Maree Shirota

Neither Roll nor Codex

Accordion Genealogies of the Kings of England from the Fifteenth Century

English royal genealogical chronicles are a combination of text and diagrams, with or without illumination and illustrations, which trace the history of the kings of England. The genealogies follow the succession of kings on a ‘main’ lineage and are sometimes further elaborated with supplementary lineages of relatives of the king, along with a commentary text.¹ They are a manifestation of the preoccupation with descent and ancestry, and interest in historiographical works of the late medieval period.² Therefore, they are an important source for late medieval historiography and political culture.³ The royal genealogical chronicles from fifteenth-century England have survived in various forms.⁴ One form that has not received much attention in scholarship is the ‘bound accordion’.⁵ Due to its initial appearance, a reader may expect to read a codex—only to be surprised by a manuscript that is constructed rather differently. The accordion form is neither a codex nor a roll, but a hybrid of these two.⁶

1 For a summary on the structure of genealogies, see Croenen 1999, 84–85.

2 For the convergence of genealogical historical literature in Western Europe, especially in Britain, see: Fisher 2008; Radelescu 2008.

3 For an example on how a royal genealogy can be analysed for political ideas about depositions, see: Shirota 2015.

4 The earliest royal genealogical rolls are from the thirteenth century in England. For more on royal genealogies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England, see: Laborderie 2013.

5 For French royal genealogies in rolls and codices, see Norbye in this volume.

6 The term to describe these manuscripts has not yet been definitively established in scholarship. This article uses *accordion*, or more specifically, *bound accordion*, in order to introduce a precise term for this particular type, based on codicological definitions. *Concertina* and *roll-codex* are terms used in de la Mare’s catalogue, which includes an excellent description of the form: De la Mare 1971, 82–83. However, *roll-codex* is likely to cause confusion, especially when describing manuscripts that were a bound accordion, but then later unbound and rolled up for storage. Such a manuscript is London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9, which could be described as both a roll and codex during different points of the manuscript’s life, making *roll-codex* an unclear term. *Concertina-style* has been used interchangeably with *accordion-style* in literature, see Mooney 2008, 184. However, *accordion* is the term used in codicological studies, and *accordion* by itself implies an unbound, folded book, see Muzerelle 1985, 58. Therefore, *bound accordion* is the most suitable term for these manuscripts.

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This article starts with an introduction of the known royal accordion genealogies, before a discussion about the relationship between form, content and function of this particular body of manuscripts.

In terms of scholarship, there is very little about the different forms of royal genealogies. Many studies thus far about royal genealogies have tended to focus on the text, which has resulted in the neglecting of the materiality of the manuscripts.⁷ This means that questions regarding the unusual form of the accordion—and its implications—have not yet been asked. The sole exception are catalogue entries that describe the physical appearance of accordion genealogies in detail.⁸ However, as observational descriptions, catalogues do not offer much in the way of analysis or contextualisation. I seek to fill this gap in the literature through a codicological analysis of the accordion manuscript genealogies.

The article first introduces the fifteen accordion manuscripts that have survived from the fifteenth century. After providing the historical context to this unique group of genealogies and a summary of their contents, the article summarizes how the manuscripts were produced. Using material and textual analysis of the accordion genealogies, combined with the broader cultural and social trends, the last section discusses the reasons behind the development of the accordion. This sheds light on the reasons behind the needs of the users for such a manuscript form. Although there is no contemporary written explanation for the accordion genealogies, the article argues that a combination of materiality, the genealogical text and wider cultural movements contributed to the creation of these manuscripts.

The accordion genealogies

By ‘accordion genealogies’, this article refers to a type of genealogical manuscript that was designed and created as a folded book and bound at one edge. A long roll is folded in alternating directions in evenly sized sections (pages), creating a ‘zig-zag’ accordion-style ‘book’. One of the long edges is then bound, so that the folded and flattened roll opens like a codex. The result is a manuscript that appears initially to be a codex, but upon closer inspection, is revealed to have a folded ‘accordion’ construction, rather than one based on quires.

⁷ Allan’s thesis on Yorkist propaganda provides an analysis of the genealogies as part of a broader literary push towards legitimising Edward IV: Allan 1981. Rajsic has published on adaptations of the Brut chronicle on a genealogical roll and transmission of Arthurian narratives in English genealogies, both of which tend to focus on literary aspects: Rajsic 2016, 2017.

⁸ Catalogue entries for accordion genealogies include Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33 (De la Mare 1971, 80–85), and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207 (Scott 1996, 315–317). Both entries classify groups of manuscripts by textual variations, although Scott includes a more detailed summary of the illustrative features.

The bound accordion is an unusual form that experienced a short-lived popularity for genealogies in England.⁹ There are at least fifteen accordion or formerly accordion royal genealogies made from parchment.¹⁰ They survive from a period approximately between 1461 and 1473, which corresponds to the reign of Edward IV (d. 1483). It is possible to deduce the approximate earliest year for a genealogy's creation through the names of figures depicted or the accompanying commentary. This dating method relies heavily on the births of Edward IV's children and any mention of Edward IV's coronation (1461) or the death of Henry VI (1471). The following table (tab. 1) shows that there appears to have been a short-lived burst of the accordion form during the period between 1461 and 1473.¹¹ London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 is likely to be one of the earliest surviving genealogies of Edward IV's reign and one of the first bound accordions. It lacks circles for his children and his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married in 1464. Furthermore, it describes his proclamation as king on 4 March 1461, but not his coronation, which took place in June of the same year. This potentially narrows the window of its creation to between March and June of 1461.¹² After five years on the throne, his first child, Elizabeth, was born in 1466, which could explain the creation of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS B.30.¹³ Two more daughters, Mary and Cecily, followed in 1467 and 1469, whose circles were added to new versions. At least four accordion genealogies include Edward's first son and heir, Prince Edward, who was born in November 1470. Henry VI had been briefly restored to the throne between October 1470 and April 1471. He died in May 1471, and a number of accordions mention his burial, but do not include the birth of Edward's fifth child, Margaret, who was born in April 1472. Edward's second son, Richard, was born in 1473, and appears beside his siblings on the accordion from St John's College, Oxford. All of the dates suggest that a new version of the genealogy was drawn up after each royal birth and either after the death of Henry VI or Edward's restoration. At least one accordion

⁹ Only one known royal French genealogy exists in accordion form: New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Smith Western MS 06 (Norbye 2007, 301).

