Notes

Introduction


2 Ibid., 2.


5 As observed by Greetham, “Archival Exclusion,” 23 n.10; see also Ralph Hanna, Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 73, noting the “superfluity of authority” in the modern archives around which so many debates about editorial theory revolve.


7 Derrida, Archive Fever, 90.

8 Ibid., 98–9. The translator indicates that pas is Derrida’s term for “step.”

9 Emily Steiner, Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93 (emphasis in original).


11 As inscribed in British Library (hereafter BL) C.60.g.12, Malone’s copy of Ritson’s Bibliographia Poetica (hereafter BP) (London, 1802), 299, 366. The copy is full of such remarks – see Bertrand H. Bronson, Joseph Ritson, Scholar at Arms (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938), 268 n.96 for a catalogue – which is no surprise given Ritson’s publication in 1792 of the Cursory Criticisms on the Edition of Shakespeare Published by Edmond Malone, on which see Bronson, 394–403.

The importance of this comment was first noted by Henry Alfred Burd, *Joseph Ritson, A Critical Biography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1916), 134.

Ritson, *BP*, 29 n. The text reads “Caligula A. 11. 18 B. xvi,” but the “ii” (i.e., capital Roman numeral two) is a compositor’s error for Arabic numeral eleven and “18 B xvi” is clearly supposed to be Royal 18 B xvii; the error caused by attraction to the “B.xvi” earlier in the line.

14 Bodleian Douce RR 36, inside front cover. Also in Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, 246, who notes the possibility that his annotations to Add. 10285 “were not entered until after Ritson’s death” (n.46).

15 Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, 267, quoting from a note signed by Frederick Madden, who attributes the story to Douce himself, in his interleaved copy of the *BP*, now Widener Harvard Depository 10454.17. On January 31, 1801, Ritson had asked Thomas Park to run his eye over the prefaces; Joseph Haslewood says that the mistreatment of Douce occurred “very soon afterward” (Some Account of the Life and Publications of the Late Joseph Ritson, Esq. [London, 1824], 26–7; Haslewood’s transcription of Park’s letter is opposite p. 26 in BL G.13123, his copy of that book).

16 *BP*, ii; Douce RR 36. See also Haslewood, *Some Account*, 27. Douce would later write to Haslewood, “in spite of himself & what I might very justifiably term his ingratitude, I really loved the man to an extent that he little dreamt of.” Letter of November 5, 1823, in the endpapers of BL G.13123; quoted also by Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, 311.

17 For an account of Ritson that analyzes how his madness became part of his story, see David Matthews, *The Making of Middle English, 1765–1910* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 25–53.


20 Both Donaldson, *The C-Text and Its Poet*, 4–5 n.3, and DiMarco, at least, recognize the necessity of this supposed insight from his later retreat: “Ritson’s comments on the poem in 1802, though his final words on the subject, do not represent the entire range of his speculations.” DiMarco, “Eighteenth-Century Suspicions Regarding the Authorship of *Piers Plowman*,” *Anglia* 110 (1982): 128.

21 DiMarco, “Eighteenth-Century Suspicions,” 128. DiMarco speculates at 129 that Ritson recognized all this variation by 1780 or so. On internal evidence Bronson dates the contents of these notebooks to c.1780–c.1800 (*Joseph Ritson*, 320 n.4).
Bronson’s “A Ritson Bibliography” (Joseph Ritson, 751–802) was so extensive, commented one reviewer, that “new discoveries about Ritson will be few and relatively unimportant.” James M. Osborn, “Joseph Ritson, Scholar at Odds,” MP 37 (1940): 429. Yet as Simon Meecham-Jones observes, “Few examples of Ritson’s hand survive, particularly from the last few years of his life,” and this item is to be dated, as we will see below, in 1801 or 1802 (he died September 23, 1803). “For Mr. Ritson’s Collection: George Ellis, Joseph Ritson and National Library of Wales MSS 5599, 5600c.” English Studies 82 (2001): 129.

Facsimile at http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/cdm4/eb_viewer.php?ptr=1027, “The Vision of Pierce Plowman, 1505 [1550]”; this quotation on (Endmatter [12]). “P.C.C.” = “printed copies.” The attribution of these annotations to Ritson relies both on the correlation between their contents and the BP, which also confirms its late date, and on the telltale use of lower-case “i” for the first-person pronoun, for which he was notorious: “d--n his î’s” said a contemporary lampoon of Ritson (Bronson, Joseph Ritson, 284, citing Monthly Mirror, August 1803, 90–2). R. Carter Hailey first recognized the historical value of the Lehigh Cr’s, though he did not identify the annotator as Ritson; see “Robert Crowley and the Editing of Piers Plowman (1550),” YLS 21 (2007): 145 and n.7. I thank Dr. Hailey for his encouragement of my work on this copy.

James Nasmith, Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi . . . (Cambridge, 1777), 327, entry for MS 293. Between the second and third transcriptions from MSS, discussed below, Ritson adds a note indicating that he consulted Nasmith’s entry for MS 293.

The absence of any transcription from Douce’s copy is one indicator, as is the reliance by both documents on George Ellis’s 1801 Specimens of the Early English Poets (DiMarco, Reference Guide, item 1801.1) in citing Reynold Wolfe’s 1553 edition of Pierce the Plowman’s Crede as if it were an edition of the poem: BP, 26 n.; Endmatter [12] of the Lehigh online copy. That the latter is cancelled suggests that some of the notes in that copy postdate the production of BP.

Bronson, Joseph Ritson, 791; see also 797, the entry for the sale catalogue of his books, where Bronson identifies lot 417 in the catalogue, “Pierce Plowman, 1550,” as among its rarer items.

In his annotated edition of Rogers’s 1561 edition, Dr. John Taylor mentions it in shorthand, citing Leland’s calaret, i.e., “Hot was the sunne” (Bodleian, 4o Rawlinson 274, xxxviii’; see Chapter 5). It was likewise discussed by Thomas Warton, Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser (London, 1754), 88–9 (see DiMarco, Reference Guide, item 1754.1, and Brewer, Editing Piers Plowman, 28); on the flyleaves of Dr. Richard Farmer’s copy of Rogers (Haverford College, Magill Library 96; Chapter 5); on the flyleaves of Francis Douce’s A-text MS (“Soft was the sonne’ A better reading than ‘sette’ which is nonsense as appears in P.4 where the morning is mentioned” [Bodleian MS Douce 323, fol. v’; Chapter 6]); the margins of Thomas Percy’s Crowley (see John J. Thompson, “Bishop Thomas Percy’s Contributions to Langland Scholarship: Two Annotated Piers Plowman Prints in Belfast,” in The
There is no transcription from Douce’s manuscript, Ritson’s access to which was surely a casualty of their falling-out; but he does include, indeed begins with, BL MS Royal 18 B xvii, which confirms my emendation of BP (note 13). Ritson also lists the other known witnesses to the poem, but he was relying on catalogues rather than examination. The penultimate page of annotations (Endmatter [11]) announces that “The MSS of this ancient poem are in [blank] Library at Oxford,” citing Thomas Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica (London, 1748), regarding a dozen items.

My spot check of his version of the Vernon lines reveals a few minor errors – he has wente I wyden for MS wende I wydene; weory for weori; and lenede for leonede – of the sort that he censures severely when they appear in other scholars’ published works; but of course there is no indication that this material was for anything other than the preparation of what would become one footnote in the BP. See A Facsimile Edition of the Vernon Manuscript: Oxford, MS. Eng. poet. a.1, Bodleian Digital Texts, ed. Wendy Scase (Oxford: Bodleian, 2012).

The attribution is in James M. Kuist, The Nichols File of The Gentleman’s Magazine: Attributions of Authorship and Other Documentation in Editorial Papers at the Folger Library (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 110. The places it would have been discussed had its existence been known are Brewer, Editing Piers Plowman, and Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities. Arthur Sherbo cites another item from the magazine missing from DiMarco’s book, “probably because it is not listed in the index volumes of the GM”: “Samuel Pegge, Thomas Holt White, and Piers Plowman,” YLS 1 (1987): 123.

Thomas Tyrwhitt, ed., The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, 5 vols. (London, 1775–8), 4:74; Ritson, BP, 30 n. In the Crowley note regarding the two sets of witnesses, discussed above, Ritson continues: “I have never met with a MS. more correct or better deserving of publication than Crowleys editions; & suppose that Mr. Tyrwhitt had not examined as many as I have done, nor marked the above difference” (Endmatter [12]). The catalogue of eighteenth-century recognition of MS variation I give here is widely rehearsed, with the exception of Nasmith, whose role has to my knowledge gone unnoticed. See, e.g., Donaldson, C-Text and Its Poet, 3–7; Kane, “The Text,” 176–7; and the opening chapters of Brewer, Editing Piers Plowman, 7–49.

Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry . . . : A New Edition Carefully Revised [by Richard Price], 4 vols. (London, 1824), 2:482. Critics commonly credit Price with “discovering” the A version, but this is very misleading. The copy in which he identified this third version has what we now call a “C continuation” and thus is some 4,500 lines longer than the “A version” we now know, whose most distinctive characteristic is precisely its relative shortness. Brewer, too, points this out, also noting a few other problems with his textual analysis, with the caveat that “it is distinctly ungenerous to cavil at these shortcomings given Price’s notable gains on the work of his predecessors” (Editing Piers Plowman, 47).

Mitford, review, p. 344, n.

Wright, Vision, 1:xxi.


Wright, *Vision*, ixli.

Ibid.


See www.mla.org/resources/awards/awards_submissions/awards_competitions/prizes_biennial2014/prizeinfo_bib.


*PPEA*, “Creating the Archive”: http://piers.iath.virginia.edu/about/creating.html. This website was launched in 2012; the project originally began in 1990. All quotations from the archive are from this page.


The omission of the Caius MS is surely owing to the editors’ reliance on Ralph Hanna’s 1993 list of manuscripts, which mentions it not in the list of MSS (where the other three do appear), but in its entry for “Cr4,” Rogers’s edition, in his discussion of the printed copies (*William Langland*, 42). Hanna is inconsistent on this front: he describes Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Wood donat. 7 (Wb in the *PPEA*), his number 38, as “probably from Crowley,” and James 2, part 1, as “from a MS. like BmBoCot, to the last of which the copyist Richard James certainly had access” (40). But such inconsistencies are inevitable; Hanna deserves full credit for bringing these items into public view.
This and the following are the copies that Walter Skeat and Mr. D. Hall produced, using the Ilchester MS (University of London Library MS S.L. V.88) and C.U.L. MS Ff.5.35 as exemplars, respectively, in preparation for Skeat’s edition of C.


This appears on p. 550 of that MS. It is a version of A 4.15–17 in a hand unattested elsewhere in the volume, which to my knowledge no one has ever mentioned. Though its text is unique as well, it is not of any textual authority: its appearance at the top of the first page of a new gathering (the second of Piers Plowman and twenty-second of the manuscript) shows that, before the manuscript was bound, the individual who inscribed the excerpt on the final verso made a rough copy of the lines in the identical location on the loose quire on his desk, the one that now begins at p. 495. There are at least two special cases. Hm3 is an excerpt included in Huntington MS Hm 128, whose main text is Hm, which on the one hand does not get its own entry in these lists, but on the other retains separate sigils, in violation of the PPEA editors’ claim that they “have chosen to represent each manuscript with a unique sigil” (Duggan and Lyman, “Progress Report,” §17). And Bodley 831, quite apart from the single line I list above, contains three texts most likely in three separate hands (George Russell and George Kane, eds., Piers Plowman: The C Version, [London: Athlone Press, 1997], 19); but the Piers Plowman that results is certainly intended to make up a single production.


Benson, Public Piers Plowman, xii. The first half of the book, Chapters 1–3 (pp. 3–112), treats “the Langland myth.”

Ibid., xiii.

Thompson, “Bishop Thomas Percy’s Contributions to Langland Scholarship,” 452.

1 William and the werewolf

1 See, respectively, Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, A Lover’s Complaint, and John Davies of Hereford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), and James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of “Ch”* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982).


4 Quotations are from *William of Palerne, an Alliterative Romance*, ed. G. H. V. Bunt (Groningen: Bouma’s Boekhuis, 1985). The poem is attested only in Part 1 of Cambridge, King’s College MS 13, of the later fourteenth century (3).

5 *Winner and Waster* may have been written as early as 1352, but David A. Lawton dates it after *Piers Plowman A*: “The Unity of Middle English Alliterative Poetry,” *Speculum* 58 (1983): 80–1.

6 Lawton, “Unity,” argues that the influence of *Piers Plowman A* brings about the unity of this corpus. *William of Palerne* is the only exception unquestionably dated before the A version.


10 George Kane, “Langland and Chaucer 11,” in *Chaucer and Langland: Historical and Textual Approaches* (London: Athlone Press, 1989), 282 n.4. “When I first aired this notion years ago I was sharply told by philologists that there were
linguistic reasons why Langland could not have written *William of Palerne*. I accepted this because I did not know then what scribes could do to the language of texts.”


12. Schmidt, *Parallel-Text*, 272; see, e.g., 267 nn.45–55. Ralph Hanna says, “*Piers* has more in common, stylistically and metrically, with [*William of Palerne*] than with any text of the later ‘central tradition’,” but does not suggest any direct connection between the two (*London Literature, 1300–1380* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 259).


17. The first notice of the reference to the great storm was Tyrwhitt, *Canterbury Tales*, 5:v. See also *Piers Plowman: The Z Version*, ed. A. G. Rigg and Charlotte Brewer (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983), 20, on their Z 5.32.


23 Cooper and Pearsall, “The Gawain Poems,” 372; see also Helen Barr, “The Relationship of Richard the Redeless and Mum and the Sothsegger: Some New Evidence,” YLS 4 (1990): 105–33. The first of these, the distribution of unstressed syllables, would work only if scribes never left their marks on the texts; the second, the use of and or but at line-opening, is useless for our situation, since many of these in William of Palerne simply render the equivalent terms in its French source, a problem exacerbated by the presence of anaphoric sequences such as the passage in which nine straight English verses (lines 1363–71) and eight of eleven French verses (lines 2500–10) begin with andet. The French poem is cited from Guillaume de Palerne: roman du XIIIᵉ siècle, ed. Alexandre Micha (Geneva: Droz, 1990).

24 George Kane, “Outstanding Problems of Middle English Scholarship,” in Chaucer and Langland, 233. The renewed prominence of such tests by, e.g., Cooper and Pearsall, “The Gawain Poems,” 376–82, signals a new version of the circularity that bedevilled the authorship controversy last century, during which, as Anne Middleton observes, it became clearer to all parties that the appearance of critical editions would not solve the problem, since such tests are the products of critical assumptions regarding the very characteristics that would subsequently be tested. “Piers Plowman,” in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), 2226–7.


26 Turville-Petre, review of Galloway, 231.

What Hoyt N. Duggan identifies as the correspondence, “in almost every case,” of the alliterative line’s caesura to “a major syntactic disjuncture” supports this reading: “Notes Toward a Theory of Langland’s Meter,” YLS 1 (1987): 44 (Metrical Rule iv). While Macklin Smith has both argued against
Duggan’s claim and deemed the association of “unholy of werkes” with the hermit “the more natural reading” (“Langland’s Unruly Caesura,” YLS 22 [2008]: 100), the b-verse’s inaugural unstressed syllable is here not on a preposition or conjunction, as so often in the surrounding lines (“whan softe”; “as y”; “on Malverne hulles”; “offaire”; “&-wente” [A Prol.1, 2, 5, 6, 7]), reinforcing the power of the syntactical break between “hermite” and “unholy.” Will’s later request of Holy Church, “Teche me to no tresour but tel me þis ilke, / How I may saven my soule, þat seint art yholden” (A 1.81–2), likewise features a clause subordinate to an understood pronoun. A lengthy separation of a clause from its referent, as between line 3b and 2a in my construal, appears in the English William of Palerne (it is not in Guillaume 492–5), when the cowherd, commanded by the emperor to explain the circumstances of William’s discovery, describes “How he him fond in þat forest þere fast bide, / Cloþed in comly cloþing for any kinges sone, / Under an holw ok, purth help of his dogge” (293–5). See also Kane, “Poetry and Lexicography,” 95, on the caesura.


38 Lawton, “The Unity of Middle English Alliterative Poetry,” 77.


40 On But’s term, see my “John But and the Other Works that Will Wrought.”

41 See Bunt, William of Palerne, 305–6, and Galloway, Penn Commentary, 38–9.


42 Penn R. Szittya cites applications of the “wolves in sheep’s clothing” motif to friars in Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede, Henryson, the Romaunt of the Rose, Gower, Audelay (on whom see below), Upland’s rejoinder, and some anonymous verses. The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 211–12 and 211 n.84.


45 Hanna, London Literature, 149.

46 Steiner, Documentary Culture, 115 (Ancrene Wisse), 116 (quotation).

One analogue in the sermonic tradition survives, but it focuses on a doctrinal point and does not appear, as in John Audelay: Some New Evidence on His Life and Work, “Chaucer Review” 16 (1982): 344–55. Bennett finds “certain themes which might have stemmed from this traumatic experience” (351–2), and judges it “very probable” that he had written secular verse that “would have
been rapidly jettisoned when he retired to Haughmond to compile his *Concilium conciencie*” (353).

