

ENGAGING THE MANUSCRIPT:
NEW EDITIONS AND READING THE 'WHOLE BOOK' IN
CHETHAM'S LIBRARY MS 8009

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‘The medieval literature I had been studying till then—the medieval literature based on “texts” and an established canon of authors—was not the same medieval literature I encountered in the manuscripts.’

John Dagenais,
*The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture:
Glossing the Libro de buen amor*

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the intersection of the manuscript and its literature through an examination of the late fifteenth century manuscript, Chetham's Library 8009 (Mun. A.6.31) and provides four diplomatic editions. This manuscript contains fourteen texts in Middle English including romance, hagiography, courtesy literature, and a comic text. This thesis argues for the importance of reading medieval literature in its manuscript context. Although there is a growing trend to consider the 'whole book' and integrate analysis of the material artefact with interpretation, much work remains to be done.

In Part I, this thesis presents a new paradigm for reading medieval literature, and argues that the manuscript forms a very literal community of texts, and that each text acts as a co-creator of meaning with the others. It then demonstrates four brief contextual readings that may be made within Chetham 8009 across generic boundaries, and that produce a shift in interpretive focus .

Part II provides four diplomatic editions from Chetham 8009: the *Life of St Katherine*, the *Liber Catonis*, John Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture*, and the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*.

This thesis aims to contribute to the study of medieval literature by arguing for a methodological shift in the way the literature is approached and by providing access to four texts either previously unedited or not easily accessible.

ABBREVIATIONS

EETS ES	Early English Text Society, Extra Series
EETS OS	Early English Text Society, Original Series
EETS SS	Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series
IMEP	Index of Middle English Prose
IMEV	Index of Middle English Verse
MED	Middle English Dictionary, online
AND	Anglo-Norman Dictionary, online

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: CHETHAM 8009 & THE ‘WHOLE BOOK’

1.1.1 PURPOSE OF THESIS

The manuscript is the single most important physical artefact of medieval reading and is our starting point for accessing and understanding medieval literature. This thesis takes as its focus Manchester, Chetham’s Library MS 8009 (Mun. A.6.31) in order to explore how we amplify our engagement with the manuscript, particularly focusing on how, methodologically, we read the ‘whole book’, and how we interpret its literature within the boundaries of its manuscript covers. Rather than considering the boundaries of the single manuscript as a limiting factor in its literature’s interpretation, it instead becomes viewed as its own site of possible interpretations. Cross-generic, thematic, and often unexpected readings may be made within the literal community of texts in the manuscript.

It was out of the examination of Chetham 8009 that the argument for this thesis developed. From analysing the fourteen different Middle English texts and seeing interesting connections between them, the idea of reading the manuscript and asking what one particular ‘whole book’ says emerged as an obvious and valid question. What happens when we read the whole manuscript? And, with previous calls to read the manuscript, why do we not readily practise this? John Dagenais reflects that ‘the medieval literature I had been studying till then—the medieval literature based on “texts” and an established canon of authors—was not the same

medieval literature I encountered in the manuscripts.’¹ The literature within a single manuscript such as Chetham 8009 provides a set of dynamic textual voices, each potentially providing commentary on themes or social and cultural concerns raised in the others. This cluster, and sometimes cacophony, of textual voices remain muted when we pull a single text from its manuscript context.

In Chetham 8009, cross-textual reading within the manuscript gives different perspectives to well studied texts, while bringing other more obscure, yet fascinating texts into the foreground. However, almost immediately I encountered various challenges to reading the ‘whole book’. The most immediate ‘problem’ was being able to read the texts. While I had a microfilm copy of Chetham 8009 and several editions, primarily of romance, at my fingertips, other texts were either difficult to locate or were simply not edited. My first task then became transcribing those unedited texts so that I could begin reading and interpreting them.

In order to engage in reading the manuscript in a practical way and in order to demonstrate employing new methods of interpretation within the manuscript context, this thesis is divided into two parts. The first part initially introduces the manuscript on which this thesis focuses and briefly reviews the previous scholarship that has examined in various ways the ‘whole book’. It then continues the argument for reading the whole manuscript and specifically introduces a new approach for undertaking that reading. Finally, it demonstrates a few examples of how that kind of reading produces new interpretations within the framework of Chetham 8009. Each of these explores a theme that, perhaps unexpectedly, emerges out of reading two or more texts that may not necessarily ‘normally’ be read together.

¹ John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. xvi.

The second part of the thesis provides four diplomatic editions of Chetham 8009 texts: the *Life of Saint Katherine*, the *Liber Catonis*, John Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture*, and the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*. Preceding these editions is a note on my editorial procedures, both the general principles that governed the editions, as well as comments for the individual texts. By providing these four diplomatic editions, I hope to provide access to this group of texts which were not previously available or easily accessible. With these editions, in combination with the published editions of the other Chetham 8009 texts, I hope to provide a way for my reader to engage with the manuscript and to read 'across' its texts. This thesis aims to provide one way of thinking about reading a rich variety of texts within a single manuscript.

1.1.2 THE MANUSCRIPT

Physical Makeup: Paper, Size, Decoration, Binding

Physically, Chetham's Library MS 8009 is a manuscript that measures 267mm by 190mm.² It is written entirely on paper and has at some stage been cropped. The

² Descriptions of the manuscript have been made in the following: *Bibliotheca Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecae Publicae Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham Armigero Fundatae Catalogi*, vol. 3, ed. William Parr Greswell (Manchester: J. Harrop, etc., 1826), pp. 167-70; James O. Halliwell, *An Account of the European Manuscripts in the Chetham Library, Manchester* (Manchester: Simms and Dinham, 1842), pp. 16-17; *Bibliotheca Chethamensis*, vol. 4, ed. Thomas Jones (Manchester: J. Harrop, etc., 1862), pp. 445-47; Eugen Kölbing, 'Vier Romanzen-Handschriften,' *Englische Studien* 7 (1884), 195-201; Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), pp. 238-40; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 361-64; *Ipomadon*, Rhiannon Purdie, ed., EETS OS 316 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. xviii-xxiii; Jordi Sánchez-Martí, 'Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 8009 (MUN. A.6.31): A Codicological Description', *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 47 (2003), 129-54. For texts and editions see: Richard Hamer, *A Manuscript Index to the 'Index of Middle English Verse'* (London: The British Library, 1995), p. 39;

manuscript was very tightly rebound in 1921. It is made up of 372 leaves plus three flyleaves at each end and is composed of twelve booklets. Each booklet contains a single text with the exception of the sixth booklet in which the romance *Torrent of Portyngale* and two devotional texts are written.

While there is no continuous programme of decoration, several titles within the manuscript are adorned with dog-toothing, strap-work, or other decorative flourishes. Blue and red ink are used infrequently in the manuscript, and occasionally the capital letters at the beginning of a text are embellished with a rose, a chevron design, or, in the case of *Ipomadon*, a face. The fifth item in the manuscript, the *Liber Catonis*, contains rubricated Latin headings that visually distinguish subsections of the text.

Production: Provenance, Scribes, Booklets and Manuscript Cohesion

The provenance of Chetham 8009 is unknown. The history of the manuscript is undocumented prior to being sold as part of John Monro's library by Leigh and Sotheby in 1792.³ The manuscript was purchased for Chetham's Library in 1798 in the sale of the *Bibliotheca Farmeriana* along with four seventeenth-century manuscripts also from the collection of Richard Farmer.⁴ No record of the original binding remains. While the early part of Chetham 8009's history is opaque, the codicological evidence suggests a late fifteenth-century production, especially identified by the fifteenth-century hands and paper stocks used.

Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: The British Library, 2005); and G. A. Lester, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester, Index of Middle English Prose*, II (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 86-89.

³ Sánchez-Martí, 'A Codicological Description', pp. 130-31.

⁴ I am grateful to Joel Swann, based at the Chetham's Library, for sharing with me his current PhD research on the provenance of the Farmer Manuscripts of the Chetham's Library.

Scholars who have previously analysed the codicology of Chetham 8009, specifically Gisela Guddat-Figge, N. R. Ker, Carol M. Meale, and Jordi Sánchez-Martí, have each come up with a different conclusion as to the number of hands at work in the manuscript, and which hands are attributed to different texts. Guddat-Figge notes that there are ‘probably 10 scribes’ but does not go into detail identifying each hand.⁵ Ker identifies nine hands, while Meale identifies eleven. Sánchez-Martí, who has provided the most recent analysis of the manuscript’s codicology in his article, ‘Manchester, Chetham’s Library MS 8009 (Mun. A.6.31): A Codicological Description’, identifies ten scribes. Sánchez-Martí provides a thorough and convincing analysis of the Chetham hands and reviews the previous analysis of Guddat-Figge, Ker, and Meale. In addition to examining and describing each of the watermarks and paper-stocks used in the manuscript, he provides descriptions of each hand, noting identifying specific features and provides supporting visual evidence. I agree almost wholly with Sánchez-Martí’s revised assessment of the Chetham hands. In particular, I concur with his agreement with Meale that the *Book of Carving and Nurture* was copied by a different hand than that of Scribe 5, as Ker had initially suggested. And, although I understand Meale’s view that there were two hands present in the *Annals of London*, due to the varied nature of the writing, after careful evaluation of the letter forms, I agree with Sánchez-Martí’s assessment that there is a single hand present in the text, even if its sloppy and neater versions have caused confusion.

My only adjustment to Sánchez-Martí’s assessment is in regards to *Torrent of Portyngale*. The change from Scribe 7 to Scribe 5 happens, not on f. 93r as he

⁵ Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 238.

suggests, but rather in the eighth line of f. 94r, or at l. 1056 in the E. Adam edition.⁶ I have reached this conclusion by examining and matching the differences in the upper case t's and h's of the two scribes, as well as the bottom of the column flourishes that are present with Scribe 7's work, but not with Scribe 5's. Additionally, the initial 'm' in l. 1056 on f. 94r matches the initial 'm' of Scribe 5 in l. 1301 on f. 97v, and does not match the initial 'm's of Scribe 7 in ll. 901 and 918 on f. 91v.