¹⁰ See the Appendix for a full list and details of the accordion genealogies identified and discussed in this article. No known accordion royal genealogies survive before the fifteenth-century.

¹¹ There is one other known royal genealogy in accordion form: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 19. It is dated to c. 1533, made of paper, and textually differs from the fifteenth-century manuscripts. Due to these differences, it has not been included in this study.

¹² A roll of the same genealogy, Winchester, Winchester College, 13 A, may also have been produced between March and June 1461, since it also only mentions the proclamation and not Edward IV's coronation. Another very similar roll, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogynton II.52 includes a sentence about the coronation: *Et coronatur in regem Anglie eodem anno apud Westmonasterium XXVIII die mensis iunii anno Domini MCCCCLXI*. The significance of Lansdowne 456 as an early Edward IV genealogy was first pointed out by Allan: Allan 1981, 276–279.

¹³ A total of three genealogies, including PM B.30, and two roll genealogies, New Haven, Yale University, Marston 242 and Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS NKS 1858 folio are attributed the earliest date of 1466, as all depict Edward's daughter Elizabeth.

genealogy was produced almost every year between 1466 and 1473, suggesting that there was continuous demand for this particular type of manuscript.

Tab. 1: Earliest dates for royal accordion genealogies produced in fifteenth-century England.

Date	Latin	English
1461	London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 ¹⁴	
1466	Christie's, <i>Valuable Books and Manuscripts</i> , 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53. ¹⁵	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS B.30
1467		Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 42 ¹⁶ Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207
1469		Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33
1470	Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35	London, College of Arms, Arundel 23 London, British Library, RP 9264 ¹⁷
1470?	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170 ¹⁸	London, British Library, Stowe MS 73 ¹⁹
1471	Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17 Cambridge, Trinity College R.4.3 ²⁰ Sotheby's, <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24 ²¹	
1472	London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9 ²²	
1473	Oxford, St John's College, MS 23	

¹⁴ Allan 1981, 276–277.

¹⁵ Online catalogue: <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/genealogical-chronicle-of-the-kings-of-england-6154518-details.aspx> (last accessed: 7.11.18).

¹⁶ Available to view online at the Digital Bodleian website: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/3601a05c-effd-4647-b046-66ecad5e4451> (last accessed: 30.10.18).

¹⁷ Currently in a private collection. Only photocopies of this accordion manuscript are accessible at the British Library. This is the same manuscript sold at Sotheby's, *Western and Oriental Manuscripts*, 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49. See online sale catalogue: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/western-and-oriental-manuscripts-l07241/lot.49.html> (last accessed: 7.11.18).

¹⁸ MS 1170 is cut off at King Vortigern, making it impossible to narrow down the date of creation. It is closely related to Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35, which suggests that it may have also been produced in 1470.

¹⁹ London, British Library, Stowe MS 73 is also imperfect at the end. The last king is Edward IV, and the genealogy ends with a line leading from him to his children, with the last section missing. The suggested year of 1470 is based on another genealogy that is considered a sibling manuscript: London, British Library, Stowe MS 72, a Latin roll (c. 1470). The relationship between the two genealogies was identified by Allan 1981, 282.

²⁰ Available fully digitized at: <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1453> (last accessed: 30.10.18).

Playing the accordion: legitimacy and continuity

All the accordions on table 1 were originally produced in support of Edward IV's claim to the throne of England. As manuscripts created during the 'Wars of the Roses', the genealogies were part of a broader body of documents and literature that tried to explain and justify the succession of Edward IV.²³ The majority of English royal genealogies produced during the reign of Edward IV trace the succession of English kings back to mythical and biblical beginnings. Although a genealogy from Edward III (d. 1377) would be sufficient to show the direct biological connection between the Plantagenet kings and Edward IV, the manuscripts tend to track the entire royal ancestry well-beyond the immediate past. The genealogies usually begin with the biblical ancestors (such as Adam and Eve or Noah), then traces the Trojans (who left their destroyed city), focusing on Brutus (the Trojan founder of Britain), who is followed by a succession of British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet kings, leading to the Lancastrians and the first Yorkist king, Edward IV. The inclusion of the 'complete' history from the Creation provided the readers with an abridged biblical history and brief summaries of previous kings. Furthermore, the genealogies may have had some educational value for their users, as they are simpler and shorter than a chronicle that covers the same type of content.²⁴ Beginning with biblical history or Antiquity, the genealogies summarize the history of the English kings and the peoples of England, as well as biblical stories.

The genealogies have survived in three major forms: roll, codex, and accordion. The roll is very common for genealogies from the period.²⁵ They are usually created

21 Online catalogue: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-l10240/lot.24.html> (last accessed: 7.11.18).

22 Scott's catalogue states that this was copied by one scribe in around 1454 and was later extended by the same scribe working in 1472–1473, see: Scott 1996, 316. This is probably due to the change in ink that occurs after the section about Henry VI. The commentary and circles for Edward IV and his children appear to have been added later. However, the prologue to the manuscript ends with [...] *ab illo usque ad Edwardum quantum post conquestum linealiter descendendo*. Since it would have been near-impossible to add this last sentence afterwards and there appears to be no scraping or modification marks, it suggests that the manuscript was written after Edward IV was declared king in 1461 and not during Henry VI's reign. Henry VI's death and burial in 1471 is not mentioned, although Edward's daughter Margaret (b. 1472) appears beside her older siblings. Although difficult to date compared to some other manuscripts, this was probably first created after 1461 and then updated in 1472. Since the scribe was probably the same, the second date has been used in the table.

23 For Yorkist efforts to promote their legitimacy, see: Allan 1981. For Yorkist royal genealogies, Anglo 1961–1962. For 'Yorkist' literature, see Pearshall 2013.