58 Ibid., 353.


65 Thomas’s sister Philippa married Hugh Stafford c.1350, and Ralph was their son, and Hugh was devastated by his death. See Carole Rawcliffe, “Stafford, Hugh, Second Earl of Stafford (c.1342–1386),” in ODNB, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26206.

66 Waldegrave was a retainer in the household of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton and brother of the patron of the *William of Palerne* poet, whose son Humphrey succeeded his uncle Humphrey as earl of Hereford and Essex. See J. S. Roskell, “Sir Richard de Waldegrave of Bures St. Mary, Speaker in the Parliament of 1381–2,” Suffolk Institute of Archaeology 27:3 (1957): 154–75, esp. 156–7 on his service for the Bohuns.

Lucy Freeman Sandler, “A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts,” Speculum 60 (1985): 364. This is John de Teye, bequeathed £10 to pray for Humphrey’s soul, with an additional 40 shillings; see 365–6.


I am grateful to Stephen A. Barney for suggesting the pertinence of the Austin friars to the opening lines in this context. See his Penn Commentary, 196.

This sentence is a précis of my book Lost History.

2 Localizing Piers Plowman C


Walter W. Skeat, ed., The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman: The “Whitaker” Text; or Text C, EETS o.s. 54 (London: Trübner, 1873), lxxiv on the return to Malvern, citing as well the sense that in C London is a thing of the past, and the fact that Richard the Redeless, which he believed to be by Langland, is centered upon Bristol; lxxix on the poet growing conservative as he grew older.


M. L. Samuels, “Langland’s Dialect,” MÆ 54 (1985): 239, concluding that “Skeat’s view that the author returned to Malvern in later life is thus shown to be highly probable” (240). The “i-group” is so called from the time when the Ilchester MS, MS J or I, was its representative witness. It comprises MSS XYJP2UDH: see Russell and Kane, The C Version, 41–6.

Simon Horobin, “In London and Opelond: The Dialect and Circulation of the C Version of Piers Plowman,” MÆ 74 (2005): 263. His evidence for XYJUH’s origins in London inheres in the fact that “certain features of the handwriting, ordinatio, and layout of the i-group of C manuscripts point to connections between them, and suggest links with the professional London book trade”; he comments as well on similarities in the hands of these scribes (251). Samuels acknowledges that MS J was “copied in London” and says that
X shows “some slight signs of interference typical of a London copying” (“Langland’s Dialect,” 239–40).

6 C 5.44 in both Schmidt, Parallel-Text and Pearsall, A New Annotated Edition.


8 Chism, Alliterative Revivals, 9.


11 Skeat, Parallel Texts, 2:62, gloss to (his) C 6.44.

12 Russell and Kane, The C Version, 154. They begin by noting that “the implied self-criticism, of parasitism, is also contextually apt,” and concluding: “The form up, not actually attested, is adopted as likelier than upon to have generated the variant opelond. See OED s.v. Up prep.¹” 4. Some scribes, understanding the meaning well enough, preferred on or by.”


14 Bowers, Chaucer and Langland, 77; likewise Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Steven Justice say that the Ilchester MS bears “some important marks of proximity to the author” (“Scribe D and the Marketing of Ricardian Literature,” in The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower, ed. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Maidie Hilmo [Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria, 2001], 217). As Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs say, “it is possible that [John] Marchaunt (Scribe D) and Langland knew each other” any time from the late 1360s, when Marchaunt might already have been at the Guildhall, but even if so that acquaintance did not result in access to privileged authorial materials. Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375–1425 (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), 58.


16 Samuels, “Langland’s Dialect,” 240. Cf. A. I. Doyle’s similar argument: “What is difficult to conceive is that, if C had been released by the author in London, or reached it at an early date, no copies of the simple text should survive in other than West or W. Central Midland guise.” “Remarks on Surviving Manuscripts of Piers Plowman,” in Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Honour of G. H. Russell, ed. Gregory Kratzmann and James Simpson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), 45.
17 Pearsall, “Langland’s London,” in Justice and Kerby-Fulton, Written Work, 198, and New Annotated Edition, 21, respectively. See above, note 5 on Horobin’s essay, and note that two of the five scribes of the i-group’s manuscripts have now been identified and are indeed based in London: John Marchaunt, based at Guildhall, who copied the Ilchester MS, and Robert Lynford, a member of the Brewers’ Company (whose hall was near Guildhall), who copied Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 102 (MS Y). See, respectively, Mooney and Stubbs, Scribes and the City, 38–65; and Simon Horobin, “The Scribe of Bodleian Library, MS Digby 102 and the Circulation of the C Text of Piers Plowman,” YLS 24 (2010): 89–112, and Mooney and Stubbs, 121–2.

18 Samuels, “Langland’s Dialect,” 240. Likewise Horobin, who refers to “the textually superior i-group” which contrasts with “the textually inferior p-group.” “In London and Opelond,” 248.

19 Andrew Galloway, “The Account Book and the Treasure: Gilbert Maghfeld’s Textual Economy and the Poetics of Mercantile Accounting in Ricardian Literature,” Studies in the Age of Chaucer 33 (2011): 82. This is part of his response to the fact that “the archive and the idea of London can again be central in Ricardian literary scholarship” (68).

20 Brewer, Editing Piers Plowman, 267, quoting Bessie F. Allen, “The Genealogy of the C Text Manuscripts of Piers Plowman,” MA thesis, University of London, 1923. Allen’s remarks were summarized by F. A. R. Carnegy, An Attempt to Approach the C-Text of Piers the Plowman (London: University of London Press, 1934), who was the authority for Donaldson, The C-Text and Its Poet, 230–1, who in turn is cited by Samuels, “Langland’s Dialect” (see note 18). The most prominent advocate of the P-group’s “inferiority” is Derek Pearsall, e.g. at Piers Plowman by William Langland: An Edition of the C-Text (York: York Medieval Press, 1978), 20–1. The inherently subjective base of the Langland archive is clear from the fate of the TH²Ch group, judged by Allen to be the nearest to Langland, then i, then p, but now considered the worst of the lot: from 11.296–22.379, where the group attests C, Russell and Kane find some 399 errors (The C Version, 38–9).

21 Russell and Kane, The C Version, 176, where they also note that other MSS or groups (including “superior” ones) added significantly to the damage. MS P and its genetic twin E added some 270, and the X-scribe himself introduced some 323 to the text. See also previous note on TH²Ch.


23 See Warner, Lost History, 2–7. On the probability that Langland died before C was released, which I endorse, see Russell and Kane, The C Version, 82–8.


29 In line 102 I adopt the JDRMK reading *mennes* rather than Russell and Kane’s *men* so as to reflect the pronunciation necessary to ensure the single long dip that must occur in the b-verse.


31 Simpson connects Langland’s cataclysmic result of regratery with the chronicler Thomas Walsingham’s report that supporters of Northampton held that the whole city would be swallowed up into the earth if the city were not purged of its immorality, but he is following the critical convention of treating lines 87–114 as merely an amplification of the B passage’s discussion of false trade, so that the London character of the lines is the product of the poet’s memory, not experience. “‘After Craftes Conseil’,” 123–4.


33 My primary source, from which quotations in the next paragraph are taken, is The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394, ed. and trans. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 60–5 (see 34–5 on John Mowbray’s death); the information about dinner with Waldegrave is from 285–6.

34 This detail about the length of the severed head’s stay comes from Bird, Turbulent London, 8 n.9, citing Ludgate as the site. Bird follows the account of the events of February 7 from the Coram Rege Roll.

35 Russell and Kane discuss their reconstruction of this passage at The C Version, 159.


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Carney, Attempt, 12–13. I have altered the line numbers to accord with modern conventions.

Allen, “Genealogy,” had recently pointed out that at C 3.422, the i-group has a clear instance of a scribal gloss taken up into its text, “That dwelleth in amalek mebles” where the p-group reads just “mebles” (see Carney, Attempt, 12–13). Russell and Kane, The C Version, 141, classify this among the “many variants attested by X and its genetic associates . . . which appear as scribal derivatives of an alternative because more explicit.” See Kane and Donaldson, The B Version, 193 for a discussion of lines in the archetypal text deemed to be “induced by scribal response to the immediate context.”

Carney, Attempt, 13.

Mitchell, “Notes,” 488. Brewer remarks that in his edition “Mitchell nowhere gives any detailed information on the principles on which he had established his text, apparently assuming . . . that these would be unproblematic. Instead he makes merely general comments, as ‘In emendation we have sought to be as conservative as possible, without carrying conservation to an unreasonable extreme’” (Editing Piers Plowman, 270).

Pearsall’s 1978 edition is the only one to cite Mitchell, claiming that “the sense [of ‘as an ancre’] is good” (Piers Plowman by William Langland, n. to C 3.140). This disappears from A New Annotated Edition; Schmidt prints the passage in its i-group form; and as we have seen the phrase is retained in the Athlone edition.