To clarify the organisation and composition of the manuscript, I have included Sánchez-Martí's table, which I have slightly modified. The following table lists the booklets, quires, folios, hands, watermarks and texts that make up Chetham 8009.

Booklet	Quires	Folios	Hand	Water-mark	Text
I	1	ff. 1r -2v	1	--	<i>Life of Saint Dorothy</i>
II	2	ff. 3r -17v	2 (ff. 3r-3v) 3 (ff. 4r-17v)	a	<i>Assumptio Sancte Marie</i>
III	3	ff. 18r -29v	4	b	<i>Life of Saint Anne</i>
IV	4-5	ff. 30r -47r	5	c	<i>Life of Saint Katherine</i>
V	6-8	ff. 48r -75r	6	d	<i>Liber Catonis</i>
VI	9-11	ff. 76r -119v	7 (ff. 76r -94r) 5 (ff. 94r-119v)	b, c	<i>Torrent of Portyngale</i>
VI		ff. 119v -121r	5	c	<i>Lamentation of our Lady</i>
VI		ff. 121r -121v	5	--	<i>Prayer of our Lady</i>
VII	12-16	ff. 122r -190v	5	c, e	<i>Bevis of Hamtoun</i>
VIII	17-27	ff. 191r -335r	5	f, c	<i>Ipomadon</i>
IX	28	ff. 336r -355v	8	c	<i>Book of Carving and Nurture</i>
X	29	ff. 357r -366v	5	g, h	<i>Book of the Duke & Emperor</i>
XI	30	ff. 367v -368v	9	h	<i>Annals of London</i>
XII	31	ff. 370r -372r	10	i	<i>Ballad of a Tyrannical Husband</i>

Figure 1: Table of Chetham 8009: Booklet Structure & Contents

⁶ *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. E. Adam, EETS ES 51 (London: N. Trübner, 1887; reprinted, 1973). Rhiannon Purdie suggests that Scribe 7 copies ll. 1-1049 of *Torrent*, therefore ending at the bottom of f. 93v, rather than at the top of 94r, as I have suggested. However, based on the evidence above, I maintain that Scribe 5 begins at l. 1056, eight lines into f. 94r. Adam has switched ll. 1056 and 1057 from their original positions in the manuscript; originally 'Yt ys solas Euyr a-mong' precedes 'Mo than thre hunderd on a throng'. Purdie, *Ipomadon*, pp. xlviiii – xlix.

Although a definitive timeline for the manuscript is not known and the fourteen texts of Chetham 8009 are diverse in genre, scribal hand, and decoration, each represents a fifteenth-century production and many of the twelve booklets were arguably the ‘product of the same workshop’.⁷ Chetham 8009 exhibits a codicological, scribal cohesion at its core which would suggest that the manuscript was assembled contemporaneously. Significantly, Scribe 5, or the ‘principal scribe’ of Chetham 8009 was involved with five of the twelve booklets. He copied the *Life of St Katherine*, part of *Torrent of Portyngale*, the *Lamentation of our Lady*, the *Prayer of our Lady*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Ipomadon*, and the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*, with *Torrent*, the *Lamentation*, and the *Prayer* all part of the same booklet. Additionally, the *Life of St Anne*, the *Book of Carving and Nurture*, and the *Annals of London* share the same paper stocks as three of the texts copied by Scribe 5, rendering them implicitly connected to the core texts of the manuscript. The *Liber Catonis*, although on a paper stock slightly earlier and different than the rest, could have been chosen some time after its production and included as part of the core of the manuscript, and is currently positioned between two Scribe 5 texts.⁸ Meale

⁷ Carol M. Meale, ‘The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*: a Late Medieval ‘Mirror’ for Princes and Merchants’, in *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984), pp. 136-79 (p. 143). For further information on the booklet structure within Chetham 8009, see Sánchez-Martí, ‘A Codicological Description’, pp. 142-43. Sánchez-Martí asserts that Chetham 8009 is composed of several fascicles, also known as ‘booklets’, and argues that several inscriptions of Roman numerals found in the manuscript indicate an early booklet numbering system in Chetham 8009; however, since the booklet numbers no longer logically correspond to the present order, the numbers demonstrate subsequent additions to the manuscript. For further reading on booklets in medieval manuscripts, see Pamela Robinson, ‘The “Booklet”: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts’, *Codicologica* 5 (1980), 46-69; Ralph Hanna III, ‘Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations’, in *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 21-34; Ralph Hanna III, ‘Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England’, in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 37-68, see p. 39 and Appendix A; Laura Hibbard Loomis, ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340’, in *Adventures in the Middle Ages: A Memorial Collection of Essays and Studies by Laura Hibbard Loomis* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1962).

⁸ See Sánchez-Martí, ‘A Codicological Description’, p. 148, and Carol M. Meale, ‘The Social and Literary Contexts of a Late Medieval Manuscript: A Study of British Library MS Harley 2252 and its Owner, John Colyns’, two volumes, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York,

argues that the cleanness of the conjoint leaves of *Ipomadon*, Russell's *Book*, and the *Duke and Emperor* indicates that they were 'bound or kept together soon after being copied', and sees a 'deliberation behind the arrangement both of the available material and of those items which were added to the core of booklets apparently obtained from the same place.'⁹ Chetham 8009 presents a collection of texts that demonstrates both a physical and thematic cohesion.

Texts

As seen in the above table, the first four texts of Chetham 8009 are hagiographic narratives: the *Life of Saint Dorothy*, the *Life of Saint Katherine*, the *Assumptio Sancte Marie*, and the *Life of Saint Anne*. The first two are popular virgin martyr legends, while the *Assumptio* and the *Life of Saint Anne* provide accounts of the beginning and ending of the life of the Virgin Mary. Multiple versions of Dorothy's *Life* survive, however the Chetham version is extant in three manuscripts.¹⁰

1984, p. 300. The *Liber Catonis* could have been an earlier composition, acquired in a different location than the other texts, or as Meale points, it could have been copied much later than the time of paper production.

⁹ Meale, 'The Social and Literary Contexts of a Late Medieval Manuscript', pp. 314-15. The discussion of Chetham 8009 spans pp. 296-316. Robinson notes that 'soiled or rubbed' outer leaves suggest that 'the "booklet" circulated independently for some time before being bound up with others', Robinson, 'The "Booklet"', p. 48. See also Sánchez-Martí, 'The Scribe as Entrepreneur in Chetham's Library MS 8009', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 85 (2003), 13-22 for a discussion of the central role played by Scribe 5 in the compilation of the manuscript, as an 'overwhelming presence as a fundamental agent of the transcription of the texts', p. 17. Additionally Meale suggests that the principal scribe of Chetham 8009 possibly appears in other London manuscripts, such as London, British Library MSS Cotton Vitellius E. x, Additional 40673, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS Bühler 5. See Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 201-38 (p. 227).

¹⁰ C. Horstman, ed., 'Prosalegenden' *Anglia* 3 (1880), 325-28. This edition is based on London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 432. This version of *Dorothy* is extant in Chetham 8009, Lambeth 432, and London, British Library MS Royal 2.A.xviii. Görlach attributes the Chetham version of *Dorothy* to a fifteenth-century translation of the *Legenda Aurea*. See Manfred Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1998), and also Manfred Görlach, *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*, Braunschweiger anglistische Arbeiten 3

Katherine was *the* celebrity virgin martyr of the later medieval period, and her *Life* appears in many versions with permutations emerging in both verse and prose.¹¹ The Chetham prose *Katherine* incorporates her early life, education and conversion, passion, and martyrdom. Additionally, between her early life and passion, this version includes a detailed account of her mystical marriage to Christ.¹² The Chetham version of *Katherine* survives in five other manuscripts.¹³ The *Life of Saint Anne* depicts the divinely favoured conception and birth of Mary. While Anne and Joachim's marriage is briefly discussed the narrative primarily focuses on the holiness of Mary and explains, in highly metaphorical terms, her suitability as the mother of Christ. Like the other saints' lives, *Anne* is extant in several different versions, however the Chetham version survives in only one other manuscript.¹⁴ The *Assumptio Sancte Marie* recounts the end of Mary's life, as well as her earthly and heavenly favour (she receives the veneration of apostles, saints, and Christ).¹⁵

(Braunschweig: Technische Universität Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1972), pp. 34-40.

¹¹ This version of the prose *Katherine* was edited in an unpublished thesis; see A. A. Kurvinen, 'The *Life of St Catharine of Alexandria* in Middle English Prose', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1961. Her edition was based on Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237 and includes the Chetham variants. All quotations are from my diplomatic edition.

¹² This marriage episode also occurs in John Capgrave's stanzaic *Life of Saint Katherine*. See *John Capgrave, The Life of Saint Katherine*, ed. Karen A. Winstead (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). See Book 3 for the mystical marriage.

¹³ The other copies of the Chetham version of *Katherine* are extant in the following manuscripts: London, British Library Cotton MS Titus A.XXVI; London, British Library MS Harleian 5259; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.3.1; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237; and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Brogyntyn II.1 (Porkington 10). See also *St Katherine of Alexandria: The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7*, eds. Saara Nevanlinna and Irma Taavitsainen (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), p. xi.

¹⁴ *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*, ed. Roscoe E. Parker, EETS OS 174 (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 90-109. The edition is based on Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 3. 21, and includes variant readings from Chetham 8009.

¹⁵ The Chetham version of the *Assumptio* is extant in eight manuscripts, three of which have been edited. The EETS edition of the *Assumptio* provides a parallel text edition of Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27 (2) and London, British Library MS Additional 10036. As the CUL Gg.4.27 manuscript is incomplete at l. 240, London, British Library MS Harley 2382 continues in that column. As the Chetham variants have not been included in the EETS edition of the *Assumptio*, I have transcribed the text although it is not included in this thesis. See *King Horn, Floriz and Blancheflur, The Assumption of our Lady*, ed. George H. McKnight, EETS OS 14 (1901), pp. 111-36.