24 Allan 1979, 173. Cf. with de Laborderie, who discusses earlier genealogical rolls (from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) as a possible "aide-mémoire" and their potential pedagogical uses: Laborderie 2013, 65–69, 145–246.

25 This essay differentiates between the multi-metre rolls and poster-rolls. The latter refers to a type of manuscript that is similar to a modern poster in size and function. These also tend not to include the lineage beyond a few centuries. For instance, London, British Library, Harley Roll 7353 measures

in a vertical orientation (*rotulus*) although rare horizontal examples exist (*volumen*).²⁶ The rolls tend to be stored ‘rolled up’ into a cylindrical object. Genealogies in codex form exist in both limp-bound and hard bound versions.²⁷ They could be drawn in two different orientations. The first is the typical medieval codex, written with the script along the short edge of the page. The other orientation requires the reader to turn the codex ninety degrees clock-wise, as the text is written parallel to the long edge of the page.²⁸

The manuscripts often tell us specifically why the original version was created by the compiler/author. Almost all accordion genealogies include one of the four incipits, which all mention why the manuscript was produced: to provide a summary of the past kings to interested readers.²⁹ However, the ascension of the first Yorkist king, Edward IV, offers an explanation for the popularity of such manuscripts. Typically, the diagrams for vernacular accordion genealogies from Edward III to Edward IV are arranged in a way similar to that on figure 1.³⁰ As the layout shows, the king is always on the central axis—but a line may not necessarily connect all kings one after the other. It is the positioning of the kings’ circles on the central axis that signals their status as kings. The lines between the circles are related to biological relationships. The diagram not only explains Edward IV’s link to Edward III through the dukes of York, but also his ‘British’ ancestry. Edward IV was the grandson of Anne Mortimer, who was the granddaughter of Philippa of Clarence (daughter of Edward III’s second surviving son, Lionel) and her husband Edmund Mortimer (d. 1318). The Mortimers could trace their ancestry to the marriage of Gwladys Ddu, daughter of the Welsh Prince Llywelyn the Great (d. 1251), and Ralph de Mortimer in 1230. The accordion genealogies (that trace the Mortimer genealogy further back than the fifteenth century) start the Mortimer lineage with *Hughe Mortymer*, and a small annotation reading *Thys*

1,750 mm long × 535 mm wide and has a genealogy from Henry III (at the bottom) to Edward IV, as well as five pairs of colour miniatures depicting scenes from Edward’s reign. This is because the size of the parchment and writing suggests that all major elements are legible and understandable when pinned or hung onto a wall at eye-level, unlike rolls, which require the reader to either unroll in sections or walk alongside an unfurled roll in order to read it properly. Poster-rolls were rolled up for storage, which prevented creasing on the genealogy.

26 For a horizontally orientated example: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 22.

27 A limp bound example is Oxford, All Soul’s College, Codrington Library, MS 40, which is a typical codex (the reader does not have to rotate the codex in order to use it). A hard-bound codex example is found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 3170.

28 This type of codex genealogy will be referred to as a ‘rotated codex’ or ‘rotated genealogy’.

29 For instance: *Consideryng the greet desire of many men that wold have knowledge of olde cronicles of kynges that afore tyme regned in thys londe and of har succession I have put my labour to bring ham in to thys litel werke* from London, College of Arms, Arundel 23, an unbound accordion.

30 Figure 1 is a simplified version of the genealogical diagram that appears on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42 and Lyell MS 33. The latter has been called a “good example of the ‘standard’ roll” for Edward IV, and is similar to the diagrams found in contemporaneous rolls: Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1997, 138.

Mortimers and the Welsh. According to medieval authorities, Llywelyn's lineage traced back to Rhodri Mawr (d. 878) and then to Cadwaladr, the 'last king of the Britons'.³³ Though not explicit, the genealogies imply Edward IV's descent from the last British king. The genealogies infer that Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophecy of the eventual return of the Britons to rule England was fulfilled by Edward.³⁴ The Latin accordion genealogies generally do not depict the Mortimer lineage further back than Edmund Mortimer, Philippa's husband.³⁵ However, almost all the accordions show Edward's Yorkist descent.³⁶ Edward IV had won the crown by defeating Henry VI, but he also needed to show his legitimacy through hereditary right. This is directly mentioned in some genealogies: [he] *recevid the kyngdome of Englonde which was dewe to hym by iuste title of enheritans* and in Latin versions: [ille] *recipiens regnum Anglie ante dictum sibi de iure tenebat hereditario* [sic].³⁷

Production of an accordion genealogy

The production process of an accordion genealogy can be deduced to an extent by examining the manuscripts themselves. Although many accordions are still bound (and the vast majority show evidence of being re-bound after the late medieval period), there are a few that have lost their binding threads and are currently not stored as accordions, including two genealogies, one held at the British Library (London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9) and the other, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170. These two are currently stored as rolls, but both used to be accordion genealogies. When unrolled, it is possible to see the fold and binding marks on both of them. It is reasonable to speculate that both were unbound, flattened and rolled into their present form at some point after the fifteenth century. Another surviving unbound copy is London, College of Arms, Arundel 23. This manuscript is still folded, but the binding threads have been removed. The front and back of the accordion are attached to parchment bound hard cover boards. The three unbound accordions are examples of how certain stages of the production process may have appeared.

Accordion genealogies originally started out as blank pieces of parchment, which were all cut to a similar width. The parchment pieces were of a similar thickness and

³³ Anglo 1961–1962, 21–22.

³⁴ Anglo 1961–1962, 22.

³⁵ An exception is Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35, which does not follow the diagram layout shown in figure 1, but nonetheless Edward IV to the Welsh princes through the Mortimers.

³⁶ Cambridge, Trinity College, R.4.3 is one genealogy that includes neither the children of kings nor diagram relating to Edward's ancestry. It mentions Henry VI's death and burial, which dates it to 1471.

³⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33 (English) and London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 (Latin).

quality. The membranes were then pasted together, short edge on short edge, until a long single piece (roll) was created. The roll was then measured and folded into even-sized sections in a zig-zag manner (see fig. 2). These sections would eventually become the ‘pages’ of the accordion. After folding, the scribes could work with the parchment folded or unfolded at different sections. Either after the folding process or before, guiding lines were drawn. When folded, these lines were the equivalent of the head/foot and left/right margins. One folded edge would have been chosen as the ‘binding’ edge. The margins on either side of the ‘binding edge’ prevent the drawing or writing from being obscured by the gutter of the binding. The non-bound, ‘free’ edge would also have a margin, so that the text and diagram remain on the page and do not appear directly on the folded edge. These are all indicators that the scribe planned the whole manuscript in advance, or at least had a model, before he even started with the copy. The margins are often visible throughout the entire accordion manuscript, and show little irregularities between parchment membranes or sections. This suggests an effort to keep all pages/sections uniformly identical. The planned ‘pages’ set this form apart from genealogical rolls that were originally created as a roll and later folded into an accordion.³⁸

Fig. 2: ‘Accordion’ folds.

The genealogical diagram was carefully planned and evenly arranged on the parchment roll, before it was folded and bound to an accordion. If crowns for the kings’ circles were planned, appropriate gaps were left at this stage.³⁹ This is because without adequate spaces between the circles, the crowns would possibly interfere with the circle-and-line-scheme. The genealogy is drawn to run down the length of the long

³⁸ Such a manuscript is San Marino, Huntingdon Library, HM 264, which was originally a roll before being folded and bound.

³⁹ Accordions with crowns for the kings of England include: Cambridge, Queen’s College, MS 35; London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9; London, College of Arms, Arundel 23; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS B. 30; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207; Oxford, St John’s College, MS 23.

parchment roll. The line would therefore be continuous. Some pin pricks still visible in the middle of circles, showing the use of measuring tools and compasses. After the diagram was mapped out, the inking processes began. The circles were coloured and labelled. The commentary text was copied from a template source on either side of the circle-and-line-diagram. This ensured that all features were arranged in an aesthetically pleasing manner, without the diagram and commentary overlapping each other, or any text spilling over into the margins. Broadly speaking, a similar colour-scheme is used across all accordion genealogies. The Latin and English non-abbreviated versions use blue and gold for the central line of Christ's genealogy, while red and green lines are used for all other biblical lines. Alternating circles of red and blue are used to represent the kings of England, and thin red circles symbolize most other non-biblical and non-royal figures. The abbreviated genealogies use the blue-red alternating colour scheme for both the biblical and royal circles. After the text and circle colouring was complete, most copies were further elaborated with ornamentation. Notable decoration is found at the very beginning of accordion genealogies, on the first membrane, as a border framing. If the manuscript had crowns for each king-circle, these were illuminated in gold. Once all illuminations were completed, the manuscript was folded, any uneven edges trimmed, and bound with thread. Some accordions have traces of gold edges, which may have been added at this point. Each 'page' would be composed of a parchment membrane that was folded and has the thickness of two membranes. This makes the accordion form heavier and thicker than codices with the same number of folios. It is highly probable that anyone who handled an accordion would have noticed a difference from other codices of a similar size. Moreover, as the pages were turned, the reader would feel that the edge was folded. This suggests that the users of accordions were aware of the unusual physical features.

Hard cover binding was probably the popular choice for accordions, although the lack of surviving original bindings makes this difficult to determine. There is one English royal genealogy in accordion form with what appears to be the oldest binding among surviving manuscripts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207.⁴⁰ This binding is a heavy wooden cover that was fully clad in tooled leather and a fore-edge flap. The cover includes four leather straps featuring a criss-cross laced design. One laced strap wraps around the middle of the 'book'. The exact point where the wrap-around strap meets itself is damaged, although it is likely that there was a metal clasp. MS 207 is bound in a way that prevents any text or circles from being obscured by the gutter of the binding. This is in contrast to most other bound accordions, which, despite the gap left by the scribe, have some text obscured or are difficult to read by the deep gutter binding. This is a likely indicator that these manuscripts were rebound later without taking into consideration the legibility of the manuscript.

⁴⁰ The binding is attributed to John Reynes of London (after 1520): Thomson 2011, 101.

Genealogies in various forms: codices, rolls, accordions, and ‘bat books’

The content depicted on accordions is not particularly unique to the form. The same genealogies are found in codices and rolls. There are four major *textual* groups of royal genealogies ending with Edward IV that are found in codex, accordion and roll forms.⁴¹ The existence of the same content across different forms is strong evidence that, at least for these genealogies, there appears to have been no significant link between the narratives presented in a genealogy and the form. The different forms were related to the function of a particular copy and wishes of the original owner. The following is a summary of the known manuscripts of the four textual groups in various forms.⁴² This demonstrates that the form did not affect the textual content of the genealogical chronicles.

‘Long Latin’: a genealogy type beginning with the incipit *Considerans historie sacre prolixitatem necnon et difficultatem* [...], which includes the following manuscripts: Oxford St John’s College, MS 23 (accordion), London, British Library, Harley Roll C. 9 (formerly an accordion, now a roll); Lansdowne MS 456 (accordion), Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1858 folio (roll), Cambridge, Trinity College, R.4.3 (accordion),⁴³ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogynton II.52 (roll), and Winchester, Winchester College, MS 13 A (roll). A related subgroup, which was not originally identified by de la Mare, includes Cambridge, Queen’s College, MS 35 (accordion) and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170 (originally accordion, now kept as a roll). This sub-group is different from the other three as it depicts the popes, and emperors, succession lines.

‘Long English’: the English version of the same genealogy that begins with the incipit *Conisderyng the lenght and the hardenesse* [...]. This group includes: New Haven, Yale University, Marston MS 242 (roll), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 33 (accordion), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 42 (accordion), Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207 (accordion), London, British Library, King’s MS 395 (codex), and London, College of Arms, Arundel 53 (codex).⁴⁴

‘Short Latin’: a short genealogy that is similar in style to the first two types. The Latin abbreviated incipit begins with *Veterum cronicorum de successione regnum Anglie* [...]: Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17 (accordion), London, British Library,

⁴¹ First identified by de la Mare. Since her classifications, Allan and Scott have added manuscripts to her categories: Allan 1981, 270–288; Scott 1996, 315–317.