This list comes from Joseph S. Wittig, Piers Plowman: Concordance (London: Continuum, 2001), s.v. “ancre.”

See Samuels, “Langland’s Dialect,” 244.

Horobin, “‘In London and Opelond’,” 263.


Ibid., 488, 487.

See Galloway, Penn Commentary, 29, also citing 5.2.


“The solitary vocation was always a choice, an individual embrace of a most difficult choice,” says Ann Warren (Anchorites and Their Patrons, 101–2). This
“consent” was thus no mere fiction, as Elizabeth Fowler, discussing the Meed episode, has shown marriage to have been. “Civil Death and the Maiden: Agency and the Conditions of Contract in Piers Plowman,” Speculum 70 (1995): 760–92.


54 Neither Russell and Kane, The C Version, nor Schmidt, Parallel-Text, collates N’s C material conflated into its A portion.

55 See Warner, Lost History, esp. 28–9, 31, 46–7, 57–8.

56 Mitchell uses this term at “Notes,” 488.

57 See Russell and Kane, The C Version, 87–8, and Duggan, “Notes on the Metre,” which argues that Langland was much looser regarding alliterative conventions, especially in the C version, than anyone (including Duggan) has been willing to grant.

58 Skeat, Parallel Texts, 2: 45; see Carnegy’s objection to this (Attempt, 13). Galloway notes that there was widespread belief “that Edward II was not only incarcerated in Corfe but brutally murdered there”; see discussion in Penn Commentary, 307.


60 Simpson, “‘After Craftes Conseil’,” 124 (tensions of 1376). In this essay he does not refer to Langland’s uplandish location, but this assumption must explain why Simpson does not discuss the C nature of 3.87–114. He had earlier, like everyone else, claimed to find it “probable, from the dialectal evidence of the C manuscripts, that [Langland] moved back to Malvern in later life” (Piers Plowman: An Introduction to the B-Text [New York: Longman, 1990], 4).

61 Simpson, “‘After Craftes Conseil’,” 127.

62 See Warner, Lost History, 49–61.


64 Pearsall, New Annotated Edition, 83, n. to 3.77–114. See Russell and Kane, The C Version, 86, for a plausible account of the material circumstances that would have brought about the repetition in lines 77 and 115; also, Galloway, Penn Commentary, 298–304.


3 Latinitas et communitas

4 Kane, The A Version, 167. They instead have, of course, the number of the preceding English line followed by the Greek letter alpha (or beta, etc.).
8 Butterfield, Familiar Enemy, xxiv. See, e.g., Tim William Machan’s claim, based on his study of its code-switching (i.e., passages in which the Latin and English intermingle; a focus, again, on the extraordinary): “It is not that English was still completely subservient to Latin or even incipiently contentious with it but that Latin was already yielding to the vernacular.” “Language Contact in Piers Plowman,” Speculum 69 (1994): 380.
9 Butterfield, Familiar Enemy, xxiv.
11 See Jane Roberts, A Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500 (London: British Library, 2005), 211–13. The distinctive Secretary features are its angularity, the horns found on the heads of the letter g, and the neat, pointed, single-compartment a. A few anglicana alternatives are the r with a slight descender and the sigma-shaped s.
12 These are (relying on Alford, Guide to the Quotations): line 1, 11.193a, “Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep” (Rom. 12:15; quotations are from the Douay Rheims translation); line 2, 3.233a, “Amen amen I say to you” (Matt. 6:2); line 3, 11.196a, “he that shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven” (Matt. 5:19); line 5, 10.120a, “every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled: and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted” (Luke 18:14); line 7, 11.263a, “And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven” (John 3:13); line 8, 10.98, “If you live rightly you will not worry about words of evil” (Cato, Distich 3.2); line 9, 7.68a, “And
with the just let them not be written” (Psalm 68:29); 7.78, “In the name of God Amen” (the usual formula for beginning of a will); line 10 (first part), 11.255, “Revenge is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord” (Rom. 12:19); line 12, 10.416, “Let us make man to our image” (Gen. 1:26); line 13, same as line 8.


14 On this item see Hans Walther, Proverbia Sententiaequae Latinitatis Medii Aevi, 5 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963–7), 594a, “In his version totum est ABC.”

15 In the hand of William Holyngborne, chaplain of the abbot of St. Augustine’s without Canterbury. See Kane, The A Version, 7 and n.1.

16 Derrida, Archive Fever, 40.


20 Judith A. Jefferson dates the manuscript to between 1514 and 1544, tending toward the latter. “Divisions, Collaboration and Other Topics: The Table of Contents in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.4.31,” in Burrow and Duggan, Medieval Alliterative Poetry, 140.

21 Ibid., 144.


23 Ibid., 99.


26 Derrida, Archive Fever, 40.

27 Schmidt, Parallel-Text, 656, n. to C 17.220; I standardize abbreviations.


31 These images are accessible in The Piers Plowman Electronic Archive, Vol. 3: Oxford, Oriel College MS 79 (O), ed. Katherine Heinrichs (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer for the Medieval Academy of America and SEENET, 2004), which is my source.
32 MS O’s defective status “and the fact that C² is the later manuscript might suggest that C² was copied from O to 17.98,” say Kane and Donaldson: “But the existence of some 30 unoriginal readings peculiar to O makes this seem unlikely. For if C² were a copy of O they would presuppose a corrector of C² more intelligent than the character of that manuscript otherwise leads one to expect.” The B Version, 24 n.23.
33 See Stephen Partridge, “Designing the Page,” in Gillespie and Wakelin, Production of Books, 82. An image of one of the Chaucer examples, B.L. MS Harley 1239, fol. 82r (Man of Law’s Tale), is on 83. An early modern reader has bracketed the two Latin quotations, glossing them: “This is not in ye Printed Ed.” and “nor this.”
34 Alford, “Role of the Quotations,” 86.
35 Ibid., 87.
40 This is the loose translation by Griet Galle, ed., Peter of Auvergne: Questions on Aristotle’s De Caelo: A Critical Edition with an Interpretative Essay (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 207*, in his discussion of the question, 4.1.2.2. The question is 11, 18 (200). On the structure of the questions see 4v.1.2 (90*–92*), which explains why our item does not express Peter’s own belief.
41 Galle, Peter of Auvergne, Liber 11, quaestio 18, item 2 (200). My translation, based on Galle’s discussion, 4.1.2.2 (207*).
42 This is Galle’s summary, Peter of Auvergne, 4.1.2.2 (207*), of Peter’s solution, 201.
45 Walther, Proverbia Sententiaeaeque, no. 22348; also his Initia carminum ac versum Medii Aevui posterioris Latinorum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht,
Neither of these includes its appearance amid a series of fifteenth-century additions to the closing flyleaves of a 164

46 Sanford B. Meech, “A Collection of Proverbs in Rawlinson MS D 328,” MP 38 (1940): 124; this is one of Walther’s items; also Bartlett Jere Whiting, with the collaboration of Helen Wescott Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), P399.


51 Barney, Penn Commentary, 118, on C.21.96–107, a passage on Jesus as conqueror.


53 B.L. MS Royal 7 E IV, fol. 237r; translation mine. This is chapter 29, s.v. “humilitas.”

54 Alford, “Role of the Quotations,” 99; he is focusing on passus 14. “The possibility that Langland was influenced by Bromyard is improved by recent scholarship” that dates the Summa to c.1348–50 (99, n.60).


60 Wenzel, Latin Sermon Collections, 321, 322.


62 A. G. Rigg, “MS Bodley 851,” in Piers Plowman: A Facsimile of the Z-Text, 41. Rigg identifies the line as B 1.188, noting its unique brennit for received worth cheyned, but in all B MSS the line begins with Forthi, while in the Piers text of Bodley 851 itself the line begins Suche (fol. 126v; Z 1.117 in Rigg and Brewer), so its origins are probably in A or C, which begin Chastite – though Dodsthorp himself might have encountered it via oral transmission. For additional evidence that readers loved the aphoristic lines of English poetry represented here see Alison Wiggins, “What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?” The Library 7th ser. 9 (2008): 3–36.

63 Rigg, “MS Bodley 851,” 38.


65 See Russell, “As they read it,” 186, on the “extraordinarily high proportion” of errors Cok’s text shares with this copy, which are identified in Russell and Kane, The C Version, apparatus for 16.82–198. It is of course possible that Cok consulted a now-lost manuscript closely related to MS F, but easier to believe it was F itself.