According to Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, the Chetham copy belongs to the earliest version of the *Assumptio* and is extant in eight manuscripts.¹⁶

Following the hagiography is the *Liber Catonis*. This didactic text is adapted from Benedict Burgh's *Distichs of Cato* and offers practical and moral advice for good living, from reading wise counsel to ruling the body with a temperate diet. The *Liber Catonis* is the only Chetham text integrating Latin and Middle English, with rubricated Latin headings prefixing each section. Förster identified the Chetham version with twenty-five other manuscript copies of the text, along with four early printed copies.¹⁷

The sixth, seventh, and eighth booklets each contain one of the three Middle English romances of Chetham 8009: *Torrent of Portyngale*, *Bevis of Hamtoun*, and *Ipomadon*. Although the *Torrent* booklet also contains two devotional texts, I will discuss them separately below. Each romance follows the martial adventures of its hero (whether he combats giants, Saracens, or other knights) to his marriage and accession to a throne (or thrones). *Torrent* seamlessly integrates the secular and the sacred while its hero quests for Desonell's hand in marriage. The Chetham *Torrent*, a 2,669-line romance of twelve-line, tail-rhymed stanzas, is the single extant version, although two print fragments also remain.¹⁸ Ejected and then exiled from his home in Southampton, *Bevis* battles his way through the near East, Europe, and London's Cheapside in order to reclaim his patrimonial lands. The Chetham version of *Bevis* is

¹⁶ Boffey and Edwards, IMEV, **2165/6**. Boffey and Edwards also note that the *Cursor Mundi* is based on this earliest version of the *Assumptio*. Boffey and Edwards note that there are eight manuscripts, but there seems to be some confusion in this particular entry.

¹⁷ Max Förster produced an edition of the text based on Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.4.12 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 48. The Chetham variants are not consistently listed. See Max Förster, 'Die Burghsche Cato-Paraphrase', *Archiv* 115 (1905), 298-23, and *Archiv* 116 (1906), 25-34. Boffey and Edwards identify the text as Benedict Burgh's 'Cato Major' and 'Cato Minor' (IMEV **854/24** and **3955/14**).

¹⁸ In addition to Adam's EETS edition of *Torrent*, a re-edition of the romance has recently been completed. See Keith D. Montgomery, '*Torrent of Portyngale: A Critical Edition*', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland, 2008.

4,332 lines. The Middle English romance is extant in various forms in six manuscripts, in addition to the Douce fragments and one early printed edition by Wynkyn de Worde.¹⁹ *Ipomadon* endures humiliation and then plays with the perceptions and emotions of others as he fights for the love of the Fere in disguise. While there are three extant versions in Middle English, each demonstrates such distinct characteristics that they are clearly differentiated as the couplet *Ipomydon*, the unfinished prose *Ipomedon*, and the Chetham, 8890-line *Ipomadon*.²⁰

In the *Torrent* booklet, directly following the romance are the *Lamentation of our Lady* and the *Prayer of our Lady*.²¹ The *Lamentation* is a religious lyric of eleven stanzas spoken from Mary's point of view. Mary compares her position holding the crucified body of Christ with that of her female reader and her children. It is extant in three manuscripts.²² Immediately following the *Lamentation* is the *Prayer of our Lady*, a prayer of twenty-seven couplets in which the speaker asks for Mary's help and protection. This version of the *Prayer* is extant in fifty-six manuscripts and one early printed copy.²³

Following the *Prayer* is the household manual and courtesy text, John Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture* which provides detailed instruction on the

¹⁹ *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, EETS ES 46, 48, 65 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1885, 1886, 1894). Kölbing's edition uses both the Auchinleck and Chetham copies as base texts. In addition to Chetham 8009, the extant manuscripts include: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck MS), Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 175, Naples, Royal Library XIII MS B 29, and London, British Library MS Egerton 2862. Also see *Bevis of Hampton* in *Four Romances of England*, eds. Ronald B. Herzman, Graham Drake, and Eve Salisbury, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). The TEAMS edition is based on the Auchinleck version of the romance.

²⁰ Purdie discusses the differences of the three versions in her introduction to *Ipomadon*, an edition based on the Chetham version. See Purdie for information on the three versions, pp. xiii-xvii. Prior to Purdie's edition, D. M. Andersen completed 'An Edition of the Middle English *Ipomadon*', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1968.

²¹ Both the *Lamentation* and the *Prayer* are edited by Max Förster, 'Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte', *Anglia* 42 (1918), 145-224.

²² Boffey and Edwards cite three manuscripts including Chetham, and CUL Ff.2.38 and CUL Ff.5.48. IMEV 2619/3.

²³ See Boffey and Edwards, IMEV 2119/43. Boffey and Edwards note that this is the prayer to the Virgin in the *Speculum Christiani*.

ways of service in a great household, and includes a behavioural guide along with the duties of different household officers. Russell's *Book* is extant in five manuscripts.²⁴ Immediately following Russell's *Book* is the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*, a historical account detailing the meeting in 1473 between Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and the Emperor Frederick III. This text provides a *terminus ante quem non* of 1473 for the manuscript, dating it to the last quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁵ Chetham holds the unique extant copy of the text, although there are references to other copies in contemporary medieval accounts. Other versions of the 1473 meeting were circulated in Latin, German, Dutch and French.

The two final texts in the manuscript are the *Annals of London* and the *Ballad of a Tyrannical Husband*. The *Annals* briefly lists the names of the wardens and bailiffs of London beginning at the time of Richard I.²⁶ Its inclusion in Chetham 8009 has led Meale and others to suggest a London ownership of the manuscript.²⁷ The *Ballad of a Tyrannical Husband* is an unfinished comic narrative, in which a

²⁴ Furnivall edited Russell's *Book* from the Harley 4011. Frederick Furnivall, ed., *The Babees Book*, EETS OS 32 (London: Trubner, 1868). There are five extant manuscripts of Russell's *Book*: Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 8009, and London, British Library MSS Royal 17.D.15 (1450-75), Sloane 2027 (1450-75), Harley 4011 (1475-1500), and Sloane 1315 (15th century), as stated in G.R. Keiser, 'Works of Science and Information', in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 7, gen. ed. A.E. Hartung (New Haven, Connecticut: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998), pp. 3681-82. Each of the five versions demonstrates marked differences ranging from presentation, to variation in individual lines, to text length. Both Royal 17.D.15 and Sloane 2027 appear to be fragment copies of the text. At the time Furnivall made his edition, he was not aware of the two Sloane versions, the Chetham, or the Royal copies. The Harley and Chetham copies are the most complete but vary significantly in details and length. The Chetham version is 964 lines of verse text, roughly 280 lines shorter than Harley.

²⁵ See Sánchez-Martí, 'A Codicological Description'. Additionally, the watermark evidence suggests the paper stocks used were produced between 1420 and 1493.

²⁶ See Lester, *IMEP*, p. 89. The Chetham text seems to represent the very beginning of the *Chronicles of London*, with the names replicated almost exactly. However the Chetham version is entirely in English and does not have the Latin subheadings evident in the *Chronicles*, edited from BL Cotton Julius B.II. See *Chronicles of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905; reprint Dursley, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1977), pp. 1-3.

²⁷ See Meale, 'The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*', p. 138.

ploughman and his wife dispute whose work is more demanding. Chetham 8009 holds the sole extant version of the tale.²⁸

With its romance, hagiography, comic ballad, courtesy, historical and devotional texts, Chetham 8009 represents a unique collection of medieval material, and at the same time, a very typical medieval manuscript collection of apparently miscellaneous texts. It is this quotidian-uniqueness that characterises late medieval manuscripts – they almost always hold a unique variety of texts. The Chetham texts represent the ‘typical’ kinds of literature that circulated in other late medieval household books and miscellanies. The devotional texts reflect pervading preoccupations of late medieval piety, including Marian devotion and the affective contemplation of Christ’s passion. The three romances, two of substantial length, incorporate a comprehensive spectrum of later Middle English family romance motifs including, the English hero defeating Saracens, the hero in disguise or battling giants, rudderless boats, rings of recognition, and the abduction of twins, to name a few.²⁹ The courtesy literature and the historical account satisfy contemporary interests in manners, Burgundian chivalry, and aspirational behaviour, while the *Tyrannical Husband* provides a comedic retelling of conjugal duties and disputes.

²⁸ *Ballad of a Tyrannical Husband*, in *The Trials and Joys of Marriage*, ed. Eve Salisbury, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 85-93. The text was originally published in *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language*, eds. Thomas Wright and James O. Halliwell, vol. II (London: William Pickering, 1843; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 196-99.

²⁹ For a comprehensive study of romance motifs, see Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Manuscript Type

Although it has been categorised in a variety of ways, Chetham 8009 represents a 'household book'. The household book is one of the enduring categories of later medieval manuscript miscellanies,³⁰ and is often distinguished for its inclusion of a range of varied material, or as Boffey suggests, could represent 'a book *in use* in a specific household'.³¹ Some manuscripts of this type contain highly practical works for the everyday functioning of the household, such as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Brogyntyn II.1 (Porkington 10), which has medical recipes, a treatise on grafting and planting trees, the making of 'bokys', as well as religious and secular literature.³² The late fifteenth-century Heege MS (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1) contains romance, devotional literature and hagiography (including the same version of *Katherine* that is extant in Chetham 8009), courtesy literature, and medical recipes.³³ The Tollemache 'Book of Secrets', also late fifteenth-century, includes 'practical' contents such as recipes, remedies,

³⁰ For discussions of medieval miscellanies and anthologies, and determining definitions for each, see Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 279-315; Ralph Hanna III, 'Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England', in *Whole Book*, pp. 37-68; Theo Stemmler, 'Miscellany or Anthology? The Structure of Medieval Manuscripts: MS Harley 2253, for Example', in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. Susanna Fein, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 111-21.

³¹ Julia Boffey, 'Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and Definitions of the Household Book', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds. A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 125-34 (p. 129). See also Nicola McDonald, 'A York Primer and its Alphabet: Reading Women in a Lay Household', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, eds. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 181-199.

³² Daniel Huws, 'MS Porkington 10 and its scribes', in *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills*, eds. Jennifer Fellows, Rosalind Field, Gillian Rogers, and Judith Weiss (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 188-207.

