Jörg Peltzer

The Roll in England and France in the Late Middle Ages

Introductory Remarks

If a poll were carried out to establish which form of manuscript, the codex or the roll, the public associated more with the Middle Ages, the result would probably see the codex taking most votes. A monk handling a codex is a stereotypical image of and for the Middle Ages promoted by medieval evidence as much as by modern movie productions such as the film adaptation of Umberto Eco's The Name of the Rose. While this image is by no means false, it somewhat distorts the picture. Rolls were also widespread in the Middle Ages and there was hardly anything that could not be written on them. To point only to some of their uses: they served to record administrative and judicial matters, prayers, the names of deceased monks, theatre scripts, historiography or charms. There was thus a good chance that a codex-handling monk would also deal with a roll at some point in his life. Moreover, when entering a church, our monk and his contemporaries would very probably not only have seen the representation of Christ holding a book, but also of prophets holding scrolls.² Like the codex, scrolls were part of the ecclesiastical iconographic program. Symbolizing the Hebrew Scriptures, they were carved into the facades of many churches and, as a consequence, into the consciousness of the onlooker. Even if one did not use rolls, one knew about their existence.

Historians have not ignored the great variety of rolls and have always been ready to exploit their contents. They have paid much less attention, however, to the rolls themselves and the relationship between the roll and its content. It is the purpose of this volume to readdress that imbalance by looking at rolls in England and France

¹ Overviews are provided by Studt 1995; Robinson 2008; Kössinger 2015; cf. also Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015.

² Lipton 1999, 62, notes this in passing. Her main argument deals with images in the *Bible moralisée* showing Jews holding scrolls. In those cases, the scrolls did not, unlike on church facades, represent the words of God, but conveyed the message that Hebrew law was a potential menace to the Christian world, ibid., 62–66. In this particular context 'scroll' is the established scholarly term for the roll. It has therefore been kept.

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in the late Middle Ages. The theoretical framework for this work is provided by the Collaborative Research Centre 933 'Material Text Cultures' (CRC 933) at Heidelberg University. Its approach is based on the assumption that "writing, script-bearing artefacts and related practices are bound by an irrevocable mutual connection, which has a huge explanatory power for the understanding of the transmitted texts and their cultural surroundings." To investigate the nature of this "mutual connection" five closely related aspects deserve closer attention:

- 1) the materiality of the artefact. While 'material' is defined as technically applied and in most cases transformed matter (the physical substance), 'materiality' in its narrower sense is understood to refer to the culturally defined meaning of the material in general, and more specifically of the artefact made out of this material. ⁴ The material of a late medieval roll can be parchment or paper, but when, for example, an investigation is launched into the question whether it has any significance that, in the fifteenth century, the counts palatine of the Rhine copied grants made out for eternity on parchment, while grants made out for life were copied on paper, ⁵ then this deals with the materiality of the rolls. In its wider sense, materiality also refers to significance attached to the form and format of the artefact (roll) as well as to the material used to write on it.
- 2) the form and
- 3) the format of the script-bearing artefact.

The usage of both terms is not always clearly distinguished in either English, French (forme/format) or German (Form/Format) scholarship. In English, for instance, the term format can refer to both the shape of the manuscripts, i. e. whether it is a roll or a codex or a wax tablet, and the various ways in which a roll or a manuscript could be designed. It seems, however, useful to differentiate between the two in order to ensure a more precise discussion. J. Peter Gumbert proposed to use the term 'form' to discuss the shape of a manuscript and the term 'format' to refer to the shape of a particular form. In practice, this distinction is not always easily made. It is, for instance, not obvious whether an accordion or concertina roll should be considered a particular format of rolls (as their name suggests), or whether they should be considered a form of their own (in which case the term roll ought to be dropped from their name). In other words: when are the characteristics of a certain format so different from the other formats of the form that it be-

³ Online: http://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/article.php?s=2 (last accessed: 31.7.18). Regarding the approach of the CRC 933 see Meier/Ott/Sauer 2015, in particular Hilgert/Lieb 2015.

