Modernizing Matthew Paris: The Standards and Practices of the First Printed Editions

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Recommended Citation

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This article discusses the first printed editions of Mathew Paris's thirteenth-century chronicle, Chronica Maiora, arguing that these editions show a much higher level of editorial sophistication than has yet been recognized. Written between 1235 and 1259, the Chronica Maiora is one of the most extensive and detailed chronicles of medieval England; yet the work was not printed until 1571, as part of a series of historical publications overseen by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Although the text of Parker's edition has been almost universally criticized by scholars, this work suggests that he actually set a high editorial standard, especially by collating several manuscripts to produce his edition. His successor, William Wats, who republished Matthew Paris in 1640, went even further with his collations, adding at the end of his edition an appendix that detailed the differences among the seven manuscripts used. Wats was also one of the earliest editors to advertise his collations in his title, suggesting that he regarded his work as more scholarly than that of his contemporaries. Analyzing the editorial work of Parker and Wats can illuminate both book history and the history of printing: Parker's clear interest in preservation as one motive for his edition (an interest that supports the contention of Elizabeth Eisenstein that printing was a means of preserving texts); the use of one manuscript as a copy text in the printer's shop; and the intriguing joint publication of Wats's edition by two London publishers. Reassessing these editions and their editors, suggests that both the editors and their editions have been too readily dismissed.

In 1571, the first printed edition of the chronicle of Matthew Paris was published in London, under the auspices of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Nearly seventy years later, in 1640, a second English edition was published, edited by William Wats, rector of St. Alban, London. These first two printed editions of Paris's chronicle in England were extensively critiqued by the two editors of the nineteenth-century Rolls Series editions, Frederic Madden

(1866-1869) and H.R. Luard (1872-1883).[1]   Not all of their criticisms were unfounded: both early editions contain errors and unwonted interpolations. But we need not today dismiss Parker and Wats so cavalierly. Their editions were, for their time, careful and creditable, telling stories beyond the predictable one of substandard early-modern editing. They tell us about manuscript collecting and preservation through print; of editing consistent with the standards of the time; of compositors more skilled than previously thought; of extensive and early collation; and of collaborating printers.

Matthew Paris and the Printed Editions of His Works

(1571 and 1640)

𝕸atthew Paris (1200-1259) spent his adult life as a monk at St. Albans Abbey. From roughly 1235 until his death, he was the historian of his abbey, continuing a chronicle of life at St. Albans in particular and England in general. Paris was preceded as chronicler by Roger of Wendover (whose work he altered and elaborated in places) and succeeded by a monk now thought to be William Rishanger. Paris's greatest work is undoubtedly his contribution to this chronicle that extends from creation to 1272 (the end of the reign of Henry III).[2] Paris's section is now known as the *Chronica Maiora*, although it was titled *Historia Major* by Parker and Wats. Paris also composed an abbreviated version of his portion of the great chronicle, now called *Historia Anglorum*, but was known to Parker and Wats as the *Historia Minor*.

        Parker and Wats each printed a selected portion of the *Chronica Maiora*, beginning with the Norman Conquest in 1066

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1   Parker's work was the first edition ever printed, but it was followed by two editions in Zurich (1589 and 1606). Wats's work was the second edition in England, and it was reprinted twice: once in Paris in 1644 and once in London in 1684 (Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 154-5). Frederic Madden, ed, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, 3 volumes (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866-69) and H. .R. Luard, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, 7 volumes (London: Longmens and Company, 1872-1883).

2   For more on the St. Albans School of history see V.H Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1944) and Galbraith, *St Albans Chronicle, 1406-1420* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

and ending shortly after the death of Henry III.[3] In his edition, Wats also included three separate works by Matthew Paris, *The Lives of the Two Offas*, *The Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans*, and the *Book of Additions*, a collection of letters and documents that pertain to events in the *Chronica Maiora*.

With the 1571 edition, entitled *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Maior, à Guilielmo Conquæstore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij,* Matthew Paris's *Chronica Maiora* was first brought into print. In addition to the selected text, Parker added an index and a preface. Matthew Parker was not explicitly credited as the editor, but the opening capital, in which the arms of Canterbury were shown, clearly indicated Parker's involvement.[4] As Archbishop of Canterbury Parker had many other matters on his mind and although, as we will see, he had a strong hand in his edition, he did not prepare it alone. The final page was the colophon of Reginald Wolfe, official Latin printer of the Queen.

Parker collated several manuscripts to create his edition. In his preface, Parker stated, well aware of the scattered and distorted state of medieval manuscripts, that he had brought together as many codices of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Maiora* as he could find.[5] Parker used the following manuscripts: Corpus Christi College Cambridge 26 (then belonging to Edward Aglionby of Balsall Temple, Warwickshire); Corpus Christi College Cambridge 16 (then belonging to Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter and Lord Deputy of Ireland); Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B (then belonging to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State); and British Library, Royal 14 C vii

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3 In the printed editions, the dating is off by a year in the final years the text covers. Henry III's death, by our calendar, occurred in November 1272, but the printed text placed it in 1273.

4   Matthew Parker, ed, *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Maior, à Guilielmo Conquæstore, ad vltimum annum Henrici tertij. Cum indice locupletissimo (*London, 1571), Ai(r). Hereafter cited as Parker.

5 Parker, *Præfatio,* †iijr; "mutilata & in multis locis misere & turpiter deprauata, quod ex variis collatis codicibus manifeste depræhenditur."

(then belonging to Henry, earl of Arundel). Parker also noted that he had "restored" the Sidney manuscript, using an unnamed exemplar to replace several mutilated folios. This exemplar was probably owned by John Stow and is now Cotton Nero D.V (see Table 1).[6]

Table 1: Manuscripts used by Parker and Wats for the *Chronica Maiora*

Modern Designation	Parker's Designation	Wats's Designation
CCCC 26	Aglionby	Corpus Christi *librum*
CCCC 16	Sidney	Corpus Christi *librum*
Cotton Nero D.V.	Stow	Cotton
Royal 14 C vii	Arundel	Chronicon, King's Library
Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B	Cecil	Used Seldon's transcript
Cotton Otho B.V.	---	Wendover
Cotton Vitellius D.II	---	Minor (Lambarde's transcription)

Although each of these manuscripts contains part of the years 1066-1272 excerpted by Parker, none contains the entire period (see Figure 1). Madden, who has examined all of the manuscripts, posited Parker's collations as follows: Prologue and 1066 from Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B; 1067 to 1188 from CCCC 26, collated from 1089 to 1092 with Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B and Cotton Nero D.V.; part of 1092 to 1253 from CCCC 16; and the rest from Royal 14 C vii.[7] This is incorrect, for CCCC 16 commences in 1189. More than likely Parker collated CCCC 26, Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B, and Cotton Nero D.V. for the years 1066 to 1188, and then collated Nero D.V. and CCCC 16 manuscripts for the years 1189-1253. The final section of the book, from 1254 to Henry's death, must have come from Royal 14 C vii, as it alone covers these years (see Figure 2).

6 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16 [accessed online http://parkerweb.stanford. edu/parker/actions/ page.do?forward=home (19 March 2008)], 236r; Parker, *Præfatio*, †iijv. See Frederic Madden, ed, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, v. I, xxxi, lxiv on the Stow exemplar.