⁴² Manuscripts within a certain textual group does not necessarily mean that they are identical. Most are grouped according to approximate date of creation and similar texts and diagrams.

⁴³ This group is named *class B* by de la Mare and “Long English” by Allan.

⁴⁴ Class A, according to de la Mare. London, College of Arms, Arundel 53 was not included by de la Mare, but subsequently Allan and Kauffman both considered the unfinished codex to belong to the same group Allan 1981, 272; Kauffmann 1984, 210.

Stowe MS 72 (roll). A related sub-group that begins with Brutus includes Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS 146 (codex), and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 5112 (roll).

‘Short English’: the English shorter genealogy has the incipit *Consideryng the greet desire of many men that wold have knowledge of the olde cronicles* [...]. Identified manuscripts are: London, British Library, Add. MS 31950 (roll); Stowe MS 73 (originally accordion, now cut and bound), Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2244 (roll) and London, College of Arms, Arundel 23 (unbound accordion).

Despite the lack of a clear pattern in relation to the form and the specific text of a genealogy, it is worth discussing whether accordions were associated with other non-codex, non-roll manuscripts of the period. Accordions are unusual manuscripts in fifteenth-century England, and they could be considered a type of ‘folded book’. However, even among medieval folded books, accordions are unique. Other types of medieval folded books are often what Gumbert calls ‘bat books’, which are defined by three major characteristics: first, each leaf is folded and the text cannot be properly read without it being unfolded; second, each leaf has a tab that is connected to other leaves; and third, the entire book is held together by the tab.⁴⁵ Manuscripts that are classified as ‘bat books’ include mostly late medieval almanacs, astrological tables, and calendars.⁴⁶ Most of them are constructed out of six to eight folios, which have been folded to eighths or tenths and attached together by a strip of parchment at one edge.⁴⁷ Although both ‘bat books’ and accordions are created by folding parchment membranes, the genealogies do not subscribe to the criteria determined by Gumbert.⁴⁸ In most accordions, each folio does not have to be unfolded individually for reading. Only two accordion manuscripts required unfolding before legibility and nei-

⁴⁵ Carey discusses the many terms that have been used to discuss and describe such manuscripts. She argues that *folded almanac* or *folding almanac* are the most suitable terms, since others such as *vade mecum* and *girdle book* are too vague and do not accurately describe the contents nor the form, Carey 2003, 483–486. Gumbert introduces his own term, *bat books*. He argues that *girdle book* is misleading, as it can be associated with and confused with another type of book that was hung on belts, the *Beutelbuch* (which is a type of small codex with an extended leather cover that can be tied to a belt), Gumbert 2016, 17–19. I agree with both Carey and Gumbert—however, the term *bat books* defines only the form of a manuscript, unlike *folding almanac* which refers to both the form and content.

⁴⁶ Gumbert’s catalogue details almost thirty English examples dated from the late fourteenth century until 1508: Gumbert 2016, 121–206. Also see Table A1 found in the appendix to Carey 2003, 505–507.

⁴⁷ Some examples of fifteenth-century folded almanacs include: London, British Library, Sloane MS 2250 (c. 1400–1425), which is constructed of eight folded leaves sewn together at the lower edges with parchment cover. Also London, British Library, Sloane MS 807 (c. 1444) is made up of six folded leaves, and London, British Library, Add. MS 28725 (c. 1463), which is similarly composed of seven folded folios.

⁴⁸ Accordions are created from one large parchment piece and each ‘page’ can be read without being individually unfolded.

ther have tabs.⁴⁹ Accordions are similar to ‘bat books’, but they ought to be classified as a different kind of folded manuscript. Nevertheless, folding the writing support is a key common feature between accordions and ‘bat books’. Moreover, both forms are ‘expandable’ or ‘extendable’ through unfolding. The leaves of a ‘bat book’ could ‘unfold’ into a size eight or ten times larger than its dimensions when folded. An accordion could have its alternating folds opened out to become a multi-metre roll.⁵⁰

One folded almanac is exceptional for bridging the gap between the ‘bat book’ form and genealogies. London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 is a folded almanac (c. 1431), which is unique among English samples, since it includes a genealogy of Christ (an interpolation of the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers) along with calendars, zodiac tables, two tree-shaped diagrams (a tree of vices and a tree of virtues) and two hand-shaped diagrams (*manus dyaboli* and *manus Ecclesie*).⁵¹ The notion of genealogies as reference diagrams for the biblical genealogy is supported by a roll at Cambridge (University Library, Dd.3.56), which depicts the *Compendium* on the recto. On the dorse, the Cambridge roll also has trees of virtues and vices, and two hand diagrams.⁵² The two manuscripts (London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 and Cambridge, University Library, Dd.3.56) are the only known non-codex copies from England with the same diagrams and text (Peter of Poitiers’ *Compendium*, the trees of virtues and vices, and the hands of the devil and the church).⁵³ Although both contain biblical genealogies rather than royal, as a diagrammatic representation, Christ’s genealogy could have been considered a variation of the reference charts and tables that a folding almanac usually comprises. On the almanac, Christ’s genealogy is found on fol. 8–14^v. It is not very well prepared for the folded form. For instance, the other folios make use of the parchment area that is visible after it is folded, which provides a guide for the contents of that particular folio, whereas the genealogical section does not, and furthermore often the genealogical diagram cross folds, which makes some areas harder to read.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Christie’s, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53 requires unfolding of the ‘flaps’ on either side of each ‘page’. London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 show signs of having also been folded in a similar fashion, although now it is stored as a typical accordion and the ‘flaps’ have been flattened out.

⁵⁰ A bound accordion would have to have its binding and covers removed.

⁵¹ London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 includes Peter of Poitiers’ *Compendium*, and is also unusual for being much longer (seventeen folios) than most other folding almanacs from England during this period, Carey 2003, 486; Gumbert 2016, 160–161.

