likely as its programme is otherwise similar to those in MSS **ADJ**: foliate initials at Book breaks are accompanied by full bar-frame borders enclosing both columns, rather than partial borders.

The more lavish manuscripts discussed so far come from the **M-**group. **M** itself has its second-highest rank initial at the beginning of the *Dialogus*, this being a three-line puzzle or parted initial in red and blue, with red pen-flourishing and a partial, one-side border consisting of red and blue segments (f. 1ʳ).[161] A two-line pen-flourished initial, similar to those used for chapters, is employed for the *Sermon* (f. 5ᵛ). Particularly interesting, however, are those manuscripts which have both the independent texts and Trevisa's prefaces (analysed in Section 5.5 above). MS **H** copies the puzzle initial of the *Dialogus* from **M**, although without a border – **H** lacks borders completely. The initial sizes of the *Dialogus* and *Sermon*, four and two lines respectively, also follow those in **M**. The third independent text in MS **H**, the *Book of Methodius*,[162] begins with tall initial <I>, seven lines deep, although the space reserved is only three lines.[163] In contrast, both Trevisa's prefaces begin with smaller two-line initials, the one at the *Dialogue* with penwork (f. 42ʳ), the one at the *Epistle* (f. 43ᵛ) without. As may be expected, the largest initial is found at the beginning of Higden's preface (a five-line blue initial with red pen-flourishing, f. 44ʳ). In MS **B**, each text opens with a border: the *Dialogus*, as usual, is the first item in the manuscript and begins with a full bar-frame border with a four-line foliate initial (f. 1ʳ), while the *Sermon* following it has a partial three-side bar border with a foliate initial (f. 5ᵛ). The *Book of Methodius*, following the two texts in MS **B**, opens with another full border, as does, again, Book 1 (Higden' preface). MS **S**, the only manuscript in the **c**-group which has the independent texts, makes no exception to

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[161] The most prominent initial and border design (four-line foliate initial with a three-side bar border) are those surviving at the beginning of Book 2 (f. 60ʳ); unfortunately the other Book beginnings, including Higden's preface, do not survive.

[162] Hanna argues that the pseudo-Methodius text was added as an afterthough in the production process, and that the folios were originally ruled for the index (1992: 119, n29).

[163] The practice of placing the initial I/J in the margin rather than reserving space for it by indenting text lines is common in manuscripts. The initial is typically much taller than others. Since this is a standard practice, the taller initials have not been noted above as exceptions to regular chapter initial patterns.

the patterns seen in the **M-**group: their order is the same, the *Dialogus* begins with a four-line champ initial, while the *Sermon* has an initial of the same size but pen-flourished, typically considered to be of lower rank. Both Trevisa's prefaces have smaller, three-line pen-flourished initials. It should be noted that this manuscript is unique in placing these texts at the end.

While each manuscript has a unique combination of border designs, there is a clear pattern which suggests that the *Dialogus* and *Sermon* are seen as belonging together, as they are not treated equally but the *Sermon* always has a more subdued scheme of decoration, even though the text itself is much longer than the *Dialogus*. Their close association is conveyed not only through the hierarchy of borders and initials, but is also supported by the fact that the two texts are copied in the same order in all six manuscripts, and neither of them is attested alone.[164] They seem to form one unit for the producers of the manuscripts, where the former text is given more prominence. Similarly, the Trevisa introductions, where copied together, are either treated as equals, as in MS **B** where both begin with three-line foliate initials adjoined to partial borders, or alternatively, the *Epistle* has a lesser type of initial and/or border, as in MS **H**. Where both groups of textual items are present, the independent texts have more prominent beginnings than the paratextual elements.

As manuscripts generally lack title-pages, the visual elements may be what the reader first encounters. However, textual organisation is also built through various textual elements, such as running-titles and rubrics. The majority of the manuscripts studied here make use of running-titles in the part containing the main text of the *Polychronicon*, whereas no running-titles are found in the other texts or Trevisa's prefaces. This does not impair the navigationability much: the other texts are short and presumably the reader is most interested in the main text; the length of the work makes running-titles useful. The only exception to this practice is MS **S**, which has the running-title "armacan" in FitzRalph's *Sermon* (ff. 207ʳ–216ᵛ). The running-title refers, in Latin, to FitzRalph's archiepiscopal see, Armagh in Northern Ireland. A different exemplar used by the scribe of **S** could perhaps explain the exceptional running-title: the *Sermon* also has a more detailed incipit than the **M-**group manuscripts, detailing not only the title and author but also the date and place of delivering the sermon before the Pope (Avignon, 8 November 1357, although the

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[164]　There are no other known MS copies of these texts in English; for manuscripts containing the Latin texts, see Perry (1971 [1925]: xxxv–xxxvii). Trevisa's English translation of the *Dialogus* was printed under the title *A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporall* in 1533 (STC 12511 & 12511a), by Thomas Berthelet, who also printed editions of the Latin text. For other printed editions of the Latin texts, see Perry (1971 [1925]: liii–liv).

MS has 1358).[165] The *Dialogus* preceding the *Sermon* has no running-title, however, and neither do Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle* following the *Sermon*. These are named only in the explicits (e.g. "Explicit dialog*us* in*ter* clericu*m* & militem./" for the *Dialogus*), in contrast to the **M**-group where *Dialogus* is typically named in the incipit and explicit both, and the *Sermon* following is named in the incipit; the end has no rubric or a simple *Explicit.* MSS **C** and **R** do not have running-titles at all,[166] and they lack these two texts.

The beginning of the main text of the *Polychronicon* is rarely indicated by rubrics or titles; probably the visual elements were considered sufficient. Thus, the first rubric following the front matter is typically that which announces Higden's *Prefacio prima* (see Section 5.4.2). There are some exceptions, however. MS **H** introduces the main text with a rubric in the top margin, "Cronica Ranulphi mo*n*achi cestr*ensis*" (f. 44ʳ), written in a rapid Anglicana, larger but otherwise similar to the script in "p*r*efacio p*r*im[a] | *c*apitulu*m* p*rimu*m" in the outer margin. It is possible that these rubrics have been added by a different hand, perhaps a reader who was not satisfied with the navigational aids or wished to define the work more explicitly, probably because in this MS the main text of the *Polychronicon* is preceded by three independent texts and Trevisa's prefaces.

The end of the chronicle also often goes without a rubric. Explicits are, however, somewhat more common than incipits: MS **G** concludes with "Explicit Liber Qui Vocat*ur* | Policronica siue Policronicon" (f. 202ᵛ); the explicit is written in a large display script and separated from the text by a white space of seven lines. A similarly highlighted explicit is found at the end of the index (209ᵛ). MS **T** likewise concludes with a rubric naming the work in a large display script, "Policronicon" (f. 225ᵛ), located in the middle of the otherwise blank column b. As seen in the rubrics to the *Dialogue*, *Sermon*, and Trevisa's prefaces, naming the text in the explicit rather than in the incipit is a common practice. The visually prominent explicit may also underline the idea that the chronicle is complete and no continuations are invited. MS **B** has simply "Explicit" in a larger Textura script (f. 319ᵛ). It should be noted that **G**, **T** and **B** are all dated to the mid- or late fifteenth century. The early fifteenth-century MSS **A** and **P** have *Explicit* directly after Trevisa's colophon, so that it appears to be part of the colophon rather than a separate textual element (see Section 5.8.1 above for Trevisa's colophon).

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[165] "Sermo d*omi*ni arche*episcopi* armacani fatt*us* auinione | 8º die mensis noue*m*bris. Anno d*omi*ni 1358º./". Cf. MS **M**, f. 5ᵛ, "Incipit sermo d*omi*ni achie*piscopi* Armacani."

[166] The fire damage to MS **C**, most severe around the edges of the pages, makes it difficult to say whether the manuscript once contained running-titles. It is also possible that they have been trimmed off.

The printed editions contain no texts other than the *Polychronicon*. Title-pages are introduced by de Worde and Treveris (see Section 7.5.3), while the first item in Caxton's edition is his *Prohemye*, beginning with a four-line handpainted initial (sig. a2ʳ). The ending is more complex due to the addition of Liber Ultimus. The end of Book 7 is visually marked by generous use of whitespace: the remaining page after Trevisa's colophon is blank and Caxton's afterword (untitled) is placed on the facing page (f. CCClxxxxʳ). The verso of the page is left blank and Liber Ultimus begins again on the recto. The additional whitespace has been removed in de Worde's edition. Caxton's Liber Ultimus ends in a rubric: "Fynysshed per Caxton" (f. CCCCxxviijʳ) after his colophon, which de Worde replaces with an imprint (see Section 5.8.2). De Worde's edition concludes with Caxton's device[167] on the facing page. Treveris's edition again differs somewhat: Liber Ultimus concludes with a rubric "¶ Finis. vltimi libri." (f. CCCxlviᵛ) and two woodcut illustrations which give additional prominence to the ending. The facing page bears the imprint (see Section 5.8.2) and the verso has a full-page woodcut similar to the one used on the title-page. These endings, including the detailed imprints and Treveris's woodcut image, are conventional in this period and reflect what W. Sherman has noted about the shift from manuscript to print: that it is the book producers rather than authors who "bring things to an end" (2011: 69). Sometimes this results in the layering of colophons: Sherman (*ibid*.) points out that in Caxton's edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur* there are two colophons, one by the author concluding the text, and another by the printer bringing the book to a close. The same phenomenon is observed in the *Polychronicon* and it mirrors the findings in Chapter 5 above: that each new layer of paratextual elements is physically placed further away from the main text.

7.4.2.2   Indicating paratextual boundaries: Front and end matter

Borders are more common with the indices than they are with Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle*, although less common than they are with the independent texts. Four manuscripts (**BADL**) have a border at the beginning of the Latin index, whereas the beginning of the English index is not adorned with a border even when it stands alone (as in **GST**).[168] Similarly, the Latin index typically receives a more prominent initial than the English index also where no border is used (as in **MHJ**).

As discussed in Chapter 6 above, the two indices probably served complementary functions. The visual elements suggest that the producers of the

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[167]   A printer's device is a woodcut design used as a trademark. Caxton's device (McKerrow no. 1) was passed on to de Worde in 1491 (McKerrow 1913: 1).

[168]   MS **B** is the only exception, but as it has borders attached to every initial in both indices, the English index does not receive any special treatment.

manuscripts saw them as a single unit: the indices are always copied in the same order and are not necessarily separated visually, although in some manuscripts a subtle distinction is made between the two, either through initial hierarchies and/or whitespace. For instance, in MS **M**, the Latin index opens with a four-line pen-flourished initial and similarly decorated three-line initials are used for the other alphabetical sections, whereas the alphabetical sections in the English index have two-line pen-flourished initials similar to chapter initials in the main text. It is unclear whether this visual distinction between the Latin and English index is intentional, especially as the first page of the English index does not survive. There is no visible break in MS **J**, for instance, where the Latin index begins with a six-line champ initial, while the English index begins with a two-line champ initial similar to any other alphabetical section in the indices. MSS **A** and **D** begin the Latin index with a six-line foliate initial attached to the border running between columns; the rest are three-line champ initials and the same pattern continues in the English index, which is thus only distinguished from the Latin index by a white space of four blank lines. MS **L** has a very similar design with the initial sizes matching those in **A** and **D**, but the smaller initials are pen-flourished rather than champ initials.[169] MS **H**, however, has no clear hierarchy, as the pen-flourished initials in both indices range from three to five lines (the initials are typically taller than the number of indented lines). Due to the first initial in the Latin index being excised, its original size is difficult to discern.

Of the six manuscripts in which Trevisa's prefatory paratexts survive, only two decorate them with borders: MS **G** and MS **B**. In MS **G**, Trevisa's *Dialogue* is the first item the reader encounters. The opening page has a three-side bar border; similar borders are found at Book beginnings. However, the beginning of Book 1 does not survive and it is impossible to ascertain whether the missing leaf once contained a similar border or one higher up in the hierarchy, that is, a full four-side border. The programmes employed in the other manuscripts, as discussed in the previous section, suggest it is highly likely that the missing beginning of Higden's preface in Book 1 may have been more lavishly decorated. Trevisa's *Epistle*, likewise, does not survive in this copy, or perhaps it was never part of it. Considering the length of the paratext and the missing portion of Book 1, it seems also possible that the *Epistle* once took up column a on the missing leaf, in which case Higden's preface would have begun in column b with a partial border, in the fashion of MS **L** produced around the same time.

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[169] Ff. 7ᵛ–8ᵛ have two-line initials instead of three-line (alphabetical sections B to E); this could be a mistake or it could potentially reflect an intention to give the English index lower-ranking initials, a programme which has been forgotten or abandoned in the process.

MS **B** has partial bar borders, with sprays in the upper and lower margins, introducing both the *Dialogue* and *Epistle*. It should be noted that this manuscript is exceptional in the number of borders, which are used not only to introduce these larger units (texts and prefatory matter) but also smaller divisions, i.e., chapters and keyword sets in the indices (however, the programme has apparently turned out to be too ambitious or expensive: many borders and initials are either unfinished or not filled in at all).[170] The border design for each of Trevisa's prefaces in MS **B** represents a similar level in the hierarchy and the initials attached to the borders are both three lines in height, smaller than those beginning other texts and elements of front matter. The border types and initial sizes in MS **B**, taken together with the tendency in the other manuscripts that borders are more commonly found with the independent texts than with Trevisa's prefatory texts, indicate the paratextual status of the *Dialogue* and *Epistle*. More specifically, it seems that book producers' understanding of paratextuality becomes clear in how they employ elements such as borders and initials to convey the structure of the volume and the textual and paratextual relationships between the units.

MS **C** provides an interesting example where the paratextual matter has been given extra weight: all its initials are plain or pen-flourished, and the largest pen-flourished initial (eight lines) is found at the beginning of Trevisa's *Dialogue*, while Higden's preface receives a smaller three-line pen-flourished initial. The same size is used for Books, whereas chapters and Trevisa's *Epistle* begin with plain two-line initials. Notable prominence is therefore given to Trevisa's *Dialogue*, especially in relation to how Higden's preface and thus the beginning of the main text is marked. No other MS gives such prominence to Trevisa's prefaces.[171] It is possible that the visual prominence is simply because of the position of these texts at the front, in the same way that the Latin *Dialogus* is sometimes emphasised, as discussed in the previous section. However, the early production date of the manuscript and its place of origin close to Berkeley make it a tempting idea that the emphasis on Trevisa's paratext is intentional. The visual elements guide one to interpret the beginning of the text differently: Trevisa's prefaces are framed as the beginning of the translated work rather than ancillary material preceding the main text. Unfortunately, this remains speculation as the other manuscript by the same scribe, **M**, is defective at the beginning of Higden's prefaces and lacks those by Trevisa completely.

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[170] Shepherd argues that Thomas Mull's and his son's deaths in 1460–1461 could have been an obvious reason for halting the work on the manuscript (2004: xxv–xxvi); Mull was the presumed commissioner of the manuscript, identified by Shepherd by the coat of arms incorporated some of the border designs. See also the description of MS **B** in Section 4.3.1 above.

[171] This is difficult to ascertain for MS **G** due to the missing leaf at the beginning of Higden's preface. Cf. also MS **Osb**, discussed below together with the printed editions.

The distinction between the main text and paratextual matter is also frequently conveyed through running-titles. The manuscripts are generally characterised by the lack of running-titles in the front matter, in contrast to the printed editions. Caxton provides running-titles for his *Prohemye* ("¶ Prohemye", sig. a2^r–a3^v) and the indices ("¶ The Table", sig. a4^r–[c8]^r) but not for Trevisa's prefaces following these. De Worde (and Treveris likewise) makes the structure more explicit: Trevisa's prefaces receive running-titles "Dyalogue" (f. 1^r–2^v) and "The Epystle" (f. 3ra), while Higden's preface is marked with "Polycronycon" in the running-title position (f. 3rb). The reorganised index also has detailed running-titles: "Tabula primi libri", "Tabula secundi libri", and so on. All three printed editions have "Liber primus" (etc.) on both rectos and versos from Higden's preface onwards. The scribe of MS **Osb** provides running-titles from Trevisa's *Dialogue* (f. 19^r). Curiously, the scribe does not follow the printed exemplar (de Worde) here but the uses "The fyrst Booke" throughout the paratextual matter. This reinforces the interpretation that Trevisa's prefaces have become more intimately connected with the text as new paratextual matter has been added by the printers. A similar interpretation could be drawn from Treveris's printed edition, which has seven-line woodblock initials at both *Dialogue* and *Epistle*, whereas Higden's preface begins with a five-line initial (see ff. 1^r–3^r). However, **Tre** does not have a clear hierarchy of initials and therefore these initial sizes may be incidental.

Among the other manuscripts which have running-titles, the beginning of this navigational device at a specific point within the codex is either explained by textual or material (codicological) reasons. As for the textual, two patterns emerge: in six manuscripts (**GTMDJP**), running-titles are introduced at the beginning of Book 1, including Higden's preface (chapters 1–4). In some manuscripts (**HBA**), however, the running-titles are only given from chapter 5 onwards, from the first chapter after Higden's preface. The latter of these patterns may suggest an awareness of the paratextual nature of the preface, although its incorporation into Book 1 justifies the more commonly used first pattern. In three manuscripts (**SLF**), running-titles do not seem to follow textual boundaries: in MS **S**, they are found from f. 13^r onwards (Book 1, chapter 21), in MS **L** from f. 17^v (Book 1, chapter 12), and in MS **F** from f. 63^r (Book 2, chapter 17). In all of these manuscripts, the starting point coincides with a quire boundary, suggesting a change or disruption at some stage of the production process.

The textual and visual form of the running-titles varies. The practice of placing the word *liber* ('book'), often in an abbreviated form, on versos and the Book number on rectos is by far the most common solution and they are nearly always located in the centre of the page in the top margin. The older manuscripts have simple titles. MS **M**, for example, has a single red letter <l> standing for *liber* on versos and an Arabic number to indicate Books on rectos. Like **M**, the majority of the manuscripts

have running-titles by scribe but with varying degrees of effort. That is to say, the running-titles display variation between full and abbreviated forms, between red and black ink, and also variation in whether the running-title contains a script-switch or whether it matches the main text (see **Table 9** and Section 7.4.1 above). At the higher end are also running-titles with additional decoration, such as paraph marks (MSS **LFP**), or running-titles which are likely produced by an illuminator rather than the scribe (MS **G**). Two of these, namely MSS **G** and **L**, represent the later manuscripts, dated to c. mid-fifteenth century.

Table 9.   Running-titles with 'liber' on verso and Book number on recto.

MS	FORM OF 'LIBER'	FORM OF BOOK NUMBER	COLOUR	SCRIPT
G	Li	Roman number	red and blue	Lombardic initials
S	liber	Written in full or abbreviated	black	Matches main text
T	Liber	Written in full or abbreviated (Books 1–5); Roman number with -us abbreviation, occasionally written in full (Books 6–7)	black	Large display script
M	l	Arabic number, often punctuated, from Book 3 onwards with -us abbreviation	red	Matches main text
H	li. (with strike over ascender, Book 1); .l. (Book 6)	Arabic number, punctuated on each side, with -us abbreviation in Book 6	black	Matches main text
B	l or li (sometimes punctuated on each side)	Arabic number	black	Matches main text / less formal
A	li (red) or l (red or black); no running-title on versos in Book 6	Arabic number, sometimes punctuated on each side	red or black	Matches main text
D	lib	Written in full or abbreviated (Book 1); Roman number with or without -us abbreviation (Book 2 onwards)[172]	red	Matches main text

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[172]   Except ff. 159–168 (part of Book 6), which have ".li. .6." rather than a Roman number; this is related to certain other changes in the page elements, analysed by Waldron and Hargreaves (1992: 278–279). They conclude that these folios were inserted to make up for the lacuna originated in MS **A**.

MS	FORM OF 'LIBER'	FORM OF BOOK NUMBER	COLOUR	SCRIPT
J	li.	Written in full or abbreviated (until f. 15ᵛ); Roman number with -us abbreviation (from f. 16r); Roman or Arabic number (Books 2–7).	red	Matches main text / more formal
	li. .6.	From f. 159ʳ, rectos and versos or rectos only		
P	liber	Written in full or abbreviated	red	Matches main text

It is striking that the general level of decoration is not always reflected in the running-titles: for instance, MS **B**, with its abundance of borders, has simple abbreviated running-titles, as does MS **A**. The manuscripts attributed to scribe Delta are not identical either: in MSS **AJ** (and the closely-related **D**) *liber* is abbreviated while MS **P** has it in full; in MS **A** numbers (Arabic) are employed while MS **P** has them written in full, and in MSS **D** and **J**, the scribe first begins by spelling out the numbers (although they may contain abbreviations, e.g. "p*rim*us"), and then switches to writing the number (Roman and/or Arabic, see **Table 9**), sometimes with the 9-shaped abbreviation to indicate the Latin *-us* ending for an ordinal number. The change can perhaps be explained by the repetitive nature of the element: using a shorter form is more efficient while it serves the same navigational purpose. The same phenomenon has also been observed in initials, where their execution may gradually stop (cf. MS **B**) – even if this happens for economical reasons, the omission or lower level execution does not hinder the navigational force of the element (see Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]: 115).[173]

Only two manuscripts, **L** and **F**, do not follow the convention of splitting the running-title across the spread; instead, they have matching running-titles on recto and verso. MS **L** has "liber" above column a and the book number written in full above column b, both in black Textura display script, with paraphs and underlining (see **Figure 12** below). Typically a blue paraph is used with *liber* and a red one with the book number, but there is variation; both are always underlined in red, however.