⁴ Meier/Focken/Ott 2015; Karagianni/Schwindt/Tsouparopoulou 2015.

⁵ E. g. Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv, 67/812 (*Perpetuum Friderici*) (parchment), 67/813 (*Ad vitam Friderici*) (paper).

⁶ Cf. Robinson 2008, 41, who is aware of the terminological challenges.

⁷ Gumbert 2013, 102–106, for the use of the term 'form'. I derive his definition of the term 'format' from his discussion of the term in the context of the codex, Gumbert 1993.

comes a form of its own? Such questions are challenging, but they are no reason to renounce the differentiation between form and format. If anything, they enrich the discussion on manuscripts. In what follows, I use the terms 'form' and 'format' as outlined by Gumbert.8 In relation to form and format, the obvious question is whether different shapes led to a fundamentally different presentation and understanding of the content. Did it make a significant difference, and if so which one, whether a codex or a roll was used for the same content? For instance, did it matter for the royal administration in England whether the membranes of a roll were fixed together in exchequer style (head to head on top of each other) or in chancery style (head to tail continuously)? Did it matter whether a genealogical roll followed a vertical or a horizontal format?

- 4) the layout, which refers to the presentation of the content on the artefact. To what extent were format and layout interdependent? How and to which end did the layout direct the reader's attention?
- 5) the praxeology of the artefact. A praxeological approach focuses on the situation in which the artefact is handled. Ideally, it takes a comprehensive view, considering not only the artefact itself, but also its cultural setting and the potentially changing reciprocal relationship between the artefact and its user. The investigation of how, where, when and in which contexts rolls were used, and how these contexts determine the use of the rolls, inevitably touches on their materiality. It can be argued, therefore, that praxeology is the overarching category for the previous four aspects. However, in what follows, the terms materiality and praxeology are used on the same level in order to underscore the importance of an artefact's materiality for a proper understanding of the artefact-user-relationship.

In this volume, the focus on materiality and praxeology are tested on administrative, genealogical and amulet rolls from England and France in the late Middle Ages. It should be emphasized that the questions raised by taking these perspectives are by no means new. They have always been lurking in the background of those working in the auxiliary sciences, in particular the codicologists, the diplomatists, the paleographers, and the archivists. It suffices to point to Wilhelm Wattenbach's groundbreaking Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter published in 1871 that dealt at some length with different materials and forms, ¹⁰ or to Richard Rouse's study on *Roll and Codex* in the context of Reinmar of Zweter's poems, published in 1981. Yet, despite such good

⁸ I did not use this distinction when I developed the sub-project B10 within the framework of the CRC 933, as is reflected by the sub-projects original title 'Rolls for the King: The Format of Rolls in Royal Administration and Historiography in the Late Middle Ages in Western Europe'.

⁹ On this term, see Hilgert 2014, 156-157, and the other articles in that volume; Dickmann/Elias/ Focken 2015.

¹⁰ Wattenbach 1871, esp. 34-184.

¹¹ Rouse 1982.

preconditions, the materiality and praxeology of rolls have only slowly gained prominence in historical studies. While this is not the place for a comprehensive analysis of the past study of rolls, in particular the reciprocal influences of German, French and English scholarship—a topic worthy of a research project in itself—some signposts for the historiographical development need to be given. In what follows, I focus first on administrative rolls, then on genealogical rolls and finally, on amulet rolls.