68 The great bulk of the items, eighteen, come from passus 10–14. Most are proverbs, with the balance comprising patristic, biblical, and legal tags. They are, in the order of their appearance on the page: 1.141α/5.440α, 5.269α–β, 9.186α–β, 10.195–6, 11.231, 10.256α, 11.106α, 10.261α, 10.266α–β, 10.342α, 11.58α, 11.269α, 11.281α, 11.416α, 12.50α, 12.65α, 12.207α, 13.45α, 13.426α, 14.60α, 14.276, 15.39α, 15.343α, 17.341α. The eighteen items from passus 10–14 make for roughly 15 percent of the Latin available for citing there; the remaining quotations amount to about 3.6 percent of the available items from those passus. I am grateful to Ian Cornelius for examining the Yale Crowley and Rogers editions, alerting me to this item, and arranging for an image on my behalf.

4 “Quod piers plowman”
1 Anne Hudson, “Epilogue: The Legacy of Piers Plowman,” in Alford, A Companion to Piers Plowman, 260, a view based in the main upon the Lollardesque works of some of the Piers Plowman tradition and the reformist pamphlets of the sixteenth century. See, e.g., Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities, 43–76.
2 Quotations of The Vision of Pierce Plowman, now fyrrste imprinted by Roberte Crowley . . . (London, 1550; = Cr3) are from the Lehigh University Library copy, available online at http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/cdm4/eb_viewer.php?ptr=1027.
6 Andrew G. Watson, “A Sixteenth-Century Collector: Thomas Dackomb, 1496–c.1572,” The Library 5th ser. 18 (1963): 206. On Dackomb’s books see also Wilson, The Winchester Anthology, 12 n.22, which lists three more manuscripts Watson subsequently identified as having been owned by Dackomb. On the manuscript’s owners, see Wilson, The Winchester Anthology, 10–13.

7 This item has never appeared in any lists of witnesses or in any studies of the sixteenth-century reception or production of Piers Plowman. To date its existence has been noted only in the list of contents of The Winchester Anthology, 35; Derek Pearsall, review of the facsimile, N&Q n.s. 30 (1983): 164; Helen Cooper, review of the facsimile, RES n.s. 35 (1984): 355; William A. Ringler, Jr., Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript 1501–1558, prepared and completed by Michael Rudick and Susan J. Ringler (London: Mansell, 1992), TM 753 (entry for “In a someres seyson”); and A. S. G. Edwards, “The Blage Manuscript and Alliterative Verse in the Sixteenth Century,” in Burrow and Duggan, Medieval Alliterative Poetry, 83 n.19.

8 See The Winchester Anthology, 4–5 on the hands of the manuscript.

9 Pearsall, review of The Winchester Anthology, 164, because the Winchester passage reads “thre” for received “two” (corrected later); substitutes line 325 for 329, and in that line reordered “flodes and foule wedres fruytes shal faille”; uniquely attests “bere rule & reigne” (328) as against “have þe maistrie”; and adds the unique afterthought “of þe erth” (329), as well as “Except” for “But if.”


11 See Benson and Blanchfield, Manuscripts, 167–8, 190, 264; also Christine Schott, Marginalia of Piers Plowman, www.rarebookschool.org/fellowships/rbs-uva/plowman6.html.


16 Thomas, Religion, 401.
Notes to pages 75–8

17 Ibid., 400–1, citing Gairdner, Letters and Papers, no. 1212.
20 For instance, the Winchester extract attests the “distinctive curly ‘z’ form” of the letter “i” that Benson and Blanchfield identify in the “Sion College” copy of Piers Plowman B, now Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya MS 23 (sigil S), produced c.1550 (Manuscripts, 114; see the facsimile of fol. 66’ on 112). Ralph Hanna has suggested to me that the hand dates to after 1530, as evidenced by the use of “ar” for Middle English “er.”
22 The Winchester Anthology, 10, and notes 14, 15. On Brynstan’s career, including his final appearance at St. Swithun’s as noted in the next paragraph, see Greatrex, Biographical Register, 678.
24 On sixteenth-century Plowman texts’ engagement with the discourses of “antiquity” and “newfangledness,” see Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities, 52–8.
27 The Winchester Anthology, 11. It seems more likely to me that Buriton is smarting over his former confrere’s abandonment of St. Swithun’s for the fraternal life at this difficult moment in the church’s life. For such a context see Arnold Williams, “Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century,” Annuale Mediaevale 1 (1960): 22–95.
30 B 19.470–4, C.U.L. MS Gg.4.31, fol 95’, my transcription of the facsimile of this folio in Benson and Blanchfield, Manuscripts, 40; see also Davis, “Prophecies,” 35.

32 Benson and Blanchfield, Manuscripts, 21.


36 For the assumption that this copyist purposely combined two passages from Langland’s poem see Sharon L. Jansen, “Politics, Protest, and a New Piers Plowman Fragment: The Voice of the Past in Tudor England,” RES n.s. 40 (1989): 94–5; and Barr, Signs and Sothe, 13.

37 Jansen, “Politics, Protest,” 94, attributes these variants to carelessness. See above, note 9.


40 The item also appears in Bodleian MS Arch. Selden B 8, fol. 268v (six-stanza form) and Bodleian MS Rawlinson C 813, fols. 153v–54v, which gives stanza 1 as a standalone quatrains followed by “finis,” followed by stanzas 3 and 5 run together into four lines (Davy the Dykar), 4 as a quatrains (abbot of Abingdon), and another “finis.” Jansen [Jaech], “British Library MS Sloane 2578,” 40–1 notes the similarities among the Sloane, Arch. Selden, and Harley MSS (first appearance). See also Ringler, Bibliography and Index, TM 1858 (“When father blythe”), citing Harley 599 (first instance) and Arch. Selden B 8, and First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500–1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford, Vol. 2, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), W1021, citing Rawl C 813.
41 Both Crowley’s logic and attention span failed him, as noted by, among others, Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman*, 14.

42 This gloss is identical in both the second and third editions, and is found on sig. 1.iv in both. See *The Vision of Pierce Plowman, now the seconde time imprinted by Roberte Crowley . . .* (London, 1550), which is the second edition (Cr²), available online in the form of Lehigh University Library 828.1 L236p 550a, http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/cdm4/eb_viewer.php?ptr=770 (select “Passus 6, 7. Fol. xxxvi” from the drop-down menu); and *The Vision of Pierce Plowman, nowe the seconde tyme imprinted by Roberte Crowlye . . .* (London, 1550), the third edition (Cr³), available in the form of University of California at San Diego Library PR2010.C76 1550, where the relevant page is http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822038199956?urlappend=%7EBseq=119. On the order of the second and third editions, which is commonly confused, see Hailey, “Robert Crowley and the Editing of *Piers Plowman*,” 143–4 n.2.


44 Mike Rodman Jones proposes that Crowley’s nervousness responded to “the impact that prophecy, and apparently verse prophecy, had had within a few months on the largest and most threatening mass civil revolt since 1381,” that is, Kett’s Rebellion: “‘This is no prophecy’: Robert Crowley, *Piers Plowman*, and Kett’s Rebellion,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42 (2011): 55. Crowley did write about that event in 1559’s *An Epitome of Chronicles* (see Jones, 52–3), but there is no evidence for any direct connection between his *Piers Plowman* editions and the rebellion apart from the accident of timing (1549, 1550), given that, as Jones acknowledges, “Langland’s prophetic passages are different in tenor, as well as in verse form, from those of the Dussindale rebels” (53).

45 James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution, 1350–1547*, Vol. 2 of *The Oxford English Literary History*, gen. ed. Jonathan Bate (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 332, who points out that “King’s arguments . . . are overstated” (n.21); indeed King never refers to Crowley’s advice not to read the poem as prophetic.


47 King, *English Reformation Literature*, 323; also, e.g., Kelen: “The reception of *Piers Plowman* played no small part in the reinterpretation of England’s religious past as proto-Protestant rather than (more accurately, but less usefully) Catholic” (*Langland’s Early Modern Identities*, 75).
48 Jansen characterizes the “particular variations of the Sloane lines” as “suggestive of Crowley’s 1550 printed edition,” but goes on to identify BL Additional MS 35287, the only other to feature the readings wurke and fall, as closer (“Politics, Protest,” 94). But the two agreements with that copy are easily attributable to convergent variation: wurke manifests the error of “attraction” to the whole or part of an adjacent or nearby word in the line being copied (Kane, The A Version, 121), in this case, workmen, and faile/ falle confusion is straightforward, occurring as well at, e.g., B 3,347, 15,432, C 3,350 in various manuscripts. The two “suggestive” variations Jansen cites in common with Cr are Davie . . . shall dye (6.330) and religious (10.322). Yet Davie is the reading of the Winchester excerpt, the title of Churchyard’s broadside, and Cr\(^3\) (Cr\(^3\) attests received Davie); shal die for die appears as well in the three MSS that make up the B sigil (at least one of which, Bo, has sixteenth-century glosses) and in Hm; and religious is the reading of MSS HmGYOC\(^c\)CotF. See the apparatuses in Kane and Donaldson, The B Version, and Russell and Kane, The C Version. The post-1550 date of Sloane is secure, since it features a number of texts that refer to Mary’s reign: see Jansen [Jaech], “British Library MS Sloane 2578.”