7 Parker, *Præfatio*, †iijr-†iijr; Madden, I, xxxiii.

Figure 1: The Manuscripts Used by Matthew Parker

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 26 (1066-1188):

Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B (1066-1188):

Cotton Nero D.V. (1066-1250):

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 16 (1189-1253):
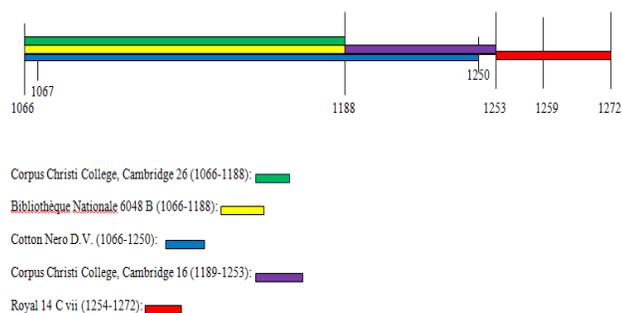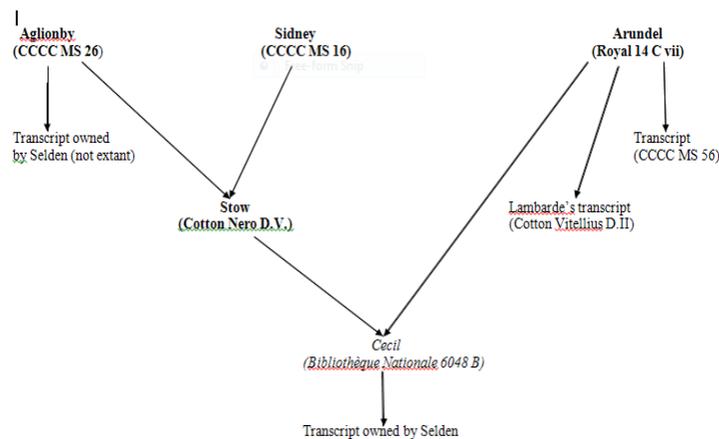
Royal 14 C vii (1254-1272):

Figure 2: Matthew Paris Manuscripts used by Parker and Wats for the *Chronica Maiora*[8]

8   Modern references, when known, are given in ( ). Thirteenth-century manuscripts are in **bold**. Later medieval manuscript copies are in *italics*. Transcripts Parker had made are in plain font.

William Wats's 1640 edition relied on Parker's text but also expanded on it.[9]   Wats added his own preface to Parker's, and appended a list, entitled *Variantes Lectiones ex Manuscriptis Codicibus Excerptæ*, that compared his manuscript collations to Parker's. Wats also added a two-page comparison of the *Historia Anglorum* (Royal 14 C vii) with a transcript made by the antiquarian William Lambarde in 1565.[10]   After the usual printer's errata for the *Chronica Maiora*, the edition is effectively divided in two, a second title page appearing for the *Lives of the Two Offas*, *The Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans*, and the *Book of Additions*.

Although Wats collated several manuscripts for his edition, he did not alter Parker's earlier text. Instead, Wats included thirty-six pages of manuscript collations outlining the textual variations among seven manuscripts and transcripts. And while he used seven individual manuscripts, Wats merged the two Corpus Christi manuscripts into a single abbreviation siglum.[11]   In addition, Wats used a manuscript of Roger of Wendover[12] and a Cotton manuscript, which was almost certainly Nero D. V.[13]   Wats acknowledged these manuscripts were used more frequently by creating a special abbreviation

9   The full title is: *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major. Juxta Exemplar Londinense 1571, verbatim recusa. Et cum Rogeri Wendoveri, Willielmi Rishangeri, Authorisque Majori Minorique Historiis Chronicisque MSS, In Bibliotheca Regia, Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrigiæ, Cottoniáque, fidelitèr collata. Hic primùm Editioni accesserunt, duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum; & viginti trium Abbatum S. Albani Vitæ: Unà cum Libro Additamentorum. Per eundem Authorem. Editore Willielmo Wats S.T.D. Qui & Variantes Lectiones, Adversaria, vocúmque barbarum Glossarium, adjecit: simul cum Rerum, Nominúmque, Indicibus locupletissimus.*

10   Madden, I, lxx.

11   These are MSS 26 (creation to 1188) and 16 (1189-1253), which are part of the Parker library at Corpus Christi College Cambridge. According to the *Præfatio ad Variantes Lectiones*, though, it seems Wats used a transcript of MS 26 that was owned by Selden; however, Wats did not acknowledge that he was using a transcript.

12   Wats stated that he used a Roger manuscript from the Cotton Library, presumably Otho B.V. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, 20 stated as much, which the online catalogue supports (http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/cotframe.htm).

13   Nero D.V. contained a history from creation to 1251 (*A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802) 238. This work was copied, likely under Matthew Paris's supervision, from the Cambridge Manuscripts (Madden, I, lxi-lxii).

siglum, O, for when all three manuscripts agreed (and contained a different reading from Parker's text). This symbol also indicated that Wats was not simply using the manuscripts to correct Parker's text, but to compare them with each other and show where the manuscripts themselves varied.

Wats also re-consulted Royal 14 C vii, also used by Parker and the only extant copy of the third part (1254-1259 and Rishanger's continuation) of the *Chronica Maiora*.[14]   Finally, Wats used a transcription of the Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B manuscript, which was in the possession of John Selden. Selden's transcript consisted only of the years 1189-1199 (used for pages 148-196), and while Wats made full use of the text when collating those years, he was apparently unable to access the original and so could not collate further with this text.[15]   Each of the aforementioned manuscripts received their own abbreviation sigla, which Wats displayed just underneath the title to the *Variantes*; he did not, however, limit himself to the manuscripts he initially identified. Wats collated with a manuscript he referred to as *Minor*, which he used only for the years 1255 to 1273; the collations for the *Minor* began with page 901. This manuscript was actually the transcription made in 1565 by William Lambarde, which was copied from Royal 14 C vii.[16]

Wats also used Cotton manuscripts for the second portion of the work, which contained *The Lives of the Two Offas*, *The Lives of the Abbots of St Albans*, and the *Book of Additions*. *The Lives of the Two Offas* and *The Lives of the Abbots* were both found in two manuscripts, Nero D. I and Claudius E. IV; the *Book of Additions*

14   George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1921) 135-6. This manuscript is largely an autograph copy.

15   William Wats, ed, *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major. Juxta Exemplar Londinense 1571, verbatim recusa …* (London, 1639-40) *Variantes Lectiones,* [Ssss6r-Tttt4r]. Hereafter cited as Wats, *MP.* Also see Madden, I, lxviii. How the Cecil manuscript ended up in France is unknown; it was owned by Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

16   Wats, *MP, Variantes Lectiones,* [Vuuu6r-Vuuu6v]; Madden, I, lxx. This manuscript is now Cotton Vitellius D. II. Wats mentioned this transcript in his preface to the *Variantes*, but did not identify the manuscript in the same way that he did the others.

was only found in Nero D.V.[17] In addition, Wats used a manuscript owned by the antiquarian and historian Sir Henry Spelman (now British Library, Additional 62777) for the Lives of the Offas and the Abbots.[18] (see Table Two).