With a total of seven, articles on administrative rolls are by far the majority in this volume. They are almost equally distributed between France and England: three deal with French records and four with English rolls. The section opens with Thomas Roche's piece on the holdings of the Archives départementales de l'Eure at Évreux. Asking what actually is a roll and how an archivist can identify rolls among the records even if they are no longer rolled up, his study points to the difficulties of terminology and provides a fitting transition from the introduction to the case studies. The following two articles study rolls from French ecclesiastical institutions, Lucie Tryoen investigates a thirteenth-century roll of the cathedral church of Paris containing judicial records, while Marlène Helias-Baron examines an unfinished roll listing various properties of the Cistercian abbey Notre-Dame du Val. The contributions about English rolls mainly focus on the royal administration. Nicholas Vincent investigates the use and preservation of the royal rolls in general, challenging inter alia established views on the practicability of the rolls. Richard Cassidy looks at the functioning of the exchequer in the thirteenth century by studying the rolls behind the pipe rolls. Stefan Holz examines the communication between wardrobe and exchequer through the *onus scaccarii* rolls in the reign of Edward I. Elodie Papin, by contrast, analyses the use of rolls in the periphery of the English realm by looking at the cartulary rolls of the abbey of Margam. However, the royal administration is not absent from her paper either, as it may have influenced the choice of rolls at Margam.

These contributions represent long and rich research traditions. England in particular is renowned for the abundance of its administrative rolls. The fact that the royal administration recorded its business mainly on rolls rather than in codices led to a mass of rolls found nowhere else in late medieval Europe. Preserved in tens of thousands in the National Archives, they provide an incomparably rich and at times almost overwhelming amount of information. Historians have always been aware of their significance, but in general, they were more interested in their content than the rolls themselves. Moreover, the decision to publish editions and calendars of rolls in books obscured the way in which the texts were originally presented. Consequently, it took some time until questions concerning the relationship between form and content received closer attention. Early scholars certainly provided some valuable information on the materiality and praxeology of the rolls, such as Hubert Hall in his introduction to the pipe rolls (1884), Helen Cam in her work on the hundred rolls (1921), and

James Willard in his study of the memoranda rolls (1925). 12 But it is somewhat typical for the period that Thomas Frederick Tout only briefly described the rolls and books in his otherwise ground-breaking study of the royal administration in the late Middle Ages, published in six volumes between 1920 and 1933.¹³ In 1943, ten years after the posthumous publication of Tout's last volume, H. G. Richardson, another expert of the English royal administration, wrote an important and wide-ranging introduction to the early history of the rolls. Their purpose and, as consequence, their handling was one of his main themes. 14 Fourteen years later, J. Conway Davies, described in great detail the memoranda rolls¹⁵, but it took another two decades until Michael Clanchy addressed the question of materiality and the relationship between form and content in a wider historical context. In his seminal *From Memory to Written Record*, published for the first time in 1979, he devoted chapters to "The Technology of writing" and "The preservation and use of documents". 16 A brief discussion of various layouts and formats¹⁷ is followed by an attempt to explain the differences between roll and codex, and why the roll became so popular in England. He took a praxeological perspective, pointing to practical advantages (easy to add another membrane) and disadvantages of the roll (potentially cumbersome to consult; see Nicholas Vincent's observations in this volume). Materiality came into play when Clanchy referred to different associations evoked by the forms. In a biblical context, the codex was mainly linked to Christ and the New Testament. By contrast, the roll was principally associated with the Old Testament, the old law.¹⁸ Yet, in the end of his investigation he concluded that "it remains largely a mystery" why the English administration opted for the rolls rather than the codex. 19 The materials themselves received closer attention in the second edition of the book, published in 1993, when a section on "Wax, Parchment, and Wood" was added to the chapter on "Technology of Writing". 20 The question of whether specific values and perceptions were attached to certain materials—something Clanchy had applied to their form—was, however, not pursued in depth.

From Memory to Written Record did not immediately change the research agenda among medievalists working on English administrative rolls. In the first decade after its publication, comparatively few studies were undertaken on the nature of the rolls, such as Mark Ormrod's study on the protecolla rolls of Edward III (1987), Sandra Raban's work on the hundred rolls of 1279-1280, and R. F. Hunnisett's analysis of the

¹² Hall 1884; Cam 1921; Willard 1925.