49 Cr\(^3\), sig. “2v”. The most likely explanation of this change is that the compositor was anticipating the first term of the C-text passage cited a few lines later (“Three shyppes”).

50 Davis, “Prophecies,” 21.

51 As argued by Hailey, “Robert Crowley and the Editing of Piers Plowman,” 161–2. This first consultation is evidenced in a number of Cr–G agreements in error, marginal keys to the text, and the marginal annotation “The Abbot of Abyngton” at precisely the same point (Cr\(^3\), fol. 50’); the second, in a number of Cr\(^3\)–G agreements, one of which occurs at B 6,328, “hight”/ “heyght” (MS F, too, has this reading) as against received “eiste” (see Hailey, 169 n.69), and in the broad similarities (though not extending to verbal parallels; see Jefferson, “Divisions, Collaboration,” 145–6 n.23) between MS G’s table of contents and the brief “summary” of principal points in Cr\(^3\).


54 Hailey, “Robert Crowley and the Editing of Piers Plowman,” undermining a long-held conviction.

55 Hudson, “Epilogue,” 260, which on the basis of its contents dates it to later than the “1532” that is inscribed in another hand. For an overview of the
Protestant and Catholic readings of Langland in the sixteenth century, see Bowers, *Chaucer and Langland*, 216–27 (220 on this work).

56 King, *English Reformation Literature*, 338. This is now Oxford, Bodleian Douce L 205.


5 Urry, Burrell, and the pains of John Taylor

1 Thompson, “Bishop Thomas Percy’s Contributions to Langland Scholarship,” 452.


4 Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the City*, 17–37. Writing in ignorance of Mooney and Stubbs, indeed suggesting that her findings “may provide a means of identifying him by name,” Bart profiled the scribe perfectly: “the Ht scribe may well have been an East Anglian man of law active in the capital—something of a man of influence rather than solely a professional copyist leading an entirely private life” (“Intellect,” 239).

5 Dutschke, *Guide*, at MS Hm 114, http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM114.html. Also, the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/index.html), and the *Late Medieval English Scribes* database overseen by Linne Mooney, Simon Horobin, and Estelle Stubbs (www.medievalscribes.com).


Harris, “An Augustan Episode,” 242, citing as well the possibility of a distant relationship between the two men, since Lord Weymouth’s second cousin, Mary, married an “Urrey of London.”


Cr² and Cr³ include the addition of A Prol.90–5, at least one correction from the C tradition, corrections from CUL MS Ll.4.14 (C² of B) or a lost manuscript closely related to it, and readings and apparatus very like C.U.L. MS Gg.4.31 (Hailey, “Robert Crowley and the Editing of Piers Plowman,” 155–62).


Tyrwhitt, The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, i:xx. See Alderson and Henderson, Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship, 82 for this and other complaints.

Alderson and Henderson, Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship, 81, 101.

Ibid., 82, 145.

BP, 20, which is usually omitted from catalogues of the abuses heaped upon Urry’s edition.

Bracketed words and lines sometimes occur in The Riverside Chaucer, for instance where Chaucer seem to have cancelled the lines (e.g., Nun’s Priest’s Tale endlink). But the editors say that they have only “reconsidered with special care” those places where F. N. Robinson “silently restored” grammatical forms such as final -e, “and where allowed to stand, notice is taken and the manuscript forms are listed in the Textual Notes”: i.e., no brackets (xli–xlii).


See Alderson and Henderson, Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship, 93, 106.

Ibid., 114, 112.

Russell and Nathan, “A Piers Plowman Manuscript in the Huntington Library,” 121.

Ibid., 122.


From Boswell’s Life, April 25, 1778, as reported in John Nichols, “Dr. John Taylor,” in Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. 4 (London, 1812), 500n., and McKitterick, Cambridge University Library, 188–9, continuing: “I once dined in company with him; and all he said during the whole time
was no more than Richard. How a man should say only Richard, it is not easy to imagine. But it was thus: Dr. Douglas was talking of Dr. Zachary Grey, and ascribing to him something that was written by Dr. Richard Grey. So, to correct him, Taylor said (imitating his affected sententious emphasis and nod), Richard!

Nichols’s materials on Taylor are quite entertaining; see also McKitterick, 186–95.

26 Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, 493. See McKitterick, Cambridge University Library, 190–5.

27 Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, 510.

28 Ibid.


30 For Percy, see Thompson, “Bishop Thomas Percy’s Contributions to Langland Scholarship”; for Tyrwhitt, on the basis of his collations of his Cr1, now B.L. shelfmark C.71.c.29, against BL MS Cotton Vespasian B xvi, see Hailey, “Robert Crowley and the Editing of Piers Plowman,” 145 and n.5.


33 Dutschke, Guide, remarks that the price annotations of the Gough and Askew sales by its next owner, Richard Heber (1773–1833), are on the front pastedown and flyleaf.

34 Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, 495–6.

35 “Hearne left all his manuscripts . . . to William Bedford, and from Bedford’s widow Rawlinson purchased them, probably in 1748, for £105,” according to www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500–1900/rawlinson/rawlinsonCLD.html, under the section of MS K, which includes MS poetry 38 in the list of these items.

36 The copy of Bibliotheca Askeviana manu scripta (London, 1784) that is now BL shelfmark 679.e.26 records the names of purchasers.

37 Dutschke, Guide.

38 McKitterick, Cambridge University Library, 328, notes that Gough purchased a Rogers annotated and interleaved by Taylor, but does not attempt to identify it.


P. B. [= Philip Bliss], “Pierce Plowman,” *British Bibliographer* 1 (1810): 443. I thank Dr. Katherine Watson for bringing this item to my attention; it is not in DiMarco, *A Reference Guide*, and to my knowledge has never been known to Langland scholarship. See Gibson and Hindle, “Philip Bliss,” 254 on this item.

Bliss, “Pierce Plowman,” 444 (“soft” / “set” and MS R’s reading, which “differs from any hitherto pointed out”): 447 (Digby 145). See above, Introduction, on Ritson’s reference to the two “editions” of *Piers Plowman*.

*The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, 8 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 1:633. The item is *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Edward Webbe, Esq; Counsellor at Law, Alexander Davie, Esq; Late of Sidney-College, Cambridge, Francis Carrington, Esq; The Hon. Lady Mary Worsley, and Several Others, With One in Particular, the most considerable of them all, the Name of the Proprietor is not permitted to be published*, 2 vols. (London, 1751, 1752).


Where Manly and Rickert in fact encountered this entry (which they represent accurately in its substantives if not accidentals) was London, BL SCS 68, a copy of *A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library (with the Exception of the Department of British Topography, Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library) of that Eminent Antiquary, Richard Gough, Esq., Deceased. Which Will be sold by Auction, by Leigh and S. Sotheby, Booksellers, at their House, No. 145, Strand, opposite Catherine Street, on Thursday, April 5, 1810, and Nineteen following*
Days. (Sundays and Good Friday excepted) at 12 o’Clock (London, 1810), 204. The sale price they record is what Heber paid for it (see note 33).

49 Manly and Rickert, Text of the Canterbury Tales, 1:645.

50 The description available via http://searcharchives.bl.uk (search “Add MS 34360”) cites the eighteenth-century signature “I. Taylor” on fol. 4 and its later ownership by Askew and Gough. This was one of a number of Stow manuscripts that passed into the hands of William Browne of Tavistock, another of which has Longleat connections (Longleat MS 50, a Polychronicon). See A. S. G. Edwards, “Medieval Manuscripts Owned by William Browne of Tavistock,” in Books and Collectors, 1200–1650, ed. Colin Tite and James P. Carley (London: British Library, 1996), 441–9.

51 These are (using modern shelfmarks): Bodleian MSS Laud misc. 581 and 656, Digby 102, 145, and 171, Bodley 814 and 851, James 2 (excerpts), and Wood donat. 7 (excerpt); CUL MSS Dd.1.17 and Ll.4.14; BL Cotton MSS Caligula A xi and Vespasian B xvi; Cambridge, Trinity College MSS B.15.17 and R.3.14; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 293.


53 A big help for anyone following this up is A. S. G. Edwards, “Two Piers Plowman Manuscripts from Helmingham Hall,” Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 11 (1999): 423 n.9, which identifies those manuscripts that were in institutional libraries by the mid-eighteenth century and provides mitigating information about others as well. One minor error is his inclusion of the Douce MSS in that list; they did not arrive at the Bodleian until well into the nineteenth century.

54 Bibliotheca Askeviana manuscripta (London, 1784). This is item SCHOENBERG_97115 in the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/index.html.