In MS **F**, the running-title is centred. It consists of *liber* in an abbreviated form, followed by the book number, e.g. "l. ii⁹" or "lib. ii⁹", in red ink, and preceded by alternating paraphs, gold on recto, blue on verso. The scribe begins with Roman numbers but switches to Arabic on f. 89ᵛ, mid-quire, for the remaining text. The style used in **L** in particular is more laborious to produce and therefore may be one of the

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[173] Cf. also Teeuwen (2017: 23) on the common phenomenon of scribal marginalia gradually fading out in manuscripts from the Carolingian period; see Partridge (2011: 95) for more examples of this phenomenon.

elements which enhance the commercial value of the copy, but I see no clear difference in the navigational force of the different styles.
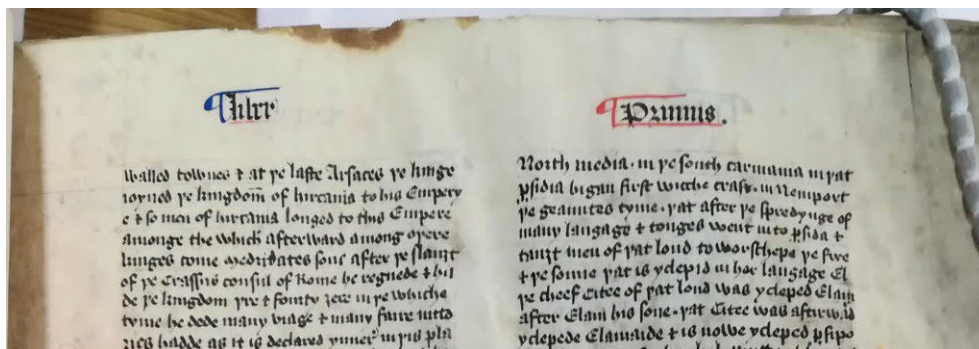
Figure 12.   Liverpool, Liverpool Public Libraries MS f909 HIG (**L**), f. 18r (detail). Image: Aino Liira, published with permission.

7.4.2.3   Dividing the text into books and chapters

Like borders, lavish initial programmes are related to the two-column layout. However, almost all of the manuscripts as well as **Cax** and **Wor** display some kind of initial hierarchy, which often separates paratextual matter from the main text, as shown in the previous section, and which distinguishes larger units within the text (Books) from smaller units (e.g. chapters). This organisation into units is also reinforced by rubrics, chapter numbering, and running-titles, all of which guide the reader's navigation.[174]

The majority of the manuscripts feature borders at Book breaks, together with large foliate initials attached to the borders (**GSTMBADLFJP**). For chapter breaks, these manuscripts have three different schemes: the producers of MS **B** begin with an ambitious programme which includes bar borders and foliate initials not only at Book but also at chapter beginnings. Partial borders (i.e. *demi-vinets*) alternate with champ initials at chapter breaks while Books are indicated with full borders (*vinets*). However, the borders and initials have only been executed until f. 73ᵛ (the first nine quires) after which the decorations are either incomplete or have not been filled in at all (see n170 above). The choice between border or champ initial for chapters appears to be linked to rubrics: for example, chapters 15 to 18 in Book 1 do not have rubrics and thus these chapters receive champ initials, whereas chapters with rubrics (i.e. most chapters in Book 1) have borders attached to the initials. This is even more

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[174]   For the means of textual organisation in the Latin *Polychronicon* copies, see Freeman (2013: 154–160).

clearly illustrated in chapters 57 and 58 with unfinished illuminations: the initial at ch. 57, which has no rubric, shows sketches for sprays typical of champ initials, while ch. 58 has a partially executed border. As will be discussed in the following section, which focuses on rubrics in more detail, sometimes scribes have emphasised chapter numbers or source references visually in chapters without rubrics. Consequently, the illuminators of MS **B** have often provided (or planned) borders for these chapters: see for instance chapters 2, 18, 19, and 34 of Book 2.

Six manuscripts (**GADFJP**) have champ initials at chapter beginnings while four manuscripts (**STML**) have pen-flourished initials. Only three manuscripts have no borders at all (**CHR**). MSS **C** and **H** have plain or pen-flourished initials in all positions; in these manuscripts, the hierarchy is created through initial sizes: for example, Book beginnings have four-line initials in **H** whereas chapters begin with two- or three-line initials. MS **R** has no initials, although some scribes have reserved two-line spaces with guide letters for initials to be filled in later. **Figure 13** presents a visual summary of the different programmes.
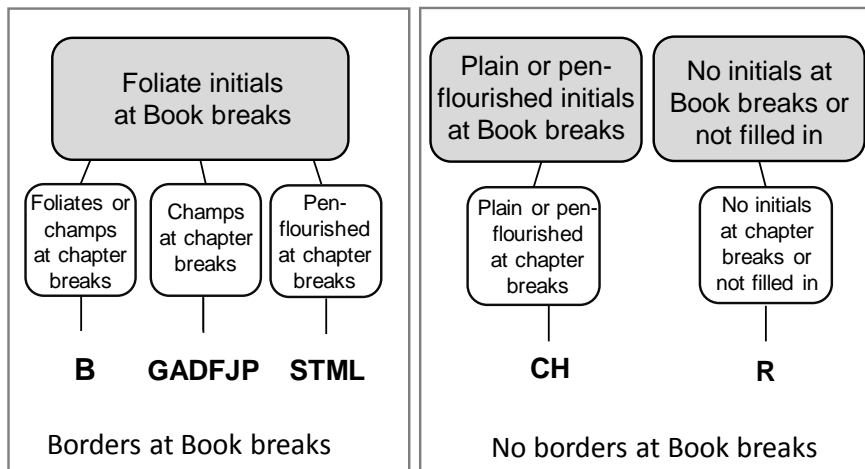
Figure 13.   Initial programmes.

The printed editions employ whitespace and other visual means which serve a similar navigational function as borders. In Caxton's edition, a new Book always begins on a recto; the preceding page is left blank after the explicit. Book beginnings are also highlighted by hand-rubricated initials (c. five lines indented). De Worde's edition does not make use of this kind of ample whitespace; Book breaks are indicated by large woodcut initials, and space is left between lines of the rubrics (explicit and incipit). Both Caxton and de Worde show clear initial hierarchies akin to those of the manuscripts, with small two- or three-line initials at chapter breaks. Such a hierarchy

is not found in Treveris's edition, although the woodcut initials used at Book beginnings are generally larger than those used at chapter beginnings. The most prominent visual element in his edition, then, is the woodcut illustrations which occur at some Book breaks (see further Section 7.5.3). However, these illustrations are not used systematically as a navigational device like borders; not all Book breaks have them and there is one illustration that occurs at a chapter break mid-Book (f. CCliij[r]). It is more likely that the illustrations have been used to fill up blank space, which is why they mostly occur at the ends of Books, and also to enhance the commercial value of the book.

MS **D** is unique in having longer rubrics at Book beginnings. These are brief summaries of the contents of the Book, adapted from the descriptions in Higden's preface, and appear to be a scribal addition. Their placement is not conventional: they are found in the bottom margin below the sprays of the borders, which suggests they are added as an afterthought, or perhaps by a scribe other than the one responsible for the planning of the layout.[175] They are, however, written in red ink, which, in a way, authorises them. The motivation for the addition is clear: with such a lengthy work, any devices that enhance the navigationability of the texts are undoubtedly welcome.

Rubrics and chapter numbers

In most cases (chapter) rubrics and chapter numbers are separate elements with distinct locations and somewhat differing functions, but their similarities and interplay make it useful to analyse them together. Indeed, following Genette's typology, both can be considered varieties of *intertitles* (cf. 1997b: 297–298). The main difference is that while both page elements indicate the beginning (or end) of a section in the text, the purpose of the chapter number is purely navigational. Rubrics, however, may also aid in the interpretation of the text, when they provide more information about the section of text following.

In the manuscripts of the *Polychronicon*, chapter numbers are most often placed in the margins. However, as will be shown below, the two elements are closely linked: chapter numbers are sometimes incorporated into rubrics, or they can replace rubrics within the text column. Similarly, rubrics are sometimes located in the margins, accompanying chapter numbers.[176] The close association is also evident in the printed editions, in which chapter numbers are often printed adjacent to rubrics

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175 Waldron & Hargreaves (1992) do not comment on these rubrics. It would be worthwhile to investigate them in more detail to find out whether they possibly derive from the same source as the Minor Version of Book 6 inserted in this MS.

176 In this position, the categories of rubrics vs. scribal/printed annotation is fuzzy.

within the text column. In the following, I discuss the textual and visual forms of rubrics and chapter numbers in detail, considering their functions and the possible motivations for any differences found.

A textual collation of rubrics in Book 1 shows that they are highly consistent across the manuscript copies and printed editions. Errors aside, they rarely appear to be modified by scribes, although in a few cases the producers seem to have come up with new rubrics if their exemplar did not provide one. Book 1 is heavy in descriptive chapter rubrics in Latin: of the 60 chapters, only a minority have no rubrics summarising their contents. In the other books, the opposite is the norm: most chapters are only numbered. This suggests the first Book was perhaps used somewhat differently from the others. The rubrics highlighting topics presumably assist the reader in looking up information in Book 1, which is rather encyclopaedic in nature, whereas for the rest of the work, chronology-based finding aids such as the calendar system would be more beneficial. The chapter rubrics in Book 1 are generally formed with the preposition *de* + ablative, e.g. *De Hibernia* ('Of Ireland'), and often include a source reference: *De mari magno medio siue mediterraneo. Plinius. Libro 3ᵒ.* ('Of the great mediterranean sea, Pliny, 3ʳᵈ Book'). Even fewer chapters have no rubrics at all: in the place of a descriptive rubric, a chapter number may be lifted from the margin to serve as one.

A rare instance of modification to the text of the rubric occurs in Book 1, chapter 49, where both **C** and **M** have *De schyris anglie siue prouinciis* ('Of the shires or provinces of England').[177] MSS **STHADLJP** and Caxton, de Worde, and Treveris all follow this wording, but MSS **BRF** replace the English word *shires* with Latin *comitatus* 'counties'. This seems to be an individual preference of each scribe, as the manuscripts are not closely related textually (cf. **Figure 1**). Additionally, MS **R** changes the word order to "De p*rou*inc*ij*s siue comitatib*us* anglie" and adds a source reference "alfr*idus*" at the end of the rubric (f. 20ᵛ). **R** also has a few other instances where rubrics have been modified: In chapter 55, the rubric *De episcopis merciorum* is expanded to "De ep*iscop*is mercio*rum* siue mediteraneo*rum* Anglo*rum*" ('Of the bishops of Mercia or the middle country of the Angles'), and the reference to *Willelmus* provided in the other MSS has been omitted (f. 23ᵛ). Chapter 57, then, is given a completely new rubric not found in other copies (but cf. RS edn, vol. 2: 136) "De numero <s>edium Episcopaliu*m* in Anglia" 'Of the number of episcopal sees in England' (f. 24ʳ). In the other MSS, this chapter goes without rubric, although **S** and **T** as well as Caxton provide a chapter number in its stead. De Worde also introduces a new rubric here: *De Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi* ('Of the Archbishop of Canterbury'), followed by the chapter number in the regular pattern of the printed

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[177] **C** schyris, **M** schyrys; other spellings are found in the other MSS.

editions. The rubric is passed on to the Treveris edition. Since in most cases rubrics are copied rather faithfully, the changes introduced in **R** and **Wor** suggest a desire to fulfil missing text-organising elements.

In some cases it is unclear whether a modified rubric is the result of an intentional shortening or if words have been omitted by accident. The omission of the word *orbis* in chapter 5 rubric *De [orbis] diuisione, Augustinus De Ciuitate Dei, libro 16ᵒ, capitulo 8ᵒ* ('Of the division [of the earth]') in MS **T** is possibly a mistake. However, the omission may also be an intentional ellipsis: the previous chapter has the rubric *De orbis dimensione* ('Of the dimensions of the earth'), and the chapters are relatively short so that both rubrics occur on the same page. Curiously, a similar omission occurs in the rubric for chapter 10, *De prouinciis [orbis] & primo de paradiso* ('Of the parts [of the earth] & first of the paradise'); here ellipsis seems a less likely explanation. Another case of possibly intentional ellipsis is the concise rubric "adiacentib*us*" (f. 65ᵛ) found in MS **J** for chapter 44 where the other MSS have *De insulis britannie adiacentibus* ('Of the islands of Britain', the previous chapter having dealt with the parts of the main island of Britain, *De partibus britannie principalibus*). In this case, spatial constraints may have contributed to the decision to shorten the rubric: while there is some extra space, the original four-word rubric would have been too long to fit into the slot reserved.

Chapters 15 to 18 in Book 1 show some interesting variation in the rubrics between the two manuscript groups. MS **C** gives no rubric for any of these chapters, whereas MS **M** has "De Canaan t*er*ra" ('Of the land of Canaan') for chapter 15 but it has been inserted into the rubric space by a different hand (f.43ᵛ), and "De Egipti P*ro*uinciis" ('Of the provinces of Egypt') for chapter 16 but it is found in the margin rather than the rubric space (f. 44ᵛ).[178] Chapters 17 and 18 have "De Scicia." ('Of Scythia') (f. 44ᵛ) and "Capadocia." (f. 45ᵛ), respectively. As a rule, the *c*-group manuscripts **S** and **T** have no rubrics for these chapters (except ch. 15, f. 10ᵛ, in **S**, but this is one of the inserted leaves copied from Treveris's printed edition). Instead, they both provide chapter numbers in the rubric position. Chapter 16 in **S** has "// Damay" in black ink preceding the chapter number at the end of the initial line (f. 11ᵛ), but this has been cancelled by a strike through the word, either due to the erroneous spelling or because it was deemed not to be the correct rubric for this chapter.

The subgroup **HB** likewise give no rubrics for these four chapters – **H** employs the chapter number in ch. 15 as a rubric, in addition to the regular chapter number in the margin, but this practice is not adopted for the following three chapters. MS **A**

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[178] MS **M** has plenty of scribal notes like this, which I have here analysed as rubrics; the elements discussed in Chapter 8 include scribal notes in **M** which begin with *Nota*. This division should be taken as a methodological decision.

has "De canaan terra." (f. 44ᵛ), "¶ De Egipt<e> pᵣouincₑₛ" (f. 45ʳ), "¶ De Scicia." (f. 45ᵛ), and "De capadocia." (f. 46ʳ). It is unclear whether the *De Canaan terra* rubric derives from **M** or if it is scribe Delta's invention. In any case, the emendation of **M**'s *Capadocia* to the *de*+ablative format suggests an attempt to regularise the rubrics. MSS **DLFJP**[179] reproduce these, with no alterations except for variation in the spelling and/or abbreviation. Caxton's print, associated with the group **MHB**, only has chapter numbers to introduce chapters 15 to 18, whereas de Worde and Treveris introduce rubrics from the **MADL(R)FJP** group. Chapter 17 rubric has been elaborated in de Worde's and Treveris's editions, which both read "¶ De Scicia superiore et inferiore. | Capitulum .xvii." ('Of Scythia and Lesser Scythia. Chapter 17') (f. xvʳ).

A similar case as the four chapters discussed above is also found in chapter 20. MS **C** has no rubric, neither do the majority of the **M**-group manuscripts including MS **A** (**M** itself is defective here). A few scribes have again resorted to lifting the chapter number to the rubric space: MS **T**, for which this is a usual pattern in any case, and MS **F**, which only does this occasionally (see **Figure 14**).
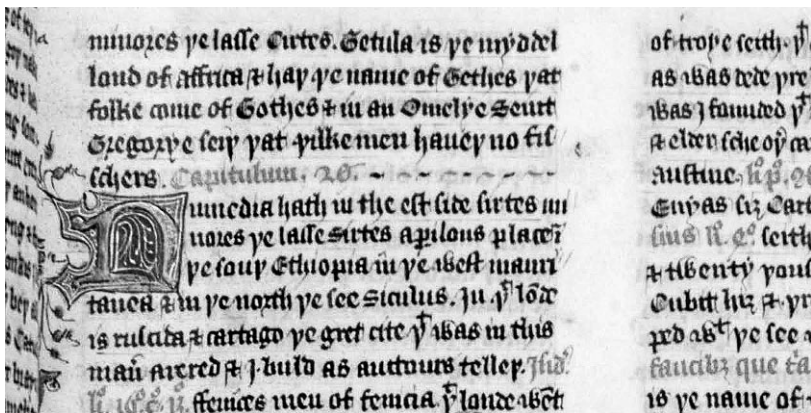
Figure 14.   Chapter number in rubric space. Tokyo, Senshu University Library MS 1 (**F**), f. 24r (detail). Image: Senshu University Library, reproduced with permission.

Curiously, MS **J** is the only one that has a rubric for chapter 20, "De Numedia" (f. 44ᵛ) – none of the others, including those copied by the same scribe, Delta, has it. However, in MS **L** a reader has supplied "¶ Mumidia" [sic] in the space available.[180]

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[179]   MS **R** is wanting leaves up to chapter 23. MS **P** is wanting leaves from within chapter 12 up to chapter 17.

[180]   MS **L** has another place where a reader (or a different scribe) has supplied a missing rubric: in chapter 23, the insertion reads "De Italia. / & diuₑᵣₛe noₘᵢₙis" ('Of Italy and

As for the printed editions, Caxton again only provides the chapter number here, wheras de Worde and Treveris not only provide the rubric but also revamp it slightly: "¶ De Numidia prouincia. Capitulum . xx." (f. xvii^v).

Other minor textual differences in Book 1 rubrics have most likely originated as errors. This is most obvious in the change of Book and chapter numbers in the source references, such as the reference to *libro sexto* ('Book six') of *De Civitate Dei* rather than *sexto decimo* ('Book sixteen') in the rubric to chapter 5 in Caxton and the subsequent editions. Other errors like this include the omission of *et* 'and' in the rubric for chapter 10 (*De prouinciis orbis et primo de paradiso*) in MS **A**, from where the error passed on to MSS **DLFJP**.

More common than textual modifications is the placement of the chapter number at the end of the rubric. MSS **S** and **T** do this throughout the first Book (see **Figure 15**), whereas in **F**, for instance, the practice is sporadic, occurring, for example, in chapters 7, 8, and 12. Where sporadic, I see no clear motivation for this addition, particularly as regular chapter numbering is found in the margins – this makes the chapter number as part of the rubric superfluous.[181]

Figure 15. Chapter number as part of rubric. Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library MS Taylor 6 (**T**), f. 28r (detail). Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

The main motivation may be aesthetic (the number acts as a linefiller); below I discuss cases where scribes have regularised the visual appearance of chapter breaks by treating source references and other elements as if they were rubrics. The Delta

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the multiple names') (f. 24^r). It is likely that the annotator has collated the copy with a Latin manuscript (cf. RS edn, vol. 1: 198).

181 Double chapter numbers are sometimes used; see, for instance, MS **M**, which has one in both inner and outer margins.

manuscripts (**AJP**) and **D** generally do not show this practice in Book 1. However, chapter 21 is an exception: in MSS **A** and **D**, the rubric *De Europa et eius partibus* ('Of Europe and its parts') is followed by the chapter number, *Capitulum xxi^{m}*, which, then, is followed by *et cetera*, probably to indicate that not only this chapter but also the following ones deal with the countries in Europe. *Et cetera* is passed on to MSS **L** and **F** (not copied by Delta); however, the two other Delta manuscripts, **J** and **P**, do not have it.

The printed editions all move chapter numbers from the margins to the text column, where they follow the rubrics. In Caxton's edition, this choice is likely due to technical contraints: other marginalia, such as the calendar years, have been filled in by hand. The chapter numbers in Caxton are not adjacent to the rubrics but separated with whitespace and paraphs (if filled in by the rubricator). In de Worde's and Treveris's editions, there is printed marginalia, and it would not have been impossible to place chapter numbers there. Nevertheless, it would have been more laborious, and possibly by this time the descriptive chapter rubrics and chapter numbers were seen as belonging together. Although both editions follow Caxton in placing the rubric on the left and the chapter number on the right, their two-column layout means that in many cases the chapter number is adjacent to the rubric, or the whitespace between the elements is minimal. Furthermore, the whitespace may also be aesthetic: in de Worde's edition, the space does not always occur between the rubric and the chapter number, but within the chapter number between the word *Capitulum* (with a linebreak in the middle) and the number in Roman numerals (see **Figure 16**).
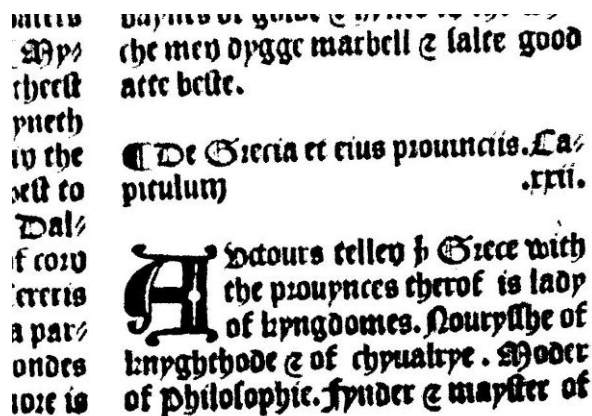

Figure 16. STC 13439, de Worde, 1492. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2, sig. cii v, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online.<www.proquest.com>.

MS **G** is notable in that the chapter division differs from the other manuscripts, and **G** omits chapter rubrics throughout. Chapters are separated with a single blank line, likely reserved for rubrics to be filled in later. This suggestion is supported by the fact that some in-text rubrics (rubrics occurring within a chapter), such as "De ep*iscop*is australib*us*." ('Of the southern bishops') (f. 30ᵛ), survive but they have been written in black ink. Even if the presence of blank lines preceding chapters is probably the result of incomplete production rather than an intentional device, the blank lines fulfil the navigational function of highlighting the chapter break visually. The absence of rubrics could be explained by the changes made to chapter divisions: the new division would make it impossible for the limner to copy the rubrics from an exemplar following a different structure.

Textual differences between the manuscript groups *c* and **M** have already been discussed in Book 1 rubrics. A comparison of the chapter beginnings in Book 6 shows further differences between the *c* and **M-**groups; these differences mostly pertain to the location of the rubrics. While **C** provides no rubrics for the chapters in Book 6, **M** has marginal notes by scribe that are equivalent to rubrics (cf. Book 1, chapter 16 discussed above). Indeed, although some of the manuscripts follow MS **M** in placing these rubrics in the margin (MSS **HBA**), in some copies they are moved into the text column (MSS **FJP**). Both practices are attested in MS **L**, which indicates that the marginalia and the elements found within the text columns are not clearcut categories. A cursory look at rubrics in other Books shows that they are sporadic, typically consisting of personal names (for example, biblical figures and rulers). Their location varies in MS **A** and its descendants: while some are placed within the text column, others are found in the margins, often below the chapter number. Their placement is not consistent: if there is space at the end of the previous chapter, the rubric is placed within this space, but if the chapter runs until the end of the line the rubric is written in the margin. MS **D** differs from the other manuscripts here somewhat. In some chapters, the opening words have been repeated as rubrics in red, see for instance Book 2, chapters 11 (see **Figure 17**), 32 and 33. Otherwise the rubrics in this Book mostly follow the other manuscripts in the **A**-subgroup. In MS **D**, it appears that the main motivation for introducing these rubrics is the visual enhancement of chapter breaks, and perhaps a desire for consistency. While any red element in this position fulfils the basic navigational function of indicating chapter division, the scribe's choice is interesting since the rubric's navigational power as a finding aid is hindered when it does not summarise the contents or main topic of the chapter.
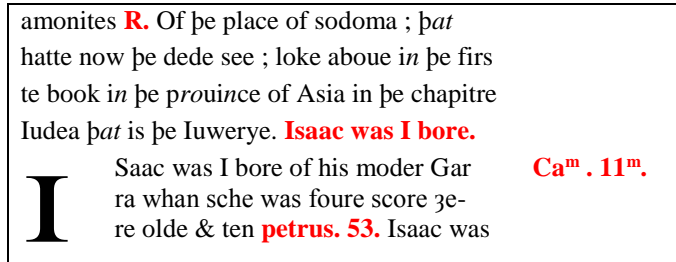
amonites **R.** Of þe place of sodoma ; þat
hatte now þe dede see ; loke aboue i*n* þe firs
te book i*n* þe p*rou*in*ce* of Asia in þe chapitre
Iudea þ*at* is þe Iuwerye. **Isaac was I bore.**

I Saac was I bore of his moder Gar   **Ca^m . 11^m.**
ra whan sche was foure score ʒe-
re olde & ten **petrus. 53.** Isaac was

Figure 17. Rubric borrowed from the chapter beginning. Transcribed from Aberdeen University Library MS 21 (**D**), f. 61rb, ll. 9–15.