Table 2: Manuscripts used by Wats for the Lives and the Book of Additions

Modern Designation	Wats's Designation
Cotton Nero D.I.	Cotton
Cotton Claudius E. IV.	Cotton
Cotton Nero D.V.	Cotton(*Libro Additamentorum*)
British Library, Additional 62777	Spelman

Interestingly, the title page revealed that this latter portion of the work (in terms of its appearance in the book) was actually executed first, by Miles Flesher in 1639 (the main chronicle was done in 1640 by Richard Hodgkinson). Thus, these new parts were not an afterthought, but designed to be an integral part of the work.

Previous scholarship focused on the defects in the work of Parker and Wats. Frederic Madden and H.R. Luard, the editors, respectively, of Matthew Paris's *Historia Anglorum* (published in three volumes from 1866-1869) and *Chronica Maiora* (published in seven volumes from 1872-1883) for the Rolls Series were among the first, and most vehement, to criticize the earlier editions. Madden, in the margin of his preface to Volume I of the *Historia Anglorum*, referred to the "[u]nfaithful and worthless character of Parker's printed text," a comment which he supported with three examples "taken almost at hazard" from Parker's work.[19] H.R. Luard, editor of the *Chronica Maiora* (the text Parker published), called Parker an "utterly untrustworthy" editor and took great joy in publishing five pages of errors perpetrated by Archbishop Parker.[20] Luard, howev-

17   *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, 236-7, 198.

18   Wats, *MP*, [*1r]. Wats, [*2v] acknowledges this was Sir Henry Spelman, an antiquary and acquaintance of Wats.

19   Madden, I, xxxxiv (quotes) to xxxv.

20   Luard, *Matthæi Parisiensis*, v. II, xxii, xxiii-xxviii (errors).

er, was not quite as harsh as Madden, giving Parker the backhanded compliment that "the later portions of the history give, at least, the impression that his intention was to adhere to his MS."[21]

Some modern scholars have agreed with Madden and Luard. As late as 1971, May McKisack admitted that Parker was a "poor hand at editing manuscripts."[22] Since the 1990s, scholars have taken a more tolerant approach. R.I. Page, while lamenting that Parker, in his quest for order, would destroy what was disorderly or expendable (to him), has noted that Parker did a great service for the preservation and conservation of medieval manuscripts, even if he had ideas somewhat different from those held now.[23] Benedict Scott Robinson has also cast Parker's manuscript work in a less critical light, arguing that the purpose of Parker's scholarship was to restore texts–and through the restoration of historical texts to remake the past of England into a Protestant one.[24]

If we move beyond the quality of the texts, which are generally defective by modern standards, we can consider what the creation of these earliest editions can teach us about early modern printing. These editions by Parker and Wats reveal tantalizing details about early modern print shops and printing. They show us editing consistent with early modern standards; collaboration between printers; and highly-skilled compositors.

Print as Politics

Scholars today agree that Parker collected manuscripts and published works such as those by Matthew Paris in order to promote the Church of England by showing the antiquity of Protes-

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21   Luard, II, xxviii. Luard does point out a few more errors (merely a paragraph's worth) in the text of the reign of Henry III (Volume IV, xvii).

22   May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971) 43.
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23   R.I. Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993) 46-52.
.
24   Benedict Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech:' Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 29 (Winter 1998) 1079-80..

tant ideas in England. [25] He thereby legitimized the new Church by suggesting that Elizabethan Christianity was similar to what the Anglo-Saxons had practiced. Parker wanted his church to not be new, but instead returning to the purity of an ancient English church.[26] Matthew Paris, however, was writing in the thirteenth century and could not directly speak to the ancient customs of the English Church. But Parker had a special job for him; seeking to "underline what he [Parker] perceived to be the unwarranted growth of papal power in England as the middle ages progressed," the archbishop published Paris's *Chronica Maiora* because of the "frankness" the monk used to describe "papal abuses."[27] Parker acknowledged this motivation in his preface, in which he stressed that the work illustrated the overbearing arrogance, the insatiable cupidity, general tyranny, and unjust rule of the Roman pontiff.[28]

Wats, too, was interested in Matthew Paris for religious reasons. In his preface, he highlighted Paris's frequent stories about the rapacity and avarice of the Roman curia.[29] Wats also included in his edition testimonials from notable Protestants, such as quotations from the published works of John Leland and John Bale, praising Paris and his criticism of the papacy, as well as comments from Catholics, such as the Jesuit Robert Bellarmin, denouncing Paris as a heretic.[30] Wats's editing of Matthew Paris also dovetailed with

25 Timothy Graham, "Matthew Parker's manuscripts: an Elizabethan library and its use," in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* v. I (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2006) 334; C.E. Wright, "The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies, Matthew Parker and his Circle: A Preliminary Study," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, v. 1 (1951) 226.

26 Robinson, "Darke Speech," 1062.

27 Graham, "Matthew Parker's manuscripts," 335.

28 Parker, *Præfatio,* †ijr.

29 Wats, *MP*, [A4v].

30 Wats, *MP,* b3r-dr, but see especially b3r-[b5v] and [c3v-c4r]. Paris should not really be considered a heretic, and his criticisms of the papacy, while ubiquitous and vitriolic, do not question its ultimate authority the way Protestantism does. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* 141, 263.

his other publishing activities. From 1632 to 1634, he wrote a periodical called *The Swedish Intelligencer*, which praised the Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Wats also wrote and had published, in 1631, *St. Augustines Confessions translated and With Some marginall notes illustrated*. This work previously had been translated by a Catholic, and Wats set about correcting this man's translation, as well as providing comments on religious doctrine. [31] Wats particularly emphasized places where St. Augustine upheld the authority of the Scriptures, and instances when the "popish translator" had attempted to weaken or twisted the import of St. Augustine's words to support justification by faith and works.[32] Clearly, Wats was as concerned with using print generally—and Matthew Paris specifically—to promote Protestant ideals as Matthew Parker had been.

Contemporary events could also have encouraged the printing of the *Chronica Maiora* in 1640. As Janelle Greenberg especially has explored, it became common during the Stuart era to use historical sources to craft political ideologies concerning the respective powers of king and Parliament.[33] Working after publication of Wats's 1640 edition, John Milton, in his *Defence of the English People*, used a reference from the *Chronica Maiora* to support the idea of the king being subject to punishment if he failed in his duty.[34] The preface to Wats's edition gives no indication of political ideas behind its publication, but Wats and the printers likely were aware

31 Wats announces "the marginall notes of a former Popish Translation, answered." Wats, *St. Augustines Confessions translated and With Some marginall notes illustrated* (London, 1631) [A1r].

32 Wats, *St. Augustines Confessions,* 8, 284, 401, and 810 are some examples.

33 Janelle Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws and the Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution," *English Historical Review*, v. 104 (July 1989), 611; R.J. Smith, *The Gothic Bequest: Medieval Institutions in British Thought, 1688-1863* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) 1-10. For a more detailed look at how medieval history was used to political ends, see J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987).