¹³ Tout 1920-1933, vol. 1, 46-47.

¹⁴ Richardson 1943, xi-lix.

¹⁵ Davies 1957.

¹⁶ References are made to the third edition: Clanchy 2013³, 116-146 ("The technology of writing"), 147–186 ("The preservation and use of documents").

¹⁷ Clanchy 2013³, 134–137.

¹⁸ Clanchy 20133, 137-146.

¹⁹ Clanchy 20133, 142.

²⁰ Clanchy 2013³, xi.

plea rolls (1988).²¹ Hunnisett himself had a long standing interest in the matter dating back three decades. In the mid-seventies he had published an article on rolls and files among the English chancery records and in 1959 an important series of articles on the coroners' rolls.²² It took until the 1990s for Clanchy's book to gain wider currency. Its second edition in 1993 was sold out within a few months²³ and slowly the history of the rolls themselves rather than their content began to receive greater attention by English scholars. The introductions to the editions of the receipt and issue rolls of 1241–1242 by Robert Stacey in 1992, of the fine rolls by the editorial team led David Carpenter between 2005 and 2011, of the pipe roll of 1130 by Judith Green and of the wardrobe accounts of Henry III by Benjamin Wild, both in 2012, as well as studies by, for instance, Nicholas Vincent, David Carpenter, Mark Hagger, Richard Cassidy, and Paul Dryburgh have been reshaping our understanding of the royal rolls in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the past three decades.²⁴ When dealing with the question 'why rolls?' the field of enquiry was not just confined to the political circumstances, but it also encompassed material and praxeological aspects. Nicholas Vincent, for example, pointed out that for an itinerant king, rolls were more practical to transport than codices; due to their lack of binding, rolls were lighter than books.²⁵

Yet, the most extensive analysis of the materiality and praxeology of English royal rolls in the twelfth century was not carried out in England, but in Germany. In 2014, Ulla Kypta published her doctoral thesis on the formation of the exchequer. ²⁶ Her approach was not shaped by the traditional training of English medievalists, but by a research project at the University of Frankfurt focusing on semantics.²⁷ This lead to a detailed examination not only of the language deployed by the scribes, but also of their writing process. Routine, as already pointed out by Clanchy, 28 was a major factor in the spread of the rolls and the continuation of their production.

²¹ Ormrod 1987; Raban 1988; cf. Raban 1997, 2004; Hunnisett 1988, 109-114.

²² Hunnisett 1959, 95–124, 205–221, 324–359; Hunnisett 1975, 158–168.

²³ Clanchy 2013³, 341.

²⁴ The course of the early history of the rolls remains disputed. While Nicholas Vincent considers 1199 a decisive turning point in the history of the chancery rolls, David Carpenter argues for a greater continuity from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries. The following editions and articles are listed according to the date of their publication: Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241-2, ed. Stacey; Vincent 1994; Carpenter 2004; Vincent 2004; Carpenter 2007, 2009; Hagger 2009; Vincent 2009; Dryburgh/Hartland 2009; https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/ information/project_info.html (last accessed: 31.7.18); Cassidy 2012; Dryburgh 2015; The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I (Michaelmas 1130), ed. Green; The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III, ed. Wild; Vincent 2017. For developments in Angevin Normandy, see Power 2010, esp. 346-354.

²⁵ Vincent 2004, 42.

²⁶ Kypta 2014; cf. Kypta 2015.

²⁷ Online: http://www.geschichte.uni-frankfurt.de/46281173/politischesprache (last accessed: 31.7.18).

²⁸ Clanchy 2013³, 143.