³³ *The Heege Manuscript: A Facsimile of National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1*, intro. by Phillippa Hardman (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2000).

and instructional texts for dyeing and fishing.³⁴ Ralph Hanna III argues that later medieval books, including ‘miscellaneous volumes’, often ‘represent defiantly individual impulses’.³⁵ Whether medieval ‘reading’ was a solitary activity or a communal one, whether silent or aural, the particular collections of texts, deliberately chosen or not, connect us to later medieval reading and its reception of literature.³⁶

Meale argues that Chetham 8009 was ‘owned’ by a ‘citizen of London’, based on its collection of texts.³⁷ In regards to a similar miscellany, Amanda Moss argues that the ‘household miscellany’, London, Westminster School MS 3, may have offered guidance and instruction in the domestic setting of a fifteenth-century ‘merchant household’,³⁸ while Boffey and Meale argue that the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 86, another ‘miscellaneous’ collection, also ‘may be seen as typifying the tastes of middle-class, usually mercantile readers’.³⁹ The consensus in regards to manuscripts of a similar quality of production, and that possess contents similar to those in Chetham 8009, is that they were owned by ‘the merchant elite’, who were able to commission

³⁴ Boffey notes that the Tollemache contents demonstrate an ‘everyday usefulness’. See Julia Boffey, ‘Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and Definitions of the Household Book’, in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds. A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 125-34. See also Jeremy Griffiths, *The Tollemache ‘Book of Secrets’: A Descriptive Index and Complete Facsimile* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2001).

³⁵ Ralph Hanna III, ‘Miscellaneity and Vernacularity’, p. 37.

³⁶ Coleman argues that ‘when we talk about how a medieval reader would have read some text or other, we should factor in that that reader would as likely as not have been hearing the text, not reading it privately.’ See Joyce Coleman, ‘Aurality’, in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 68-85 (p. 79), and Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³⁷ Meale, ‘Patrons, Buyers and Owners’, p. 207.

³⁸ Amanda Moss, ‘A Merchant’s Tales: A London Fifteenth-Century Household Miscellany’, *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), 156-69 (p. 169).

³⁹ Julia Boffey and Carol M. Meale, ‘Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C. 86 and Some Other Books for London Readers’, in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 143-69 (pp. 143, 160).

‘miscellanies for the household’.⁴⁰ Sheila Lindenbaum argues that these kinds of manuscripts, and specifically their incorporation of ‘conduct texts’ helped to distinguish their readers as ‘an urban aristocracy’.⁴¹ Seth Lerer cites a late fifteenth-century didactic poem, the *Book of Curtesye*, in which the narrator instructs his audience to ‘exersise your self...in redyng’.⁴²

1.1.3 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Conceptualising the ‘Whole Book’

While it is still not standard practise to privilege the manuscript in the study of medieval literature, arguing to put it at the forefront of our reading is not new. In 1942, Laura Hibbard Loomis suggested that it was necessary to consider ‘medieval English books as wholes’ and in particular early vernacular works.⁴³ Over the last few decades a number of scholars, such as Derek Pearsall and Ralph Hanna III have brought the issue of the whole manuscript to the forefront of medieval research and called to study the ‘whole book’.⁴⁴ Examining the whole manuscript from different

⁴⁰ Sheila Lindenbaum, ‘London Texts and Literate Practice’, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 284-309 (p. 301).

⁴¹ Lindenbaum, ‘London Texts and Literate Practice’, p. 301.

⁴² Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 85.

⁴³ Loomis, ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop’, pp. 150-51. This article was originally published in *PLMA*, LVII (1942): 595-627.

⁴⁴In the Introduction to *The Whole Book*, Nichols and Wenzel discuss the important move towards incorporating the ‘historical artefact’ of the manuscript rather than, as previously, analysing ‘the texts contained in the manuscripts, rather than study[ing]...the manuscripts themselves’. O’Donnell defines the ‘whole book’ as ‘the totality of the book *and its functions* in its medieval settings, redirected from our modern expectations to a broad range of medieval contexts’. See Stephen G. Nichols and

perspectives, scholars such as John Dagenais, Andrew Taylor, and others have closely read across the texts of individual manuscripts, while Murray Evans has approached reading Middle English romance in regards to its manuscript context.⁴⁵ Although undertaken in a variety of ways, the work of different scholars has highlighted the extreme significance of the manuscript and has furthered research at the intersection of literature and the physical book.⁴⁶

In 1995, Orchard re-examined *Beowulf* within London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A.xv., and by doing so highlighted that *Beowulf* need not be read as a purely heroic narrative, but within its manuscript context, also as a monster story.⁴⁷ In addition to *Beowulf*, the manuscript also contains the much lesser known Anglo-Saxon version of *Judith* and three other texts. Identifying the scholarly gap in reading the whole manuscript, Carol Symes questions the inequitable attention the manuscript has received and asks how the understanding of *Judith* and *Beowulf* might be ‘altered and informed’ when considered together, ‘materially and ...

Siegfried Wenzel, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-6 (pp. 1-2), and James J. O’Donnell, ‘Retractions’, pp. 169-73 (p. 170), in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996). Pearsall notes that the ‘whole book’ ‘comes from the final rubric to Malory’s *Morte D’Arthur* in Caxton’s printed edition of 1485 – “Here is the ende of the hole book of Kyng Arthur”’. See Derek Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters’, in *Imagining the Book*, eds. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), pp. 17-29 (p. 18). In the early 1980’s, Derek Pearsall argued ‘that palaeography, codicology and manuscript studies generally are ... an integral part of the study of literature and literary history, and vice versa.’ Derek Pearsall, ‘Introduction’, in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study: Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 1-2 (p. 1).

⁴⁵ Evans argues for not only reading Middle English romance in single text editions, but also ‘as parts of their composite manuscript collections.’ See Murray J. Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romance: Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), p. 105.

⁴⁶ See for example, Ralph Hanna III, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996); Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, eds., *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), and specifically, ‘Imagined Histories of the Book: Current Paradigms and Future Directions’, pp. 1-14.

⁴⁷ Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995).

conceptually'.⁴⁸ It is within the shared space of a single manuscript where the conceptual similarities and differences, as Taylor argues, the 'tensions or hostilities' of the texts, invite interpretation.⁴⁹

Certain manuscripts, such as the Auchinleck and those of Robert Thornton, have received much attention, both in terms of their compilation and contents.⁵⁰ Probing the readership and complexity of the Auchinleck romances, such as *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton*, Hanna contextualises the Auchinleck manuscript in London and with other London based manuscripts, as a means of understanding its "literarily knowing" audience.⁵¹ Meale likewise has examined the composition and the literary and historical contexts of London, British Library MS Harley 2252, owned by the London merchant and bookseller, John Colyns.⁵² Similar work has been done on Harley 2253. In an introduction to the volume of collected essays on Harley 2253, Susanna Fein argues for 'reading...books in the ways that they were composed—that is, whole', which 'will clearly give us a fuller grasp of the textual interrelations as they were received and understood by the medieval people for whom they were made.'⁵³

⁴⁸ Carol Symes, 'Manuscript Matrix, Modern Canon', in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 7-22 (p. 11).

⁴⁹ Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 7.

⁵⁰ See, for example, John J. Thompson, 'The Compiler in Action: Robert Thornton and the "Thornton Romances" in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91', in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study: Essays from the 1981 Conference at the University of York*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 113-24. Much research on the Middle English romances has revolved around the manuscript, primarily for contextualising versions and copies of individual romances. See Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances*.

⁵¹ Ralph Hanna, 'Reading Romance in London: the Auchinleck Manuscript and Laud Misc. 622', in *London Literature, 1300-1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 104-47 (p. 116).

⁵² Meale, 'The Social and Literary Contexts of a Late Medieval Manuscript.'

⁵³ Susanna Fein, 'Introduction', in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. Susanna Fein, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 1-15 (p. 15).

The work of Huot and Busby considers the whole manuscript and how a programme of annotation or commentary influences our understanding of a text or group of texts. Huot's study of *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers* examines the manuscript tradition of the *Rose*, specifically by exploring its reception by contemporary poets, medieval reading of the *Rose*, and importantly, 'the ways that manuscript studies can enrich the field of literary criticism'.⁵⁴ Through her study, Huot acknowledges the worth of studying the manuscript, both for analysis of the literature and for understanding medieval readers and interpretation. Busby's study of Old French verse narratives closely examines the texts in their manuscript context, focusing particularly on the evidence of marginalia and paratext, including the appearance of the text on the page and contextual readings. Busby affirms the importance of the manuscript, as it 'remains our only direct means of contact with the textual reality of the Middle Ages'.⁵⁵ The movement to analyse marginalia and its implications carefully, both contextually and culturally, extends beyond the medieval codex. William Sherman has recently examined the uses of marginalia from renaissance England in his *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*.⁵⁶

While this recent work examines the manuscript context, many of the studies largely focus on and interpret the evidence of reading, using extant paratext and marginalia within the manuscripts. This thesis is not specifically about medieval readers and reading but rather about modern reading of medieval literature based

⁵⁴ Sylvia Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 8.

⁵⁵ Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2002), p. 1.

⁵⁶ William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

within the site of medieval reading.⁵⁷ Chetham 8009 provides an excellent collection in which to provide a fresh analysis of the ‘whole book’, and solely focus on the texts and thematic links between them.