34 Greenberg, "Confessor's Laws," 628. Paris is a particularly useful source because he recorded "contemporary events... in fuller detail than almost any other medieval writer," making his work "unique among medieval English chroniclers" because of its "scope and size" (Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 125, 126).

that Paris's history of the turbulent reign of Henry III might have special constitutional resonance.[35]

Marginal notations in the Huntington Library's copy of the 1571 edition (number 302989) clearly shows that Paris's history could be invested with political meaning.[36] The book contains reader's notes, one in a sixteenth-century hand belonging to Isaac St. George Jr. and the other a seventeenth-century hand belonging to William Bohun.[37] Bohun, the later owner, wrote the bulk of the comments and possibly did the majority of the underlining, as he appears to have been the more active reader. Bohun also seems to have seen a copy of the 1640 edition, as evidenced by a note he made on page 92, concerning a Bishop of Lincoln named Alexander. Bohun wrote,

> note 'tis said in the notes on Matthew Paris that this is an error, for tho Paris, Wendover, & the Cotton MS name this Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, yet 'tis said there was at this time no Bishop or Bishopric of Lincoln, nor any Bishop named Alexander.[38]

Bohun's note bears remarkable similarity to the note given in the 1640 edition for page 7, line 9, which highlighted those same manuscripts and same problem.[39] Since the 1571 edition did not contain any such notes (and certainly would not have referenced a Cotton manuscript), unless these notes were published separately, Bohun

35   Although the work was dedicated to Charles I, and the printers were royal printers, the dedication could have been a formality or a way to deflect suspicions. See Wats, *MP,* [iiir]. For more on the printers, see below.

36   For a detailed study of an active reader, see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action:' How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past and Present*, No. 129 (Nov., 1990), 30-78. For more information on marginal notations in books at the Huntington Library, see William H. Sherman, "What did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?" in Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer, eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia, 2002), 119-137.

37   William Bohun's signature is clearly visible; St. George's has been blackened out and is not entirely visible even under a blacklight. Thus, his proposed ownership is more tenuous than Bohun's.

38   Parker, 92. Abbreviations and capitalization have been expanded and modernized.

39   Wats, *MP*, Xxxx 2r. Bohun has misplaced his note. He puts it in 1123, by which time there was a bishopric of Lincoln. The note in the 1640 edition is for the year 1070, when the bishopric of Lincoln did not exist.

likely saw a 1640 copy. This note helps establish that Bohun was annotating during the Stuart era, when the use of historical sources for political ends was particularly in vogue.

A few of Bohun's notes indicate that he was reading with an eye for evidence of the antiquity of Parliament. Bohun made many marks in the text of *Magna Carta* and in the middle of it noted "this shows the Commons were a part of the ancient Parliament;" another time, when Paris recorded a tax on movables that Henry III was granted in 1237, Bohun commented "[t]his grant must be by the Commons."[40] Other manicules suggest a reader was interested in highlighting the power of the nobles to check the king.[41] One manicule pointed to the story of how Richard, earl of Cornwall, younger brother of Henry III, refused to submit to the king's will without first obtaining the judgment of his peers.[42] Other manicules pointed to times when Henry III issued charters of liberties or to events concerning the Provisions of Oxford, the list of demands limiting the king's power that played an important role in the subsequent civil war.[43] And while passages highlighting the pope's tyranny were also underlined and commented on, the attention given to limitations on the king's power indicates that the *Chronica Maiora* could also be read for evidence supporting Parliament and might have been printed for that reason as well.

Print as preservation

Concerned with preserving England's past, Archbishop Parker oversaw a series of historical publications, of which his 1571 edition of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Maiora* was one.[44] In promot-

40 Parker, 343, 583.

41 For more on manicules, see William H. Sherman, "Towards a History of the Manicule," March 2005 [available online at http://www.livesandletters. ac.uk/papers/ FOR_2005_04_002.html].

42 Parker, 450.

43 Parker, 1210, 1313.

44 For a list of Parker's publications, see Wright, "Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries," 225-6.

ing these publications, Archbishop Parker harnessed the preservative power of print, which Elizabeth Eisenstein has christened one of the most important of printing's duplicative powers.[45] Before Parker could print editions, though, he needed to possess manuscripts, and the archbishop was not above using his high position to get what he wanted. In 1563, for instance, Parker negotiated with one Dr. Nevison for the "ancient written books" of his predecessor Archbishop Cranmer; when the doctor proved unwilling to hand the materials over, Parker sought recourse through the Queen's council. Parker wrote to Sir William Cecil, asking him to convince the council to provide letters for him, through which he might suitably awe the doctor and force him to hand over the manuscripts.[46] Parker was notified in slightly over two weeks that the council had sent Dr. Nevison a letter demanding that he surrender the manuscripts to Archbishop Parker.[47] This approach proved so effective that on 4 July 1568, Parker wrote to Cecil again, asking that he have the council "subscribe" to new letters he had enclosed.

The letters gave Parker the power to take manuscripts (after notification) from their current owners in order to peruse and study them, after which they would be returned to their owners. The owners, however, were then under the responsibility of keeping such treasures safe in case the precious knowledge they contained needed to be consulted further.[48] In a surprisingly fast turnaround, a broadsheet was issued on 7 July by the Privy Council giving Parker the very powers he had requested.[49] Although some of the Matthew

45   Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) 87.

46   John Bruce and Thomas Thomason, eds, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1853) 191. Parker did say that he was working on behalf of the owner of these items, although he did not reveal who that was. Nevison was the son-in-law of Reginald Wolfe, from whom he might have obtained Cranmer's books (Wolfe was close to Cranmer). See Pamela M. Black, "Matthew Parker's Search for Cranmer's 'great notable written books,'" *The Library,* 5th Series, v. 29 (1974) 318.

47   Bruce and Thomason, *Correspondence*, 195-6.

48   Bruce and Thomason, *Correspondence*, 327 and 327, n.4.

49   Page, *Parker and his Books*, 43. The broadsheet is given on page 62 (plate 24).

Paris manuscripts were obtained through friends and not through his newfound powers, the Archbishop did not always follow the guideline of returning manuscripts to their owners. The Aglionby and Sidney manuscripts, for example, were still in Parker's possession at his death and bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Parker spent much of the 1560s searching for manuscripts of Matthew Paris. One was rather easy to find. On 30 July 1560, Parker received a letter from the antiquary John Bale, who was replying to Parker's request for the names of "bokes of Antiquite, not printed." One of the works Bale highlighted was that of Matthew Paris, which was already in the hands of the earl of Arundel. At that time Bale thought it was a unique copy, writing, "[i]t were much pytie that that noble story shulde perish in one coppye."[50] Sometime later, but before 27 January 1567, John Joscelyn, a member of Parker's household and a textual scholar himself, created a list of medieval historians, which included Matthew Paris. At that time, Matthew Parker already had seen the Arundel (Royal 14 C vii) manuscript because, according to Joscelyn's list, he had his own transcript of that text.[51]

By 1569, if not earlier, Parker knew that Sir William Cecil possessed another copy of Matthew Paris, which he requested to borrow "but for a week or two." In that same letter Parker informed Cecil that he "would turn it to the commodity of our country;" the book being "in few men's hands" and its "testimonies not to be lost." [52] Recognizing that few manuscripts of Matthew Paris were extant,[53] Parker seemed intent on spreading the lessons of Paris among more people. Printing, which Parker almost certainly had in mind, was one way of accomplishing this. As Eisenstein has sug-

50   Timothy Graham and Andrew G. Watson, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 17, 29-30.

51   Graham and Watson, *Recovery of the Past,* 55, 89. This would be William Lambarde's transcription.

52   Bruce and Thomason, *Correspondence*, 353.

53   He attributed this to a papist conspiracy, although time would be a more likely candidate. Parker, *Præfatio*, †iijr.

gested: "Quantity counted for more than quality."[54]   To that end, Parker not only saved manuscripts from being lost or destroyed, but also guided several of them into print, so that they could be preserved as a result of their abundance. As John Joscelyn noted:

> that these antiquities might last longe and be carefullye kept he caused them beinge broughte into one place to be well bounde and couered. Ard [*sic*] yet not so contented he endeuored to sett out in printe certaine off those aunciente monumentes whearoff he knew very fewe examples to be extante and which he thoughte woulde be most profitable for the posterytye.[55]

John Stow made a similar comment concerning Parker's endeavors, even highlighting that Matthew Paris was one of those monuments of which few examples remained.