Kypta's investigation was not the first German attempt in recent years to understand the pipe rolls. In his doctoral thesis, published in 2002, Udo Göllmann looked at them in some detail to analyse the fiscal relationship between king and aristocracy in Angevin England. Overall, however, he was more interested in the content of the rolls than their form. His research originated in the CRC 231 on pragmatic literacy, which ran at the University of Münster between 1986 and 1999. The CRC 231 represents the first major shift towards questions of materiality and praxeology in German scholarship. Similar to Clanchy, whose work was duly acknowledged in the original research program, the CRC was looking for the usage of the written word and the functions of writing within society from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.²⁹ It is therefore no surprise to see that a rich survey on the various usages of rolls was published by a member of the CRC, Birgit Studt, in 1995. She focused in particular on rolls containing literary texts.³⁰ Yet, administrative rolls played only a secondary role in the multi-faceted and very rich research program of the CRC and when, finally, the administrative rolls came into the CRC's focus, it is telling that this happened in the context of their most prominent producer, the English royal administration.³¹ Only very recently, rolls used in medieval Germany received greater scholarly attention. The Germanist Norbert Kössinger examined rolls written in German and Middle Dutch.³² He was also the first to look at rolls in the context of the Heidelberg CRC providing a survey on various formats and usages of rolls.³³ Historians followed suit in 2016, when Maria Pia Alberzoni, Jochen Johrendt and Étienne Doublier organized a conference on the usages of the rotulus. Its programme included the obligatory paper on England, but otherwise focused on rolls from medieval Germany and Italy.³⁴ Its proceedings and the present volume will hopefully serve as useful accounts of current research and thus be helpful for future research on rolls across Europe.

In France, the study of administrative records has a very long and distinguished tradition and is, in the form of the École des chartes or the Institut de recherche et d'histoire de textes (IRHT), even institutionalized. Even though they existed in substantial numbers, administrative rolls were not as prominent in France as in England. The royal chancery, for example, preferred the codex to the roll. Research followed a

²⁹ Träger, Felder, Formen 1988, 395, no. 19.

³⁰ Studt 1995.

³¹ The secondary role of administrative rolls in the CRC's research program cannot be explained with a lack of rolls in German archives. As early as 1964, the archivist Alfons Schäfer, for example, published his study of rotuli as precursors of urbaria in codex form in South-Western Germany, Schäfer 1964.

³² This is the subject of his habilitation thesis, completed at Vienna in 2013. Its publication is forth-

³³ Kössinger 2014. The conference, held in 2010, was part of research activities preparing the CRC 933. The CRC started its work in 2011. The CRC also produced a transcultural and transdisciplinary overview on rolls Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015.

³⁴ Conference report: Cappuccio/Spillmann 2016.

similar pattern: it focused much more on codices than rolls. In so doing French scholarship followed its own traditions and engaged comparatively late with the questions put forward by Clanchy or by the CRC at Münster. When in 1992, under the supervision of Robert-Henri Bautier, John W. Baldwin, an American by birth but a Parisian by choice, in collaboration with Françoise Gasparri, Michel Nortier and Elisabeth Lalou, edited the registers of Philip Augustus, they rearranged the material to present it in a thematically more coherent way.³⁵ As a consequence, readers interested in how the chancery organized its material would need scissors, glue and a good deal of patience to recreate the original order in which documents were arranged. When nine years later, in 2001, Pierre Chastang published his fine study of the cartularies of the Bas-Languedoc, he referred to Michael Clanchy's work, but took no notice of research that had been undertaken at the CRC at Münster.³⁶ However, in 2008, he published his important article on L'archéologie du texte médiéval, in which he included the CRC in his survey of approaches to the study of medieval literacy.³⁷ Today, Clanchy's studies and the Münsteranian works are acknowledged in francophone scholarship on pragmatic literacy. But perhaps it is no surprise that one of its leading protagonists, Paul Bertrand, has not a French but a Belgian educational background. Situated right between the French, German and English research traditions, it is no surprise to see them acknowledged in his most recent book Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (1250–1350). Tellingly, Michael Clanchy prefaced it and even though Bertrand is not primarily focusing on the relationship between the artefact and its text, he is well aware of the interdependence of artefact, writing and use when discussing the size of cartularies or the layout of the page. 38 Within France it is indicative of the rising interest in the relationship between form and content that, in 2005, Elisabeth Lalou asked in the context of French and English accounting practices, why in England the roll was preferred to the codex. Like Clanchy many years earlier, she could not, however, identify any obvious practical reasons.³⁹