This fluidity in the location of the element is also observed in the flexible nature of chapter numbers. Perhaps some scribes (rubricators) would put an element wherever it fit on the page, although variation in their location may tell of poor planning. The rubrics in other Books are different from those in Book 1: much shorter, they do not follow the *de*+ablative pattern, but typically comprise a single word, the name of a ruler. The most commonly noted kings in Book 6 are Æthelstan (ch. 6), Edmund (ch. 7), Eadred (ch. 8), Edgar (ch. 9), and Æthelred the Unready (ch. 13), while rubrics highlighting e.g. Alfred the Great (ch. 1), Edward the Elder (ch. 4), Cnut (ch. 18) and Harthacnut (ch. 21) are found in fewer MSS. The Polychronicon Scribe (MS **M)** occasionally adds "rex" ('king') after the name. The printed editions only provide chapter numbers as rubrics throughout Book 6; however, the handwritten marginalia in copies of the Caxton edition may have included rubrics such as these,[182] and a couple of them have made it to the printed notes in de Worde's edition: see e.g. "hardec<un>ti" for chapter 21 (f. CCli) and "Edwardi" (f. CCliii) for chapter 23.

The analysis of rubrics reveals that the visual aspects are often as important as the textual content; where rubrics are lacking, scribes employ different means of visual emphasis. The chapters in the *Polychronicon* frequently end with source references and in MS **F** these are often highlighted and placed similarly to rubrics, that is, at the end of the initial line or at the end of the final line of the preceding chapter. For instance, on f. 80ʳ the source reference is followed by a run-over, which means that the scribe has slightly changed the word order (see **Figure 18**).

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[182]   The copy examined via *EEBO*, British Library, G.6011-12, has "Edward" for chapter 4 (f. CClxxxvᵛ) and "Edred[us]" for chapter 8 (f. CClxxxxiʳ), among others.
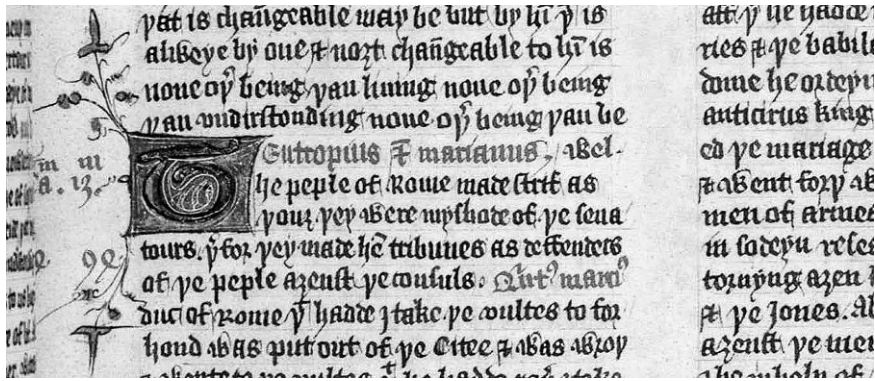
Figure 18. Source reference in the rubric space. Tokyo, Senshu University Library MS 1 (**F**), f. 80r (detail). Image: Senshu University Library, reproduced with permission.

While source references differ from rubrics in their textual functions, their visual similarity allows them to be used as navigational aids when there is no rubric to fulfil this function. This phenomenon is most clearly seen in MS **B** (e.g. f. 136ʳ), where both source references and chapter numbers are made prominent through script-switching and red highlighting (paraphs, underlining). The visual appearance is not consistent, however, probably because of team production. In Books 6 and 7, the scribe usually highlights the first word or the whole initial line by script-switching.

Some chapters in Book 1 have rubrics which organise information within the chapters. Above, I have referred to these as "in-text rubrics". These are relatively stable – presumably considered more intimately as part of the text than rubrics at chapter heads, any changes made to these rubrics mainly concern their visual form. The rubricator of MS **J** has apparently missed one in chapter 24: instead of the rubric *De templis* ('Of the temples'), there is a blank space (f. 48ʳ). The space reserved is in the first line of the column, which possibly explains the eye-skip. Not all differences in these rubrics can be explained as mere errors, however. MS **B** is the sole manuscript to highlight "¶ Dioclicianus palys." within chapter 24 (f. 58ᵛ); presumably this was interpreted as a subheading, as it occurs soon after the rubric *De palaciis* ('Of the palaces'), although syntactically it is part of a sentence. A reference to this point is not found in either index, although the Latin index has an entry for Diocletian referring to Book 4.

The rubrics within chapter 32 on Ireland are consistent across the data (*De situ hibernie locali*, *De eius quanto & quali*, *In quibus rebus sufficit*, *In quibus rebus deficit*). These are metatextually referred to at the beginning of the chapter by Higden, whereby Trevisa provides translations:

> For to come to cleer and ful knowleche of þat lond, þese tyteles þat folweþ
> oponeþ þe way: þerfore first me schall telle of [þe] place and stede of þat lond,

how greet and what manere lond it is; where of þat lond haþ plente; and where
of he haþ defaute; of men þat woned þere first; of maneres of men of þat londe;
[of þe wondres of þat lond;] of worþynesse of halewes [and] of seyntes. (RS edn,
vol. 1: 329)[183]

In MS **T**, the in-text rubrics are not highlighted, whereas rubrics at chapter
beginnings have red paraphs and underlining in red, but this could be a rubricator's
mistake. Most other manuscripts are somewhat inconsistent in whether they use
paraphs before these.

Of all the rubrics in Book 1, those within chapter 38 on Wales are most prone to
variation in the sense of inclusion or omission, as well as in their placement either
within the text column or in the margins. This variation likely occurs because of the
switch to verse for the length of this chapter which also affects the layout of the text
(see Section 7.4). MS **C** has all four: *De ratione nominis*, *De patrie preconiis*, *De
incolarum ritibus*, *De terre mirabilibus*; MS **M** is again wanting leaves here. MSS
ST in the *c*-group and **HBA** in the **M**-group have them (located in the margin in MS
A). MSS **DLF** only have the first, *De ratione nominis*, and omit the rest, whereas
MS **R** omits the first but includes the other three. MSS **G** and **P** omit all four rubrics;
G has blank lines in two spots potentially reserved for them (*De ratione nominis*, *De
incolarum ritibus*), but not in the other two (*De patrie preconiis*, *De terre
mirabilibus*). The most drastic change, however, is that Caxton translates the rubrics
into English: "Of the name how it is named wales", "Of the commodytees of the
lond of wales", "¶ Of maner & rites of the walssmen", "Of the marueylles & wondres
of wales" (ff. xlix^r–L^r), although elsewhere he retains Latin rubrics. In this form, they
are adopted by de Worde and Treveris, whose compositors only make adjustments
to spellings. It is difficult to find any explanation for these translations, except
perhaps the wish to match the English translations in the metatext at chapter 32, since
all other rubrics and the in-text rubrics in chapter 32 are in Latin, as in the
manuscripts. However, Caxton published predominantly in English (see Atkin &
Edwards 2014: 28) and perhaps the uniqueness of chapter 38, in verse form,
prompted the translation of rubrics.

To sum up, the rubrics in the *Polychronicon* are fairly consistent textually, while
changes to their visual form are more common. The main paratextual motivation for
these changes appears to be navigational, to enhance the boundaries of textual units
to the extent that sometimes other elements, chapter numbers or source references,
are substituted when rubrics are missing. Only rarely are new rubrics introduced (but
see e.g. MS **R**), although one would presume that the interpretive function of the

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[183] The last four are rubrics for chapters 33–36: *De incolis prioribus*, *De incolarum
moribus*, *De locorum prodigiis*, *De preconiis sanctorum*.

rubrics summarising content is more important than the navigational one, considering that chapter breaks are indicated by various visual means beside rubrics. A possible reason for this is the language difference between the English main text and Latin rubrics – perhaps in manuscripts aimed at aristocratic, lay readers, the scribes were more concerned about visual rather than textual systematisation.

7.5 Diagrams and illustration

The pictorial mode of conveying information is not central in the English copies of the *Polychronicon*. Historiated initials and borders were already discussed above in Section 7.4.2.1. Beside the initials and some marginal doodles appearing in individual manuscript copies, pictorial material found in the copies is relatively uniform. Until Treveris's edition (1527), which features a number of woodcut illustrations, there are only two sets of diagrams which are found in several of the manuscripts and can be traced back to Higden. The first of these is the Noah's Ark diagrams in Book 2, often rendered as two ships, and the second is a pair of musical diagrams found in Book 3.[184]

The *mappae mundi* found at the beginning of some of the Latin manuscripts are not featured in any of the English copies, although some (**CMAD**) reserve a blank leaf for one.[185] Curiously, the scribe of MS **S** copies a note "Hu*nc* reli*nqui*tur | lat*us* vacuu*m* p*ro* mappa mu*n*di" 'Here is left a blank space for the world map' (f. 3ᵛ) without allotting such space; the Hooked-g Scribe of MS **T** does the same (f. 11ʳ). In both manuscripts, the note is copied as part of the text, without any visual indication that it is intended as a guide for the scribe and is not part of the narrative.

Manuscripts **HBL** leave a smaller space between Higden's preface and chapter 5 where the map would be placed; in these manuscripts, chapter 5 begins on a new page and the blank space likely reflects the shift in content from prefatorial matter to the text proper. The white space would thus function as a visual aid for distinguishing paratext from text. The rest of the manuscripts (**FJP**) make no mention of the map. Neither do they treat the beginning of chapter 5 differently from any other chapter break. Taylor (1966: 68) points out that the *mappa mundi* did not provide a fourteenth-century reader with the current geographical knowledge; rather, it represented an ancient worldview valued by clerics. It is therefore possible that the map was considered too laborious (and thus, expensive) to produce in the English

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[184] The diagrams are briefly discussed by Freeman (2013: 150–151).

[185] A blank space can also be found in some of the Latin *Polychronicon* manuscripts (Taylor 1966: 98).

manuscripts, especially as it would, perhaps, have been of little interest to the lay readers who may have had access to more accurate maps.[186]

7.5.1   Noah's Ark

The pair of diagrams depicting Noah's Ark occurs in chapter 5 of Book 2. In the English copies it is typically rendered in the form of two ships, the second one dragon-headed, as in MSS **MADFJ**. The decks of the ships are labelled in Latin; these rubrics are usually written in a script more formal than the main text, Bastard Anglicana or Textura. The following transcription represents how the Ark was divided for people and birds, docile and aggressive animals, storage areas, and manure, as labelled in MS **M**, f. 65ʳ (abbreviations here silently expanded and capitalisation modernised):

Hominum	Auium	Hominum	Auium
Mitium	Immicium	Mitium	
Apotecaria	Stercora-	Immicium	
Sentina	ria	Apote	caria
Dispo[si]cio arche secundum Augustinum		Sterco	rarea
		Sentina	
		Dispo[si]cio arche secundum alios	

In MS **M**, the diagrams are drawn in the bottom margin in black ink, with red lines separating the decks, whereas **ADFJ** feature a fully painted style. In **ADJ**, the scribe has reserved 24 to 26 lines for the illustration to be placed in one column; in **F**, the illustration has already been accounted for at the ruling stage and the catchword on the previous page states "Nauis;" 'ship'. Curiously, in this MS group the illustration has been placed between a reference to Trevisa (omitted in **J**) and his comment, perhaps due to a misunderstanding that the reference follows the comment rather than precedes it. Consequently, the comment following the illustration is uncharacteristically emphasised with an enlarged capital letter and a golden paraph (MSS **A** and **D**) or even an illuminated initial similar to those used at chapter

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[186] For recent work on the *mappae mundi* of the *Polychronicon*, see Freeman (2013: 151); Dreer & Lilley (2017). Descriptions of the maps are provided in Miller (ed., 1895). The so-called T-O map (a diagram showing the three parts of the world, Asia, Europe and Africa) is also not found in the English copies; for an example of this type, see Beinecke, Takamiya MS 43, f. 2ʳ. This Latin copy is heavily illustrated (see Scott 2004; Taylor 1966: 63–64).

beginnings (MSS **J** and **F**). However, MS **J** remedies the potentially confusing paratextual message by repeating the correct chapter number in the margin.

MS **L** is the only one of the English manuscripts in which the two pictures are drawn as simple hive-shaped diagrams, with a similar decked structure but no likeness to ships (**Figure 19**).

| | Homines et Aues. |
| Animalia Mitia. |
| Animalia immicia |
| Apoteca fructuum. |
| Apoteca herbarum. |
| Stercoraria. |

Homines et Aues.	
Ani-	Ani-
malia	ma-
Mitia.	lia i<m>
	micia
Apoteca	Apoteca
fructuum.	herbarum.
Sentina.	
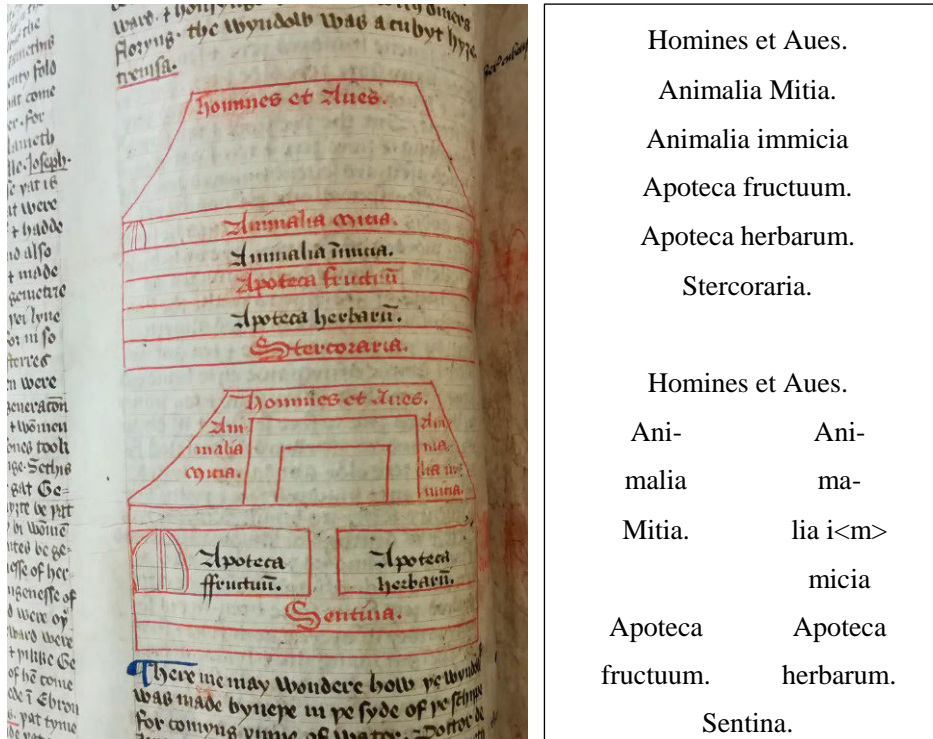
Figure 19. Diagrams of Noah's Ark. Liverpool, Liverpool Public Libraries MS f909 HIG (**L**), f. 51v (detail). Image: Aino Liira, published with permission. Abbreviations silently expanded in the transcription.

This type of illustration is frequent in the Latin *Polychronicon* manuscripts (Waldron 1990: 288) and a version of it is reproduced in the RS edn (vol. 2: 236). However, the rubrics in MS **L** differ from those in the other Middle English manuscripts with the ship type, and from the version given in the RS edn, which has the "hive" shape but rubrics similar to those in **MADFJ**.[187] Waldron proposes that the producers of

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[187]   The RS edn shows a version similar to the one in a Latin *Polychronicon* copy, BL MS Harley 1728, f. 47^r (see British Library 2012, *Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Blog* post, 25 September 2012). This MS copy does not include the references to Augustine and other sources, however. Diagrams similar to Higden's are

MS **L** had access to a Latin manuscript (*ibid.*). Indeed, a similar version (but not an exact match) of the diagrams occurs at least in one Latin copy, now Dublin, Trinity College MS 486 (f. 39[r]).[188] An alternative, although less likely, possibility is that the diagrams in **L** have been taken from another text. A diagram of the Ark with rubrics distinguishing *Apoteca fructuum* and *Apoteca herbarum* occurs in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* (Bible commentary), from which Werner Rolevinck probably derived it for his chronicle, the *Fasciculus Temporum* (first dated print published by Arnold ter Hoernen in Cologne in 1474).[189] However, both of these have *Habitatio* ('living space') modifying the decks for humans and animals which makes it more plausible that the diagram in **L** derives from a Latin *Polychronicon* copy. Regardless of the origin, the reason for such a replacement could be that the illustration was to be added later, perhaps in a fully painted style as in **ADJF**, but the producers did not have access to the exemplar anymore (see also the musical diagrams, which differ from those in the other manuscripts).

The pair of the Ark diagrams has been discussed by Waldron (1990: 285, 288, see also his Plates 1–3 for reproductions), who concludes that the illustration is a scribal addition which derives from the Latin manuscripts, not original to Trevisa's translation (1990: 288). This is because the illustration is not found in the **CGST** group, which Waldron judges to be closer to the archetype, but only in manuscripts **MADLFJ**.[190] Further support for this claim, according to Waldron, is that the illustration incorporates Latin rubrics, not translated into English (cf. the musical diagrams, discussed below). However, it should be taken into account that Latin is prevalent in the paratextual elements of the *Polychronicon* (see also Steiner 2016: 232 on Trevisa's Latinity in *De Proprietatibus Rerum*). The language of the rubrics alone may not be sufficient evidence for a scribal origin, but the absence in the *c*-group manuscripts does support the claim, as does the placement of the illustration

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also found in copies of Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*; see for example BL MS Harley 658, f. 33[r] (s. xii[4]/xiii).

[188] The rubrics are slightly different: although the division of *Apotecarea* into *Apoteca fructuum* and *Apoteca herbarum* is present in MS 486, the lowest deck is marked as *Sentina* in both diagrams (cf. *Stercoraria* in MS **L**). The two diagrams are also presented side by side; the layout in MS **L** suggests that the ship-type was originally planned.

[189] ISTC no. ir00254000. For the diagram in Lyra's *Postilla*, see e.g. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 0163, f. 13[v].

[190] MS **P** has lost the leaf that possibly once had the illustration. MS **R** contains a scribal marginal note, highlighted by a black box drawn around it, referring to the illustration: "here must be | the liknes | of the ship" (see also Waldron 1990: 288). Waldron cites this note as one of the pieces of evidence suggesting that **R** was intended as a copy-text for later copies, either manuscript or print (but not Caxton's).

in the margin in MS **M**.[191] Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Ark diagrams are not present in the **HB** subgroup and therefore the printed editions, either, although these include the musical diagrams. **H** also omits the scribal marginal notes in **M**, which may indicate that the Ark illustration was deemed paratextual, and therefore optional, by the scribe of **H** due to its location, or that it was simply never filled in.

7.5.2   Musical diagrams

The two musical diagrams are found in chapter 11 of Book 3, which treats the life and discoveries of Pythagoras, particularly in the area of music. The diagrams depict musical intervals, i.e., the relations of sounds (for a more thorough account of Higden's discussion and reproductions of the diagrams, see the RS edn, vol. 3: xvii, 208–211).

The diagrams are found in manuscripts representing both major textual groups: **CGST** and **HBALRFJP**.[192] In most manuscripts, they – a larger square shaped diagram and a smaller one of an oblong shape – are inserted in the text columns, while **S** and **T** have them in the margins. In **G**, the scribe has left blank spaces for the diagrams but they were never filled in; a later, sixteenth-century hand has used the larger space to write a note "Musicke" (f. 61ʳ). The second diagram is almost invariably two lines deep, although the scribes of **H** and **L** have reserved three lines. The first diagram varies between seven (MS **C**) and thirteen lines (MS **R**, outlines only). The outlines are typically highlighted in red while the writing is in black ink by the scribe. The diagram is relatively similar across all manuscripts except for MS **L**, which has the rubrics in Latin rather than English. The shape of the second, smaller diagram also differs from the other versions: it shows a similar looped shape, although in reverse, that is part of the diagram in MS **C**, which is more detailed than the others. Again it seems that the producers of **L** used a Latin manuscript, rather than one in the **A** subgroup, as their source for the diagrams. This must also be the case with the printed editions. Space has been left for the diagrams in Caxton but in the copies examined they have not been filled in. De Worde and Treveris include printed diagrams, but the first one is different from the kind found in the manuscripts and may have been printed from movable type (see **Figure 20**, **Figure 21**).

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[191]   Waldron (1990) has also identified a potential source for the illustration: Glasgow MS Hunter 223, which is one of the MSS closest to the Latin version Trevisa must have used, and associated with the Gloucestershire area. This MS also has dragon headed ships and they are placed in the lower margin as in **M**.

[192]   Leaves are wanting in **M** and **D**.

Figure 20. Musical diagrams. STC 13439, de Worde, 1495. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2, f. Ci r, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

Figure 21. Musical diagram. STC 13440, Treveris, 1527. © British Library Board (C.15.b.3, f. Ci r, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.