55 My information on its binding and provenance is from Heinrichs, The Piers Plowman Electronic Archive, Vol. 3, Introduction, I.11, I.12. There are other problems as well. “Dialogue of Piers Plowman, in English Verse. – The Wards of London, with their Taxes to the 15th – The Privilege of Westminster” is how this item is described in A Catalogue of valuable manuscripts in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish. . . All which were collected at the expence of the late Lord Somers, and since belonged to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Jekyll Knt. Master of the Rolls (London, 1739), 21, item 669 under the quarto manuscripts. It seems odd that neither Taylor nor the Askew catalogue mentions any of the other items. Oriel 79 belonged to Joseph Ames (1687–1759), and was gifted to Oriel by Francis Page, commoner of the college, in 1788, so the windows for Taylorian ownership are very small in any case. Simon Horobin is tracking the provenance of Oriel 79.

56 See Russell and Kane, The C Version, 7, and Edwards, “Two Piers Plowman Manuscripts,” 425. And BL Additional MS 35287 would fit, but it is too big to be described as a quarto. When sold in 1899, it was described as a folio,

57 See Chapter 3. As the Schoenberg database shows, the remainder of Lowes’s purchases were Latin and Greek items: Hermogenes, gospels, Homer, patristics, Pliny the Younger, Boethius, Caesar, Cicero, Guido delle Colonne, Justinian, a missal, and Virgil. On Lowes’s ownership of Egerton 2864 see Manly and Rickert, Text of the Canterbury Tales, i:147.

58 Edward Bernard, Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico (Oxford, 1697). This vellum MS is missing eleven leaves, including at the beginning and ending, where Spelman’s signature would have been if the losses occurred after he took possession, and which would be most likely to result in a description as imperfect.


60 The Ilchester MS is too small to be described as a folio, and in any case as mentioned above is more likely already to have been in the family than purchased by them at auction. In the Catalogue of the Harleian Collection, Vol. 1, Wanley describes MS 875 as a quarto; Rawlinson poet. 137 had a second item at this stage; Rawlinson poet. 38 was probably purchased by Peter Le Neve in East Anglia (The Piers Plowman Electronic Archive, Vol. 7: London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 398, and Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 38 (R), ed. Robert Adams [Cambridge, Mass.: Boydell and Brewer for the Medieval Academy of America, 2011], Introduction, I.10); National Library of Wales 733B was almost certainly in private hands in Wales at this point (see Edwards, “Two Piers Plowman Manuscripts,” 425, relying on information Dr. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan has shared with me as well); and Douce 104 was owned during Spelman’s lifetime by James Ley, first earl of Marlborough (1552–1629). See also note 55 on Oriel 79’s status as a quarto and its eighteenth-century provenance.

6 William Dupré, fabricateur

2 I thank Professor Toshi Takamiya for informing me about this copy. One also wonders whether Southey’s attraction to the world of *Piers Plowman*, and some of his tumult of emotion, is bound up in his composition of the radical play *Wat Tyler*. On January 12, 1795, he sought out publishers for *Wat Tyler*, but it did not appear: then, in 1817, now laureate and a member of the establishment, he saw an advertisement for its forthcoming publication, and he appealed for an injunction against its publication. See Kelly Grovier, “*Cause Célèbre*,” *Times Literary Supplement* 5742 (April 26, 2013): 3–5.


6 See *ibid.*, 40–1.


8 Pressly, *Catalogue*, 276.


10 Cooper, *Searching for Shakespeare*, 9. Pressly describes Felton as either “an altered early work or a fake made from whole cloth” (*Catalogue*, 277): Schoenbaum speculates that perhaps Steevens was behind the ruse (*Shakespeare’s Lives*, 211–12). Boaden remarked, “I am assuredly unwilling to believe, that one who took so much interest in the detection of the forged papers of the poet, could at the very time be guilty of counterfeiting his resemblance. But if still such a thing be possible, then I should think the matter capable of some extenuation” and so forth (*Inquiry*, 102).

11 Boaden, *Inquiry*, 103–4. See also de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 85–6, for discussion of the Ireland scandal and the Felton portrait: “William Henry Ireland’s fabrication of Elizabethan and Jacobean manuscripts and documents was matched by the appearance of what was, in Malone’s eyes at least, a counterfeit portrait of Shakespeare” (85).


Chalmers, *Apology*, 8; further citations in the text. The last phrase is Steevens’s.

The “grappling to his heart” quotation is, of course, from Polonius’s advice to Hamlet regarding his friends; “unauthenticated purchase” quotation is Steevens’s: “if such a Portrait had existed in Eastcheap during the life of the industrious Vertue, he would most certainly have procured it, instead of having submitted to take his first engraving of our author from a juvenile likeness of James I and his last from Mr. Keck’s unauthenticated purchase out of a dressing-room of a modern actress”: “Shakspeare,” *European Magazine* 26 (October 1794): 279. See Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare’s Lives*, 583 n.58 on the attribution to Steevens.

Mario Esposito publicized the fraud in “The Letters of Brunetto Latino: A Nineteenth-Century Literary Hoax,” *Modern Language Review* 12 (1917): 59–63, but even so prominent a historian as Ernst Kantorowicz was still misled: *Frederick II, 1194–1250*, trans. E. O. Lorimer (London: Constable, 1931), 354. Others who were ignorant of the correction had already suspected the letters were fake, as Esposito, 60, points out.


BL Additional MS 46706, fol. 274r–v. Giunta quotes the great majority of these letters as well; I restore original punctuation. I have discovered one other letter in Dupré’s hand, but it is in his capacity as secretary to an employer, dated August 21, 1793, and thus reveals little about Dupré other than that he held that position. BL Additional MS 35663, fol. 245v.


BL Additional MS 22903, fols. 34r–35r; Giunta, “Il triste destino,” 267, which does not say anything regarding the identity of Chalmers.
25 The objective of eighteenth-century editors, she points out, “was not the retrieval and preservation of what Shakespeare had put to paper,” as it became for Malone and our own era. “The process of establishing and evaluating Shakespeare served the broader cultural ambition of purifying English language, taste, and manners” (Shakespeare Verbatim, 63). So too with the question of history: “The same preoccupation with authenticity characterized Malone’s account of Shakespeare’s life as it did his treatment of Shakespeare’s text; and the same indifference to authenticity typified earlier biographical accounts as it did earlier textual treatments” (71).

26 See Schoenbaum, Shakespeare’s Lives, 66–72, 78 on these three legends.


28 The Monthly Magazine 13 (July 1802): 553. Holloway claims that the letters were written “in order to encourage the sale of MS Douce 319 to the Bodleian Library” (“Brunetto Latini and England,” 11), but does not offer any support.


32 He would recount that in Croft’s novel “the fate of Chatterton so strongly interested me, that I used frequently to envy his fate, and desire nothing so ardently as the termination of my existence in a similar cause. Little did I then imagine that the lapse of a few months was to hold me forth to public view as the supposed discoverer of the Shaksperian manuscripts”: The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland (London, 1805), 11. See Schoenbaum, Shakespeare’s Lives, 136, and Bernard Grebanier, The Great Shakespeare Forgery: A New Look at the Career of William Henry Ireland (London: Heinemann, 1966), 59–69, on which my description of the novel below relies. What Ireland does not mention is that his mother, like the victim of the novel, had been mistress of the earl of Sandwich.

Goldberg, “Romantic Professionalism,” 682.

35 The Monthly Magazine 12 (January 1802): 525; the remainder appears in 13 (July 1802): 549–54.

36 The Monthly Magazine 13 (March 1802): 130.


39 Wright, Vision, i:xlvi.

40 The great book collector Thomas Corser thought it “worth noticing, that a modern version of the Vision of Pierce Ploughman was attempted some years ago by Mr. Dupré, but it was never printed,” citing Madan’s description of MS 323. “Mr. Wright also notices an attempt at modernization or translation of this poem, of which he gives a few lines as a specimen, but whether this is the same with that by Mr. Dupre, the editor is unable to say.” This is the closest anyone has come to recognizing that the lines Wright prints are those by Dupré in Douce 323. Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, or, a Bibliographical and Descriptive Catalogue of a Portion of a Collection of Early English Poetry, part 9, ed. James Crossley (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1879), 155.

41 See Esposito, “Una falsificazione letteraria,” 109, on a comment from 1863.


45 Ibid.


47 The Critical Review wrote, “we have not the slightest reason to impeach his diligence or his accuracy: on the contrary, we can freely commend both” (35 [1802]: 120); the Union Magazine, “We cannot agree with the author, that his work may be esteemed of little use to those who are intimately acquainted
with French literature” (2 [1801]: 250). A less positive assessment appeared in the Anti-Jacobin Review: “We are rather inclined to think that the author has attempted too much; and that he has united things very much discordant” (9 [1801]: 397), but even this concludes by calling it “on the whole, . . . an useful publication” (398).