⁵² Cambridge, University Library, Dd.3.56 is a roll depicting Peter of Poitiers’ *Compendium*. On the roll’s dorse, there are several diagrams, including, the Tree of Virtues, Tree of Vices, five hands (*manus Dei*, *manus Ecclesie*, *manus diaboli* and two *manus meditationis*).

⁵³ The trees of vices and virtues were often found with Peter of Poitiers’ *Compendium* in codices, see Panayotova 2001, 329,

⁵⁴ Carey 2003, 488.

Royal genealogies were adaptable to different forms, as seen by the survival of similar texts in rolls, codices and accordions. The flexibility of the text does not account for the use of the accordion during the late fifteenth century. Since the content did not necessarily dictate the form of a manuscript, the article turns to other considerations that may account for the development of the accordion form for royal genealogies.

The accordion as a roll-codex

Accordion genealogies look similar to rotated codex genealogies.⁵⁵ The physical movements associated with using either the accordion or rotated codex are the same, since once opened, both must be turned clockwise ninety-degrees for reading. A commissioner simply could have requested a codex or a roll—but they went out of their way to order the accordion. One argument is that the accordion was easier to produce than the codex. In a codex genealogy, the diagrams and text must be drawn and written into each quire, before all quires were bound together. The scribe had to keep in mind that the text and circles should not be drawn near the binding of each quire or the folio edges. Furthermore, the quire structure of the codex itself needed even more planning than the pre-prepared roll for the accordion manuscript. There is also the potential for confusion when creating a codex genealogy, such as connecting the wrong quires to each other. These possible errors may have been minimized by the accordion production process. However, the production of an accordion does not have many clear advantages in comparison to a codex. Experienced scribes and bookbinders surely would have had no problems producing rotated codices or accordions. The survival of at least one rotated genealogical codex from the 1460s is evidence that royal genealogies were not exclusively copied onto rolls or accordions.⁵⁶ The bound accordion has a few key features that immediately differentiate it from this codex: it is thicker and heavier once bound since the entire underside of the accordion is invisible and not used, unlike a codex, which employs both sides of a parchment folio. The accordion requires therefore more parchment than the codex. The same ‘inefficiency’ is found in rolls (since many only use one side of the parchment). If the accordion was a form that shared many similar characteristics with a rotated codex, but used more parchment and may have caused confusion to some readers, the question arises: why were the accordions even created? The motivations for the choice of an accordion were proba-

⁵⁵ By ‘rotated codices’, this article refers to the genealogies that are found in codices that were the text was written on the long edge the codex. These genealogies are orientated so that the text and diagram are drawn ‘vertically’ on the rotated double-folio spread.

⁵⁶ See Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 3170.

bly not grounded in the production process, but rather had something to do with the materiality of the accordion form.

This article argues that the ‘hidden’ form of the roll within an accordion is key to the creation of the accordion genealogies. When deconstructed, an accordion is to a roll—one that has been folded. Among the various forms in which royal genealogies have survived from late medieval England, the roll is the most popular. This is related to both the functional and symbolic significance of the roll form, which corresponds to the content and purpose of the genealogies.⁵⁷ In order to discuss the importance of the accordion form for genealogies, it is necessary to start with a brief explanation of the roll and its symbolism. Roll genealogies have been linked to a sense of continuity that the form provides for the content. For instance, lines of a genealogical diagram can run down the entire length of a roll without interruption. The long roll form provided the illusion of a continuous, uninterrupted succession of the kings of England. This is contrary to the reality, particular in the fifteenth century. In 1399, Richard II was deposed by his cousin, Henry IV. The latter’s grandson, Henry VI was deposed by Edward IV in 1461. On genealogies, the transmission of power for each of these depositions is represented by continuous lines or columns connecting one king to the next, offering an illusion of stable continuity of succession of the institution of kingship. The open-ended and continuous roll also allows for easy extension by simply pasting on another membrane when more writing space is required. Even when a membrane is not added, the possibility of doing so makes the roll an attractive form for royal genealogies. The roll idealises England’s royal lineage as continuous line of ‘on-going’ succession. This is clearly shown by roll genealogies that have been extended by a later hand.⁵⁸ Visually, the impact of a multi-metre roll laid out across long tables in a great hall is inimitable by a codex. In particular, roll genealogies were suitable for displaying a large section or all of the manuscript at once.⁵⁹ This is particularly true for rolls with illumination or illustrations which were likely created with the intention to display them. The roll, as a linear long form, was an excellent medium upon which to project the ideal image of the succession of kingship and display it to

⁵⁷ Another argument for the use of the roll for genealogies is that the roll was seen by contemporaries as a ‘royal form’. This hypothesis was introduced by Laborderie as one possible explanation of the first royal genealogies in roll form during the thirteenth-century. He argued that the roll was the ubiquitous medium for record keeping in the English royal administration. Therefore, he suggested that the scribes possibly chose the roll for royal genealogies, due to the association between the roll and the royal sphere, Laborderie 2013, 77–79. Although this hypothesis is attractive, it fails to consider that the roll was not only used in English royal administration, but throughout Western Europe, including many non-royal administrations, as seen in other articles in this volume. The roll was not a particular royal form, but a widely-used form of written documentation.

⁵⁸ Many genealogical rolls produced during the reign of Henry VI were later altered to include Edward IV: Christchurch (NZ), University of Canterbury Library, MS 1; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall MS 135 R.

⁵⁹ Allan 1981, 308.

a large audience. It was well-suited to the genealogical content and its function as an object for display. The relationship between form, content, and function is one explanation for the popularity of the roll form for genealogies.

An accordion allows the integrity of the roll form to remain intact. Although folded and bound, an accordion can be unbound and unfolded into a roll again.⁶⁰ The possibility of extending an accordion is realized on a copy that traces the genealogy to Charles II (d. 1685).⁶¹ Evidently, extending a genealogy is not restricted to the form, as there exists also a codex genealogy that was modified by a later scribe, who traced the genealogy to James I (d. 1625).⁶² However, in an accordion, the parchment is kept as one whole piece, unlike a codex, which is made of many smaller pieces of parchment cut to the desired size. Since the roll was already a known and accepted form for genealogies, why was there a need to create a roll that was used like a codex?