> Also making diligent search for the antiquities of the Brytons, and English Saxons, to the end those monuments might be carefully kept, he caused them to be well bound and trimly couered, and such wherof he knew very few examples to be extant (among the which was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus and Thomas Walsingham) he caused to be printed.[56]

Parker thus recognized that print was a form of preservation, which could, and should, be utilized in conjunction with the preservation of original manuscripts.

The printing of the 1571 edition: compositors

The way in which the manuscripts Parker collected were preserved in print can be partially reconstructed. Exactly what text was given to Reginald Wolfe's print shop to furnish the early portion of the text is not known. CCCC 26 does not show any obvious signs

54   Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution,* 88. Eisenstein was here referring to the physical differences between vellum and paper, although Madden and Luard would probably prefer to think in terms of the text.

55   Robinson "Darke Speech," 1066 from *The Life off the 70. Archbishopp off Canterbury presentlye Sittinge* (1574) C1r-v. Ard should read "and."

56   John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1592) 1161. In the 1600 edition, Stow added that Parker received these manuscripts from him (Robinson, "Darke Speech," 1071, n. 37).

of having been in the printer's shop. From Wats's preface to the collations (*Variantes Lectiones*), it seems he used a now-lost transcription rather than the original manuscript, which suggests that Wolfe's shop might have done the same.[57] From Bibliothèque Nationale 6048 B Parker had another transcript made, which covered only the years 1189-99; Madden argued this transcript was made for the press.[58] From Royal 14 C vii, Parker also had two transcriptions made. One of these was the copy made by William Lambarde (now Cotton Vitellius D.II), and the other is now CCCC 56, made around 1567. No mention was made of the Lambarde edition being used for the press, but CCCC 56, which covered the years 1254-73, was used by the printer.[59] The years 1189 to 1250 are covered both by CCCC 16 (which extends to 1253) and Cotton Nero D.V; no known transcripts of either manuscript have survived. CCCC 16, however, provides evidence that it was sent directly to the printer's shop. Various folios, such as 259r, show printer's ink and collations in the margins. Perhaps the most obvious example, though, is folio 82v, where a woodblock has been laid across the top-left corner, leaving ink marks that cut diagonally across the top of the left-hand column.[60] Undoubtedly, CCCC 16 went to Reginald Wolfe's shop,[61] and the text in Parker's 1571 edition for the years 1189 to 1253 came straight from this manuscript. Exactly why CCCC 16 was sent to the printer's shop and none of the others is a mystery. It would

57   Wats, *MP, Præfatio ad Variantes Lectiones*, [Rrrrv], Rrrr2r for collating. This is probably also the copy mentioned in the *Novi Editoris Præfatio ad Lectorem*, [A2v].This transcript belonged to John Selden, although, based on Wats's description, it seems to have only contained part of the text of CCCC 26. See also Madden, I, xxxiv, n. 1.

58   Madden, I, xxxiii, n. 4.

59   Madden, I, lxix. Presumably the transcript was sent by Parker with 26 and 16 to Corpus Christi. However, Wats did not use this Cambridge manuscript when collating his text (the abbreviation for Cambridge manuscripts did not appear after the year 1254 in the *Variantes* and the transcript only covers the post-1254 period).

60   Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16 [accessed online http:// parkerweb.stanford. edu/parker/actions/ page.do?forward=home (19 March 2008)].

61   Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books*, 59.

seem, though, that the compositor worked directly from this manuscript; Page even speculated that the woodblock mark on folio 82v was the result of an attempt to hold the page open while placing the letters of the press.[62]

While printing directly from a manuscript was not rare, it was not standard practice. Sometimes a transcription was made of the original manuscript, and that version was used as copy text. Aldus Manutius, a learned printer in late fifteenth-and-early sixteenth-century Venice, often hired scribes to copy manuscripts, perhaps because their owners denied him permission to bring actual manuscripts to his shop.[63] In 1664, when a supplement to Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia* was published, Sir William Dugdale copied the necessary manuscripts, which were housed at Lambeth Palace, for use by the printer.[64] Reginald Wolfe, printer of the 1571 edition, similarly employed men to copy extracts from manuscripts that he owned. Copy-text transcriptions suggest that owners and printers were wary of subjecting manuscripts to the messy world of print shops, but such wariness was not universal.

Manuscripts were also used as copy text in England. The Huntington Library possesses one manuscript, a copy of the *Prick of Conscience* (HM 130), which shows signs of having been in the printer's shop (marked-off pages and inky thumbprints).[65] Gavin Bone has previously discovered three other manuscripts that were used as copy text in the early days of printing: Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* from a manuscript now in St. John's College, Oxford; Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* from Trinity College, Cambridge MS R

62   Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books*, 85.

63   Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1979) 99.

64   Percy Simpson, *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford UP, 1935) 88.

65   H.C. Schulz, "Manuscript printer's copy for a lost early English book," *The Library*, 4th Series, Vol. 22, No. 1 (June 1941) 139. See H.C. Schultz, "A Middle English Manuscript used as Printer's Copy," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, v. 29 (1966) 325-36 for more details.

3 19 (both printed by Wynkyn de Worde); and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* from Magdalen College, Oxford MS 213 (printed by Caxton).[66] Robert W. Mitchner and Margery M. Morgan found two further examples of manuscripts used as copy: MS Eng. Th.d. 36 in the Bodleian, which was used by Richard Pynson to print *Dives and Pauper* and the Plimpton MS (de Ricci No. 263) in the Columbia University Library, which was used by Wynkyn de Worde to print his English translation of *De Proprietatibus*.[67] The first printer in Oxford also used a manuscript, British Library Sloane MS 1579, as copy text for his *Expositio Symboli* by Rufinus.[68]

Manuscripts taken into print shops (or at least, those known today to have been taken into print shops) were mostly written in English and in recent hands. For instance, the manuscript Caxton used for the *Confessio Amantis* was a late fifteenth-century copy, probably easy for a compositor to read in 1483.[69] The manuscript of *Dives and Pauper* used in 1493 by Pynson also dated from the 1400s, while the Plimpton (used for *De Proprietatibus*) and Sloane (*Expositio Symboli*) manuscripts were copied c. 1440 and printed, respectively, in 1495 and 1478. The Huntington manuscript, dating from the late fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century, is seemingly the earliest manuscript yet known to have been used by a compositor.[70] The discoveries of manuscripts being used as copy text

66   Gavin Bone, "Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney," *The Library*, 5th Series, v. XII, (June 1931) 285, 290, 293, 303-4, 303, n. I.

67   Margery M. Morgan, "Pynson's Manuscript of *Dives and Pauper*," *The Library*, 5th Series, v. VIII, (December 1953) 217; Robert W. Mitchner, "Wynkyn de Worde's Use of the Plimpton Manuscript of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*," *The Library*, 5th Series, v. VI (June 1951). 7.

68   A.C. De La Mare and Lotte Hellinga, "The First Book Printed in Oxford: The *Expositio Symboli* of Rufinus," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, v. 7 (1978), 184-5.