49 Ibid., ix.

50 Brewer, “Modernising the Medieval,” 113. The introductory note claims that after completing this translation the author, “looking on it as a juvenile Trifle, . . . flung it by in a corner of his Study, where it hath lain about thirty Years” (Bowden, Eighteenth-Century Modernizations, 31–2). Bowden proposes that a search for the author’s identity “might begin among other authors published by Jonas Brown, mostly remembered today in footnotes to Pope’s Dunciad: Richard Blackmore, Thomas Purney, George Sewell, Lewis Theobold” (31); Brewer says that in its tone “the rendering has something in common with the writing of Sir John Mennis, the seventeenth-century dirty-minded courtier and rhymerer (1591–1671) who was Pepys’s colleague, who wrote Chaucerian imitations and who, according to Pepys, doted ‘mightily’ on Chaucer” (“Modernising the Medieval,” 113).

51 Brewer, “Modernising the Medieval,” 113. All of my quotations from the poem appear on p. 40 of Bowden, Eighteenth-Century Modernizations, and are cited in the text by the line numbers she supplies. I emend “of” to “or” in quoting line 856.

52 This is the only confession printed by Warton; Ritson prints the whole passus (see Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities, 93, 95).

53 See Introduction, note 47.

54 Esposito, “Una falsificazione letteraria,” 103 n.3; Giunta, “Il triste destino,” 267, 269.


56 “I conceive these 3 leaves to be part of a transcript from one of the MSS of P. Plowman’s Visions in the Harl. Collection & made by a Mr. Page who about twelve years since frequented the reading room for that purpose. F. D. 1809” (fol. 29r), Douce writes in the margin, but the source is clearly the Cotton Vespasian MS. I discovered it by looking under “In a somer seson” in the first-line index in the British Library manuscripts reading room; I have never seen any other mention of it.

57 The Monthly Magazine 16 (January 1804): 564.

58 Giunta, “Il triste destino,” 274 n.9, saying he could find no trace in either the British Library or the Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi.

59 Memoirs of Margaret de Valois, Queen of Navarre; the First Wife of Henry the Fourth of France, commonly called The Great: Containing, the Secret History of the Court of France, for Seventeen Years, viz. from 1565 to 1582, during the Reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. Including a Full Account of the Massacre of the
Conclusion

1 Simpson, Reform and Cultural Revolution, chapter 1, “The Melancholy of John Leland and the Beginnings of English Literary History” (7–33).
3 Simpson, Reform and Cultural Revolution, 11.
4 Ibid., 17.
5 George Kane, “Langland and Chaucer: An Obligatory Conjunction” (1981), in Kane, Chaucer and Langland, 123–33. See Bowers, Chaucer and Langland for the most extensive of the many recent studies of this conjunction.
9 The classic treatment of Chaucer reception is Caroline Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357–1900), 5 parts in 3 vols. (1908–17; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925); quotations are by part. For Langland, the equivalent to Spurgeon is DiMarco, Reference Guide; see also especially Hudson, “Epilogue,” 251–66, and Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities.

12 Leland, De Uiris Illustribus, Appendix 4, p. 844. Carley somewhat confusingly says that the paper stock on which the Chaucer chapter is written, Briquet 11383, “was not used for entries in Stage I, but it appeared soon afterwards. A number of entries in a characteristic hand, not quite identical to Stage I (cc. 180, 218, 246 etc.), are written on this paper” (cxxxii). Carley seems simply to mean that these are the products of the final stages of Stage I, as it were. He assigns the Chaucer chapter to Stage I on the basis of handwriting, place-names, and personal names.


14 Gillespie, Print Culture, 199.

15 This copy, now Huntington Library 88317, is dated c.1533: see The Plowman’s Tale: The c.1532 and 1606 Editions of a Spurious Canterbury Tale, ed. Mary Rhinelander McCarl (New York: Garland, 1977), 16, 45. There is also a MS of the tale added to an 1832 Thynne, now University of Texas, Q PR 1890 1532. Annie S. Irvine argues that it represents an independent textual tradition: “A Manuscript Copy of The Plowman’s Tale,” University of Texas Studies in English 12 (1932): 27–56. But Joseph A. Dane asserts instead the likelihood that it is simply a copy of the 1542 edition: “Bibliographical History versus Bibliographical Evidence: The Plowman’s Tale and Early Chaucer Editions,” Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 78 (1996): 60–1 n.30. Gillespie puts forth some textual evidence for the idea that “The Plowman’s Tale had an independent life in some lost edition or one or more manuscripts,” which in her view strengthens the idea that it might have attracted Leland’s attention (Print Culture, 200), but she does not address Dane’s demurral. In any case by that logic Piers Plowman itself is still a more probable candidate.

16 Bodleian MS Digby 145 (c.1531–2); C.U.L. MS Gg.4.31 (s. xvi): and B.L. MS Royal 18 B xvii (s. xvi). The excerpt in the Winchester Anthology, too, is from around this time (Chapter 4).

17 John Dryden, “Preface” to Fables Ancient and Modern (London, 1700), sig. B.ii.

18 Carley writes: “Although the De uiris illustribus was less widely copied than Leland’s other prose remains, in part because Bale’s bibliographical efforts appeared to replace it in the eyes of many individuals, antiquaries did continue to consult it” (Leland, De Uiris Illustribus, cxlix). Dryden certainly seems to have known it.

19 Horobin, “Stephan Batman.” Batman owned Bodleian MS Digby 171, on whose title page he offered a summary of the poem’s virtues and a drawing of a ploughman, and, as Horobin now argues, Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.14.
This text was first published in an item called “The Vision of Piers Plowman” by one “Silverstone” in N&Q 2nd ser. 6, 142 (1858): 229–30; see DiMarco, Reference Guide, item 1577.1; Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years, 4:41 (Appendix A). I have silently corrected some obvious errors in Silverstone’s transcription. This copy was sold by Sotheby’s as lot 16 on May 25, 1972, and for $19,975 by Christie’s sale 9878, lot 77, October 8–9, 2001. It had been owned by Daniel Wray (1701–83); its current whereabouts are unknown. The Bale material is from his Catalogus of 1557–9; for discussion see Kelen, Langland’s Early Modern Identities, 22–7. For the Bale material, see Chapter 4 at note 52.

The Plowman’s Tale, 1533, lines 1065–6, in McCar’s edition.

See DiMarco, Reference Guide, items Post 1546.1 (Bale’s ascription), 1580.1 (Stow, with full discussion of the history of the ascription and of its possible referents), and discussion by, among others, Benson, Public Piers Plowman, 4–5; Edwards, “Piers Plowman in the Seventeenth Century.”

See, e.g., the inscription after the explicit in Liverpool University Library MS F.4.8, p. 202, image at http://www.liv.ac.uk/library/sca/colldescs/medrenmss/images/LUL_MS_F_4_8_210.jpg, mentioning both candidates. Often an owner will endorse one candidate, and a later owner will counter with the other, as in the final page and first end flyleaf of the Cr in the Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark STC 19906, at http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/s//1062dp, or University of Michigan, shelfmark PR2010.C95 1550, a Cr in which three hands debate the matter.

The Romaunt of the Rose, lines 2161–2.

Seth Lerer, “Latin Annotations in a Copy of Stowe’s Chaucer and the Seventeenth-Century Reception of Troilus and Criseyde,” RES n.s. 53 (2002): 5–6. Lerer observes that “Pieces of Chaucer’s poem [i.e., Troilus] were often excised, copied out, and rearranged into independent lyrics, centos of memorable lines, or verse epistolary exchanges” (6); I do not know of any equivalent tradition regarding the Romaunt.


Wanley’s final entry was for MS 2407: see A Preface and Index to the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts (London, 1763), 27.


www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ > “2376.”

Tyrwhitt, Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, 4:74 n.57.


Ritson, BP, 27.
34 Lehigh University Library 821.1 L265p 1550, Frontmatter [5].


36 Farmer cites it in the flyleaves of his Rogers, Haverford, Magill 96, adding ruefully that his friend “does not mention” that reason. Soon after they first met Ritson called Farmer “a most sensible, liberal, benevolent and worthy man,” and the two scholars’ cordiality, observes Bronson, “seems not to have been broken off, in spite of the bolts which Ritson continued to discharge at the heads of Farmer’s friends” ( *Joseph Ritson*, 393). Farmer either did not ask his friend for his reasons, or did not record the answer here. So does Mitford, in the verso of the first flyleaf of his copy, where it is in bolder and more prominent script than are any of his numerous other references to contemporary scholarship, and in his review of Wright, *The Vision and creed of Piers Ploughman*, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* n.s. 19 (April 1843): 340 n.


41 Douce’s comment about the dagger collection is in a letter of November 5, 1823, to his friend and biographer Haslewood, in endpapers of BL G.13123. See Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, 54 n.8.

42 Bowers, *Chaucer and Langland*.