In contrast to administrative rolls, genealogical rolls have received comparatively little attention by scholars. While the investigation of royal records has been a backbone of modern national historiographies, the examination of royal genealogies has been much less so. Consequently, it is a small, but an international field of research. In this volume, it is represented by Marigold Anne Norbye's piece on the rolls and codices containing the French royal genealogy A tous nobles and Maree Shirota's work on accordion genealogies of English kings in the fifteenth century. Research on genealogical rolls goes back a long time, but it is only in the last four decades that it

³⁵ Les registres de Philippe Auguste, ed. Baldwin.

³⁶ Chastang 2001.

³⁷ Chastang 2008.

³⁸ Bertrand 2015, 130-173.

³⁹ Lalou 2006.

has gained some momentum. As early as 1872, Thomas Wright published the texts of a small number of English genealogical rolls. 40 Concurrent with the contemporary interest on chronicles and their serial editions in the Rolls Series, Wright focused on the text, while the rolls themselves received hardly any attention. Subsequently the English genealogical rolls went almost into oblivion for a hundred years. Except for an article by Sidney Anglo in the early 1960s, 41 it was only from the 1980s onwards that they slowly began to attract greater attention. In 1980, Charles Ross reprinted the 1859 edition of the Rous Roll by William Pickering, which contains the genealogical roll of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick.⁴² One year later, William Monroe briefly touched on two royal genealogies preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 43 Again a year later in 1982, Alison Allan finished her unpublished doctoral thesis on Yorkist propaganda in the fifteenth century, which also dealt with rolls produced in that period. 44 In the 1990s, Diana Tyson began to publish her findings on rolls containing the prose chronicle Brut, 45 and in 2005 Alixe Bovey published a richly illustrated analysis of the Chaworth Roll. 46 The major transformation of the subject was, however, achieved in the new millennium by the French scholar Olivier de Laborderie, who provided the first detailed monographic analysis of the English genealogical rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Completed as a doctoral thesis in 2002, the book was published in 2013.47 He looked at the content and form of the rolls, trying to understand why the genealogies were compiled on rolls. He is hesitant to attribute this to specific material, intellectual or symbolic reasons, but advances the idea that, in England, due to the practices of the royal administration, the form of the roll was strongly associated with royal authority. 48 In other words, the roll was the royal form and thus it was only natural for royal genealogies to be presented on rolls. It is indicative for a general trend that de Laborderie was not the only one to turn towards genealogical rolls. In 2012, Don Skemer published his study of Richard Bury's Roll, 49 and two years later Laura Cleaver produced her work on Anglo-Norman rolls from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁰ Most recently Jaclyn Rajsic and Maree Shirota have started publishing their findings on genealogical rolls from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries.⁵¹ The work

⁴⁰ Wright 1872.

⁴¹ Anglo 1961-1962.

⁴² The Rous Roll, ed. Ross.

⁴³ Monroe 1981.

⁴⁴ Cf. Allan 1979, 1982. I owe this reference to Maree Shirota.

⁴⁵ Tyson 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001.

⁴⁶ Bovey 2005.

⁴⁷ Laborderie 2013.

⁴⁸ Laborderie 2013b, 47-79, esp. 79. His numerous other publications on the subject include Laborderie 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013a, 2014, 2017.

⁴⁹ Skemer 2012.

⁵⁰ Cleaver 2014.