69   Bone, "Extant Manuscripts," 285. The St. John's MS is also of late extraction (286).

70   Morgan, "Pynson's Manuscript," 217; Mitchner, "Plimpton Manuscript," 7; De la Mare, "First Book," 184; C.W. Dutschke, *Guide to the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, v. I (San Marino, CA: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1989), 173.

seems to have generated some excitement, but no one seems to have considered the mechanics of printing from an original text. How did compositors read manuscripts and put them into hand type?

In the case before us, the compositor used a thirteenth-century Latin manuscript. By the late sixteenth century, mid-thirteenth-century handwriting was arcane and antiquarian. It was so distinctive from contemporary hands that Matthew Parker employed a man named Lyly to mimic old handwriting on the pages Parker inserted into manuscripts that were missing portions; in fact, several folios for CCCC 16 are in Lyly's hand.[71] In the print shop, the compositor was a highly-skilled worker, and Reginald Wolfe must have employed especially skilled compositors because he was the royal printer of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew from his appointment in 1547 by Edward VI until his death in 1573. In this capacity, Wolfe printed not only all Latin, Greek, and Hebrew books (although in practice he mainly printed Latin works) in England, he also printed vernacular religious works by men such as Thomas Cranmer and Matthew Parker. Wolfe even had antiquarian interests: he dreamed of publishing a "Universal Cosmography."

Wolfe hired William Harrison and Raphael Holinshed to work on this project, which was published after his death as Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577).[72] Wolfe owned some twenty-four manuscripts, two of which he saw into print (works by John Cheke and John Ponet, who were Wolfe's contemporaries), while the rest were presumably for his "Universal

71 Robinson, "Darke Speech," 1076. Robinson does not speculate on Lyly's identity, but perhaps Parker's "Lyly" was a young John Lyly, the playwright, or more likely his father Peter, who was Registrar of Canterbury. See G.K. Hunter, "Lyly, John (1554–1606)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy. usc.edu/view/article/17251, accessed 15 Jan 2012]. My thanks to Professor James Forse for this suggestion.

72 Andrew Pettegree, "Wolfe, Reyner (*d*. in or before 1574)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford, Sept 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29835, accessed 11 April 2008]; Cyndia Susan Clegg, "Reyner (Reginald) Wolfe," in J.K. Bracken and J. Silver, eds, *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 170 (Detroit: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1990) 330-2.

Cosmography."[73] This does not mean, though, that Wolfe was in the habit of printing from medieval manuscripts; Wolfe hired Harrison and Holinshed to prepare the universal history, suggesting that the two men were making selections from manuscripts and preparing copy text.

Despite Wolfe's antiquarian credentials, he was almost certainly not the compositor for Parker's 1571 edition (for which CCCC 16 was used as copy text), meaning another man of learning must have been in residence. In fifteenth-century Italy, satirists suggested that poor students served as compositors,[74] but were those students expected to read medieval manuscripts themselves? The editors and compositors who worked for Aldus Manutius sometimes worked from original manuscripts; occasionally, these original manuscripts were thirteenth or fourteenth century rather than contemporary.[75] While this suggests that the abilities of Wolfe's compositor were not unique, it still raises questions concerning his training, especially since there was no university in London from which poor students could be recruited (if the satirists were correct).[76] Just how much training the compositor received is unknown,[77] but he needed training beyond basic literacy in order to be able to read a medieval manuscript in the dim and chaotic atmosphere of an early modern print shop. Did Wolfe generally hire exceptionally learned compositors

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73   Black, "Matthew Parker's Search for Cranmer's 'great notable written books,'" 318. These manuscripts were Leland's, bought after his death.

74   Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 12; satirist part from Lawry citing S. Brant, *The Ship of Fools*, trans. by E. Zeydel (New York, 1962) 125.

75   Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 99, 234-49. Lowry indicated some medieval manuscripts were also used for the press, although he did not go into much detail. Lowry even revealed that Manutius used a sixth-century text, although he was unclear if this codex was used as copy text.

76   Of course, there were poor students at Oxford and Cambridge who perhaps were hired to do such work between terms. John Lyly, mentioned above, was a student at Oxford from 1569 to 1575. See G. K. Hunter, "Lyly, John (1554–1606)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.usc.edu /view/article/17251, accessed 15 Jan 2012].

77   Joseph Moxton in *Mechanick Exercises*, Vol. II (London, 1683) 198 suggests the compositor needed to be "a good English Schollar" in to correct the the spelling of authors.

or was this man brought in only to set the Paris text? Where did compositors obtain such training? Alternatively, was Wolfe's standard compositor given a quick lesson in thirteenth-century handwriting? The Parker text naturally provides no information concerning these questions, but the text's journey from manuscript to print does suggest that some compositors were highly skilled and underwent extensive training in both languages and paleography.

The printing of the 1640 edition: printer relationships

The compositor who worked on the 1640 edition had an easier time setting the text because he used the 1571 work as copy text. The title to the 1640 edition proclaimed that the book was based on the 1571 edition.[78] This text was easier to read than manuscripts and provided a more accurate estimate of the length of the new work, and thus the amount of high-cost paper that was needed, because length could be more easily determined from an already-printed work.[79] The 1640 edition was physically larger than the 1571 book, meaning that the pages would not align exactly, but it still must have been easier and faster to calculate the amount of paper necessary from a formatted book than to recalculate from a two-columned manuscript. Additionally, Richard Hodgkinson, who printed the 1640 *Chronica Maiora*, probably could not have printed from the original manuscripts even if he had wanted because the Corpus Christi manuscripts were then housed in the college's library and were difficult to access.[80]

Financial concerns might have been a reason the 1640 work was printed in two separate parts, although these parts were apparently sold together.[81] The first part (in order of appearance) contained

78   Although the title suggests a certain fixity to the 1571 version, it was an imperfect fixity. Page (A)ir of the Huntington copy differs from page (A)ir of the British Library copy (seen through Early English Books Online).

79   Martin Davies, "Humanism in Script and Print," in Jill Kraye, ed, *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 2001) 57.

80   Parker placed many restrictions on his books, as well as establishing a system of inspection, which could lead to the manuscripts being sent to another college if Corpus Christi proved unable or unwilling to properly care for them. See *Matthew Parker's Legacy: Books and Plate* (Uxbridge, 1975) 7-8.

81   Both Huntington copies (21404 and 606936) and the British Library copy on Early English Books Online are bound as single editions. The works were sold by Cornelius Bee and Laurence Sadler of Little Britain. Wats, *MP,* [iir], [*1r].

the *Chronica Maiora*, which was published by Richard Hodgkinson in 1640. The second part of the work, the *Lives of the Two Offas* was published by Miles Flesher in 1639. One reason Hodgkinson and Flesher might have collaborated would be the size and cost of the work: the book was a folio volume with well over one thousand pages. Interestingly, Flesher, the more established printer, printed the shorter part of the work.[82] Alternatively, the two men might have separately decided to print works by Matthew Paris and joined their texts when they discovered what the other printer was doing. Another possibility is that Flesher actually owned Hodgkinson's press. Although both were master printers, approved by the Star Chamber in 1637, Flesher and his associates Robert Young and John Haviland owned several businesses that still carried on in other men's names.[83] Both Hodgkinson and Flesher, though, were well-suited to publish Matthew Paris. Flesher, although much of his work was religious in nature, had also published translated works of Erasmus and one work translated from Greek.[84] Hodgkinson also printed learned works, such as a catechism in both Greek and Latin.[85]

One of the most fascinating aspects of the printing, though, was that Wats was not hired as editor until the text through the reign of Henry II had already been printed.[86] That amounted to 153 pages, or slightly over 15 percent of the total text of the *Chronica Maiora*,

82 Flesher had been a printer since at least 1618 in a partnership with George Elde. When Elde died in 1624, Flesher became a master printer. Hodgkinson registered his first work with the Stationers' in 1624, and although he was also a master printer by 1634, he was "a very late Erection." See Edward Arber, ed, *A transcript of the registers of the company of stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, Vol. III (London, 1876) 689, 700 and Arber, *Stationers' Register*, IV, 30.