What is most interesting about the diagrams, from a paratextual viewpoint, is the fact that they are referred to in the text: MS **C** has "as fygure schoweþ" for the first (f. 92ʳ) and "as in þes fygure" for the second (f. 92ᵛ). The metatextual reference makes the musical diagrams more intimately connected to the text, rather textual than paratextual. No such reference is found in connection to the Ark diagrams, which may be the reason for their disappearance in some branches of the stemma. MSS **S** and **T**, which have the diagrams in the margins, use cross-shaped tie-marks to key them to the text. However, the scribe of **S** does not modify the metatext referring to the figure that "follows", while the scribe of **T** does. Both references are updated and the tie-mark is also explicitly referred to: "as this | figure sheweth in this signe in ther margeine" (f. 73ʳᵃ, ll. 38–40) and "as in this | figure that folweth in the margeine" (f. 73ʳᵇ, ll. 18–19). Beyond dialectal variation, this is a rare example in the present data of scribal changes to the main text, with a specific purpose to maintain reader friendliness.

7.5.3   Woodcut illustrations

The two later printed editions contain woodcut illustrations; de Worde's edition on the title-page and Treveris's edition on the title-page as well as elsewhere.

Both title-pages consist of xylographic titles – printed from woodblocks rather than set in type – and full-page woodcut images. De Worde's title-page features St Jerome, seated with an open book in front of a group of saints and accompanied by a lion (Hodnett 1973, no. 800). According to Hodnett (1973: 245), the illustration belongs to the *Vitas Patrum* series (*Vitas Patrum*, STC 14507, Westminster, 1495), and it was used again in the *Polychronicon* and in de Worde's edition of *Dives & Pauper* (STC 19213, Westminster, 1496).

Treveris's title-page shows St George slaying the dragon. The illustration is touched in red in various places: the title, the cross in the upper register; crosses in the woodcut (shield and armour), the dragon's tongue, bookseller Reynes's device.[193] The pictorial motif of St George on the title-page has been analysed by Yu-Chiao Wang (2004), who argues that the choice was made by John Reynes, the bookseller for whom Treveris printed the edition. Wang shows that the choice seems rather unrelated to the textual content, as St George is only briefly noted by Higden; rather, it reflects Reynes's marketing strategies and his desire to be connected with national, chivalric material. The image he wished to convey, Wang envisions, required some experimentation with the design:

[193]   In some copies, a page showing the earliest version of the title-page is bound at the end of the volume; for the development of the title-page, see Wang (2004: 386–392); Hodnett 1973: 458 (no. 2489).

> What Reynes wanted for the title-page of his 1527 Polychronicon was a strong visual message that advertised the title of the book and his identity as its publisher to his potential buyers. In the first version the title and his trademarks had been printed in red, but that was clearly not enough. Reynes decided they had to be huge and eye-catching, as they were in the second version. (Wang 2004: 391)

Interestingly, the large xylographic title introduced in the second version brings the visual impact close to the title-page used by de Worde.

The other woodcut illustrations have been described by Hodnett (1973, nos. 2490–2496). As noted above (Section 7.4.2), the woodcut illustrations in Treveris mostly occur at textual breaks: between Books and between the main text and the paratextual items. Most likely, when occurring at Book breaks, they are used to fill up extra space; some illustrations are recycled with small modifications. However, the illustrations are usually not unrelated to the text. For instance, the illustration in Book 5, chapter 26 features a king carrying a shield that reads "¶ Karolus | Magnus." (f. CCxix^r); Charlemagne is also featured in the calendar rubrics in the margin of the same page. The words on the shield are printed with movable type; they are not found when the woodcut is used again on f. CCCxlvi^v at the end of Liber Ultimus. There the illustration is accompanied with one of a king in armour, bearing the English royal coat of arms with lions and fleurs-de-lis. The same woodcut also appears at the beginning of Book 6, chapter 4 (f. CCxxxi^r) where it may be taken to represent Edward the Elder, and at the beginning of Book 7 (f. CClxii^r). Here a woodcut panel is placed below the illustration to fill up the remaining space. The recycling of the illustration suggests there is only a generic relation to the text; the commercial and navigational functions seem to be prevalent. The same must be true for another woodcut that occurs twice, a bust of a king holding a leaf with writing, found in Book 6, chapter 23 (f. CCliii^r) and Liber Ultimus (f. CCCxxxvi^r). The most prominent illustration is placed after Book 4, a large woodblock depicting a battle scene between England and France (f. Clxxxii^v); together with narrow panels above and below, the woodcuts take up the whole page. Two more woodcuts illustrate two men in a dialogue (f. CCxxvii^r) and a queen accompanied by a man (f. CCCxvi^v).

There is no doubt that the woodcut illustrations were meant to improve the market value of the new edition, as they seem to have been produced for this edition. It is noteworthy that the first half of the chronicle dealing with ancient history has no illustrations; presumably, Treveris or Reynes expected that the readers would find the parts discussing the history of Britain more interesting. Their focus on illustrating these parts are in line with the national consciousness promoted by the title-page.

7.6 Summary

From the multitude of elements discussed in this chapter, a few general conclusions can be drawn. It is widely accepted in manuscript studies that the hierarchy of elements such as borders and initials needs to be determined case by case (Brown 1994: 67–68). However, the hierarchy is dependent on conventions and the example set by the exemplar, as well as the scribe's (or printer's/compositor's) interpretation of the structure of the text. The different decorative programmes identified by scholars studying late medieval manuscripts show that manuscript producers had different techniques for making the structure visible regardless of the economic or other boundaries (e.g. a patron's wishes) within which they had to operate. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to examine the navigational and interpretive functions of decoration within a single manuscript codex, especially one that contains several texts. The treatment of the independent texts *Dialogus* and *Sermon* in MS **J**, where the most prominent (historiated) initial is found at *Dialogus*, rather than at the beginning of the *Polychronicon* as in **D** and **F**, likely does not mean that the text or the pair of texts was seen as being of higher status than the *Polychronicon*. Rather, it reflects the convention of making the very beginning most prominent. The treatment of the two texts also has parallels in Trevisa's prefatory elements, which are shown as a pair (the latter usually receives a smaller initial); the independent texts are also presented as belonging together through the decorative programme and rubrics.

The *Polychronicon* shows that the application of Genette's term *intertitles* to manuscript and early print material has certain limitations: although the features of intertitles match those found in manuscript elements, it is problematic to place all intertitles under the same category since their functions vary. Those that simply refer to a sequence (e.g. *Liber tercius*, *capitulum primum*) are almost purely navigational; the only interpretive function these can be said to have is that which indicates that they are a part of a series, and this is related to the navigational function, too. Incipits/explicits are also often navigational, unless they have a descriptive element to them (e.g. naming the text that precedes or follows). Descriptive chapter rubrics, which summarise or define a topic for the chapter, have a wider variety of functions: interpretive, and perhaps promotional too, in addition to navigational. The comparison of rubrics found in the manuscripts with corresponding elements in the printed editions shows that even when red is not used, rubrics are generally set apart from the surrounding text visually, for instance by whitespace or paraphs and other punctuation marks before/after the rubric (typeface-switches were not used for this purpose in my data). The verbal cues also help in identifying rubrics in black and white print (e.g. *incipit/explicit*), as do code-switches, although code-switches are also used in text and do not necessarily signify a paratexual element.

The producers' understanding of paratextuality is also visible in their approaches to the pictorial material. The Noah's Ark diagram with its Latin rubrics is perhaps seen as more paratextual than the musical diagrams, which are referred to in the text and executed by scribes rather than specialised artists. In this process, the Ark diagram has perhaps turned into an "illustration", an additional luxury, while the musical diagrams, in English, remain between the pictorial and textual modes of conveying information and are interpreted as part of the text even when they are moved into the margins. The printed editions conform to this idea; the musical diagrams were deemed an integral part of the text by Caxton, who reserved space for them to be filled in by hand, and de Worde found a way to execute them already at the printing stage.

8   Marginal annotation

The final part of the analyses focuses on marginal annotation, specifically notes located outside the area occupied by the main text. I will examine the functions of marginal annotation, comparing the functions of scribal, printed and readers' notes. As will be shown in the analysis, notes in the *Polychronicon* are often difficult to distinguish from rubrics, and therefore this discussion provides a natural continuation to the previous chapter, in which rubrics and other page elements were analysed.

Some elementary probes into the problematic definition of notes and their position in the paratext typology were made by Ruokkeinen & Liira (2017 [2019]: 119–124). In the article, we maintain that the ancillary status may be considered the most fundamental feature: a note comments on the text, but it is optional in that the coherence of the text does not suffer by the inclusion or omission of the note (2017 [2019]: 120). This is not particularly helpful for recognising a note, as the connection between the note and the text is not dependent on the physical location of the note in the same document as the text or outside it – a note could be either peritextual or epitextual. In search of other defining criteria, we asked to what extent physical characteristics, such as visual appearance and location within the document, influence what the reader interprets as a note. This question was very much prompted by Higden and Trevisa's notes, which are embedded in the text in the manuscript copies and editions of the *Polychronicon*.[194] We concluded that Trevisa's notes are paratextual, because they comment on a part of text in a way that generally disrupts the narrative, and their removal or placement elsewhere, such as in the margins, would not impair the narrative in the same way as removing or relocating Higden's notes would (2017 [2019]: 124). Yet the interpolation of the notes in the text, and the way they are visually marked, complicates the picture: the notes are attributed to Trevisa in a similar manner that parts of the text are attributed to Higden or his *auctoritates*. For this reason, the notes could potentially be considered rather textual than paratextual. Because none of the manuscript copies or printed editions treats

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[194]   For an analysis and classification of Trevisa's comments, see Fowler (1995: 178–189); see also Beal (2012: passim).

Trevisa's notes differently, for example by placing them in the margins, I have omitted their analysis from the present study and limited my scope to marginal notes added by later producers and users of the text. These elements merit research as they are unambiguously paratextual due to their location in the margins, but because of their producers they do not fit into a strictly Genettean framework.

8.1   Paratextual questions

For Genette, the issues of classification are related to the textual status of notes, as they operate in the "fringe" between text and paratext. That is to say, the question is whether a note is part of the main text or not. The same question has been posited by other paratext scholars, cf. e.g. Toledano Buendía (2013: 151), who refers to the issue of determining between "the textual or extratextual nature of [translator's] notes". In this case, too, the question is related to authorship (see Section 2.1.4). She approaches the question by examining the functions of translator's notes, while material aspects do not play a role in determining the "nature" of the notes. However, in order to examine the function of the note, one needs to be able to define it. What, in fact, constitutes a note?

The challenges of considering early English notes in terms of Genettean paratextuality mostly pertain to the definition of a *note* and how it relates to the established terminology used in the study of manuscripts and early modern books (see Ruokkeinen & Liira, 2017 [2019]: 120). Terms such as *annotation*, *commentary*, *gloss* and *marginalia* have somewhat different definitions and connotations, yet they are all used to refer to textual (and/or visual) material that usually comments on, or otherwise engages with, the main text in the same document. I will discuss these terms in more detail in Section 8.2 below.

Another general question is that of "original" vs. "later" notes. Notes can be added onto the pages at various stages of the production and use of the copies. Does it make a difference in paratextual classification who the producer of the annotation is? The position of notes in paratextual typology is somewhat unclear: Genette's survey (1997b) mostly covers the authorial note, although other possible senders, such as editors and translators, are also recognised (1997b: 322). The division into authorial and allographic notes (1997b: 337–339; for the term allographic, see also Section 5.2.2 above) is a starting point but not sufficient for capturing the complexities of this form of (para)textual reference and influence. For instance, the possibility of readers as senders is not considered in Genette's model. The lack of this angle reflects, on the one hand, Genette's interest in the work rather than in individual, material copies or their reception. On the other hand, Genette's focus is on literary genres, in which authorial and editorial notes may be less frequent than in scholarly or utilitarian types of texts. The number of different senders as well as

the number of different types of notes in Genette's corpus is therefore likely to be lower than it would be in a corpus comprising a wide variety of texts. Readers' marginalia as *paratext* is thus an area which requires further inquiry.

The issues presented above are too large and complex to address in a single study, but I hope to contribute to these larger themes by answering the following set of questions in this chapter:

- What paratextual functions do marginal notes have in the *Polychronicon* copies analysed? Do their functions differ depending on the producer, the "sender" of the note (scribe, printer/editor, or reader)?

- Are there any overlapping or complementary functions with other paratextual elements?

- Are there certain notes that occur across copies, or are certain parts of the text more prone to attract notes?

8.2   Previous studies

"The paratext," properly speaking, does not *exist*; rather, one chooses to *account in these terms* for a certain number of practices or effects, for reasons of method and effectiveness or, if you will, of profitability. The question is therefore not whether the note does or does not "belong" to the paratext but really whether considering it in such a light is or is not useful and relevant. The answer very clearly is, as it often is, that that depends on the case – or rather […] that that depends on the *type* of note. (Genette 1997b: 343, emphases original)[195]

Genette's discussion of the note illustrates the dynamic nature of paratextuality. In a similar vein, I proposed in Chapter 2 above that viewing paratextuality as a fixed characteristic of an element makes it difficult to analyse paratextual elements in their material and other contexts. However, Genette (1997b) does not problematise the material characteristics of notes (location, for example) in relation to their content, function or textual status. In his discussion, medieval glosses are unproblematically presented as the earliest notes (1997b: 320), although their functions and relationship with the text they surround may have been completely different from the modern

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[195]   " « Le paratexte » n'*existe* pas à proprement parler, on choisit plutôt de *rendre compte en ces termes* d'un certain nombre de pratiques ou d'effets, pour des raisons de méthode et d'efficacité, ou, si l'on préfère, de rentabilité. La question n'est donc pas de savoir si la note « appartient » ou non au paratexte, mais bien s'il y a ou non avantage et pertinence à l'envisager ainsi. La réponse est très clairement, comme souvent, que cela dépend des cas, ou plutôt […] que cela dépend des *types* de notes" (2002 [1987]: 345).

notes which Genette focuses on. For example, it may be argued that glosses – often written in a smaller script interspersed with or around the text they comment on – can also be viewed as the "main text" especially when the commentary is what the reader is primarily interested in (Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019: 122–123).[196] Here I refer to *commentary* as a standardised set of notes (glosses), often by a named author. While considerations of this kind of textual schemes are outside the focus of the present study, this brief example illustrates how the paratext theory can benefit from the study of earlier textual cultures.

The interest in textual material placed in the margins is relatively recent and concurrent with materialist approaches to the study of texts. W. Sherman (2008) points out that scholars have wrongly assumed that as the number of printed authorial and editorial marginalia increased, readers became passive receivers (2008: 8–9; see also Wakelin 2010: 445).[197] Rather, Renaissance readers continued to annotate and add elements such as personalised tables of contents to suit their individual needs (2008: 9). Yet for a long time, scholars overlooked non-authorial notes as something extraneous to the text. This view has been challenged, among others, by Evelyn B. Tribble (1993), who examined marginal notes as sites for contesting for authority and for exercising control over the text. Similarly, William W. E. Slights has described printed notes in early modern printed books as a "tool of textual interpretation and reader management" (1989: 683).[198] However, in Slights's data the purpose of the notes is to serve the "general reader" by making the text more accessible (1989: 682). In this regard, according to Slights, printed notes differ from handwritten notes: printed annotation is aimed at a large audience and is used to manage and redefine the readership, whereas handwritten notes typically "record a reader talking to himself" (1989: 682–683). As will be seen below, such a clear distinction in functions is not found in the *Polychronicon* material.

8.2.1   Definitions

Applying the paratext theory to pre-print notes is not straightforward also because of the varied terminology used in medieval and early modern studies and cataloguing. Terms such as *annotation*, *commentary*, *gloss* and *marginalia* are all used to describe textual material that may surround the "main text" on a page (peripheral location is

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[196]   See also Pabst (2006, esp. 135) on the complementary relationship of text and marginal gloss in manuscripts of didactic poetry from the twelfth century onwards. Pabst argues that the text and paratext (gloss) together form an entity of meaning, as the text may not be understandable without the aid of the commentary (2006: 120, 144).

[197]   Slights (2004: 71) estimates that printed marginal notes occur in "more than half of the books printed in English between 1525 and 1675".

[198]   This article has been updated and republished in Slights (2001: 19–60).

used as the defining feature), but this does not necessarily mean that the terms refer to elements with similar content and functions.

The word *gloss* originally referred to interlinear glossing of words, i.e. providing a translation above the word (see e.g. Camille 1992: 20). However, the term *gloss* may also refer to comments, or notes, written in the margins of the page – even a full commentary with its own carefully arranged layout. The latter usage is synonymous with notes or annotation, and is sometimes used in this sense also in studies of printed material; for instance, Lipking (1977) and Slights (1989: 682) refer to early modern printed marginalia as "marginal gloss".

Marginalia is also commonly used by medievalists and early modernists to refer to notes, but the term is vague. Firstly, it encompasses both textual and visual elements, not all of which even engage with the text, such as inscriptions and doodles (W. Sherman 2008: 23, see also Grindley 2001: 77). Secondly, Grindley argues that the "usual definition of a 'margin' is too narrow", noting especially flyleaves and other blank spaces in manuscript books that are "marginal to other logical structures", such as individual texts, in the manuscript (2001: 77). He proposes a classification into three types: (1) "marginalia without any identifiable context", (2) "marginalia that exist within a context associated with that of the manuscript itself", and (3) "marginalia directly associated with the various texts that the manuscript contains" (*ibid.*).[199] On these three types he builds a detailed typology, which I see as a useful tool for classifying notes; I will return to it below when discussing the classification of notes (Section 8.2.2). However, the typology does not solve the issue that only in certain cases is *marginalia* synonymous with notes or *annotation*. The latter, following W. Sherman, can be used as a general heading for "a body of writing that not only accompanies a text but directly engages with it" (2008: 23). It is also worth noting that marginalia as a term is a later invention; sixteenth-century readers themselves referred to marginalia as "marginall notes", "notes in the margent" or "gloses" (W. Sherman 2008: 20).[200] The issue with *annotation*, then, is

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[199]   A somewhat similar classification in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books has been used by Brayman Hackel (2005: 138), who divides marginalia into "marks of active reading", "marks of ownership" and "marks of recording". These are also cited by Orgel, who adds a fourth class, "seemingly irrelevant markings", a sort of graffiti which may serve no other purpose than to record the reader's presence in the book (2015: 4–5). Beside notes that witness active reading, all of these markings classified by Brayman Hackel and Orgel can be placed under Grindley's (2001) Type I, "marginalia without any identifiable context".

[200]   For the benefits of using the standardised term *marginalia*, see W. Sherman (2008: 21). My choice of "marginal annotation" in the title of this chapter is an attempt at transparency: I see *annotation* as the action of producing notes, or a collection of such notes, whereas marginal indicates the location of the notes in my material.

that when defined as "a body of writing", it may be understood to exclude symbols, such as the conventional pointing hand or manicule.[201]

The multifaceted terminology shows that notes are a complex element due to the many variables that may affect their classification and definition. The producer/sender, type, function, and location of notes vary and form different combinations. There may be genre differences: narrative and fictional texts are different from instructive or utilitarian texts, such as academic texts, in the number and type of notes produced by authors, translators and editors, and they also attract different kinds of notes by readers.[202] Genette briefly summarises the history of notes from the marginal glosses of the Middle Ages down to the present day, commenting on their various locations: margins, bottom of the page, interlinear, end of chapter or book, or in a separate volume (1997b: 319–343).

However, the relationship between marginal notes and the footnote, for example, has not been thoroughly explored despite some studies which specifically focus on the footnote (e.g. Grafton 1997; see, however, Lipking 1977: 622 on footnotes and marginal glosses reflecting different attitudes towards books). Both Tribble (1997) and Slights (2004) connect the emergence of the footnote in the eighteenth century with aesthetic reasons: readers began to disapprove of marginal annotation, which was "thought to detract from [the text's] rhetorical elegance and to smack of distinctly unaristocratic, scholarly *work*" (Slights 2004: 77, emphasis as in the original). Tribble argues that the shift from marginal notes to footnotes reflected a new understanding of typographical aesthetics and a preference for wide, white margins as a "sign of leisure" (1997: 233). Simultaneously, the new location highlighted the emerging role of the critic, which was to be distinguished from the old-fashioned notes produced by earlier translators, printers and editors of the works (*ibid*.). The role of a critic is also seen in Alison Martin's (2006) paratextual study of translator's footnotes by Georg Forster (1754–1794). She argues that eighteenth-century footnotes were frequently used to demonstrate one's extent of learning, and to define the identities of both the translator-annotator and the reader with a voice distinct from that of the author (2006: 181).

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[201] For a detailed account of the manicule, see W. Sherman (2005). He notes that no comprehensive study of this widely used symbol has been made, and often the discussion is focused on the producers (printers and scribes) rather than readers. There is also no consensus on what the symbol should be called; synonyms for manicule include e.g. "hand, hand director, pointing hand, pointing finger, pointer, digit, fist, mutton fist, bishop's fist, index, indicator" (2005: 27).

[202] See e.g. Slights (1989: 687–695), who finds that in the early modern period, printed sermons and religious polemics frequently contain marginalia whereas, for instance, lyric and drama, scientific texts, and devotional handbooks rarely do.

The paratextuality of notes has mostly been studied in the field of translation, where the question of the producer is the most central (see e.g. Paloposki 2010; Toledano Buendía 2013). What is important is, of course, the functions of translators' notes. Toledano Buendía (2013) has classified translators' notes into two main types, *explanatory* and *discursive*. Explanatory notes provide supplementary information important for achieving the effects of the source text in the target language, for example historical or cultural clarifications (2013: 157). Discursive notes provide translator's comments on the text and may show the translator's opinion or stance; the translator becomes visible and uses the note as a way to encourage a certain kind of reading (2013: 159–160). Toledano Buendía concludes that these two types illustrate the borderline nature of paratextual elements, as discursive notes are clearly paratextual while explanatory notes may "hardly cause more than a slight deviation from the text" and could therefore be part of the text (2013: 161). To me it seems that here material aspects again provide clues as to how paratextuality is understood. If all notes are provided as footnotes, the spatial separation is key to defining paratextuality.

Medieval manuscript notes have previously been examined within the paratext framework by Schultze (2013), but his study provides no theoretical discussion about how the study of manuscript annotation may contribute to paratext research. Without explicit reference to paratext theory, annotation and other marginalia have been studied in manuscript and printed books alike,[203] and there is an increasing interest in these practices as evidence for reading cultures. In the following I will summarise some typologies used in these studies to classify notes and their functions.