⁵¹ Rajsic 2016, 2017; Shirota 2015.

on the Canterbury Roll, a fifteenth-century manuscript preserved today at the University of Canterbury at Christchurch, New Zealand, is also a good example of how to take advantage of digital editions. While in 1999 a transcription and translation of the Scroll Considerans, preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford, was still published in the form of a book, 52 the online-edition of the Canterbury Roll, achieved by a team led by Chris Jones, makes full use of the opportunities of the digital age. Among other things, the user is able to virtually to scroll the roll up and down.⁵³

Like the English rolls, genealogical rolls dealing with French kings have received greater attention since the 1980s. In a groundbreaking article on late medieval historiographical rolls in general Gert Melville also discussed French rolls. He emphasized the need to take the form and the layout of the rolls into account when interpreting their use and message.⁵⁴ Marigold Anne Norbye has further payed the way for the investigation of French genealogical rolls by studying in detail the text *A tous nobles*, which was written on rolls as well as on codices. Going beyond the mere examination of the text, she also looked at form, layout and content to show that their choice was by no means accidental, but depended on the respective audience.⁵⁵ Compared to the English and French rolls, German genealogies in roll form are little studied. Jean-Marie Moeglin and Birgit Studt have investigated the fifteenth-century rolls of the Wittelsbach dukes of Bayaria. It fits the overall picture, that Moeglin published his work in 1985, while Studt published hers in 1995 within the framework of the Münsteranian CRC.⁵⁶ Moeglin's groundbreaking work on the Bavarian rolls is a further indicator for the absence of national schools looking at the genealogical rolls of 'their kingdom'.

Moving from regnal histories to accounts of universal history on rolls (even though the two types should not be seen as absolutely distinct as a regnal history could be developed out of a universal history),⁵⁷ it is hardly surprising to see that the research on them has taken similar developments. The rolls containing Peter of Poitiers' Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi were discussed as early as the 1930s by Hans Vollmer and Philip Moore, ⁵⁸ but their studies have only been followed up with greater

⁵² The Scroll Considerans (Madgalen MS 248), ed. Brown.

⁵³ Online: The Canterbury Roll, eds. Jones et al. The edition was published online in 2013. See also the digitization of a genealogical roll preserved at Penn and published in 2012: http://sceti.library.upenn. edu/msroll1066/membrane1.cfm (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS 1066). In this case, however, the roll is not scrollable.

⁵⁴ Melville 1987a; cf. also Melville 1987b.

⁵⁵ Norbye 2007b. See also her other publications on A tous noble: Norbye 2007a, 2008a; and French genealogies in general: Norbye 2008b, 2014, 2015.

⁵⁶ Moeglin 1985, 166–171; Studt 1995, 342–348.

⁵⁷ See, for example, the Hungarian continuation of the universal chronicle of John of Utino, cf. Vizkelety 1988.

⁵⁸ Vollmer 1931; Moore 1936, 97–117, who, however, does not discuss their form.

vigour since the 1980s.⁵⁹ Among these more recent works, Gert Melville's and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's took a closer look at the form of the roll and the layout. 60 The investigation of the universal chronicles, which often contained the Compendium, followed a similar pattern. Surveying the evidence François Fossier laid the foundations for their study in an article published in 1980–1981. 61 Nathalie Hurel followed this up by pointing to their value for the examination of religious iconography. ⁶² In 2014, Lisa Fagin Davis published the first comprehensive analysis and edition of such a chronicle, La Chronique Anonyme Universelle, dating from the fifteenth century. 63 Like the editors of the Canterbury Roll, she was careful to provide a digital edition, so that the character of the roll was not transformed beyond recognition. Further insights into the layout of the universal chronicles and how they visualized history is to be expected from Andrea Worm's forthcoming habilitation thesis. Looking at rolls and codices alike her work might also inform us how the different forms shaped the use of graphic models to explain the world order.⁶⁴