83   Arber, *Stationers' Register*, III, 25; IV, 528, 532; V, xxx. The Stationers' Register records Flesher buying out several printers, and although Hodgkinson was not one of them, there is still the possibility that Flesher owned Hodgkinson (Arber, *Stationers' Register*, III, 25; IV, 119, 466-7).

84   Arber, *Stationers' Register*, IV, 104, 355.

85   Arber, *Stationers' Register*, IV, 430.

86   Wats, *MP, Novi Editoris Præfatio ad Lectorem*, A2r. Wats, who generally refers to himself in the plural, notes "opellam nostram…implorarunt." An earlier editor, whom Wats might have replaced, was not mentioned.

which was a significant amount that the printer would not want to waste. Wats made minimal corrections to the text itself and placed his thirty-six pages of collations at the back, in a separate section. Wats's tardy employment suggests that Hodgkinson did not initially intend to have the text edited, but merely to reprint it. What then caused him to seek Wats's assistance? Did Hodgkinson or someone in his shop notice defects in the text? If so, how? Or was it something altogether more practical, such as the belief that editing the edition would increase sales? Whatever the reasons, the 1640 edition of Matthew Paris suggests that the printer desired a learned book and also indicates the possibility of cooperative printing. Just as the 1571 printing implies that some compositors were educated beyond the basics, the 1640 printing shows that printers could cooperate to produce a large work.

Collation of the 1640 edition

*W*ats's use of the term *collata* is an early one. In early modern book titles, *collata* had two main meanings: the more literal translation is "having brought together," designating books in which a series of disparate examples or contemporary sources were presented together but *collata* could also mean collation, and Wats used the word in that sense. While Wats was not alone in collating manuscripts, he did engage in a larger, more sophisticated project, placing his work at the forefront of early modern textual studies.

Texts using both definitions of *collata* were published throughout the early modern period. One earlier, English example is a 1585 edition of the works of Zacharias Ursinus. Seven *exemplaria* "having been diligently compared to each other" and corrected in many places were used in publishing the work.[87] This sounds rather

87   Zacharias Ursinus, *Doctrinæ christianæ compendium: seu, commentarii catechetici, ex ore D. Zacharias Ursini, verè theologi theology (qui Heydelbergæ catecheseos explicationem continuare solebat & iterare) diuerso tempore ab ipsius discipulis excepti. Ad septem exemplaria, diligenter inter se collate, pluribus in locis emendati, varijs quæstionibus, thesibus & argumentis auctiores facti, & nunc denuo non parua accessione eorum, quæ in commentarijs desiderabantur (quod ex indice facile apparebit) locupletati. Cum indice præcipuorum capitum* (Cambridge, 1585).

like what Wats would do in 1640 with his manuscripts, except that the editor of Ursinus's work was not using medieval manuscripts but either contemporary handwritten documents (Ursinus having just died in 1583) or even printed exemplars (an English copy of some of Ursinus's work was published in 1584).[88]

A slightly later example, without evidence of collation, are the debates of William Whitaker, theologian at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Robert Bellarmin, a Jesuit, published in 1599. The title announced that the first of the seven debates came from the mouth of the author and was then brought together with other examples.[89] Though these other examples probably were not published before, this work was still the result of bringing together contemporary material. A later example used *collata* to reference the extraordinary benefits conferred on the Eucharist by God, using the word's actual meaning of "having brought together."[90] *Collata* thus was not limited to meaning collation, the way in which Wats used it, but could indicate an author had brought together various sources, without necessarily comparing them to one another.

Wats was not the only one to collate medieval manuscripts. Matthew Parker before him had collated, as did some of Wats's contemporaries. Using manuscripts to point out errors in previously published religious literature was seemingly a favorite use of collation. In 1610, Thomas James, librarian at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, published a pamphlet that identified, in tabular format, the errors in

88   John Stockwood, ed and tr., *A verie profitable and necessarie discourse concerning the obseruation and keeping of the Sabboth day seruing as well to confute the superstition of the Iewes …* (London, 1584).

89   William Whitaker, *Prælectiones doctissimi viri Guilielmi Whitakeri, nuper sacræ theologiæ in academia Cantabrigiensi doctoris et professoris regii, et collegii S. Ioannis Euangelistae in eadem academia præfecti. In quibus tractatur controversia de Ecclesia contra Pontificios, inprimis Robertum Bellarminum Jesuitam, in septem quæstiones distributa, quas sequens pagina indicabit. Exceptæ primum ab ore authoris, deinde cum aliis exemplaribus collatæ, & post eius mortem ad breves illius annotatiunculas examinatæ. Opera et cura Ioannis Allenson ... His accesit eiusdem Doct. Whitaker vltima concio ad clerum, vnà cum descriptione vita & mortis, authore Abdia Assheton….* (Cambridge, 1599).

90   John Adamson, *Ioannis Adamsoni Carmen eucharisikon, ob eximia beneficia in se à Deo collata, ac certo conferenda, in Iesu Christo Domino* (Edinburgh, 1651).

two editions of Gregory the Great's collected works. The printed editions used were a 1591 version from Rome and a 1564 edition by John Bale, both of which were deemed corrupt when compared with manuscripts from Oxford libraries, such as the Bodleian, Merton, and St. John's.[91] James continued this work in 1626, publishing a longer pamphlet that, again using Oxford manuscripts, pointed out the errors (and corrected some) in works of the Church Fathers that had been published by Catholics (examining, for instance, a Roman version of Gregory and a Parisian version of Ambrose).[92]

Jeremiah Stephens continued James's work in 1629, with an edition of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*. The title page and the preface both stated that the published work was created by collating an already printed version (from Rome and thus naturally suspect) with manuscripts at the Bodleian, Oxford.[93] In the margins, Stephens indicated when a certain manuscript varied from the printed text. In 1632, Stephens published another work, this time an edited and annotated book of St Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. In his title, Stephens claimed that he collated his text with theological manuscripts at Oxford. In his preface, Stephens failed to give details about these manuscripts, and he did not include any variations between them.[94]

91 Thomas James, *Bellum Gregorianum siue Corruptionis Romanæ in operibus D. Gregorii M. Jussu Pontificum Rom. recognitis atq[ue] editis, ex typographia Vaticana, loca insigniora observata à theologis ad hoc officium deputatis* (Oxford, 1610) [A1r-A4v]. See especially [A4v] for information on the manuscripts. However, James set up his table as printed editions vs. manuscripts, treating all the manuscripts as one group.