8.2.2   Classification

According to Briggs (1999), finding aids such as running-titles, initials, rubricated and numbered headings at chapter beginnings, and chapter lists at the beginning of each Book or part sufficed for the late medieval lay readers of *De Regimine Principum*. Learned clerical readers, however, added marginalia to their copies: "these could take the form of brief notes – opinions of the reader or citations of other authorities, but more often just key words pulled from the text – schematic summaries, or the more generalized *nota bene* marks and pointing hands" (1999: 109). As will be seen in the analysis below, many of these types are commonly found also in the copies of the *Polychronicon*, with the exception of schematic summaries.

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[203]   See e.g. Wakelin (2010) for annotation instructing readers in fifteenth-century poetic manuscripts; Kohnen (2011) for notes in a commonplace book and the different roles of compilers; and Baechle (2016) for intertextual source-glosses in manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.

The lack of summaries could be linked to genre differences, or the primarily lay readership of the *Polychronicon* copies.

In his study of scribal notes in fifteenth-century poetic manuscripts, Wakelin (2010: 437–439) identifies common types of notes: instructive notes such as those highlighting topics, characters or points of plot; *nota (bene)* marks calling for the reader's attention; and citations and cross-references. However, Wakelin also underlines that readers could understand or use the notes differently. There was always a possibility of misreading, and also variation in attitudes (2010: 441–444).

Grindley's (2001: 78–91) detailed typology of manuscript (and printed) marginalia comprises all material appearing in the margins, both material contemporaneous with the text as well as readers' additions. It is therefore intended as a tool for classifying any material that is placed in the margins, and is not applicable as such for my purposes. This is mainly because, in addition to marginalia that annotate the text, the typology also includes elements which overlap with other paratextual elements (cf. esp. Type III *Graphical responses*) or are not paratextual (cf. Type I). However, relevant parts of the typology will be utilised in my analysis below.

TYPE I. Marginalia without any identifiable context.

 i. Ownership marks
 ii. Doodles
 iii. Pen trials
 iv. Sample texts (not related to any of the texts in the manuscript/book)

TYPE II. Marginalia that exists within a context of the manuscript itself.

 i. Copied letterforms
 ii. Copied illuminations
 iii. Copied passages
 iv. Additional texts
 v. Marks of attribution
 vi. Tables of content
 vii. Introductory materials
 viii. Construction marks

Type III. Marginalia directly associated with the text(s) that the manuscript contains.

 i. Narrative reading aids
   a. Topic
   b. Source
   c. Citation

      d. Dramatis personae (character identification, may look similar to Topic)

      e. Rhetorical device (e.g. *prima causa*, *obiectio*, *responsio*)

      f. Additional information

      g. Translation

      h. Summation

          1. Textually-gleaned marginal rubrics (quoting the text verbatim)

          2. Paraphrased marginal rubrics (quoting the text with modifications)

          3. Condensed overviews ("condenses more than two lines of text and summarizes narrative" 2001: 87)

          4. Textual extrapolations ("Summations [which are] carried over two lines of text and which condense topics rather than narratives" 2001: 87)

  ii. Ethical pointers (these classes are based on biblical *modi*; see Grindley 2001: 88)

      a. Preceptive points

      b. Exemplifications

      c. Exhortations

      d. Revelatory annotations

      e. Orative annotations

      f. Disputative annotations

  iii. Polemical responses

      a. Social comment

      b. Ecclesiastical comment

      c. Political comment

  iv. Literary responses

      a. Reader participation

      b. Humour and irony

      c. Allegory and imagery

      d. Language issues

  v. Graphical responses

      a. Illuminations

      b. Initials

      c. Punctuation

      d. Iconography

Types I and II contain many classes that appear similar at first, the key difference being the material context of the manuscript (or book). For example, *Pen Trials* (I.iii) are classified as Type I but if the test writing emulates the scripts used in the

manuscript (II.i), it falls into Type II marginalia (2001: 78). In short, Type I contains any additions where the particular manuscript has only been used because it provides blank space for writing. Any marginalia which can be connected with the physical object of the book are classified as Type II. Type III is the largest of the three classes, as it contains all those markings which may be classified as annotation, markings that engage with the text. However, Type III is somewhat problematic in many ways. Firstly, Grindley also includes here elements which are part of the manuscript's *ordinatio*, that is, elements produced by the scribes and artists and not only readers (cf. Chapter 7 above). These elements indeed fall under the vague term marginalia when they occur in the margins instead of being incorporated in the running text, but it is less certain whether they can be called annotation. Secondly, the category of *Graphical Responses* (III.v) is not aligned with the others, even if Grindley admits the category is preliminary (2001: 90). Only the subcategory *Iconography* (III.v.d) includes marks that could be thought of as annotation, in the form of manicules and symbols used as a shorthand.[204] The other subcategories overlap with the text and are not generally even placed in the margins. Finally, it was pointed out above that Grindley here classifies marginalia regardless of the producer – indeed, the majority of his examples are of scribal marginalia. Hence it is unclear why *Reader Participation*, defined as the reader entering into a dialogue with the text, is given as a separate subcategory under *Literary Responses* (III.iv.a).

A closer look at Grindley's (2001) categories through the lens of Birke & Christ's (2013) threefold categorisation of paratextual functions is revealing. Many studies of (especially later) marginalia seem to presume that notes are primarily *interpretive* – that they record a reader's response to a passage or are intended to guide future users of the copy in their interpretation or attitude toward the text. Indeed, many of Grindley's Type III notes fall into this category, namely all types of *Ethical Pointers* (III.ii), *Polemical* (III.iii) and *Literary Responses* (III.iv). However, types of *Narrative Reading Aids* are more varied. While I see *Rhetorical Devices* (III.i.e), *Additional Information* (III.i.f) and *Translation* (III.i.g) as interpretive, and *Sources/Citations* (III.i.b/c) likewise, the function of *Topic* (III.i.a) and *Dramatis Personae* (III.i.d) notes seems to be primarily navigational; these are what Briggs (1999: 109) described as "key words pulled from the text". *Summation* with its subtypes is even more interesting: arguably, the primary purpose of these marginal

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[204] One could, however, debate whether these count as notes. See Jackson (2001: 14), who states that "[n]otes are to be distinguished from asterisks, fists [manicules], exclamation marks, word by word translation, and similar signs of readers' attentions". However, for her the distinction between notes and these "lesser marks" is mainly a methodological one rather than a definition with a theoretical basis. It should also be noted that her materials, dating from from the eighteenth century to the present day, are considerably later than the period on which the present study focuses.

rubrics is navigational, but while *Textually-Gleaned Rubrics* (III.i.h.1) and *Condensed Overviews* (III.i.h.3) use words pulled from the text, *Paraphrased Rubrics* (III.i.h.2) and *Textual Extrapolations* (III.i.h.4) show the annotator's interpretation of the text. It is important to note that Grindley's Type I and II marginalia can only partly be classified as interpretive or navigational – e.g. *Ownership Marks* (I.i), *Doodles* (I.ii) and *Marks of Attribution* (II.v) – because some of them are either not paratextual (e.g. *Additional texts*, II.iv and *Pen trials*, I.iii) or are not *notes* (e.g. *Tables of Contents*, II.vi).

There are many points in which Grindley's (2001) category of *Narrative Reading Aids* (III.i) overlaps with a categorisation used by Slights (1989: 685–686) for the functions of printed annotation. Slights's *Amplification* (providing analogies, examples, or other details) matches Grindley's *Additional Information* (III.i.f) but could also cover *Citations* (III.i.c). *Annotation* (providing references to other works or historical or political events) covers both *Sources* (III.i.b) and *Citations* (III.i.c) as well as *Polemical Responses* (III.iii) in Grindley's model. *Emphasis* could be seen as encompassing at least identifications of *Topic* (III.i.a). Slights (1989: 698) also connects the pointing hand symbol (manicule) with the standardisation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century marginalia: what had originated as a readerly response (cf. Grindley's *Iconography*, III.v.d) became to be used as an impersonal, standard way of marking points of emphasis. However, it should be noted that manicules provided by scribes would have a similar function to ones provided by printers.

Slights's *Organisation* (making textual structures explicit) does not have a one-to-one match, but it corresponds with the general purposes Grindley outlines for *Narrative Reading Aids* (elements of the *ordinatio*). Some overlapping can also be seen with the category *Simplification* (providing rubrics or summaries) and Grindley's *Summation* (III.i.h). *Rhetorical Gloss* (identifying e.g. figures of speech) and *Translation* (translating from one language to another, or clarifying difficult parts) each have corresponding categories in Grindley's typology (cf. III.i.e, III.i.g).

However, Slights's categories also include several with no straightforward matches in Grindley's scheme, namely *Appropriation*, *Correction* ("objecting to some point made by the author; also anticipating erroneous interpretations"), *Evaluation* (evaluating the argument or its expression), *Exhortation* ("encouraging reader to take to heart the author's message"), *Explication* (clarification of meaning or implications), *Justification* (defending the author against criticism), *Parody* ("mocking the tone or substance of the text"), and *Pre-emption* (filling the margins to "prevent insertion of unauthorized, handwritten text"). Nevertheless, these types of notes appear to reflect particularly well the authorial and editorial roles of "Renaissance commentators, scholarly annotators, translators, editors, printers, and authors of all kinds" (Slights 1989: 682). This is also evident in the broad functions of the notes, most of which are interpretive rather than navigational in nature. Here

Slights's understanding of the purposes of annotation comes close to Genette's idea of a threshold.[205] Grindley's typology, on the other hand, is developed for the classification of medieval marginalia, which evidence somewhat different models of the art of interpretation and textual modes drawn from the Bible (Grindley 2001: 83, 88). The strength of Grindley's model is in the division into Types I–III, which allows for detailed classification of marginalia based on their functions and their relationship with the text and the document, and, in some regards, in the fact that the model does not differentiate between producers and readers. This latter point may, however, also prove problematic when it blurs the lines between annotation and other paratextual elements.

As seen from this overview of prior research on historical annotation, most studies solely focus either on the producers' side or the readers' side. This approach may, however, hide the possible similarities in the functions of annotation, for instance when readers have filled in rubrics and other organisatory elements, and disregard the impact of the layers of annotation on the reading experience. The following analysis aims to bridge this gap while studying marginal material which has not yet been placed in focus in the previous *Polychronicon* research.

8.3   Methods

For this chapter, I have collected and transcribed scribal, printed and readers' notes from Books 1 and 6. However, since my analysis is qualitative, I will cite some illustrative examples outside these Books, too. The collection of data (as described in Section 7.3) was all-inclusive in terms of marginalia, but I limited the analysis in this chapter to marginalia which fall into Grindley's (2001) Type III, including manicules and other symbols which are used more or less similarly to *notae* (as opposed to doodles or copied illuminations, see Types I and II).[206] The notes were analysed using Grindley's (2001) and Slights's (1989) categorisations as well as Birke & Christ's (2013) division into interpretive, navigational and commercial paratextual elements. The scope of the study places some necessary limitations on the analysis: I will briefly address the calendar system as part of scribal and printed marginalia (Sections 8.4, 8.5), but a full collation of the dates falls outside the scope and paratextual focus of my study. Section 8.6 on readers' notes is restricted to annotation found in the manuscript copies only.

I begin my analysis with scribal notes. There may be individual cases where it is difficult to determine whether the note is written by the scribe or a reader when the

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[205]   Slights has added explicit references to Genette's paratextuality in the updated version, see esp. 2001: 20.

[206]   Ambiguous cases were included in the analyses.

hand is roughly contemporaneous with the manuscript's time of production.[207] Yet the majority of scribal notes in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts are easily distinguishable from reader notes by their visual features: the hand is similar to that of the main text, and in some cases the script used is even more formal than that of the main text (cf. Wakelin 2010: 435 on visual features of scribal notes; for example, the scribe of MS **M** uses Anglicana Formata for the main text and Bastard Anglicana for rubrics and marginal notes). Reader notes in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts are typically in Secretary or Italic scripts and often later than the time of production. Furthermore, scribal notes may be written in red ink, or they may be highlighted using other means, such as paraphs or underlining, often in red. This is what makes them visually similar to rubrics, and as shown in the previous chapter, some of the elements found in the margins are more readily described as rubrics. The marginal elements discussed in the previous chapter were found at the beginnings of textual units, however, mainly in conjunction with chapter numbering, whereas the elements analysed here are not linked to textual breaks. Nevertheless, the division into rubrics and notes is not clearcut, and one of the aims in this chapter is to continue the discussion started above in Chapter 7 to establish a clearer picture of the complexities of paratextual framing in the *Polychronicon*.

8.4   Scribal annotation

Practically every manuscript copy has some marginal notes or rubrics written by the scribe(s),[208] in addition to the calendar system and corrections. One manuscript differs drastically from all the others in the extent of scribal annotation: MS **M** is heavily annotated in the hand of the scribe. The difference itself is not an unusual finding: scribes would generally make decisions whether to copy marginal notes and may have copied notes from their exemplars selectively (Partridge 2011: 95). The majority of the other manuscripts have some scribal notes. Sometimes these are simple *nota* marks (abbreviated "Noᵃ"), inviting the reader to pay attention to a certain point of text but with no further specification. Sometimes there are more detailed notes, and sometimes elements which can more readily be considered marginal rubrics, as I will argue below. Some trends go hand in hand with the stemmatological subgroups – for instance, MSS **HB** and the group **ADLRFJP**, although there is some variation within the latter group. The **CGST** group shows

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[207]   It should also be noted that professional scribes were able to write several scripts, which complicates the identification of scribal hands across different manuscripts (Mooney 2000: 135).

[208]   Manuscripts **STMHBADLRFJP** each have at least one note that can be identified as scribal; **C** and **G** have some notes that are likely scribal. Analysing the notes in **C** is challenging due to its damaged state.

more variation, and in this group the scribal marginal elements are scarcer in general. The difference between the **M**-group and the *c*-group is most clearly seen in the calendar system, which is present in all **M**-group manuscripts and the printed editions but not in **CGST**. Since the calendar system is part of the marginalia and often visually similar to other scribal notes (see **Figure 22**), it will be briefly discussed here before moving on to actual annotation.
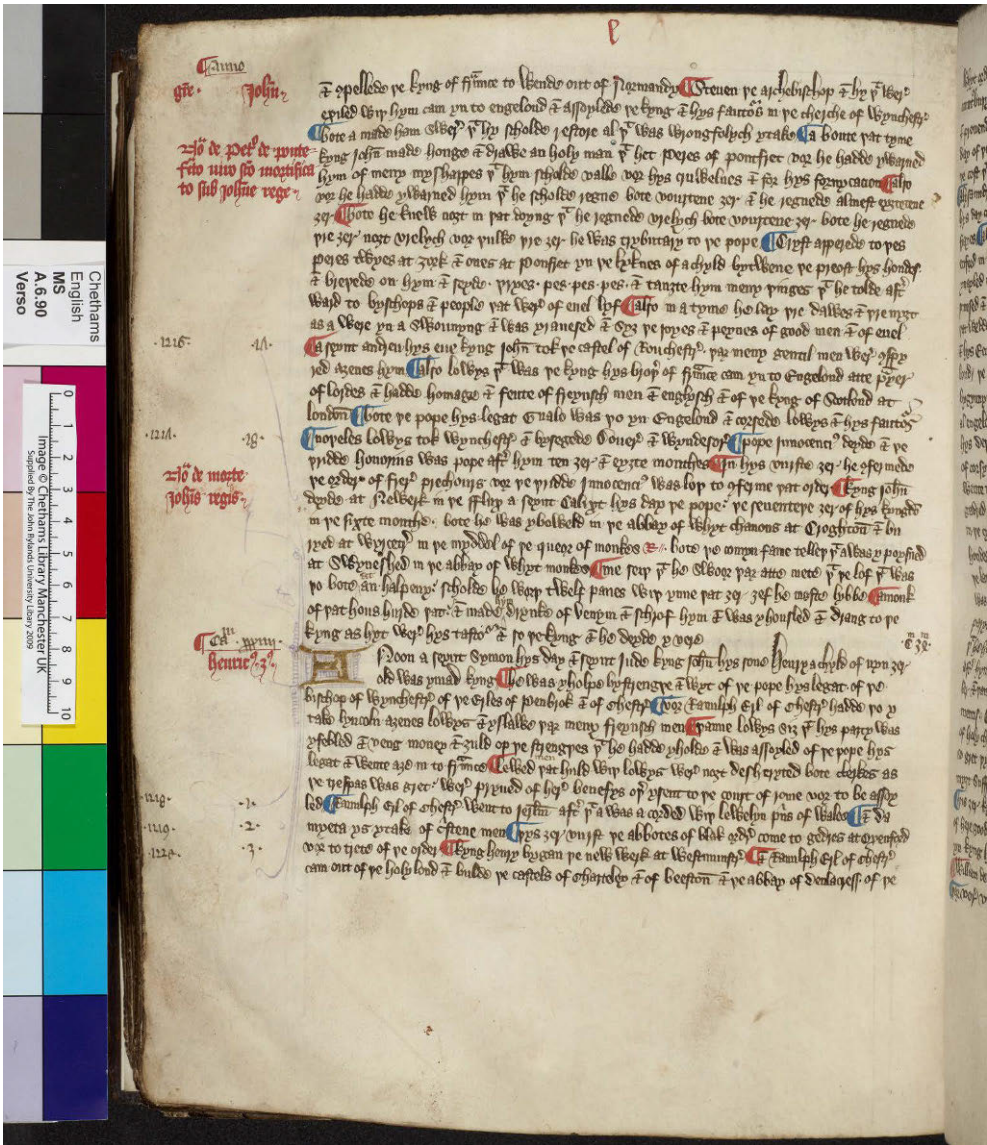

Figure 22. Calendar system and scribal annotation in Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 (**M**), f. 171v. Image: Chetham's Library, reproduced with permission.

Because of such a clear division between the two major groups, it is possible that the calendar system was introduced by the scribe of **M** or its ancestor as a result of collation with a Latin manuscript (cf. the Latin index and the Noah's Ark diagrams, see Sections 6.4 and 7.5.1, respectively). Judging by the "user instructions" provided in Higden's preface (see Section 5.4.1), it is evident that the calendar system employed in the margins of the *Polychronicon* was carefully thought out and polished by Higden in the course of his revision of the work.[209] The system is a sophisticated navigational aid designed to help the reader date the events in the narrative, and to compare them across different ways of counting years. The headings consist of *Anno*, 'year', a personal name usually in the genitive case, e.g. *Isaac*, *Edwardi*, and/or a conventional system of calculating years, e.g. *ab vrbe condita* (from the foundation of the City of Rome), *a transmigracione* (from the transmigration of the Jews to Babylon), and *[Anno] gracie* (years of grace).[210] These function as column headers for the dates, written in Arabic numbers in the margins, although the columns themselves are implicit and not ruled visibly. According to Freeman (2013: 174), this is also the case for most of the Latin copies (but cf. e.g. the Latin copy, Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 223, see Waldron 2004: xix, Plate 1).

The functionality of Higden's marginal calendar is occasionally muddled in the copies of Trevisa's English translation: what is originally a source of additional information or at least a useful navigational tool is sometimes rendered into a simple decorative element through frequent errors and omissions in copying the dates. For instance, the dates in each column are sometimes transposed, possibly because the order of the headings is generally mirrored on the opening but scribes do not always take this into account when copying the dates. Sometimes numbers are also copied in a reverse order, which suggests the scribes were not entirely confident with the Arabic numbers even though mistakes like this are not found in Book or chapter numbers. For instance, MS **M**, f. 70^r has 168 for Isaac and 268 for Abraham (l. 20) whereas in MS **H**, f. 102^v, this set of dates is given as 862 and 861 (l. 4) although the preceding dates are copied correctly as 151 and 251. MS **B** reproduces these mistakes. In MS **J**, f. 212^r, the first regnal year of Alfred the Great is given as 378 rather than 873. However, even when no dates have been entered in the margins, the headings are generally copied on every folio (e.g. in MS **F**) and in these cases they possibly function as navigational aids, running rubrics of a sort, which denote biblical characters, popes, and secular rulers who are the main focus of the particular chapter. In theory, blank margins would also allow readers to fill in missing dates,

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[209] For the complex development of this system of "marginal chronologies" across the Latin copies and its probable authorial origin, see Freeman (2013: 168–176).

[210] For more detail on the calendar system in MS **M**, see Liira (2014: 55).

but there is no evidence of this kind of behaviour (see Section 8.6 below), and it would have been a difficult task for a reader or scribe to provide missing dates as the original purpose of the system appears to be to demonstrate Higden's efforts in working out the dates, as he notes in his preface (Section 5.4.1).

I will now turn to annotation which is more interesting from a paratextual viewpoint. It is noteworthy that manuscripts **M** and the first part of **C** are copied by the same scribe, yet the scribe has taken a different approach to marginal notes, which are scarce in MS **C**. It is not uncommon in manuscript transmission that the presence and extensiveness of notes varies between copies (cf. Wakelin 2010: 436) and it may happen due to several reasons, although we can only speculate as to the reason in this case. The manuscripts may have been produced according to different preferences of the future owners of the copies, or they may reflect a different anticipated audience or use of the manuscripts. The notes in **M** are often more detailed than scribal notes in other manuscripts tend to be, not only pointing out *what* the reader should note but also *how*, that is, what aspects about the marked passage are important. See e.g. "N*ota* q*ui* hic incepit p*ri*mo | Ars magica.", 'Note how witchcraft first emerged here' (f. 41ᵛ); "N*ota* de .*sancti*. du*n*stano | qualit*er* cepit dia<*bolu*>m | p*er* nasu*m* & q*uom*odo au|diebat angelos can|tantes. kyryleys*on*.", 'Note of St Dunstan, how he grabbed the devil by the nose and how he heard angels sing Kyrie eleison' (f. 136ʳ). The notes in **M** are heavily abbreviated and require proficiency in Latin, whereas **C** mainly has some *nota* marks and guides for the rubricator (e.g. ff. 30ᵛ–31ᵛ). Furthermore, Waldron's stemma suggests there may be one or more lost copies between **C** and the postulated shared ancestor of *c* and **M**. The origin of the notes in **M** is not certain, but it is possible that they were produced by the scribe rather than copied from an exemplar;[211] the manuscript has a higher grade of decoration compared to **C** and producing a set of navigational notes may have been one of the tasks set for the scribe.