Codicology & Intentionality: Typical Readings of Manuscript Collections

⁵⁷ Richardson notes that Chartier and Martin argue that ‘studying the book as object is... inseparable from the problem of the history of reading, or rather, of readings’. See Brian Richardson, ‘Inscribed Meanings: Authorial Self-Fashioning and Readers’ Annotations in Sixteenth-Century Italian Printed Books’, in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Ian Frederick Moulton, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, vol. 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 85-104 (p. 87). See also Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: N.L.B, 1976). For studies of medieval readers see Carol M. Meale, ‘“Gode men/ Wiues maydnes and alle men”: Romance and Its Audiences’, in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 209-25; P.J.P. Goldberg ‘Lay Book Ownership in Late Medieval York: The Evidence of Wills’, in *The Library* 16 (1994), pp. 181-89, and Susan Groag Bell, ‘Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture’, in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 149-87; Christopher Baswell, ‘Talking Back to the Text: Marginal Voices in Medieval Secular Literature’, pp. 121-60, and Josephine Koster Tarvers, ‘“Thy sys my mystrys boke”: English Women as Readers and Writers in Late Medieval England’, pp. 305-27, both in *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Judson Boyce Allen*, eds. Charlotte Cook Morse, Penelope Reed Doob, and Marjorie Curry Woods, Studies in Medieval Culture 31 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992); Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, ‘Introduction: The Medieval Professional Reader and Reception History, 1292-1641’, in *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower*, eds. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Maidie Hilmo (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, 2001), pp. 7-13; Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women’s Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2002). For recent work on medieval literacy see Alison Truelove, ‘Literacy’, in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, eds. Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 84-99; Malcolm B. Parkes, ‘The Literacy of the Laity’, in *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 275-97; Katherine Zieman, ‘Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England’, in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 97-120. For studies on the history of readers see Robert Darnton, ‘First Steps Toward a History of Reading’, in *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*, eds. James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 160-79; Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer ‘Current Trends in the History of Reading’, in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1-22. And, for the studies at the intersection of medieval readers and the materiality of the book, see Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, ‘Imagined Histories of the Book: Current Paradigms and Future Directions,’ in *Imagining the Book*, eds. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 1-14; Michael Ulliyot, ‘English Auctores and Authorial Readers: Early Modernizations of Chaucer and Lydgate’, in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Ian Frederick Moulton, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, vol. 8. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 45-62.

Often previous scholarship on the whole manuscript in regards to later medieval miscellanies has focused on determining the codicology of the production or on ‘uncovering’ the intention of the compiler. The codicological work on manuscripts provides invaluable insight into its composition, structure, and dating. While this work is of paramount importance, it does not often engage interpretively with the texts of the manuscript it so meticulously studies. Daniel Huws article on ‘MS Porkington 10 and its scribes’ acknowledges that it ‘has little to say of the texts, most of which are in print, but offers new observations on the make-up of the book and on the hands’.⁵⁸ Articles of this type vitally examine the technical compilation of the manuscript, providing a solid basis for making an informed reading across the texts of the manuscript.

The second concentration of studies on individual manuscripts is also concerned with a manuscript’s production, but primarily based on the thematic ‘guiding principles’ of the compiler or scribe of a manuscript. The articles by John J. Thompson and Lynne Blanchfield in *Romance Reading on the Book* explore these aspects in Cotton Caligula A.ii, and Ashmole 61, respectively.⁵⁹ Pearsall expresses wariness towards studies of this kind, arguing that often, thematic unities are too easily read into texts that simply demonstrate habitual concerns in the literature of the period.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Daniel Huws, ‘Porkington 10 and its scribes’, p. 189. See also Ralph Hanna III, ‘The Origins and Production of Westminster School MS. 3’, in *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 35-47.

⁵⁹ See John J. Thompson, ‘Looking behind the book: MS Cotton Caligula A.ii, part 1, and the experience of its texts’, pp. 171-87, and Lynne S. Blanchfield, ‘Rate revisited: the compilation of the narrative works in Ashmole 61’, pp. 208-20, both in *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills*, eds. Jennifer Fellows, Rosalind Field, Gillian Rogers and Judith Weiss (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996); See also Maldwyn Mills and Gillian Rogers, ‘The Manuscripts of Popular Romance’, in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 49-66.

⁶⁰ See Pearsall, ‘The Whole Book’, pp. 17-29.

While these codicological and thematic studies are concerned with questions of the production of the manuscript, ‘why was it put together in this way?’, ‘why were these text chosen?’, my questions instead apply to the period after production: now that these texts are together, however they came to be, what now can be interpreted? How does our reading of a Chetham 8009 romance change when we read it in conjunction with a Chetham 8009 religious lyric, courtesy text, or saint’s life? Although the precise intention of the compiler cannot always be determined, nor whether he or she positioned the texts with a particular and self-conscious design, the post-production manuscript arguably demonstrates the product that the medieval reader would have consumed. This thesis argues for a move away from issues of original intention and compilation. It instead encourages examining the end product in a way that engages with the interpretation made between the texts of the manuscript.

Previous Readings of Chetham 8009

Chetham 8009 has been subject to scholarly attention for more than a century, the result of which has been a number of detailed codicological studies and several editions. However, beyond the attention given to the manuscript for the purposes of editions, a few brief studies have been made of the manuscript as a whole. Meale, Purdie, and Sánchez-Martí have each examined the manuscript context of Chetham

8009, but this has largely produced studies exploring the potential audiences of this, and other, late medieval manuscripts.⁶¹

I hope to push further the readings made in Chetham 8009, engaging with its texts and showing, for example, how the *Duke and Emperor* and Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture* together express an intense preoccupation of social aspiration and display, or how the romance of *Ipomadon* and the *Life of Saint Katherine* together demonstrate a distinct focus on female narrative. The individual texts of Chetham 8009 are exciting in their own ways of storytelling, from the triumphs of the virgin martyrs, to the comical battle of wits between the *Tyrannical Husband* and his wife, to the glimpse of a historical moment glittering with opulence and steeped in protocol in the *Duke and Emperor*, and even to the short list of late twelfth and early thirteenth-century London Wardens and Bailiffs with its recorded names and commentary on the weather. When we begin to examine these individually dynamic texts together connections demonstrating contemporary medieval interests are made. This thesis, with its approach to reading the companion texts of a manuscript, its brief tasters of inter-manuscript interpretation, and its four diplomatic editions, hopes to further the study of Chetham 8009 and inspire similar work to be made on other manuscripts.

⁶¹ See Sánchez-Martí, 'Reconstructing the Audiences of the Middle English Versions of *Ipomedon*', *Studies in Philology* 103 (2006), pp. 153-77, and Meale, 'The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*'.

CHAPTER 2

'reed and conceive for he is to dispuse/ that redith... not what is ment;/

such reding is nought but wynde dispent':

READING THE MANUSCRIPT

In order to 'reed and conceive' (12), as the *Liber Catonis* instructs, this chapter presents a new methodology for reading in the manuscript context. With its collection of individual texts, a manuscript such as Chetham 8009 forms a literal community of texts. Each text voices its own themes and concerns, and within the context of the manuscript becomes a co-creator of meaning with its companion texts. Conceptualising the texts in this way allows an interplay of ideas to emerge across the various genres and narratives of the manuscript, and distinctly outside the norms of current conventions of interpretation.

In *The Order of Books*, Roger Chartier argues that the meanings of texts 'are dependent upon the forms through which they are received'.⁶² For manuscript literature, it is not just the materiality of the medieval book (the physicality of its texts, the layout of the text on the page, rubrication, decoration, and notes) that conveys meaning, but rather for a manuscript such as Chetham 8009, it is the collection of companion texts that guides and informs the reader. Michael Clanchy argues that 'past ideas must be analysed in their own terms before they are assessed in modern ones'.⁶³ The unique textuality of medieval literature enables and, in a sense, demands reading within the manuscript. There are multiple ways in which a

⁶² Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 2-3.

⁶³ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 183.

text may be interpreted. Stanley Fish, for instance, acknowledges the multivoiced nature of texts which simultaneously may have different, and sometimes contradictory, meanings. Interpreting texts together in situ in their manuscript context, opens the possibility for those diverse, and possibly contradictory, readings while challenging current ‘conventions of interpretation’.⁶⁴

The Literal Community of Texts as Co-Creators of Meaning

Viewing the manuscript as a literal community of texts establishes new rules of interpretation in which the common and uniting factor between them, in the first instance at least, is their physical cohesion within the manuscript. From this physical binding, thematic links may emerge creating an interpretive, invisible binding between the texts. In Chetham 8009, the devotional texts, hagiography, romance, courtesy literature, all are gathered together and form a composite collection.

Each text operates as a co-creator of meaning within the manuscript. Each individual text has the potential to engage with any other text and create meaning. Previous theories of reception and interpretation focus on the meaning made between the text and reader, as Chartier argues, between ‘a proposal and a reception’.⁶⁵ Fish underscores the fluid nature of meaning and argues that it emerges from the interaction between text and reader, whereby ‘the reader’s response is not *to* the meaning; it *is* the meaning’.⁶⁶ Reader response theory suggests that meaning is not

⁶⁴ Stanley Fish, ‘Yet Once More’, in *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*, eds. James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 29-38 (p. 37); Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers*, p. 8. See also Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

⁶⁵ Chartier asserts that ‘works—even the greatest works, especially the greatest works—have no stable, universal, fixed meaning. They are invested with plural and mobile significations that are constructed in the encounter between a proposal and a reception’. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, p. ix.

⁶⁶ Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 3.

extracted from a text, but rather is made *between* the reader and text. The text possesses certain codes from which meaning may be made, and the reader, with his or her individual understanding, becomes an active agent in the interpretation of those codes within the text.⁶⁷ I suggest that in the manuscript context, meaning is made between text and text and ultimately mediated by the reader.⁶⁸ Each text informs the others and creates meaning contextually.

The manuscript encapsulates a socio-historical moment with its texts – in their differences and shared concerns. The co-creators of meaning then ‘speak’ to each other about shared issues producing an interplay of ideas between its unique gathering of texts. In this paradigm of reading, each text flags up certain codes, or strategies to help the reader interpret the distinctive variety of companion texts by highlighting certain themes or altering its perceived focus. In Chetham 8009, for example, that might mean exploring the way a unique text, extant only in the one manuscript, interacts with another, or conversely the way a text extant in many copies uniquely interacts with its particular manuscript companions. In both instances, the manuscript provides an opportunity for unfamiliar readings to be made. The focus of this thesis is not on individual texts but on the comprehension and awareness of the whole manuscript that was within the medieval reader’s, literal, grasp. It is in the co-texts of a manuscript, bound together yet displaying independent voices, that we may read, interpret, and derive meaning in a medieval framework.

⁶⁷ Stanley Fish, ‘Interpreting the *Variorum*’, in *The Book History Reader*, eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 350-58. Fish explains that those who have written the texts, ‘the utterers’ essentially ‘give hearers and readers the opportunity to make meanings...by inviting them to put into execution a set of strategies’, p. 358.