92 Thomas James, *Specimen corruptelarum pontificiarum: in Cypriano, Ambrosio, Gregorio M. auctore operis imperfecti & in iure canonico collatione facta cum MSS. varijs. Inscriptum Clero Anglicano* (London, 1626) especially C3r-[C4v]. James had begun his collating work earlier, with an edition of the *Philobiblon* by Richard de Bury. The complete title indicates that James used several manuscripts, but like, Parker, he does not show where the manuscripts differed. James also provides an appendix listing manuscripts at Oxford; this list does not relate to de Bury's work, as it includes manuscripts by men such as John Capgrave (1393-1464) who were born after de Bury (1287-1345) died.

93 Jeremiah Stephens, ed, *B. Gregorii Magni Episcopi Romani, De cura pastorali liber verè aureus: accuratè emendatus, & restitutus è vet. mss. cum Romana editione collatis ab eximijs aliquot Academiæ Oxoniensis theologies. Editus à Ieremia Stephano Oxoniensi SS. Th. Baccalaureo* (London, 1629) [C 1r], [C 6v- C7r].

94 Jeremiah Stephens, ed, *D. Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginiensis De vnitate Ecclesiæ, libellus singularis, cum vet. mss. diligenter à Theologis Oxoniensibus collatus…* (London, 1632).

In his 1633 work on Cyprian, though, Stephens did indicate variations between manuscripts in the Annotations section.[95]

At nearly the same time that Wats was doing his work, John Spelman, son of Henry Spelman, the antiquary from whom Wats borrowed a Matthew Paris manuscript, was also collating. Spelman was working on a collection of Psalms in Old English; he used a manuscript owned by his father and three others: one from the Academy of Cambridge, one from Trinity College, Cambridge, and one owned by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Going one step further, Spelman assigned each of these latter three manuscripts an abbreviation siglum and used that siglum in the margins of his text to indicate which manuscript differed from his printed text.[96] This suggests that Spelman was using his father's manuscript as his main text, and collating it with the other three.

His action, though, bears a marked similarity to Wats's *Variantes Lectiones*; the main difference being that instead of being placed at the end, the collations are scattered throughout the text. Although these examples show that Wats was not unique in his extensive use of collation, an interesting, perhaps tenuous, connection to Spelman presents itself. William Wats had earlier helped Sir Henry Spelman, John's father and owner of the manuscript of Psalms, with his *Archæologus in Modum Glossarii ad Rem Antiquam Posteriorem* (1626); furthermore, a set of Anglo-Saxon type, which Henry Spelman had ordered cut, was used by Miles Flesher in his publication of Matthew Paris.[97] Although Wats appears more connected to Sir Henry than to John, the two men could have known

95   Jeremiah Stephens, ed, *S. Cyprianus De bono patientiæ Collatus cum ms. Oxoniensibus, editus a Ierem. Stephano, SS. Theol. Bac. cum spicilegio notarum* (Oxford, 1633) 59-87. Although Stephens gives number designations to his manuscripts, he does not provide any specific information about the manuscripts the way Wats did. The reader only knows manuscript 1 differs, but not anything else about that manuscript.

96   John Spelman, ed, *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus. A Iohanne Spelmanno D. Hen. fil. editum. E vetustissimo exemplari Ms. in bibliotheca ipsius Henrici, & cum tribus aliis non multo minus vetustis collatum*, (London, 1639 or 1640) [A1r], [A3v], [A4v].
97   Peter J. Lucas, "From Politics to Practicalities: Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Scholarship," *The Library*, 7th Series, v. 4, (June 2003) 39-40.

each other. Possibly they had the same source of inspiration leading them to do such extensive collations. And while Wats was clearly not alone in collating medieval manuscripts, he used more manuscripts and tackled a larger work than his predecessors and contemporaries.[98] Since the use of the term *collata* in titles was not limited to actual collation, much less to collation of medieval manuscripts, Wats was one of a relative few who collated medieval manuscripts. Thus, despite the imperfections in his work, Wats forged an early path which later collators followed.

Conclusion

*T*o modern textual scholars, Parker and Wats clearly made mistakes when transferring Matthew Paris's words from manuscript to printed page. Although Parker once claimed that he was not altering his edited texts, he had a different view of what constituted altering than his nineteenth-century successors.[99] Based on Peter L. Shillingsburg's categories of scholarly editing, Archbishop Parker was an aesthetic editor, someone who altered the wording of his edition, probably because he wanted to publish "the 'best' text of a work." By the time the Rolls Series editors undertook their task, editing had changed. Between the late-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, editing moved towards a form that saw the author as sole authority for the text.[100] Editors following this method would not render the text more elegant or try to improve the prose.[101] Madden and Luard followed this method, reprinting Paris's text without altering the phrasing or interpolating other works to cover various omissions, because his authority as author was paramount. His work was not

98   A 1643 example also used six manuscripts and illustrated the variations in the same manner as Spelman. See Abraham Whelock, ed, *Historiæ ecclesiasticæ gentis Anglorum libri V…*(Cambridge, 1643).

99   Matthew Parker, ed, Asser's *Alfredi Regis Res Gestæ* (1574); John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, Vol, II (Oxford, 1821) 501.

100   Marcus Walsh argues that for the editing of vernacular literature in England, this change occurred over the course of the eighteenth century. See Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton, and eighteenth-century literary editing: the beginnings of interpretative scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 9.

101   Peter L. Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age*, 3rd edition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 25.

to be improved on artistically because that was not what Paris had written, and presenting his work was more important than presenting an aesthetically-pleasing version.[102]

Even though the methods of Parker and Wats are no longer in vogue, their work is being used to this day. The only complete English translation of Matthew Paris, done by J.A. Giles in the 1850s is a translation of the 1684 version of Wats.[103] Furthermore, the Rolls Series never published either *The Lives of the Two Offas* or *The Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans*; in 1958, when Richard Vaughan wrote his influential book about Matthew Paris and, his quotations from Paris' works were taken from Wats's 1639 edition.[104]

So while one might question Parker's methods of conservation and lament his editing skills, his contribution ought not to be dismissed. Parker preserved Matthew Paris for posterity and set a standard so high that Wats took it as his exemplar and could not improve upon it with a mere reprint. Wats's collations, indices, detailed notes, and added material took the scholarly qualities of the work to a higher level. While that level might not have been to the standards and taste of modern scholars, the 1571 and 1640 editions were still great achievements whose creation sheds light on book history—its political as well as its preservative functions, its skilled compositors, and its scholarly editors.

102   Shillingsburg also discusses a documentary/historical orientation in editing, which tends to promote the presentation of a historical text nearly exactly as it was written, often without mixing readings from various incarnations of the same text (17-20). Since Madden and Luard collated various Paris manuscripts to produce a best text, and introduced non-historical forms (such as æ when Paris simply wrote e), I have decided that their work does not qualify as historical editing.

103   J.A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, Vol. I (London: Henry J. Bohn, 1852), vii. While Richard Vaughan has retranslated selections from the *Chronica Maiora*, the full work is only available in Giles's work. See Vaughan, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: monastic life in the thirteenth century* (Gloucester, 1984) for a translation of the years 1247-50. In this work, Vaughan also translates a section of *The Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans* (that of John de Cella, William of Trumpington, and John of Hertford, which covers the years 1195-1255).

104   Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 270, see pp. 189-204 for citations. Wats printed *The Lives of the Abbots* as the *Viginti trivm abbatvm Sancti Albani*.

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Self-portrait of Matthew Paris from the original manuscript of Historia Anglorum

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