The use and popularity of the codex form for genealogies in Western Europe was a gradual process, which provide a backdrop for the development of bound accordion genealogies. The codex had some attractive features, which contributed to the idea of folding a roll into a codex-like book. For many uses, the codex is far more practical than a roll. It is easier to reference or consult text than in a roll. A codex only needs to be opened at the correct folio, whereas a roll must be unrolled to a certain section. On long rolls, the unrolling process may take minutes. A codex can be bookmarked to open at particular sections. Additionally, a codex can often be held and manipulated by just two hands (without a desk) or opened on a small flat surface. Unfurling a genealogical roll is not very practical. In terms of storage, a codex fits neatly with other volumes on bookshelves or reading lecterns, and can be stacked in a chest or box. A roll could be placed in a bag, then onto a shelf or into a chest— but there is always the danger of it becoming squashed by other heavier, larger items in the latter. When kept on a shelf, it may be difficult to see exactly which roll it is, since there is no spine that may differentiate it from other rolls, nor does it have a spine plate naming the content of the volume.⁶³ The practical advantages of the codex are but one aspect of why the accordion form was developed for genealogies.

It would, however, be too narrow to limit the discussion to the practical aspects. Other factors have also to be taken into account. The codex has many advantages over the roll within certain contexts and uses. Broader trends in literacy and reading

⁶⁰ See with London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170.

⁶¹ Oxford, St John's College, MS 23, is a bound accordion that had originally had 22 folios. The last membrane was extended with a new foot and three additional leaves: Hanna 2002, 39. Cf. with Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35 which was extended twice, firstly to Arthur, prince of Wales and son of Henry VII, and then to his brother, Henry VIII, by another hand. The extension on MS 35 did not require more leaves, since the extra circles continued on the last 'verso' (i. e. the verso of the folded leaf).

⁶² Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 3170.

⁶³ Rolls, at least in the royal administration, may have been fitted with a tag to identify the content. Nevertheless, most rolls were stored in sacks, on which a title was written.

culture during the fifteenth century contributed to making the codex attractive for the owners of the accordion genealogies. For instance, there were gradual developments towards private reading and private book collections.⁶⁴ Broad trends towards a growing library culture are reflected in increasing spaces for reading and storage of codices, such as library-rooms and furniture, including bookshelves, cabinets and reading lecterns.⁶⁵ While public lectures were still important, private and silent reading were increasing.⁶⁶ Universities such as Oxford had regulations stating that libraries were a place of quiet. The layout of university libraries also facilitated individual quiet reading by arranging desks and chairs next to each other.⁶⁷ Library-rooms dedicated to the storage and reading of books were built by universities, cathedrals and royal residences during the fifteenth-century.⁶⁸ Codices are far more user-friendly for these kinds of reading environments than a roll.

In addition to the developments of libraries and literary culture, there is a connection between the form and language of some accordions. Almost half of the accordion genealogies are in the vernacular, which is a significant change from the earlier fifteenth-century royal genealogies (in rolls and codices) which were all in Latin.⁶⁹ At least some owners of the early accordions wanted an English translation *and* the accordion form, instead of a Latin accordion version which already existed from 1461. The survival of so many vernacular accordions strongly suggests that a large portion of the owners were more comfortable reading English.⁷⁰ Speaking and reading French was common among the aristocracy in fifteenth-century England, but gradually from the middle of that century, English started to supersede French.⁷¹ This was probably connected to the increasing use of English in administrative and governmental documents.⁷² In the late 1430s, the number of official documents in English began to overtake those in French. For instance, by 1450 almost all supplicant crown records were

64 Fifteenth-century kings of England are strongly associated with the development of what became the royal library: Stratford, 255.

65 For the building of rooms dedicated to the storage and reading, see: Willoughby 2017, 6. For types of furniture in late medieval libraries, see: Clark 1902; Attar 2015, 18.

66 Saenger 1997, 258.

67 Saenger 1997, 262–263.

68 Libraries at Christ Church, Canterbury, and York Cathedral were constructed in the early fifteenth century, Harris 1995⁴, 102. For royal residences: Henry IV had a study created at Eltham palace: Stratford, 260.

69 Royal genealogies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were often in Anglo-Norman French, and the fifteenth-century Lancastrian genealogies produced between 1428 and 1460 were mostly in Latin.

70 For literacy in late Medieval England, see: Trapp 1999; Parkes 1991, 275–298.

71 Bell 1999, 232.

72 Origins of a standard written English dialect is obscure. Richardson argues that Henry V's reign was crucial to the transition from French to English among public records. After Henry V started using English in his correspondence after 1417, the chancery also began to use English as an acceptable language for official documents, leading to the use of 'chancery English', Richardson 1980, 726–727.

in English.⁷³ By the time the first accordions in English were produced from the mid-1460s, English was common for official documentation. Private book collections from the mid-to-late fifteenth century also tended to have vernacular books.⁷⁴ Even among princes, vernacular works were popular.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, knowledge of secular private libraries in late medieval England is 'scanty', especially in comparison to Burgundian or French collections.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, we know that Edward's brother, Richard III, owned at least two French texts, ten English and seven Latin works.⁷⁷ Earlier in the mid-fifteenth century, a notable humanist patron, Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1447), had commissioned both Latin works and translations into English.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, Latin genealogies continued to be produced into the 1470s, suggesting that readership of royal genealogies in the latter half of the fifteenth-century was a mix of Latin and English proficient individuals. The first English translations in the 1460s is in line with the general trend towards the increasing use of English during this period. However, it is possible to identify a specific catalyst that triggered the English language genealogies: the dynastic interests of Edward IV. From 1461 until 1471, Edward IV reigned while his predecessor and greatest rival for the throne, Henry VI, was still alive. The risk of Henry VI seizing back the crown became reality in 1470. A few months later, Henry VI and his son, Edward of Westminster, both died, and Edward IV was restored. In 1470 and 1473, Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth, gave birth to sons, providing the king with two male heirs. During this period, Edward IV's supporters needed to emphasise the legitimacy of Edward's rule. In this political context, the vernacular genealogies may have reached a wider audience, especially for readers who otherwise may have struggled with Latin.