⁶⁸ For studies in reader response theory see the work of Stanley Fish, and Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982).

Materiality and History of the Book

The materiality of the manuscript, from the physicality of its texts to the layout of the text on the page through paragraph marks and rubrication, marginal notes and illuminations, guides the reader and informs his or her interpretation.⁶⁹ Ian Hodder argues that ‘material culture and society mutually constitute each other within historically and culturally specific sets of ideas, beliefs and meanings’.⁷⁰ As a cultural artefact, the manuscript articulates important concerns of late medieval life. Incorporating the manuscript’s materiality and viewing the book as an artefact creates new interpretations of medieval literature within its manuscript context.

Prior to the invention of printing, C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat assert that the most ‘momentous development’ in the history of the book was the codex.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the manuscript has often been excluded from studies in the history of the book, which generally begins after the invention of printing.⁷² Thinking ‘book historically’ has led scholars to acknowledge that it is the whole of the book that is important, not just individual texts. It is the paper, ink, smudges, and weight of the text, namely the ‘whole book’, that should be considered. However, it is not simply the physical object that is important, but rather the relationship between ‘materiality

⁶⁹ Derek Pearsall has long argued for the examination of the ‘whole book’, as an ‘active witness to the culture of its reception’. He argues that ‘all aspects of the manuscript’s physical existence are relevant...not just the texts it contains, but the materials, the choice and arrangement of contents, the lay-out and format of the page, the choice of script’, etc. Derek Pearsall, ‘Introduction’, in *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. xi-xv (p. xi).

⁷⁰ Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 3.

⁷¹ C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 1.

⁷² Indeed, in the introduction to *The Book History Reader*, Finkelstein and McCleery define book history as ‘a field of study’ distinctive in ‘its emphasis upon print culture and the role of the book as a material object within that culture’. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 1.

and meaning', incorporating the book and the text.⁷³ Riddy argues that the complex annotations that appear in some manuscripts authoritatively guide the reading of the text.⁷⁴ While Riddy sees a medieval hand guiding the reader through a text, I argue that the manuscript shaped a reader's experience with as much influence as an annotating hand.

When considering the experience of medieval reading, the interpretation of reader and text must begin with the manuscript.⁷⁵ It is this unique, tangible link to medieval reading that must become the focus of studies in medieval literature and direct our interpretations. The production and study of single-text editions is vital, however, these should be considered within their manuscript context with much greater frequency than is currently practised. The focus on single-text editions, to the exclusion of studying a manuscript contextually, has produced what Taylor calls a disciplinary gap, where scholars of different concentrations may 'remain in splendid isolation', occluding understanding about medieval readers and reading practice.⁷⁶

With the bias of book historians to focus on post-print books comes the tendency, even within manuscript studies, to privilege texts with single authors. This tendency, to focus on 'major' authors and follow the post-print model (which

⁷³ Michele Moylan and Lane Stiles, eds., *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America*, Studies in Print Culture and History of the Book (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), p. 2; see also, D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, eds. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

⁷⁴ Felicity Riddy, 'Introduction', *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 1-5 (p. 1).

⁷⁵ Moulton argues that 'not only do different people read different texts, but the same text may be read quite differently at different times and places. Understanding how people read and what they read in a given period gives enormous insight into their values and priorities, their opportunities and their limitations'. Moulton, *Reading and Literacy*, p. xiii. Additionally, Susanna Fein notes that it is 'quite remarkable' that manuscripts 'have not yet been scrutinized as thoroughly as they might for what they may yield about the reading lives of those...that created them'. See Fein, 'Introduction', *Studies in the Harley Manuscript*, p. 15.

⁷⁶ Taylor, *Textual Situations*, p. 7. For example, Rouse and Rouse suggest that 'texts can be examined individually, for themselves as texts, or in groups as a genre'. It is this kind of strictly categorical thinking that must be expanded to examine texts as a 'group' within their manuscript context. Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 1.

typically has a single text and a single, named author), has prevented many of the largely anonymous medieval texts from receiving sustained critical attention. With our post-print understanding of literature, authorship is an essential part of book consumption. Alexandra Gillespie suggests that ‘the medieval author was a way to limit, mediate, and profit from the movement in vernacular books before Caxton arrived on the publishing scene’.⁷⁷ However, this view concentrates too heavily on tailoring our understanding of literature in the late Middle Ages to our modern one. We need to stop placing the same value on single texts with named authors and begin to consider reading medieval texts as they might have been read and experienced in the later Middle Ages. Dagenais argues that the reader, not the author, must occupy the central position of medieval literary studies and calls for ‘a reorientation of the way we approach medieval literature, a shift from a view that privileges the author/ or his text ... to one that privileges the individual reader’.⁷⁸

In order to habitually begin reading the manuscript it is necessary to recognise and challenge our unconscious and fundamental assumptions about books.⁷⁹ James O’Donnell argues that the idea that a book ‘should be a closed, fixed artefact is an artificial one derived from ... print culture’.⁸⁰ Assumptions such as these, of the ‘fixity’ of texts and authorship, have impinged on the medieval scholar’s approach to manuscript literature. Hanna identifies the anachronism of editing and reconstituting medieval texts in an attempt to ‘recreate’ a text fitting

⁷⁷ Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473-1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 29.

⁷⁸ Dagenais asserts that ‘there is far more direct evidence of medieval reading than there is of medieval authoring.’ Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture*, p. xvii.

⁷⁹ Taylor argues that ‘our understanding of what constitutes literature...based as it is on the conventions of print, has predisposed us to overlook or dismiss...broader discursive circles.’ Taylor, *Textual Situations*, p. 18.

⁸⁰ O’Donnell, ‘Retractions’, p. 171.

post-medieval ‘norms of textual presentation’, even in the absence of a ‘fixed’ text.⁸¹

While my current research would have been virtually impossible to complete without single text editions (producing a kind of ‘fixed’ text), our reading of medieval literature must move away from primarily reading isolated authorial texts. Using the single text edition, we must then return to the manuscript and consider all of its texts.

Accessing the ‘Whole Book’

In terms of accessibility, reading the whole manuscript has not always been a viable option. While there is no substitute for engaging with the physical manuscript and experiencing its exhilarating tangible link to the past, facsimiles, microfilm, and CD-ROMs have provided alternative means of reading the manuscript. Additionally, new developments in both publication and digitisation are aiding the ease with which scholars can access and read the manuscript. In 2008, a full edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61, a compilation of Middle English verse including romance, was published.⁸² While this edition loses the sense of the tangible *medieval* manuscript, it makes reading the texts of a single manuscript wonderfully accessible and reproduces the texts in book form. Recently, the digitisation of manuscripts has provided a way of seeing the manuscript pages with photographic quality, and often enables the reader to examine the minute physical details of a text. The Auchinleck Manuscript, Brogyntyn II.1 (Porkington 10), and very recently, Chetham 8009 are

⁸¹ Ralph Hanna III, ‘Producing Manuscripts and Editions’, in *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 63-82 (p. 65-66).

⁸² *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, ed. George Shuffelton, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008).

now all available online.⁸³ Again, any sense of the physical book is lost in this type of reproduction, however, providing the opportunity to read all of the texts of a manuscript together to a wider audience is laudable.

Like many late medieval miscellanies, Chetham 8009 provides a multiplicity of genres and issues to be explored within its manuscript covers. The following chapter begins to demonstrate a sample of contextual readings when the manuscript's individual texts are accessible together. The first section shows how reading the *Life of St Katherine* with *Ipomadon* brings the heroine to the forefront of one narrative, and presents a different perspective in regards to the other. The second section focuses on the way a reading of the romance *Torrent of Portyngale* is changed and shifted in a devotional direction when read in the context of the two religious texts that follow it. The third section demonstrates the greater meaning produced when two complementary texts, the *Liber Catonis* and John Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture* are read together in terms of the importance of education. The fourth section explores how the assumptions of status portrayed in the *Book of the Duke and Emperor* and Russell's *Book* are questioned when *Ipomadon* reveals the potentially false nature of outward display.

⁸³ See the Auchinleck Manuscript online through the National Library of Scotland: <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/> and the digital version of Brogyntyn MS II.1 online through the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth: <http://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=amiddleenglishmiscellanybro>
The digitised version of Chetham 8009 can be found through the Rylands Medieval Collection online: http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=ipomadon&sort=Reference_Number%2CImage_Sequence_Number%2CPage%2CImage_Title&search=Search

CHAPTER 3

INTERPRETATIONS

In this chapter I have provided four interpretations across the texts of Chetham 8009. Each section demonstrates readings made around a central theme including female authority, education, devotion, and display. These brief examples aim to demonstrate how reading the texts of a single manuscript as co-creators of meaning can provide unique conclusions to familiar and unfamiliar medieval texts. In each section I explain why I have chosen the texts, how the texts or genres are usually interpreted, and my interpretation of the texts through a common theme or focus.

The co-creation of meaning of the manuscript texts changes the reader's perception, or shifts it in some way, so that a new reading of each text is made due to the influence of another. Reading within the literal community of texts of Chetham 8009 does not always produce an equal or direct exchange of influence. Meaning may be made in an equally exchanged change of focus, where one text directly influences a new reading of another and vice versa. However, fresh meaning may occur in a more one-sided way, where one text brings a fresh reading to another, but does not necessarily gain an entirely new perspective itself. Alternatively, new meaning may be made not by close intertextual reading of companion texts, but rather by considering the overall impact that the two have when read together. Although the degree of influence of one text on a companion text varies, by virtue of the diverse texts within a manuscript, unique readings will be made.