Administrative and genealogical rolls served to support a lord, often a king in the exercise of lordship and kingship. Amulet rolls, as discussed by Katherine Storm Hindley in this volume, have a different purpose. They protect the individual against misfortune. Surviving in greater numbers from the late Middle Ages, amulet rolls have been noted by scholarship for a long time, 65 but again it was in the 1980s that Franco Cardini made the case that in order to understand them, one cannot only look at the texts, but also at the artefact. ⁶⁶ By pointing to its material, its form, its layout and its use (from the making to the keeping), he was already formulating key questions of this volume.⁶⁷ Unsurprisingly, he wrote his paper in an issue of the journal *La ricerca* folklorica dedicated to La scrittura: funzioni e ideologie. Cardini's important reminders were not lost on Don Skemer, who, in 2006, published the first monograph on the subject and provided detailed descriptions of the physical appearance of the rolls and their various usages. 68 How fruitful it is to look at the format of rolls to get a better understanding of their purpose was recently shown by Mary Edsall. Investigating rolls containing the poem 'O Vernicle' devoted to the arma Christi, she convincingly argued that due to their narrow format a good number of these rolls could not only be used

⁵⁹ Cf. Hilbert 1985; Panayotova 2001; Worm 2012; and following note.

⁶⁰ Melville 1987a, 68–76; Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 121–137.

⁶¹ Fossier 1980–1981.

⁶² Hurel 1994.

⁶³ La Chronique Anonyme Universelle, ed. Davies.

⁶⁴ Worm, forthcoming.

⁶⁵ See for example Bühler 1964, with information on earlier literature.

⁶⁶ Cardini 1982.

⁶⁷ Cardini 1982, 64.

⁶⁸ Skemer 2006, esp. 235–278, for which see also his Skemer 2001. See also his recent overview, provided in the context of the Heidelberg CRC 933, Skemer 2014.

for prayer, but also as amulets. ⁶⁹ Building on Edsall's findings, Hindley continues the discussion of narrow and long amulet rolls in this volume.

Seven articles on administrative rolls, two on genealogical rolls and one on amulet rolls: this unequal distribution across the wide range of rolls is ultimately the result of the call for papers for the conference The Roll in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages, held at Heidelberg, 28-29 September 2017, which forms the background of this volume. Out of twenty serious proposals, thirteen dealt with administrative rolls, three with historiographical rolls and the remaining four with various other types of rolls from across Europe. 70 At the conference, nine papers were delivered on administrative rolls, three on genealogical rolls and one on amulet rolls. ⁷¹ While preparing the conference proceedings for publication, the decision was made not to even out this imbalance by recruiting further contributions, but to let it stand as a snapshot (with all its biases) of current research tendencies. This runs the risk of degrading the work on genealogical rolls and amulet rolls to a kind of coda to the alleged core of the volume. This, it must be emphasized, is not intended. On the contrary, it is hoped that they point to the existence of rolls outside the administrative context and thus stimulate further research.

The authors were invited to pursue the questions outlined above and to work with the terminology of the CRC. The decision, however, to do so was left with them. This approach serves two purposes. First, the aim is to further raise the awareness of those questions in the field, to point to the analytical opportunities offered by taking the materiality and praxeology of rolls (and written artefacts in general) into account. The second goal is to foster the discussion of the terms and the concepts attached to them. They should not be taken for granted. Large collaborative research enterprises such as a CRC face the inherent danger of self-referentiality. It is therefore particularly important to put their core ideas to the test of the international research community without imposing them. It was also against this background that Maree Shirota, Stefan Holz and I asked Jean-Marie Moeglin to provide the concluding remarks to the conference and subsequently to this volume. Familiar with the theme and the CRC 933 'Material Text Cultures', while at the same time not a member of the CRC, he is ideally suited for this challenging task. In addition to the ten articles, his conclusion offers further thoughts on at least some of the terms and concepts of the CRC 933.

⁶⁹ Edsall 2014; cf. Cooper/Brown 2014.

⁷⁰ This excludes the contributions by Stefan Holz (administrative rolls) and Maree Shirota (genealogical rolls).

⁷¹ Conference report: Blickle et al. 2017.

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