The accordion incorporated symbolic and practical elements of the roll and codex. The hybrid form was exceptionally well-suited to its content (royal genealogies). Extant roll genealogies highlight the symbolic importance of a roll's length in relation to the diagrammatic structure of genealogical chronicles. Furthermore, the roll was a

⁷³ Thirty years after Richardson's article, scholars have questioned how great the impact of the chancery's use of English really was, especially since Latin and French continued to be used for many roll series, including the pipe rolls in fifteenth century. Dodd's investigation of the petitions and bills suggest that it was in the 1430s, after Henry VI's minority, that the number of English documents began to overtake the French. There were more private petitions in English than French after 1436, and more Chamberlain's bills in English than French from 1438 onwards, Dodd 2011, 118–124.

⁷⁴ Petrina 2004, 155.

⁷⁵ Seventy-eight percent of the 1469 inventory of the library of the dukes of Burgundy were French, and only fifteen percent were in Latin: Wijsman 2013, 89. Cf. with the library of the dukes of Savoy in the fifteenth century, which had a fairly even division between Latin and vernacular works: Edmunds 1970, 327.

⁷⁶ Green 1980, 91. In comparison, the library of the dukes of Burgundy was exceptional for its many inventories and number of lavish manuscripts: Wijsman 2013, 94.

⁷⁷ Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1997, 17.

⁷⁸ Petrina 2007, 347.

fitting medium to display on long tables the ‘entirety’ of succession of the kings of England, without constantly having to turn the pages. However, for many other uses of genealogies, such as a tool for individual study or as a quick reference guide or as part of a book collection, the roll form was cumbersome and impractical compared to the codex. Since a codex was unable to convey the sense of continuity of a roll, the bound accordion (a folded roll-codex), was an ingenious solution to maintain the integrity of the roll. Nonetheless, the hybrid form was misunderstood by some users. Some folded edges of a ‘page’ of a bound accordion were cut open.⁷⁹ The original owners were probably keenly aware of the accordion form, but later users were sometimes confused by its uncommon construction. Although it is impossible to date when exactly the folds were cut, they show that the accordion caused confusion among those who handled them. It is reasonable to assume that a reader may have suspected that there was text hidden on the underside of an accordion page and cut it open—only to find nothing.

Conclusion

Royal genealogies are a manifestation of historiographical and genealogical interests of the late Middle Ages. For Edward IV and his supporters, acceptance of his hereditary legitimacy was crucial to establishing his claim as the rightful king of England. Genealogies were produced in various forms and formats during his first reign (1461–1470), as well as immediately after his restoration. The genealogies were part of the greater scheme of establishing Edward IV as king. The accordion combined the symbolism of the roll and the practicalities of the codex. The unique mix of text and diagram made genealogies adaptable to different forms and for different users. They were products of a period when changing needs of readers and manuscript owners affected the form in which adaptable texts, such as genealogical chronicles with diagrams, could appear. Although the fifteenth-century accordion genealogies were a short-lived phenomenon that lasted a little over a decade (c. 1461–1473), they are a testament to the significance of both the cultural and intellectual interests of their readers and owners, as well as the creativity of the scribes who adapted an existing model into a new hybrid form.

⁷⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42 is a bound accordion which has had two of its ‘folded pages’ cut open. In Oxford, St John’s College, MS 23, what used to be the fourth folio was cut open, so that its verso is now a blank recto.

Appendix

Tab. 2: The royal accordion genealogies from fifteenth-century England.

Shelfmark	Form	Dating	Language
Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35	Bound accordion	1470 or later	Latin
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R 4.3	Bound accordion	1471 or later	Latin
London, British Library, Stowe MS 73	Bound accordion, now codex	After 1461, prob. 1470	English
London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9	Bound accordion, now roll	After 1461, c. 1472–1473	Latin
London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456	Bound accordion, folds cut	1461 or later	Latin
London, College of Arms, Arundel MS 23	Bound accordion, now unbound	1470 or later	English
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170	Bound accordion, now roll	After 1461, prob. c. 1470	Latin
New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS B. 30	Bound accordion	1466 or later	English
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42	Bound accordion	1467 or later	English
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33	Bound accordion	1469 or later	English
Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17	Bound accordion	1471 or later	Latin
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207	Bound accordion	1467 or later	English
Oxford, St John's College, MS 23	Bound accordion	1473 or later	Latin
Christie's, <i>Valuable Books and Manuscripts</i> , 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot. 53	Bound accordion with fold-outs	1466 or later	Latin
Sotheby's, <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24	Bound accordion	1461 or later	Latin
Sotheby's, <i>Western and Oriental Manuscripts</i> , 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49. (London, British Library, RP 9264)	Bound accordion	1470 or later	English

Manuscripts

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales

Brogynton II.52

MS 22

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library

Dd.3.56

Add. MS 3170

Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys

MS 2244

Cambridge, Queen's College

MS 35

Cambridge, Trinity College

R.4.3

Christchurch (NZ), University of Canterbury

MS 1

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

MS NKS 1858 folio

London, British Library

Add. MS 28725

Add. MS 31950

Add. MS 17358

Harley Roll C.9

Harley Roll 7353

Lansdowne MS 456

Sloane MS 2250

Stowe MS 72

Stowe MS 73

King's MS 395

London, College of Arms

Arundel 23

Arundel 53

London, Lambeth Palace Library

MS 19

MS 1170

Manchester, John Rylands Library

MS 146

New Haven, Yale University

Marston MS 242

New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Smith Western MS 06

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

MS B.30

Oxford, All Soul's College, Codrington Library

MS 40

Oxford, Bodleian Library

MS e. Mus. 42

Lyell MS 33

Marshall MS 135 R

Oxford, Brasenose College

MS 17

Oxford, Corpus Christi College

MS 207

Oxford, St John's College

MS 23

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

MS 5112

San Marino, Huntingdon Library

HM 264

Winchester, Winchester College

13 A

Private Collection

Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53

Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24

Sotheby's, *Western and Oriental Manuscripts*, 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49 (copy found in
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