1.3.1 'The ffeyreste and the wiseste': FOCUS ON THE HEROINE

The Life of St Katherine and Ipomadon:

THE TEXTS & USUAL INTERPRETATIONS

This section focuses on the *Life of St Katherine* and *Ipomadon*. Hagiography and romance represent two of the major vernacular narrative forms of late medieval literature and examining them together is not unusual.⁸⁴ However, I chose to read these two particular narratives within Chetham 8009 to demonstrate their co-creation of meaning due to the similar encounters both women have in the early part of their narratives. Both heroines make bold declarations regarding their future husbands, and specifically, detail the merits that such a man must have. Additionally, either before or after their declarations, marriage becomes a point of contention within their courts which demand that the women marry. By reading *Katherine* and *Ipomadon* together contextually, fresh interpretations are brought to both texts. Katherine's bold heroism highlights the importance of the Fere as a heroine within her narrative, while the Fere's role at court accentuates Katherine's position as head of court and household.

Towards the beginning of *Ipomadon*, the Fere publicly describes her criteria regarding the man she will marry. She vows that:

84 See for example Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'Bet...to...rede/ on holy seyntes lyves...': Romance and Hagiography Again', *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 83-97, and J. Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150 - 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), specifically 'Virgin Passions: Romance, *Raptus*, Ritual', pp. 91-122.

Man that is of lowe degre
Shall never to wyffe me holde
But yf he be the best knyghte
Of all this world in armus bryghte
Assayde vnder his shelde. (116-20)

After this declaration, the Fere falls in love with Ipomadon, who, while noble and courteous, unfortunately refuses to engage in chivalric activity ('he wold here of no cheva[l]rye', 524), therefore rendering himself unworthy as her husband. When 'grett warre' (1772) and bloodshed occur under her reign, the Fere's court demands that she take a husband in order to rule and 'mayneteyme' (1779) herself and her lords. The Fere's lords see her vow as a mistake: 'folly makythe she wyth her pride' (1781). Giving her an ultimatum, her lords threaten that unless 'she a lord take/ That they shuld þer omage make/ To kyngys of other kynne' (1787-89). In attempting to determine her future husband and life, the Fere's vow incurs the disrespect of her court who in turn make their own 'vow' and demand that she marry.

In a similar manner to the Fere's lords who will make her 'weddyd be' (1821), Katherine's court makes a comparable request regarding 'the mater of mariage' (66). Speaking on behalf of her mother and her nobles, one lord says that they

requere youre hy3nes to graunte hem love and grace that they my3t go o[r]deyn
som nobull kyng or prince to you that my3t rule you and yore lordys, and us all in
peas and reste, right as the kyng, youre nobull fader and oure sovereyn lord dyd .
(43-47)

After her lords have spoken, Katherine, like the Fere, states in clear and direct terms the criteria for the only man that she 'wyll have to myne husband' (109-10).

For he that shall be my lord and my hert and my husbond shall have the iiij thingis in hym above all creatouris, ffor all creatouris shall have of hym nede, and he shall have nede of no man; ffor he that shall be my lord muste be of notable blood that all kyngys shall worshippe hym, and so grett a lord that I shall never say that I made hym a kyng, and so riche that he shall never have nede to none other mannis good, and so ffeire that aungellis shall have joye to behold hym, and so pure that his moder shall be a virgyn, and so benyngne and meke that he can gladly forgeve all offencys done to hym; that I wyll have to my lord and husbond.

(111-22)

While Katherine's specifications for a husband are much more detailed than that of the Fere, the impetus of their statements are the same. Neither woman will accept less than the 'best knyghte' or the greatest of lords as her husband, either as a result of, or resulting in, similar matrimonial demands made by her court. Katherine and the Fere are very different, but the declarations and demands made by both heroines and their respective courts remains a striking similarity between these two texts in the Chetham 8009 collection.

As arguably the most important later medieval female saint, next to the Virgin Mary, *Katherine's* narrative unsurprisingly follows a course of a queen devoted to Christ in an upward trajectory to her mystical marriage and triumph in heaven after her martyrdom. The hagiography aims to evoke popular religious devotion through its exciting narrative (beautiful women, hideous tortures, good versus evil) and by reinforcing Katherine in an intercessory role at the end of the narrative, when Christ assures 'that all þat worshippe thy passion shall have hevynly comforte and their prayer shall be herd' (743-44). Katherine is devout, selfless, humble – the quintessential and holy saint. Whereas it is unsurprising that Katherine is the focal point of her narrative (as the eponymous heroine), the Fere as a romance heroine is a key figure but one that ultimately seems to be read as supplemental to the hero. Very little has been written about her specifically, except, for example, in

the way her portrayal changes from the Old French version of *Ipomedon* by Hue de Rotelande to the Middle English version, which I will discuss below.

'They considered well . . . her wordys': WOMEN OF WILL AND WORDS

When we read the *Life of St Katherine* and *Ipomadon* together the focus of how they are normally read is shifted. New readings open up in both the hagiography and the romance. When read with *Katherine*, *Ipomadon* suddenly seems to be a narrative as much about the Fere and her struggle as it is of its hero. And, when we read *Katherine* in the context of the Fere, suddenly the blatantly devout and powerful saint also emerges as domestic head of household.

The Fere's vow is usually viewed as foolhardy and rash by her own private admission as well as that of her lords. In the enclosure of her chamber, she admits that 'Be my pryde I am dystroyde' (3683). As it has delayed, or as far as she knows, utterly eliminated her union with Ipomadon, the Fere comes to regret her vow: 'Myne owne worde me now ch[yde]' (3690). However, when the Fere's actions are read in the context of Katherine's similar 'vow', the Fere is seen through a more positive lens. As Katherine, a paragon of proper behaviour, states clearly her adamant desire for the highest standard of husband, the Fere becomes aligned by her similar decision-making with the faultless behaviour of a saint. Whereas the Fere and her court lament her pride that resulted in the vow and her refusal to retract it, Katherine does not waver nor regret her words. Ultimately, both women receive a kind of narrative vindication against the criticisms of their courts as their desires and wishes are fulfilled to their courts' either spiritual or material betterment. While both women are beautiful (Katherine is 'the ffeyreste', 13 and the Fere is 'fayre of chere',

102), Katherine is renowned for also being ‘the wiseste’, a reputation that in context, help to shift the Fere and the value of her vow onto more positive ground. The two women are different and unique. However, their similar decisions and vocalisations reflect an interesting and unexplored link.

The Chetham *Ipomadon* represents a narrative shift viewing the Fere in a more positive light than her previous incarnation in Hue de Rotelande’s Anglo-Norman original of the romance. When the romance was translated into Middle English, the Fere was written in a more sympathetic light as the misogynistic overtones of the text were softened.⁸⁵ Roberta Krueger argues that the twelfth-century version by Hue de Rotelande contains ‘strong antifeminist invectives’ and women are portrayed ‘in an unflattering light, either by mildly satirizing female power and desire, or by grotesquely parodying it.’⁸⁶ Sánchez-Martí sees de Rotelande’s work ‘subverting women’s claims to power . . .by ridiculing them as feminine wiles and manipulative intrusions’.⁸⁷ However, this antifeminist layer is very deliberately excised in the Middle English version, leaving only the humour that did not denigrate women within the text.⁸⁸ Jane Bliss argues that the Fere’s name is ‘descriptive’ and primarily means ‘the proud’ or ‘the spouse’. However, in its Middle English version the romance seems to align the name with her beauty rather than solely her pride, calling her ‘the semely Fere’ (250).⁸⁹

⁸⁵ See Roberta L. Krueger, ‘Playing to the Ladies: Chivalry and Misogyny in *Ipomedon*, *Le Chevalier a l’épée*, and *La Vengeance Raguidel*’, *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 68-100, and Jordi Sánchez-Martí, ‘The Audiences of *Ipomedon*’, p. 162. Sánchez-Martí argues that the English translator ‘subtly ton[es] down the antifeminism’ in order to ‘include a female audience and put an end to their antagonization in Hue’s biased account’, ‘The Audiences of *Ipomedon*’, p. 162,

⁸⁶ Krueger, ‘Playing to the Ladies’, 68-100.

⁸⁷ Sánchez-Martí, ‘The Audiences of *Ipomedon*’, 161.

⁸⁸ Sánchez-Martí, ‘The Audiences of *Ipomedon*’, 161.

⁸⁹ See Jane Bliss, *Naming and Namelessness in Medieval Romance*, *Studies in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 122-33.

Not only is the Fere placed in a more positive light considering her similarities with Katherine as well as her improved portrayal in the Middle English version, but when read with *Katherine* the focus on the hero's trials shifts to her, and like Katherine, the emphasis shifts to the heroine of the narrative. The episodic adventures that Ipomadon undergoes jousting in disguise are shared by the Fere in an inverse way; while he is obviously aware of his identity and in control of his dissembling, she is unaware, experiencing each with uncertainty and trepidation. On the second day of the tournament set to determine her future husband, the Fere withdraws to her chamber 'wyth sorowe' (3675) because her 'leman is not here!' (3710). These episodic sequences are, in effect, a torment to the Fere and put her in a quasi-heroic position of trial and growth – a heroine's journey. As Ipomadon makes the declaration of his intentions at the beginning of the romance and then journeys through different adventures on the way to attaining them, the Fere also undergoes a journey from the declaration of her desire, through trials as she metaphorically journeys towards her goal. Katherine endures physical torments throughout her narrative, however her spiritual and emotional life are secure in her knowledge of and devotion to Christ. The Fere, while physically safe, suffers mental and emotional torment throughout the narrative. Reading the romance in the context of the *Life of St Katherine* highlights the strong narrative of the Fere present within *Ipomadon*.

Read in the context of *Ipomadon*, not only is a focus on Katherine's heroic journey emphasised, but perhaps more uniquely, her responsibility as a ruler, as a queen and head of court and household, emerges in importance. The Fere's decisions determine the future of her court and kingdom. Declaring that she will only marry the best knight in the world ultimately provides the security for which her nobles are clamouring: 'All the cowrte was full fayne/ That Lyolyne was so slayne ...When they

had sene Ipomadon,/ ...they thankyd God' (8757-58, 8760-61). In a validation of her vow, the Fere's uncle speaks to her lords and says 'Now God hathe sent you here a knyght/ That will you mayneteyme in your right;/ Was there neuer a better wroughte' (8775-77). By maintaining her vow (and with some luck that Ipomadon was indeed the victor), the Fere ensures that her kingdom has the best knight for her generation and the next, as their son Portusalus becomes 'a full nobull kyng' (8852) of Calabere.