It may be hypothesised that there is a connection between the extensive scribal annotation in MS **M** and the Latin index presumably added to this manuscript copy. To some extent this appears to be true. To test this, I compared the Latin index with marginal notes to Books 1 and 6 in MS **M**.[212] As expected, the link is more clearly seen in Book 1, which has frequent place names (classified as identifications of *Topic* (see III.i.a) in Grindley's model), a great number of which are contained in the index. I found 36 notes in total, with 15 clear matches, by which I mean that the locators in

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[211] A comparison with the Latin copy MS Hunter 223, which likely served as the exemplar for the Ark illustration in **M**, would possibly reveal if any of the notes were copied from this MS.

[212] As the index in MS **M** is defective, and there is none in MS **C**, I referenced the Latin index in MS **H** instead.

the index entry point to a chapter with a corresponding note, and there are only grammatical differences between the note and the index entry, or a specification such as *terra* or *ciuitas* at most. Cf. e.g. the index entries *De monte syna. 1. 13.* and *De ierusalem ciuitate 1. 14.* and the corresponding notes in these chapters in **M**, "Mons syna" (f. 41ᵛ) and "de Ierusalem" (f. 42ʳ). There are also a few less clear cases, where the wording differs between the note and the index but the locators point to the same chapter. In Book 6, the notes (59 in total) tend to be longer and more detailed than those in Book 1. While matches to persons are common, there are also notes which call attention to important aspects of events. There are at least ten exact matches, mostly the names of kings, saints, and other persons. "Clear" matches are, however, more difficult to quantify here, as often the index contains an entry which points to the correct chapter, but the note found in the margin is not primarily navigational but interpretive. I will return to the question of interplay of paratextual elements in Chapter 9.

Manuscripts **CGST** feature only a handful of scribal notes. MS **G** highlights "Min*er*ua./" (f. 41ᵛ) in black ink; Minerva is also noted in MS **C** f. 18ᵛ, possibly by an early (fifteenth-century) annotator or the scribe. **C** also has a *nota* here marking the passage on Neptune's anger and the floods he raised because the the city of Athens was named after Minerva (Athene): this could be the same hand that supplies the *Minerva* note. A *nota* on f. 30ʳ marks how Danes "brouȝte greet dryngkyng into engelond" (l. 6); alternatively it may refer to "Wyntlandia" on the same line. Another possibly scribal *nota* on f. 51ᵛ marks a passage where Englishmen are likened to Romans, according to Hannibal's description: easily overthrown in their own country although invincible abroad.

MS **S** has notes, likely scribal, of which a single one has been copied into MS **T**. The note, in Book 5, ch. 31, reads "¶ Angeli & demones litigant" (f. 161ʳ; preceded by a red paraph) and refers to a passage on Holy Roman Emperor Lothair, who died in the abbey of Prüm. The narrative tells that angels and demons quarrelled over his soul but that the monks were able to drive away the fiends through prayers. The same note is found on f. 142ʳ in MS **S**. This is an exceptional note among those in **S**, too, as the other notes are mostly of the navigational type (Grindley's *Topic*); see for instance "[Al]uredus" and "neotus" (Book 6, f. 143ᵛ). Additionally, MS **S** has notes on the modern inserted leaves, copied from Treveris's edition along with the main text (e.g. f. 14ʳ). The same imitating hand places some corrections in the lower margin (ff. 17ᵛ–18ʳ, 19ᵛ). Although these are preceded with "No." and numbered, they consist of corrections (parts of the main text accidentally skipped upon copying). Apparently familiar with footnotes, the modern scribe adopts a practice which illustrates the problems in defining *notes*: in some cases, the textual content and the material form are in contradiction.

MS **M** and the other manuscripts in the same group are notable in that there is some flexibility in the placement of scribal marginal notes and rubrics inserted in the text. The variation in placement is illustrated, for instance, in a set of scribal notes in Book 2, ch. 8, which discusses the ancient kingdoms of Scythia, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia, as well as the Greek and Roman empires. These notes serve a navigational purpose by allowing the reader to quickly find the relevant passages, but they also organise the information within the chapter by serving as headings; cf. MS **H**: "Regnu*m* Schyta*rum*", "Regnu*m* Egipc*io*rum" (f. 98ᵛ); "Regnum Assiro*rum*", "Regnu*m* Babilo*un*" (f. 99ʳ); "Regnu*m* P*er*sa*rum*", "Regnu*m* Romanu*m*" (f. 99ᵛ). It would be better justified to view these paratextual elements as marginal rubrics rather than notes for two reasons. Firstly, comparable rubrics are found in the Latin *Polychronicon*. There is some variation in the Latin manuscripts: the RS edn gives similar rubrics as section headings, but the editors remark that these rubrics are not found in four of the five Latin manuscripts they collated (i.e. the short and intermediate versions; the rubrics are only present in the manuscript representing the long version[213]).[214] Secondly, the scribes of MSS **F** and **D** as well as Scribe Delta have inserted some of these in the text column (cf. in-text rubrics discussed in Section 7.4.2.3 above). In MS **F** (f. 57ʳ), for instance, the rubric "Regnu*m* babilo*un*" is found in the text column while "¶ Regnu*m* assirio*rum*" is placed in the margin. Regardless of the placement, these are in red ink, and the rubrics in the margins of MS **F** are highlighted with decorated paraph marks. Delta likewise alternates between inserting the rubrics into the text and in the margins.

The material context is thus important in the classification of individual items. In contrast with MSS **HBARDFJP**, the notes referring to the ancient kingdoms do not stand out as clearly as headings in MS **M**, as they begin with the phrase *nota de*, e.g. "No*ta* de regno Schytes.", "No*ta* de regno Egipc*iorum*.", which perhaps implies they are regarded as notes rather than rubrics by the scribe.[215] This phrase is common in marginal notes but is not generally used in rubrics (see Section 7.4.2.3). They are also visually identical to other marginal notes which are frequent in this manuscript.

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[213]   Cambridge University Library MS Ii.III.1.
[214]   There are some differences between the English and the Latin (of the edition): Babylon does not receive a section of its own in the edition. Greece, in turn, is omitted from the rubrics of the English manuscripts. A comparison of the Latin copies would be required to ascertain that this is not because of editorial choices.
[215]   *Nota* is generally understood as an imperative, especially in the common construction *nota bene*, 'note well' (Wakelin 2010: 438). However, without the adverb *bene*, and particularltly in constructions beginning *nota de…*, the word *nota* may alternatively be interpreted as a noun, 'a note of something'; I wish to thank Professor Jyri Vaahtera for pointing this out to me.

MSS **H** and **B**, grouped together by Waldron (1990, 2004) on the basis of their textual similarity, i.e. shared errors and omissions, seem to form a subgroup against the other manuscripts in terms of their marginalia as well. For instance, the MSS share two notes in Higden's preface: ¶ *þe names of auctours* and *etates seculi* ('ages of the world'). The first is placed next to the list of Higden's sources at the end of the first preface (see Section 5.4).[216] The second note refers to the six ages of the world summarised in the third preface.[217] None of the other copies, including **M**, has these notes. Neither have they made their way to the printed editions, which are textually close to this subgroup (see **Figure 1**).

The two notes shared by **H** and **B** again illustrate the difficulty of classifying marginal elements from a paratext-typological perspective: should they be described as notes or rubrics, or as both? The two notes have a primarily navigational function, as they do not offer additional information but serve as finding aids, informing the reader on the topic discussed in the running text. The red paraph in the first note serves as an eye-catching element, while the second note is not highlighted.[218] It is worth considering that one of the notes is in English, the other in Latin. Does this affect their use? The Latin index contains an entry for the six ages of the world, *De sex etatibus seculi*, referring to Book 1, ch. 4 (i.e. the third preface in the English translation, in MS **H** the chapter number has been recorded in the margin). The English index has no corresponding entry, which means that the reader of MS **H** or **B** interested in finding information on the six ages of the world would need to refer to the Latin index, and would therefore find a marginal note in Latin helpful in locating the information within the chapter. The English note referring to *þe names of auctours*, however, must serve a slightly different purpose. The list of authors is not indexed (in either English or Latin), nor does the note seem necessary as a finding aid, as the list itself is highlighted visually with red paraphs and underlinings, and introduced by metatext. It is possible that the information was considered so important that the note was added, perhaps by the scribe of MS **H**, to add some visual prominence equivalent to the red ink used in **M**. The primary function of the note would therefore be navigational or structural, but not as much as a finding aid as a marginal heading.

Two more shared notes occur towards the end of Book 1 in **H** and **B**. In chapter 41, *Gagates* refers to a stone in Ireland.[219] MS **M** is defective here. In chapter 56, the

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[216]   MS **H** 45ʳ; MS **B** f. 44ʳ.

[217]   MS **H** f. 46ʳ; MS **B** f. 45ʳ.

[218]   Even if no great conclusions can be drawn from this, it is noteworthy that the paraph is used similarly in the two manuscripts. Perhaps the latter note was overlooked by the rubricator of MS **H** by accident, but in any case the rubricator of MS **B** decided to follow the exemplar.

[219]   MS **H** f. 78ʳ; MS **B** f. 74ᵛ.

note "Ane" or "Aue"[220] can be read in MS **B** (f. 84ʳ) but it is cropped in MS **H** (f. 87ᵛ): only the final e survives.

Further shared notes are found in Book 6. In chapter 9, **H** and **B** share the note *professioun*, referring to a passage on St Edith, the daughter of King Edgar and St Wilfrida, and how she as a nun at Wilton Abbey *vsede ofte gayer cloþes þan here professyon axede* (quoted from Waldron 2004: 46).[221] For this she was rebuked by Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester. Again, neither MS **M** nor any of the other manuscripts have this note, although MS **M** marks the passage on St Edith ("No*ta* de .s*ancta*. Editha. wyltonie.", f. 132ʳ). Why did the scribes of **H** and **B** highlight this particular word? The note does not seem to carry any additional interpretational value, but it seems rather incomplete as a navigational note – the note in MS **M**, referring to Edith by her name and convent, is much more practical in this sense and matches with the entry in the Latin index (*De sancta Editha*). The English index, in turn, refers to a different passage at the end of the same chapter.[222] The likeliest explanation for the note in **H**, then, seems to be that it was aimed at someone familiar with the text, specifically looking for the passage on Edith's clothing and her response to Æthelwold.

In chapter 14, both manuscripts have a note *Hispalis þat is Cyuil grant*.[223] This can be traced back to MS **M**, where the note ("hilpalys þ*at* is | Cyuyl gr*an*t", f. 136ᵛ), written in black ink and script different from the main text, has been placed in the margin, boxed in red and connected to the text with a caret (see also Waldron 2004: 74, n43). Although the note is in English rather than Latin, and in black instead of red, the scribes of **H** and **B** have deemed it authoritative or useful enough to be reproduced. However, they have not inserted it into the text, even though in **M** it has been marked as if it was an emendation rather than a note. A different interpretation has been made by Caxton or his compositor, who has moved the note into the text: "and fled in to hyspals / that is syul le grannt a cy|to of spayne" (sig. 38 2ʳ, ll. 20–21).

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[220]　The meaning of this note is elusive. It comments on a passage which reads "Aft*er*ward whan kyng Edwyn was yslawe & þingis wer*e* distourbed, Paulinus went þe*n*nes by wat*er*wey into Kent. When*n*es he come first & tooke wiþ hym þe pal." The note could possibly mean 'awe' in the sense of "Fear, terror, dread; also, great reverence, veneration, awe (MED, s.v. *aue*, [n.]); in this case it would be a rare example of a "reactive" (interpretive, rather than navigational) scribal note. However, alternative meanings cannot be ruled out. In any case, as a scribal note this differs from the typical cases of words pulled from the text.

[221]　MS **H** f. 242ᵛ; MS **B** f. 239ʳ. Cf. *MED*, s.v. *prŏ̆fessiŏun*, [n., 2a]: "A vow or vows made by one upon entering a religious order".

[222]　The index entry reads *Edith wol rese*, referring to the story of how King Cnut doubted St Edith's holiness and in response, St Edith sat up in her grave as if to attack the king.

[223]　MS **H** f. 247ᵛ; MS **B** f. 244ᵛ.

The subgroup **ADLRFJP** also provides some interesting points of comparison, as again there is material from a single scribe (**AJP** by Delta) and other closely associated MSS that can be compared.[224] In general, the Delta manuscripts differ in their marginal notes, which indicates that the scribe treated them as optional elements, or that the manuscripts were copied from different exemplars. Some differences in Delta's treatment of the scribal rubrics/notes in Book 2, ch. 8 have already been discussed. MSS **A** and **D** have the marginal note *Rome ibuld* in Book 1, ch. 20, but it is not found in **J**; in **P**, the note has been moved into the text column as a rubric and an additional chapter break has been introduced.[225] A rather consistently appearing marginal rubric *Fabule* (Book 2, ch. 18, referring to Aesop's Fables) occurs in the margin of MSS **DJP**; in **F**, it has been inserted in the text column together with the chapter number.[226]

There are some examples of metatextual scribal notes, although these are much rarer than the rubric-like notes summarising topics. On a few occasions, the scribes have marked verse passages in the margin by an abbreviated note *versus* in red ink (e.g. MS **P**, f. 180ʳ, and MS **D**, f. 165ʳ; see Section 7.4 above). In MS **D**, the confusion arising from the chapter division in Book 1, ch. 28 has prompted the scribe to note in the margin "¶ hic incipit ca*pitulu*m 28. s*ecundu*m *a*l*iu*m l*ibru*m 'here begins chapter 28 according to another book' (f. 30ʳ); this is placed where MS **P** has an initial and a rubric "De fflandria." (f. 15ʳ) although the chapter break is not accounted for in the numbering of chapters. Another, likely scribal note is found on f. 40ʳ, where "hic nichil deficit" 'nothing is missing here' has been inserted into a blank space between chapters in a small script.

8.5 Printed annotation

The calendar system was also added by hand to copies of Caxton's edition, and printed in de Worde and Treveris's editions. The producers of the printed editions do not appear to have had any systematic approach to marginal annotation; possibly, the marginalia was the responsibility of each compositor (or rubricator in the case of **Cax**).[227] In **Wor** and **Tre**, the headings are provided but many pages have no dates.

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[224] Cf. **Figure 1**.

[225] Cf. MS **A**, f. 47ᵛ; MS **D**, f. 22ʳ; MS **J**, f. 44ᵛ; MS **P**, f. 6ʳ. There is some inconsistency in chapter division and rubrics here as well; in the **A**-group, MS **J** is the only one that has a scribal rubric *De Numedia* at chapter 20.

[226] Cf. MS **D**, f. 66ʳ; MS **F**, 63ᵛ; f. MS **J**, f. 91ʳ; MS **P**, f. 49ʳ.

[227] There are differences between the two copies of Caxton examined: for example, British Library, C.10.b.7 provides the chapter title and the calendar system headings in the margin at the beginning of Books 6 (f. CClxxi) and 7 (f. CCCxxiiij), but not the dates which the copy G.6011-12 has.

However, despite some omissions, the dates in Book 6 match between **Cax** and **Wor** for the most part and there appear to be no obvious errors in copying the dates.

Wor and **Tre** have occasional printed notes comparable to the navigational type of notes in the manuscripts, classified under *Narrative Reading Aids (Topic)* by Grindley (2001). For instance in Book 1, place names such as "Lacedemonia" (sig. ciiiᵛ); "Pernasus / mons", "Ecco" (sig. ciiiiʳ); "Elladia." (sig. ciiiiᵛ); "Nothosolitos" (sig. diʳ) and many others have been printed in the margins, but these are limited to quires c and d.²²⁸ Nothing in these notes suggests an origin in any of the English manuscript copies. The notes are in Latin and generally in the nominative case. "Nota Animal Boоз" (sig. diiᵛ) is the only marginal note with the exhortative *Nota*; the note refers to a passage describing a strange animal, said to live in the region of Bohemia. Navigational *Topic* notes are not found in Book 6, where the only marginal elements are part of the calendar system.

As in the manuscripts, the placement of certain items is not fixed. For instance, the notes or rubrics referring to ancient kingdoms in Book 2, ch. 8 occur also in the printed editions: mostly they are inserted in the text, preceded by paraphs. However, *Regnum Assiriorum* is repeated in the margin in **Wor** and **Tre** (sig. iiᵛ). Caxton has all of these rubrics embedded in the main text, although MS **H** places them in the margins. In a second copy of **Cax** examined (British Library, C.10.b.7), some of them have been repeated in the margin in red ink by the in-house rubricator or a later reader.²²⁹

In addition to the ancient kingdoms, a few other scribal notes in Book 2 are also preserved in the print tradition, where they have been inserted in the running text. It appears that the choice of adopting some notes and dropping others was guided by their perceived information content and status as a rubric, that is, an element which organises the narrative rather than simply draws attention to a specific part. For instance, the note *Decime Melchisedech* (Book 2, ch. 10; sig. [ii 5ᵛ]) has been inserted in the printed text in **Cax**, while another note *Hebron* on the same folio in MS **H** (101ʳ) has been dropped in **Cax**.²³⁰ The name of the Palestinian city occurs several times in the main text, which means that moving the note into the text was not necessary. In chapters 12 and 13, **Cax** has *Jacob* and *Moyses* sharing the space with the chapter number; in MS **H** these are placed below the chapter number in the margin. However, the marginal rubric *Joseph* found in mid-chapter in MS **H** (f. 103ʳ)

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²²⁸ Other place names noted include *Flaundria*, *Brabancia*, *Pycardia*; *Cyprus*; *Creta nominatur Candia*; *Capria*, *Canaria*, *Denmark*, *Wyntlandia*; *Iselonde*, *Tyle*, *Insula Scandia*, *Lingos et Vergion*.

²²⁹ The ink colour differs from the ink used in the paraph marks; see ff. lxxx–lxxxi.

²³⁰ This pair of notes is also found in MSS **D** and **R** but not in MS **J**. In MS **F**, both have been inserted in the text.

has been dropped, possibly because the name already occurs in the text or because it was deemed less important than rubrics at chapter beginnings.

8.6   Reader annotation

The extent of annotation varies greatly between the manuscript copies. To begin with a rough comparison, MSS **GSMABR** each have less than twenty notes in total within the range examined (Books 1 and 6), while **D** and **L** are particularly heavily annotated with c. 100 and 200 notes, respectively.[231] For the rest of the manuscripts, the number varies between twenty and a hundred. There appears to be no clear link between the grade of the manuscript or the time of production and the number of notes, although the most lavish copies tend to have fewer.

The density of annotations also varies within each manuscript. Book 1 is almost invariably more densely annotated than Book 6; this is most notable in MSS **F** and **L**. MSS **T** and **J** have a rather even distribution, whereas **B** stands out against all the other copies, having no reader notes in Book 1 at all and a moderate number of ten notes in Book 6.

The most common type of note found in the majority of the copies is a single word or a short phrase taken from the text, which identifies the *Topic* (III.i.a in Grindley's 2001 model). These notes mostly comprise place names or personal names; consider, for instance, MS **L** f. 22^r, bearing the notes "¶ Mumidia" [sic], "Tripolitania", "Getulia", "The buyldyng of Cartago", "Cartago", "Mauritania", "Tingituna", and "Athlas". The first of these has been filled in as a rubric[232] whereas the rest are marginal notes. In Slights's (1989) system, the function of these kinds of notes could be described as *Emphasis* or perhaps *Simplification* – the category for rubrics and summaries. The note is almost purely navigational: a simple repetition of a key word in the text, it functions as a finding aid and offers no aids for interpretation, other than the basic implication that what has been marked is important.

Another common type of annotation is brief rubrics or summaries (divided into four subtypes by Grindley 2001). The notes in the *Polychronicon* copies mainly fall into the categories III.i.h.1, *Textually Gleaned Marginal Rubrics* (Example 1) and III.i.h.2, *Paraphrased Marginal Rubrics* (Examples 2 and 3).

    1. pictes | peyntyd (MS **R**, f. 13^r)

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[231]   In some MSS (**H** and **R** in particular) it is difficult to determine if the notes have been added at some stage of the production process (cf. Kerby-Fulton 2001 on professional readers) or if they have been left by early readers.

[232]   The incorrect form for Numidia has likely been influenced by the chapter initial, filled in as <M> despite the guide letter <n> still visible underneath.

2. fower principall highe | wayes in englande | made by belinus the | kynge (MS **P**, f. 26ᵛ)

3. London burned (MS **T**, f. 170ʳ)

Sometimes the distinction between these categories is not clear, particularly when the wording is only slightly altered from that of the text or when the note is in Latin (Example 4):

4. .3.*os* ciuitates famos*is*. (MS **F**, f. 26ʳ)

However, in general both types of rubrics are similar to the simple *Topic* notes in that they are rather navigational than interpretive. III.i.h.3 *Condensed Overviews* (Example 5) and III.i.h.4 *Textual Extrapolations* (Example 6) turned out to be less common as types of *Summation*, perhaps because they require the annotator to extract the topic or main point of a longer passage and thus more effort than repeating selected words from the text.

5. N*ota* of the fayllyng of the heyr male | yn kyng*es* of france./ & that thissue | of the heire gen*er*all succedyd*e* (MS **L**, f. 28ʳ)

6. descriptio Germanie (MS **P**, f. 12ᵛ)

In some cases, the annotators make mistakes in extracting the main point, as in Example 7:

7. Ierlond cal|lyd Scotlond (MS **R**, f. 12ᵛ)

The note summarises a passage on Scotland, recounting past names for the country which "at the laste hote hibernia as Irelond hote" (l. 28). However, although the two latter types of *Summation* reflect the annotator's interpretation of the text, these types of summaries, too, primarily serve a navigational purpose.

Navigational notes (*Topic* and *Summation* notes) may also follow the construction *nota de* discussed above in relation to scribal notes, see e.g. "n*ota* de ho*min*ib*us*" and "n*ota* de canib*us*" in MS **L** (f. 21ʳ). This form is not as common in readers' marginalia, but it is not uncommon either. Although these kinds of notes still function as finding aids, adding the word "nota" changes the classification somewhat: assuming that *nota* is to be interpreted as a verb, it adds a level of exhortation and interpretation so that the importance of the highlighted passage is no longer implicit but explicit. A similar construction is used also in English notes, see e.g. MS **T**, f. 176ᵛ, "not*a* of þ*e* kyng*es* power" and Example 5 above.[233] Simple *nota* or *nota bene* signs and manicules or other symbols, however, are examples of almost purely interpretive annotation, as they are used as general signs of emphasis (cf.

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[233] F. 28ʳ in MS **L** contains notes in the same hand in both Latin and English.

Exhortations under *Ethical Pointers* in Grindley 2001, although he classifies manicules under *Iconography*).

Finally, there are some more reactive types of notes, although they are much less frequent than the navigational types. These notes mostly fall into Grindley's (2001) subcategories *Polemical responses* and *Literary responses*, and they record the reader's attitude or reaction towards the text. These notes are almost purely interpretive in nature, and they are more commonly left by the hands of later readers, such as the seventeenth-century reader of MS **P**, who has been identified as Sir William Ingilby the younger in Skemer's (2013) catalogue entry. While he also adds navigational notes (*Topic* or *Summation*), many of his notes can be classified as *Social* or *Political Comments*. For instance, two notes on f. 168ʳ comment on the drinking habits of the Danes and how King Edgar I ordered pegs to be attached to drinking cups in order to measure the consumption, whereby Ingilby notes that "It were well if drinking | were that me<sured> nao" (MS **P**, f. 168ʳ).[234] Notes of this type also occur in MS **D**, annotated by a reader who is specifically interested in the history of Scotland and who marks several passages as "fals" – seven times on f. 34ʳ alone, and on f. 34ᵛ the annotator ends up bracketing a passage of text, declaring it "all fals".

MS **J** also has interpretive notes. The annotator has shown particular interest in various miraculous tales and language issues among other topics. Although some of the notes summarise information, functioning as navigational aids as in Example 8, others guide the interpretation of a future reader by evaluating the relevance of certain passages (Examples 9 and 10).

8. Here mayste tho lerne and knowe and tho wille | why Nonas and why Idus and why kalendas | weere so clepe<l>d (MS **J**, f. 50ᵛ)

9. her*e* be goode cronyk*is* & notable (MS **J**, f. 71ᵛ)

10. þis cronyk ys good to be lokyd wel of prestis (MS **J**, f. 73ʳ)

The direct address used in many of these notes (*here may ye see, here mayste tho lerne*) seems to give the notes additional, didactic authority. Using Slights's categorisation, Examples 8 to 10 serve purposes of *Exhortation*, although Example 9 could also fall into the category of *Evaluation*. The annotator also provides some notes of *Explication*, which clarify the meaning or implications made in the text (Example 11), and *Amplification* or providing additional information (Example 12).

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[234] The influence of the Danes on the English drinking customs has also been entered in the English index but it refers to a different passage (Book 1, ch. 31).

11. loke wel þis chapter for here inne ys þe cawse why engelysh | ys soo ymeddlyd with oþer longagis (MS **J**, f. 74^v)

12. þis crafte ys nat vsyd þer now as y trow (MS **J**, f. 75^r)

Both of these types are, however, rare in the data dominated by navigational notes (e.g. notes of *Emphasis* or *Simplification*, which draw attention to important parts and/or summarise content).[235]

There are a few places in the text which have attracted notes in several manuscript copies. For example, a passage on St Patrick's Purgatory (Book 1, ch. 35) has been marked in MSS **CTHP**; it is also recorded in the English index. Several annotators (MSS **DLJ**) have marked the tale of a *womman in Berkeley þat was wonte and customed to yuel craftes* (Book 6, ch. 25); the annotator of **D** only adds a *nota*, but the two others are more specific, spelling out that the woman was a witch, "[o]f a wyche*s* | play moch | me<r>ked" (MS **L**, f. 186^v), and even providing the moral of the story: "Take hede þat þe end of wych<ehe> | nat good" (MS **J**, f. 235^r).

8.7   Summary

Notes are a complex paratextual element because they are so intimately connected to the text they comment on that it is often difficult to say whether they are, actually, part of the text. For instance, Toledano Buendía (2013: 151) states that "[i]t quickly becomes apparent that translator's notes are probably one of the most difficult paratexts to define when trying to determine the textual or extratextual nature of notes". To determine this nature, three kinds of criteria can be used: formal, functional, or sender-based. Toledano Buendía (2013: 161) found in her study that some types of translator's notes, particularly brief explanatory notes, hardly cause a disruption to the text, while discursive notes, in which the translator may express their opinion or attitude, are more clearly paratextual. This is in line with Genette's (1997b) discussion of the authorial note: the classification is mostly based on function, but some formal criteria are acknowledged (length of the note). Other aspects of form – the location of the note in relation to the part it comments on, and the visual and typographical characteristics – are not particularly relevant for the materials either discusses, and the issue with textual or extratextual status of notes is ultimately based on the question of sender: the sender of the notes is the same as the sender of the text.

The analysis of marginal notes in the *Polychronicon* shows that while some differences can be found between annotation by the book producers and that of

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[235]   Some examples of *explication* notes in other manuscripts include years written in Arabic numbers where they have been spelled out in the text, see e.g. MS **D**, f. 47^r.

readers (see **Figures 23**, **24** and **25** for a visual comparison), these differences mostly pertain to the visual form and choice of language; the similarities of function are more striking. The majority of the notes, regardless of sender, serve primarily navigational purposes by identifying topics and summarising content, or serving as other kinds of *Narrative Reading Aids* (Grindley 2001). Interpretive functions among the producers' notes are limited to what Slights (1989) classifies under *Emphasis* and *Exhortation*: these notes mainly include *nota (bene)* signs, which mark passages as important but require the reader to draw their own interpretations. More varied interpretive functions are found in reader notes which fall into other subcategories of Grindley's (2001) Type III marginalia, mainly *Polemical Responses* and *Literary Responses*, but these kinds of notes seem to be typical of certain annotators, particularly later ones (sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hands).
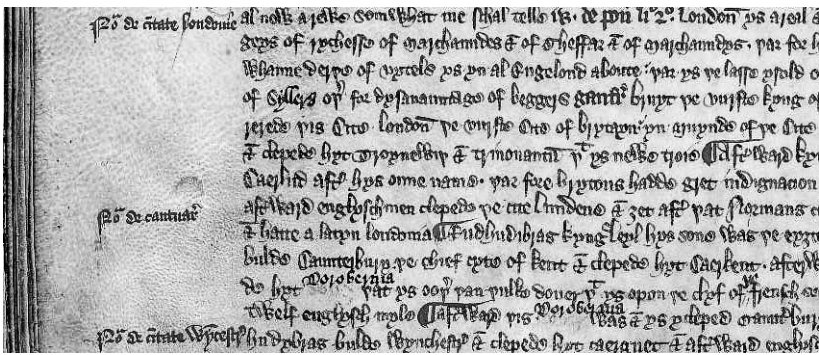
Figure 23.   Scribal annotation. Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 (**M**), f. 50v (detail). Image: Chetham's Library, reproduced with permission.
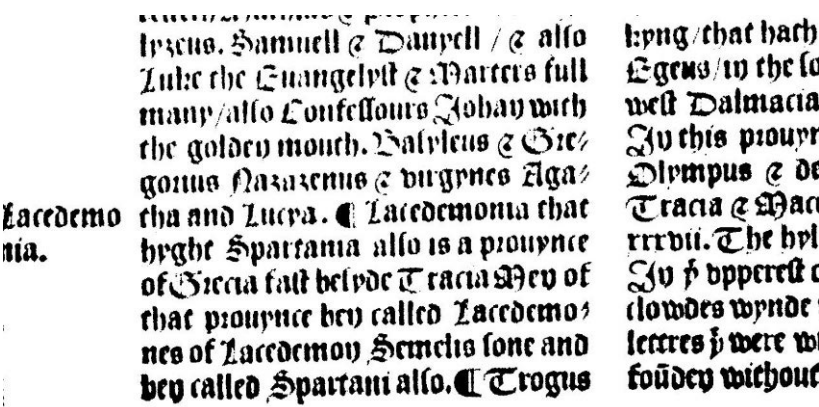

Figure 24.   Printed annotation. STC 13439, de Worde, 1495. © British Library Board (C.11.b.2, f. xix v, detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as part of Early English Books Online. <www.proquest.com>.
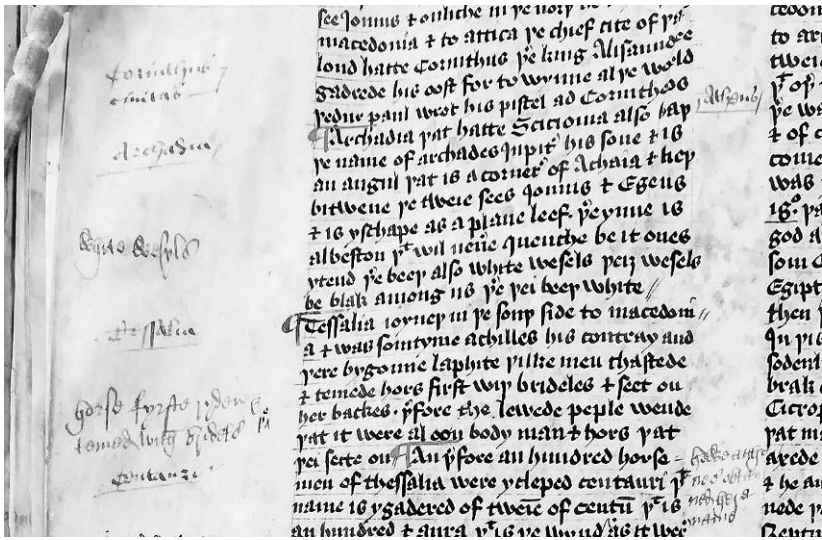
Figure 25. Annotation in two hands. Liverpool, Liverpool Public Libraries MS f909 HIG (**L**), f. 23v (detail). Image: Aino Liira, published with permission.

The division into navigational and interpretive notes is, however, rough. Navigational notes are not only intended as finding aids but also imply important passages, and they could be viewed as interpretive also in the sense that they bear witness of the reading process; see Wakelin (2010: 443), who postulates that notes like this "did encourage discontinuous, selective reading" but contends that it is uncertain whether readers used them this way. It is possible that scribal and printed notes were used to enhance the reading experience by encouraging the reader to be attentive while reading. Less certain is whether readers' own notes could evidence this kind of reading. Were passages marked in the process so that information would be better absorbed, rather than found again (cf. Wakelin 2010)? Readers' notes, even ones with navigational rather than interpretive functions, may also suggest a desire to leave one's own mark in the books, that is, to show possession (cf. Orgel 2015).

From a paratext-typological perspective, a question remains: what is the difference between *marginalia* (esp. Grindley's Types I and II) and *annotation* (Grindley's Type III, which covers anything that reacts or interacts with the *text*)? Are Types I and II paratextual, and how do they map with other copy-specific features? One solution to this question would be to adopt Batchelor's (2018) definition of paratextual elements as "consciously crafted". By this definition, marginalia engaging with the text would be paratextual (Type III) and marginalia engaging with the book (Type II) potentially as well, but Type I marginalia would not, because their only relationship with the text is the shared material space.

The analysis of the *Polychronicon* also makes it clear that there is overlap between notes and other paratextual elements, chiefly rubrics: there is quite a lot of fluidity between notes and rubrics in terms of placement in the margins or among the main text. The issue of overlap primarily concerns notes of the *Narrative Reading Aid* type, and Grindley's (2001) model does not clearly differentiate between elements of the *ordinatio* and elements of annotation. Language does not provide a sound basis for classification either, as both English and Latin are used in marginal notes (sometimes by the same hand) and the functions of notes are not language-specific. However, it should be noted that while the fluidity between rubrics and notes presents some challenges for the classification and definition of the items, there is no implication that this was in any way problematic from the contemporary readers' perspective: the navigational function seems prevalent in both elements.

Although Genette's paratext theory (1997b) often proceeds from the idea that paratexts are something which need to be approved by the author, in many contexts of text production and consumption this criterion is not purposeful. This is particularly true in the case of navigational elements. They may not guide the reader in the way they should approach the text, but they directly contribute to the user-friendliness of the material copy. In this, the work of later producers such as scribes and printers is essential, and readers may fill in elements which they require of books. Thus, marginal and copy-specific elements are important for a holistic approach to the study of text and paratext and the interaction between the two.

9 Discussion

The analyses in the previous chapters were conducted with an overarching research question in mind: what kind of variation in the paratextual elements can be found in the copies and editions of the English *Polychronicon* and what does this variation indicate about the text-producers' understanding of textual presentation and reader guidance? Each analysis chapter was guided by a series of questions specific to certain paratextual elements. In the present chapter, my aim is to answer the overarching question by drawing together the analyses and discussing paratextual issues across all the elements analysed. While earlier paratextual studies typically focus on one type of element or aspect of paratextuality at a time, the holistic approach adopted in this study provides a wider perspective into late medieval paratextuality.

In Chapter 2, I introduced Birke & Christ's (2013) threefold division into interpretive, navigational and commercial (meta)functions. Their categorisation is a fruitful contribution to the paratext framework as it reveals how many paratextual functions operate, first and foremost, on the material level. Focusing on paratextual functions helps to mitigate a fundamental limitation in Genette's (1997b) discussion of paratext: the problematic concept of *text* and the different ways in which paratextuality is conceived depending on whether the elements surround the text in the abstract sense of the work or in the physical sense of the book (see also Liira & Ruokkeinen 2019). I have referred to these three categories (interpretive, navigational, commercial) throughout the analysis and here I reflect upon their applicability to manuscript and early printed material based on my findings (Section 9.1). These are complemented with the the documenting function put forth by Ciotti & Lin (2016), which will also be evaluated in light of the *Polychronicon* evidence.

Section 9.2 focuses on the choice of language: the main text of the *Polychronicon* is in English, and while some code-switches to Latin occur within the text, Latin is mostly attested in the paratextual elements (see Section 5.4.2). I will discuss language choices in the paratextual elements and the consequences of those choices for paratextual functionality, considering questions of production and audience.

The chapter concludes with a reflection upon paratextual presentation across the transmission history of the Middle English *Polychronicon* (Section 9.3).

9.1   Paratextual functions

Genette has described paratext as a "fringe" ("*frange*") between the text and the world and as a "threshold" ("*seuil*") the reader needs to cross to enter the text (1997b: 2; 2002 [1987]: 8). The first metaphor seems to apply to the abstract notion of text (cf. Tanselle's 1989 *text of work*, see Section 1.3 above): paratext is employed (by the author/publisher) to regulate how the world receives the work. "The world" is a key expression here: it refers to more than just the actual reader, and more than even the intended reader – paratextual elements such as the title are open to interpretations regardless of whether one has or ever intends to read the work. Guiding interpretation is the main purpose of paratextual elements, but for the purposes of paratextual analysis, this is rather vague.

The threshold metaphor, then, seems to be more concerned with the physical manifestation of the text. Texts are only ever accessible to readers in a material form, and thus, the threshold is materialised in the tangible copy of the text (peritext) or in a different tangible form outside it (epitext). Layers of paratextual elements and the material aspects of the text and document guide readers' interpretation, but also their other actions: their use of the book/object carrying the text (i.e., the document), and their decision to acquire it by purchasing or other means.

Many of the physical characteristics, from the quality of materials to the details of the design, are used by publishers to evoke the audience's interest (cf. Birke & Christ's 2013 *commercial function*). In addition, paratextual elements such as title-pages and prefaces offer material spaces where book producers and publishers can attempt to influence the (potential) readers/buyers through persuasive or promotional discourse, influencing their *interpretation* of the text. Sometimes the material and the abstract intertwine even more profoundly, especially when scribes, printers or other producers of physical copies introduce changes to the structure of the text. While my study did not reveal quite as drastic changes, the *Polychronicon* offers many examples of producers' attempts at enhancing the *navigational* devices or systematising the navigational practices, as seen in Chapters 6 and 7.

9.1.1   Interpretive paratext

In the *Polychronicon*, the elements that most clearly guide the reader's interpretation of the text are the prefaces, analysed in Chapter 5. Through conventional prefatory themes, metaphors borrowed from other writers, as well as a prominent list of sources cited, Higden's preface (Section 5.4) situates his work within the long tradition of universal chronicles and other histories, demonstrating his credibility as a historian and providing the reader with instructions to the lessons they were to extract from his chronicle. Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle* (Section 5.5) participate in a different discussion. Similarly to Higden's preface, they demonstrate Trevisa's

familiarity with literary conventions and his technical skill as a translator, which assures the reader of the translator's – and his translation's – trustworthiness. However, the reader is invited to view the translated text in a wider framework of vernacular translation, and the translation of biblical, philosophical and theological texts (see further Beal 2012: xiii, 51 on this point). Caxton's prefaces and postfaces (Sections 5.6, 5.8.2) offer the *Polychronicon* to new readers accompanied with an editorial interpretation; as a text which is still a useful source for knowledge despite its outdated language, the "rude and old englyssh" (see 5.8.2). All these prefaces showcase varying degrees of authorial concerns, most clearly manifested in expressions of humility. In contrast, de Worde's preface (Section 5.7) does not excuse the new edition; rather, his reference to the request of printing is perhaps used as a strategy to highlight continuing interest in the text and thus boost its marketability, whereby the preface also serves a commercial function. The producers of the copies exercise their own interpretations of these paratextual elements through decorative hierarchy as well as placement in relation to other textual and paratextual elements within the book, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 7.

Interpretive functions are also attested in indices and marginal annotations, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 8, respectively. While the indices in the *Polychronicon* are primarily navigational, their placement at the beginning of the text means that they may also guide the reader's interpretation by providing an overview of the topics covered in the text. Therefore it is remarkable that a reader looking at the Latin index would get quite a different impression than one looking at the English index, due to the differing types of headwords reflecting each indexer's interests or ideas about what their readers needed (see Section 6.8). The English manuscript index, presumably by Trevisa himself, as well as the printed index in de Worde's edition and the index of MS **Osb** are organised in such a way that their functions overlap with tables of contents. This makes them perhaps more viable candidates for interpretive aids than Higden's Latin index with its stricter alphabetisation and concise entries.

Scribal and printed annotation may guide the reader's interpretation (see Sections 8.4 and 8.5), and some reader annotation witnesses responses to the text (Section 8.6). However, the majority of the notes in the *Polychronicon* appear to have functions that are primarily navigational. Partly for this reason, it is difficult to distinguish between notes and rubrics when the element occurs in the margin – the distinction between the two is not inherent but dependent on how we define these two elements. Similar overlap can also be found in certain elements of decoration, such as initials and borders. Historiated initials in particular presumably affected the reader in various ways: while these elements are navigational in their basic function (see below), they also guide the reader's interpretation or attitude towards the text

by conveying information about authorship, as discussed in Chapter 7. Additionally, decorative elements have commercial relevance.

9.1.2   Navigational paratext

Examples of navigational paratextuality are abundant in the *Polychronicon*: elements such as indices, decorative elements, rubrics and other text-organising devices, and annotation all work together to help the reader judge the structure of the text and find specific pieces of information. Well-designed navigational paratexts are more important in instructional and utilitarian texts than in narrative texts, which at least partly explains Genette's lack of attention in the area of the navigational function (see Birke & Christ 2013: 68 for critique on this issue). The *Polychronicon*, as a narrative chronicle, falls somewhere between literary and scientific texts (cf. Claridge 2017: 7–8). The text may be read continuously, Book by Book, from cover to cover. But it may also be consulted for information in a more piecemeal way, whereby navigational elements become crucial considering the length of the text and the physical size of the surviving copies.

The indices are an important navigational element, which is demonstrated by their repeated renewal. As shown in Chapter 6, the indices of the *Polychronicon* have been subjected to many changes in the hands of scribes and printers, particularly the latter. All of these changes seem to be guided by reasons of functionality. The presumable addition of the Latin index by the Polychronicon Scribe of **M** indicates that the English index was not satisfactory, either due to its less sophisticated alphabetisation or because of the entries themselves, as discussed in Section 6.8. With their different organisational principles, alphabetical order in the Latin index and a sequential one (following the order of the narrative) in the English index, and differing headwords, the two indices probably complemented each other. This interpretation is supported by Caxton's index, which was reworked using both the Latin and English manuscript indices (see Section 6.6.1). The choice indicates that he was not convinced by the navigational functionality of the English index. The English manuscript index, as well as the index in de Worde's and Treveris's printed editions, perhaps better supports a reader who is already familiar with the text and knows approximately where to look for the information. De Worde's index, which partly functions as a detailed table of contents, perhaps reflects what was seen as customary at the time (see da Costa 2018).[236] The index again shows attempts at

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[236] Curiously, it seems that the Tabula (table of contents) to de Worde's edition of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* published in the same year (1495, STC 1536) also serves a sort of double function resulting from the alphabetical arrangement of the encyclopaedic main text.

enhancing the navigational power and coverage (Section 6.6.2). Although Treveris reprinted de Worde's index without any significant modifications, the scribe of MS **Osb** decided to renew the organisation and edit the headwords (Section 6.7). The labour-intensive reorganising shows that book producers considered the index to be a crucial paratextual element.

In some cases, indices and annotation serve similar functions. A significant portion of the annotation in the *Polychronicon* – scribal, printed, and readers' – is navigational rather than interpretive in nature, as shown in Chapter 8. The main function of a navigational note is to aid the reader in (re-)locating a passage at a glance. Although it does not seem that index entries and annotation were coordinated in any systematic way, the highlighting of important and interesting parts in the margins – primarily personal and place names – often coincides with headwords chosen for the indices. This connection is most clearly seen in Book 1, the geographical part, whereas elsewhere the notes are often longer, drawing attention to, for example, ethical aspects and particulars of historical events discussed in the text.

The hierarchy of decorative and other visual elements is characteristic of manuscript books and consequently has received barely any attention in previous paratext-theoretical research, which has focused on print (and digital) eras. While also serving aesthetic (commercial) functions, these elements can be important in conveying the structure of the text – not only the structure of the main text but also its relation to other texts within the same book, and its relation to paratextual front and end matter, as shown above in Chapter 7. The hierarchy of border and initial designs, distinguishing between major and minor textual divisions, has been long established in manuscript studies. My comparison of the *Polychronicon* manuscripts and editions shows that the producers seem to have had an understanding of paratextuality and that through the visual elements they were able to group certain texts or elements together (see Section 7.4.2.1). Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle* form one group, typically less prominently signalled than the other group consisting of two independent texts, *Dialogus* and *Sermon*, extant in several of the manuscripts. In these groupings, the second element or text generally has a more modest beginning. Similarly, the Latin and English indices, despite their language difference, are treated as a single unit. The most prominent decoration, then, is usually reserved for Higden's preface at the beginning of the main text of the *Polychronicon*, although in some cases the very first text in the manuscript, the *Dialogus*, receives more lavish decoration. This probably reflects the fact that title-pages were not used in the manuscripts of this period, so the first leaf in the manuscript is what the reader encounters first and thus is required to make an impact.

Textual organisation is further signalled through rubrics and running-titles, where hierarchy may be established with script-switches (see Section 7.4.1). While

scribes introduce rather few textual modifications to rubrics at chapters heads, as discussed in Section 7.4.2.3, the analysis shows that the visual form was in many ways important. In the absence of rubrics, chapter numbers were sometimes moved from the margins into the text column, or even duplicated. Sometimes even source references, which have a completely different textual function but commonly occur at chapter ends and are written in red, were highlighted for a visual impact (particularly in MSS **F** and **B**). Rubrics and chapter numbers, both of which correspond to Genette's (1997b) *intertitles*, are closely associated. Furthermore, the chapter division adopted in this thesis proved somewhat problematic particularly in the case of rubrics, which sometimes occur in the margins instead of the text column and thus overlap with scribal annotation, as pointed out above.

Some of the visual means to mark textual divisions and paratextual boundaries, such as large initials, are also employed in the printed editions. Unsurprisingly, the printed editions also introduce new visual means. Whitespace becomes a common way of marking larger divisions – for instance, in Caxton's edition, whitespace assumes the navigational function equivalent of borders – as well as highlighting smaller paratextual elements such as rubrics, in place of red ink or script-switches. Somewhat surprisingly, typeface-switches are not employed for this purpose in the *Polychronicon* but are limited to running-titles, although they remain in printers' repertoire more generally; for example, de Worde's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* appears to have a more complex hierarchy of different fount sizes. Most strikingly, although Treveris's edition closely follows de Worde's, to such an extent that their folio numbers match, Treveris's edition is in many ways distanced from the manuscript culture: de Worde's edition still employs a hierarchy of initial sizes, but a clear hierarchy is not present in Treveris. And while in his edition woodcut illustrations generally appear between Books, similarly to manuscript borders, this is not completely systematic and may be accidental (Section 7.4.2.3).

More than interpretive elements, then, navigational ones appear to be features which are subject to change in the course of transmission. The various examples discussed in this thesis show that the navigational function is complex precisely because it is tied to the materiality of the text. To what extent are aspects of the text proper, such as the size, colour and style of the script/typeface, paratextual? The findings from the *Polychronicon* support the argument of Ruokkeinen & Liira (2017 [2019]: 110) that any elements highlighted on the page, through a change in ink colour, style or grade of script, or by underlining the element, adding a paraph mark before it, or leaving white space around it, may alert the reader for paratextuality. Even if the highlighted element does not appear to have paratextual functions, these features are used to draw the reader's attention to the highlighted elements – they indicate that what is highlighted is somehow *different* from the rest of the text on the page. In principle, this idea is similar to Genette's view of paratext as being

physically and visually separate from the main text in the sense that its location can be defined in relation to the text (1997b: 4–5). Elements such as rubrics (cf. Genette's intertitles) are, however, complex in terms of their (para)textual status: while they have paratextual functions, at least those which are thought to be authorial are generally viewed as part of the text, too. The consistency of such elements in the *Polychronicon* suggests that the late medieval producers also viewed them this way. Any elements placed in the margins are more prone to variation than those within the text columns.

9.1.3   Commercial paratext

The commercial function has not featured very prominently in my analysis. This is partly due to the different way in which manuscript books found their owners and readers compared to the mass production of printed books of the later periods. Thus, the understanding of commercial paratext may require some reformulation to be functional in materials which predate speculative mass publishing.

It is not surprising that the clearest examples of commercial paratext in the *Polychronicon* occur in the printed editions, such as the title-pages in de Worde and Treveris's editions and, particularly, the woodcut illustrations in Treveris, which were produced for this edition but only seem to have a generic relationship with the text (Section 7.5.3). A superficial relation appears to be true for Treveris's title-page as well, which possibly aimed to evoke national connotations with its illustration of St George, while de Worde's title-page, with its woodcut recycled from *Vitas Patrum* (STC 14507), connects the *Polychronicon* with religious (hagiographical) material.

The majority of the elements in the *Polychronicon* manuscripts which may be said to have a commercial function are primarily interpretive or navigational, such as the indices (Chapter 6) and illuminated borders and initials (Chapter 7), perhaps also scribal annotation (Chapter 8). In some way, all elements which aim to attract and engage the reader may be said to be commercial, but there is necessarily overlap with the other metafunctions. Commercial paratextual elements mainly engage with the material text – while that can never be fully separated from the abstract text (how to get the reader to read the book), commercial paratexts are mostly about getting the readers to *buy* the book and are thus tied to the speculative mode of production. The laborious reworking of the indices in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries potentially reflects their commercial relevance: while the later printers reproduce Caxton's text, the indices seem to be where the most drastic changes happen. The idea of the commercial value of indices would also explain the laborious reorganising of the index of MS **Osb**, if this manuscript extract witnesses a preparation for a new printed edition of the *Polychronicon*, as I have tentatively suggested (Section 6.7).

It might be possible to view commercial elements in manuscript and early print context in terms of value enhancement. Elements which depend on the commissioner's choices or which contribute to the owner's status could be considered commercial (in both speculative and bespoke contexts, aesthetic elements are never just aesthetic; cf. Scott 1989). Reconceptualised this way, decorative elements such as borders, initials and illustrations could be said to be commercial. Particularly notable here are border decorations which incorporate the owner's or commissioner's arms, as in MS **B** (Section 7.4.2.2). However, also those material aspects which are not necessarily paratextual, such as the choice of script or typeface for the main text, the writing support, the size of the volume, and so on, are comparable commercial choices, which again underlines the fuzziness of the borders of paratextuality.

There is also some overlapping with Ciotti & Lin's (2016) *documenting* function, which perhaps better describes some elements which witness the (commercial) production process, such as catchwords or guide letters primarily aimed at other producers rather than the readers and end-users of the manuscripts. It may also better describe elements such as colophons or imprints which record the time and place of production, particularly so when these do not have an interpretive element to them (see especially de Worde's and Treveris's imprints, discussed in Section 5.8.2). However, as noted in Section 2.1.3, I find it useful to make a distinction between documenting and commercial elements, since commercial by definition seems to imply at least some kind of promotionality or persuasion, which is not present in the documenting function.

Finally, as demonstrated by the somewhat artificial division of the present discussion into three separate sections, it is important to keep in mind that the categories of (meta)functions are not rigid. Rather than asking if a certain paratextual element can be classified as interpretive or commercial or navigational, it is more meaningful to ask: Does this paratextual element have a commercial function in this textual and material context?

9.2   Language choice in paratextual elements

The translation of the *Polychronicon* can be linked to a wider movement of vernacularisation of learned Latin works such as *De Regimine Principum*, with its origins in late-thirteenth-century France (Briggs 1999: 74; see also Minnis 2009: 22).[237] It is important to keep in mind that late medieval England was a multilingual

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[237]   As noted in Section 4.2, Trevisa also translated *De Regimine* for Sir Thomas, but this translation never gained wide popularity as it is currently extant in only one manuscript copy (see Briggs 1999: 84–85; see also n110 in Chapter 6 above).

society, where English, Latin, and Anglo-Norman or French were conventionally used side by side and mixed (see e.g. Wright 2012; Skaffari 2016: 204). Latin was used for professional audiences in particular. Yet when looking at the copies of the English *Polychronicon*, the presence of Latin is notable even in *de luxe* manuscripts which seem to have been produced for lay artistocrats. For the purposes of a study of scribal abbreviation (Honkapohja & Liira, Forthcoming 2020), we calculated the word counts in English and Latin in a sample from Book 1 (this included both text and paratextual elements, such as rubrics and running-titles, as well as Higden's list of sources which increased the percentage of Latin). The results showed that Latin words amount to over 12 per cent in most manuscripts of Trevisa's translation, as well as in all three printed editions.

So far, little research has been conducted on the intersection of paratextuality and code-switching; it is unclear whether spatially or visually separated paratextual elements are part of the same *communicative event* or "stretch of text" (cf. Schendl & Wright 2011: 3), which is typically seen as the locus for code-switching. It should be noted that the term code-switch was originally applied to spoken discourse, and thus the effects of material aspects such as page layout have not prominently featured in this research until recently (see e.g. Machan 2011; Skaffari 2016, 2017; and Kopaczyk 2017 for considerations of visual highlighting). As these studies suggest, it might be more ideal to examine paratextuality on the page as a manifestation of *multilingual practices* (cf. Pahta, Skaffari & Wright 2017). The frequent use of Latin in the paratextual elements of the *Polychronicon* is noteworthy, and I propose that a change of language could be one of the potential markers of paratextuality comparable to visual cues.

It is possible that the use of Latin in paratextual elements is a choice made by Trevisa, most likely to highlight the learned nature of the work. Steiner (2016: 231) observes that Trevisa served his patron Sir Thomas by bringing academic culture to Berkeley Castle through his translations. Trevisa's Oxford education, Steiner (2016: 232) continues, is most clearly visible in his translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, which was commonly used as a university textbook (see Sections 1.2, 4.2). She emphasises differences between the scholarly apparatuses in *De Proprietatibus Rerum* and the *Polychronicon*: the Latinity of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* is contrasted with the English apparatuses of the *Polychronicon* (2016: 233). Yet, the similarities of the language choice in such paratextual elements between the two works seem more striking than the differences. According to Steiner, the Latinity of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* manifests in the table of contents, book and chapter titles, and source references as well as in "neologisms for scientific concepts that hew closely to the Latin" (2016: 232; see also A. S. G. Edwards 2003). The Latinity may be

obvious when contrasted, as Steiner does, with Jean Corbechon's[238] French translation in which these kinds of elements are given in French. It is also true that for the *Polychronicon*, Trevisa produces parts of the scholarly apparatus in English, namely the index (assuming the indexer was Trevisa himself; see Section 6.8) and the notes interspersed among the text (cf. Chapter 8). However, the other elements, i.e. book and chapter titles (discussed in Chapter 7) and source references, are in Latin. The in-text commentary, which Steiner mentions, makes sense in English – its incorporation into the running text suggests that it was seen as more intimately textual than other elements of the paratext or scholarly apparatus. Here, the approach adopted by Trevisa differs, for example, from Schultze's findings in the Middle English treatise *The Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, where the Latin marginal comments claim authority by imposing the anonymous translator's interpretations and by filling up the margins in order to prevent reader annotation (2013, see esp. 347). As shown in Chapter 8, the Latin scribal and printed marginalia in the *Polychronicon*, clearly paratextual, do not function this way; notes guiding interpretation are rare. And if Latin is the language of paratextual elements, the preference for the vernacular in Trevisa's comments, along with their placement within the text, clearly suggests that Trevisa himself did not see his comments as paratextual but textual, participating in the discussion with Higden and his authorities.

What is more, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* also has an English introduction, just like the *Polychronicon* – the more personal nature of this language choice does not seem as "curious" (cf. Steiner 2016: 232) in this context, if we interpret it to mean that what was written in English was considered "more textual" and what was written in Latin was "more paratextual". To be specific, I do not wish to contradict Steiner (2016) on the more academic and Latinate nature of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and having not examined the text myself in any detail I have no grounds to do so. I agree that the *Polychronicon* seems much more approachable in comparison, especially considering that many of the "Latinate" elements in the **M**-group were probably introduced by the Polychronicon Scribe rather than Trevisa himself, as discussed at several points above (e.g. Sections 6.4, 7.5.1, 8.4). However, I do not view the language choices in the paratextual apparatuses as evidence of strikingly different approaches to translating these two texts. The main difference in Trevisa's approach I see is that perhaps less effort was put into producing English elements for *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. This is most clearly seen in its *Tabula*, which consists of Latin rubrics. Compiling an alphabetical index for *De Proprietatibus Rerum* would have

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[238] Corbechon was chaplain of Charles V of France, for whom he produced the translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* in 1372 (Holbrook 2006).

been a massive undertaking and one Trevisa was perhaps not willing or able to commit to.[239]

It is notable that Latin elements in the *Polychronicon* sometimes increase in the transmission: MS **M** in particular contains many Latin elements absent from MS **C** by the same scribe – these two manuscripts are placed textually closest to the archetype (see Waldron 2004: xxxix; and Section 4.3 above). While the scribal notes of **M** are largely dropped, the descendants of **M** preserve the majority of its other Latin elements, such as the Latin index, rubrics, and the calendar system. In this regard, the *Polychronicon* manuscripts are different from many other vernacular works of this period; Partridge (2011: 98) draws examples from copies of Chaucer's and Gower's works, for example, where rubrics and marginal glosses were translated by scribes from one language into another between Latin, French and English.

The paratextual elements in the *Polychronicon*, such as rubrics, are kept practically unchanged even by the printers – Caxton translates some elements into English, as discussed in Section 7.4.2.3, but leaves many others untranslated, and whichever practice he adopts is usually followed by de Worde and Treveris. An exception to this rule is the index, reworked for de Worde's edition. While Caxton's index is completely in English from the title to the headings indicating book and chapter, de Worde reintroduces Latin, possibly to highlight the learnedness of the text (see Section 6.6.2). Again, one can observe the layering of paratextual elements: the headwords, which make up the "main text" within the index, are in English but the headings are in Latin, as in the manuscript tradition. The use of Latin is intimately connected to the use of red ink and other visual signposting – these are not invariably used to highlight Latin, but they are very common. Although the highlighting also reflects the prestigious status of Latin, and serves a commercial (value enhancing) function, it is not separate from pragmatic functions such as identifying discoursal units or signalling authorial stance (see Machan 2011; Carroll et al. 2013) or the marking of paratextuality (Ruokkeinen & Liira 2017 [2019]). In elements such as running-titles and chapter numbers, Latin has perhaps been not only conventional but also a more practical choice because there were standard abbreviations (e.g. C^m/Ca^m) which could be used.[240] The scribe of MS **Osb** substitutes English for Latin in running-titles and in the index, but falters in the English forms in some of the abbreviations, as seen in Section 6.7.

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[239] According to the colophon, the translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was completed in 1398/9; Trevisa died in 1402.
[240] While this particular abbreviation contains a case ending which marks it clearly as Latin, in other cases abbreviations are not language-specific. On these *visual diamorphs*, see Wright (2011) and ter Horst & Stam (2017).

9.3   Presenting the Middle English *Polychronicon*

In this final section, I discuss the paratextual presentation of the Middle English *Polychronicon* with a special reference to two perspectives: transmission history (see Section 4.3, esp. **Figure 1**) and the two media, manuscript and print.

The abundance of paratextual elements in the manuscript copies, particularly elements in Latin such as the index, the calendar system, and scribal annotation, points to scholarly reading, perhaps in private (cf. Section 3.3). The lack of these elements in some manuscripts could, however, suggest that they were primarily intended for public reading. A clear contrast in the use of these elements emerges between the older manuscripts associated with provincial (Berkeley area) production, MS **M** (and, to some extent, **C** and **H**) and the London manuscripts (the **A**-group) as well as **GST**. The former are likely produced for the professional reader, the latter for the aristocratic one, although there are exceptions such as MS **R**. This manuscript may have been produced in preparation for a new *de luxe* copy or a printed edition, as suggested, for instance, by the scribal note referring to the Ark diagram (see Section 7.5.1, n190), although none of the other surviving manuscripts descends from **R** (Waldron 1990: 283, 288; see also 2004: xlii–xliii).

The book producers' ideas of paratextuality are most clearly demonstrated in two areas. The first are the diagrams: it seems that the Noah's Ark diagram in Book 2, absent in the *c*-group, was deemed more paratextual by the producers than the musical diagrams in Book 3, perhaps because the latter are referred to in the running text and contain English rubrics (except in MS **L**, where the diagrams were copied from a different exemplar than the text itself). The "textual" status is not dependant on the location of the element: the ark diagram is moved from the margin (in **M)** into the text column (in **ADFJ**) while the musical diagrams, usually in the text, are sometimes placed in the margin (**ST**). Yet the ark diagram is treated more like an illustration extraneous to the text, produced by professional artists for some of the luxury manuscripts and omitted from others (such as the subgroup **HB**), whereas the musical diagrams produced by scribes are more intimately part of the text (see Sections 7.5, 7.6). The printed editions continue this tradition, possibly because they follow the textual subgroup **HB**, but it is notable that none of the printers attempted to reintroduce the Ark diagrams despite their authorial origin.

Secondly, the producers show their understanding of paratextuality in the textual and visual elements of text-organisation (*ordinatio*). The evidence from the manuscripts and printed editions supports the conclusion of physical placement as indicative of textual and paratextual status (see esp. Sections 5.9, 7.4.2 and 7.6). My findings are in line with Tonry's observations that by placing his own *Prohemye* before the index and the original prefaces, Caxton "physically reminds readers that they hold not just a newly printed edition but a book that fully encloses the Trevisan manuscript text between a new preface and a new conclusion" (2016: 179).

However, while Caxton may "revers[e] the text's traditional relationship between index and prologue" (Tonry 2016: 179), his placement of the *Prohemye* before the index follows the standard pattern: new paratextual material assumes the outermost placement in relation to the main text. The same phenomenon can be observed in de Worde's placement of his own *Introductorie* at the very beginning, and the placement of his imprint after Caxton's colophon: new layers of paratextual elements thus enclose not only the main text but also the older layers of paratext. Of course, modesty is not the only or even the most important reason for this: as Tonry (2016) implies, especially as we approach the speculative culture of print production, what is *new* becomes the selling point and needs to be easily accessible to prospective buyers and readers.

It is possible that the phenomenon is at least partially caused by technical reasons – it is easier to add new material before or after something than to insert it in between existing units. Yet similar tendencies are found in the manuscripts, and the question does not seem to be merely commercial or technical. In Chapter 7, I discussed how the *Polychronicon* is distinguished from the other texts in the manuscripts, and how the main text is distinguished from the prefatory and end matter. The English translations of *Dialogus* and *Sermon*, both attributed to Trevisa, are closely associated with the *Polychronicon* as no other copies of these texts survive. The navigational elements suggest also that the scribes viewed these two texts as one unit: the two texts are always copied in the same order and neither is present without the other. Conversely, the placement and visual presentation of Trevisa's prefaces marks them as paratextual. As opposed to the independent textual status of the other texts (including the *Book of Methodius* in MSS **HB**), the paratextual status of Trevisa's prefaces is supported by the fact that the two independent texts precede the indices while Trevisa's prefaces follow them (thus in the **M-**group; more varied practices are found in **CGST**).

It appears that the physical location of textual units directs the reader in interpreting textual relationships: units which are most distant from the main text are independent (such as the *Dialogus* and *Sermon*) or paratextual (such as Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle* and the indices), wheras those which are the closest are seen as part of the text although they may have paratextual functions (such as Higden's preface). As always, there are outliers: MS **S**, which is unique in placing the other texts and Trevisa's prefaces at the end (*Dialogus* and *Sermon* are followed by Trevisa's *Dialogue* and *Epistle*, and finally the index; these form a codicological unit). The independent texts begin a new quire and are thus codicologically separate from the *Polychronicon*. It would seem possible that this unit once preceded the main text, if it were not for the unconventional placement of the index in relation to Trevisa's prefaces, and the fact that the index is also the last element in MS **G**, which shares the same ancestor. The placement of the index in these two manuscripts, **S**

being one of the most lavish among the extant copies, could indicate that the copies were intended for a lay reader not particularly interested in the scholarly apparatuses. Ultimately, book producers are required to make judgements over the anticipated needs of the readers.

The paratextual presentation of the *Polychronicon* shows how book producers juggle between convention and truthful reproduction of the text on the one hand, and innovation and improvement of the usability of the book on the other hand. Although the changes they introduce to the visual and material aspects of the document may not affect the text of the work, these elements condition the way that the readers of each copy approach, interpret and make use of the text.

10   Conclusion

The present study has provided a comprehensive analysis of paratextuality in the manuscripts and early printed editions of the Middle English *Polychronicon*. While parts of the paratext framework have successfully been applied to manuscript material in earlier studies, there has previously been no systematic and holistic attempt at extending or adjusting the theoretical framework to cover texts and books predating commercial print culture. My aim has been to answer this need by working towards a more functional conceptualisation of paratextuality and, in the process, to add to our understanding of pre-modern textual cultures and book production in late medieval England.

The approach differs from those usually taken in paratextual studies: I have focused on the material manifestations (documents) of a single work and examined their paratextual presentation and the interplay between various paratextual elements. This approach takes into account not only the cornerstone of Genettean paratextuality, the author, or the author's associates such as the publisher, but also various other roles in text production such as translator, scribe, printer, compositor, illuminator, even patron and reader. At the same time, the present study has drawn into focus some neglected paratextual elements, such as indices, page elements indicating textual organisation, and non-authorial (e.g. scribal and readers') annotation. Furthermore, although my focus has been on the *Polychronicon* and its paratextual presentation, I have not excluded the other texts found in the manuscript copies from my study. Like the inclusion of reader annotation, this decision may seem counterintuitive from the perspective of Genettean paratextuality, as the kernel of the framework is the (literary) text of the work. However, these solutions have allowed me to investigate, firstly, how the producers of late medieval manuscripts indicated textual and paratextual relationships in the books they copied, and secondly, how the production of elements with paratextual functions is not limited to the original producers, that is, those who produced the main text.

This dissertation contributes to the wider study of the materiality of text and late medieval authorship by showing that pre-modern book producers conceptualised paratext as an entity separate from the text although related to it. While one must be cautious about drawing too general conclusions from what is essentially a case study,

the outcomes of this dissertation show that paratext continues to be a useful and relevant concept for the study of written texts, and that the paratext framework can be applied to pre-print and early print material with some necessary adjustments. As paratext is firmly tied to the material form, it would be worthwhile to further consider the possibility that also the boundaries of text and paratext may shift as a result of specific material choices made in the course of transmission.

Further investigation of manuscript and print materials from the late medieval and early modern periods would undoubtedly help refine both theoretical and methodological aspects of the framework. I also suggest that the concept of paratext is particularly useful for philological studies, where the discussion of texts of works has always been tied to the discussion of texts of documents, although the main focus – and the extent to which the interrelatedness of the abstract and the material has been acknowledged – has varied. The concept of paratext, in conjunction with an awareness of what we mean by *text*, may also offer some solutions for philologists working to find a functional middle-ground between material or "new" philology and "traditional" philology.

Scholarship focusing on the medial shift from manuscript to print is steadily increasing, shedding light on this transitional period and the complexities of its textual production. Much work is still to be done to gain better understanding of the textual and paratextual practices of texts which alternate between or combine manuscript and print media, including closer scrutiny of manuscript texts copied from printed exemplars. These under-researched materials could also open up new avenues for the study of paratextuality in the future.

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