Katherine also determines the fate of her household. While in her court's eyes she detrimentally excludes the possibility of an earthly husband by her vow, she secures their futures, although in a more otherworldly, spiritual way to the Fere. After her mystical marriage, on her return to court, Katherine has her household converted to Christianity: 'she went home ageyn and, as sone as she my3t, she and all her meyne to receyve baptyme' (469-71). This conversion arguably takes care of her household's future security, albeit a future in the afterlife. Her high position and her earthly and spiritual educations place Katherine in a role where she can disseminate Christ's teachings: 'she held her husband in her paleys with ffull Cryston governaunce . . .she was never ydull, but contenually in his service, and full of charite, and all her joye was to drawe creatouris to hym' (471-72, 476-78). Although Katherine relinquishes her worldly life as head of household in favour of everlasting life with her spiritual spouse, her decision has provided for her household in the highest terms offered by the narrative next to martyrdom. As Maxentius' queen is led to her martyrdom, Katherine assures her that 'this day thou shalte have the everlastyng kyngdome' (708-709). Like the Fere who ultimately provides dynastic security for those under her command, Katherine responsibly ensures the best future for her 'meyne'.

Through their strong vocalisations, the Fere and Katherine display their desires and authority. Although they are physically and emotionally beset by their courts and male suitors, the women prevail as formidable heroines who achieve their greatest desires and secure beneficial ‘futures’ for their courts. In the greater context of Chetham 8009, the presence of strong-willed women is thrown into even sharper relief. In addition to the women of the devotional texts, Dorothy, Anne and the Virgin Mary who each show undeniable strength of character and will against tragedy or tormentors, *Bevis of Hampton*’s heroine Josian and the wife of the *Tyrannical Husband* are comparably formidable in action and voice. While the wife primarily uses her voice to assert her authority within her household, Josian uses action to take control of the outcome of her future.

Josian is a strong heroine. Read together with Katherine and the Fere, the way that Josian powerfully vocalises her desires from the beginning of the romance, and then physically ensures her future, becomes more visible. From speaking her desire, to converting to Christianity for her love as Katherine does, Josian determines her future. While Katherine asserts her decisions in a physically passive way, choosing to endure physical torture rather than submit to her pagan aggressor, Josian physically takes control of her narrative in a very striking way and with a comparable level of textual violence in *Katherine*. In order to prevent the consummation of a marriage that was forced upon her, Josian murders Myle, an earl of ‘Coleyne’. Manipulating his desire, Josian agrees that she will sleep with him once they are married. On the wedding night, she convinces him to dismiss all of his servants with the enticement that she will be his ‘chamberlain’ (2858). When they are alone she makes a knot with her girdle, strangles, and then hangs Myle from a high beam. She acts out of necessity to assure that her future is with Bevis.

Displaying further strength, she remains in the chamber with Myle's corpse until the next day, waiting to be discovered and face the consequences. While she does not allow her body to be degraded, or her role as Bevis' future wife to be sullied by Myle's lascivious intent, she unflinchingly faces the ramifications of her crime. As a validation of her action, Josian is rewarded for her murder. After she has 'rescued' herself from the sexual desire of her pursuer, Bevis rescues her from the burning pyre before she comes to harm, after which they marry and establish a multi-dynastic family. Like Katherine and the Fere, by vocally and physically asserting herself Josian attains the life and spouse that she desires.

While not a heroine in traditional terms (she does not have Katherine, the Fere or Josian's royalty nor is her youth or beauty described), the wife of the *Tyrannical Husband* is undeniably vocal and seeks to assert her status as head of household. Like Katherine and the Fere, she uses her authoritative voice in the struggle for power presented by her male counterpart in the household. While the male voice of the husband seeks to undermine the validity of the wife's voice, she nevertheless asserts her authority and her value within her personal 'kingdom' – her overcrowded, rather chaotic home. Incisively subverting her worth, the 'tyrannical' husband tries to reduce his wife's voice to a base level saying, 'ever thow excusyst thee with grontes and gronys' (64). However, the wife instead embodies a profeminine voice as her words define and defend herself.⁹⁰

In her rebuttal of her husband's criticism, the wife not only defends herself through her enumeration of work, but also uses language to discredit the censure of

⁹⁰ I am here using the term 'profeminine' to describe any sentiment or literature supporting the case for medieval women. Blamires uses 'profeminine' to refer to topoi, conventions and statements (pp. 1, 20-21). Alternatively, he uses the following terms: 'case for women' (p. 19), 'praise-of-women texts' (p. 21), 'debate about women' (p. 1), and 'defence of women' (p. 19). See Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*. In his *Women Defamed, Women Defended*, he refers to a 'pro-female polemic' (p. 13).

her husband. She offers direct defence of her work by asking reasonably, ‘how wold yow have me doo mor then I cane?’ (28). She states that ‘I have mor to do, who so wyst alle’ (42), implying her husband’s ignorance of all that she does. By implicating her husband’s ignorance she erodes his authority, and consequently, the cogency of his voice. Berating her husband, the wife seeks to undermine her husband’s criticism by emphasising his inflamed temper and neglectful attitude towards her. She explains that she does all that she can ‘yet I have not a feyr word whan that I have done’ (72). Speaking directly against the unjust blame of women to which the narrator refers in the opening of the tale, the wife criticises her husband for his accusations. After detailing her work she says, ‘yett wyll yow blame me for owr good, and any be away’ (52). Again subtly undermining the status of her husband, she countermands his accusation of idleness; she juxtaposes her early morning activity, tending the house, children and ‘kene’ (17), with his inert state:

Whan I lye al nyght wakyng with our cheylde,
I ryse up at morow and fynde owr howse wylde;
Then I melk owre kene and torne them on the felde.
Whyll yow slepe fulle style, also Cryst me schelde! (15-18)

While they operate within different spheres—the wife struggles within the confines of her farm while Katherine and the Fere occupy their royal courts—for all three women words, and the dialogical power they hold are of paramount importance.

Of minor, but perhaps significant note, a physical mark has been made in the *Liber Catonis* which seems to further promote the emergence of wise or strong women across the manuscript collection. With a tone that would have made the *Tyrannical Husband* giddy, the *Liber* recommends to ‘yewe no credence alway to thy wyffe’ and refers to ‘here ire’ and ‘here unsapience’ (100-101). Interestingly, the

word ‘unsapience’ is clearly crossed-out on folio 50v. Further down the page the word ‘hate’ is also struck through in the line ‘thy wyffe woll hate and cause eke forto smert/ Often hym that her housband lovys in hert’ (105-106). Although we cannot know when the marks were made, the ink appears marginally darker than the ink of the text. Could it have been the same hand that autographed ‘elysabet’ on f. 334v of *Ipomadon* and who perhaps wanted to stamp out the idea of women’s ‘unsapience’? The strong heroine theme prevalent across the Chetham texts has been noted previously, and Purdie and Sánchez-Martí view the inclusion of ‘elysabet’ as a mark of female readership or ownership of the manuscript.⁹¹

Conclusion

Interpretation occurs in atypical ways when manuscript companion texts such as *Ipomadon* and the *Life of St Katherine* are read together. Initially, the focus within the usual readings of romance and hagiography shifts. The Fere seems to become a more prominent figure in *Ipomadon* when read with her parallel hagiographic counterpart, and Katherine’s role as head of household suddenly seems to surface. Josian and the wife of the *Tyrannical Husband* represent other strong-willed and vocal women across the community of Chetham texts. When read with *Katherine* and *Ipomadon*, they stand out as more authoritative figures actively determining their futures or asserting their status within the home. Reading the texts together in this way does not negate the usual interpretations (focus on romance heroes, Katherine as

⁹¹ The strong female presence of romance heroines in addition to the inclusion of only female saints, as well as the autograph ‘elysabet’ on f. 334v, leads Purdie to the conclusion of a female ownership of Chetham 8009. Sánchez-Martí asserts that the signature is ‘the inexpert hand of a woman, who in all likelihood belonged to the household that first owned the manuscript’. See Rhiannon Purdie, ‘Sexing the Manuscript: The Case for Female Ownership of MS Chetham 8009’, *Neophilologus* 82 (1998), 139-48 and Jordi Sánchez-Martí, ‘Reconstructing the Audiences of the Middle English Versions of *Ipomadon*’, *Studies in Philology* 103 (2006), 153-77 (p. 169).

a distinctly devotional saint). However, it does provide another way of understanding the texts. The narratives of strong-willed heroines emerge even more distinctly when read together.

1.3.2 'To Iesu Cryst prayd he': FROM MANUSCRIPT PAGE TO PRAYER:
CONTEXTUAL DEVOTION IN CHETHAM 8009

Torrent of Portyngale and Two Devotional Texts:

THE TEXTS & USUAL INTERPRETATIONS

In this section, I have chosen to examine the Middle English romance *Torrent of Portyngale* and the devotional lyric the *Lamentation of our Lady* due to their thematic and material connections. Within the manuscript, *Torrent* ends on folio 119 verso. Directly below *Torrent*'s 'Explicit', the fifteenth-century devotional lyric, the *Lamentation of our Lady*, begins:

Now Iesu Cryst, that all hath wrought,
As he on the Rode vs bought,
He geve vs his blessing,
And as he died for you and me,
He graunt vs in blis to be,
Oute of this world whan we shall wend
Amen.

Explicit Torent of Portyngale

Off all women that euer were born
That bereth children abide and se
How my son liggith me befforn
Vppon my skyrte take ffrome the tre.

(*Torrent of Portyngale*, 2664-69; *Lamentation of our Lady*, 1-4)⁹²

⁹² Although the quotation above is from my own transcription, all future quotations of *Torrent* and the *Lamentation* will be from *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. Adam, and the *Lamentation of our Lady*, ed. Förster. The *Prayer of our Lady*, which directly follows the *Lamentation*, and occupies folio 121r & v, is edited by Förster on pp. 172-75. In l. 2666 I have omitted an 'h' that appears in the manuscript between 'geve' and 'vs', as the scribe strikes through the letter as an error.

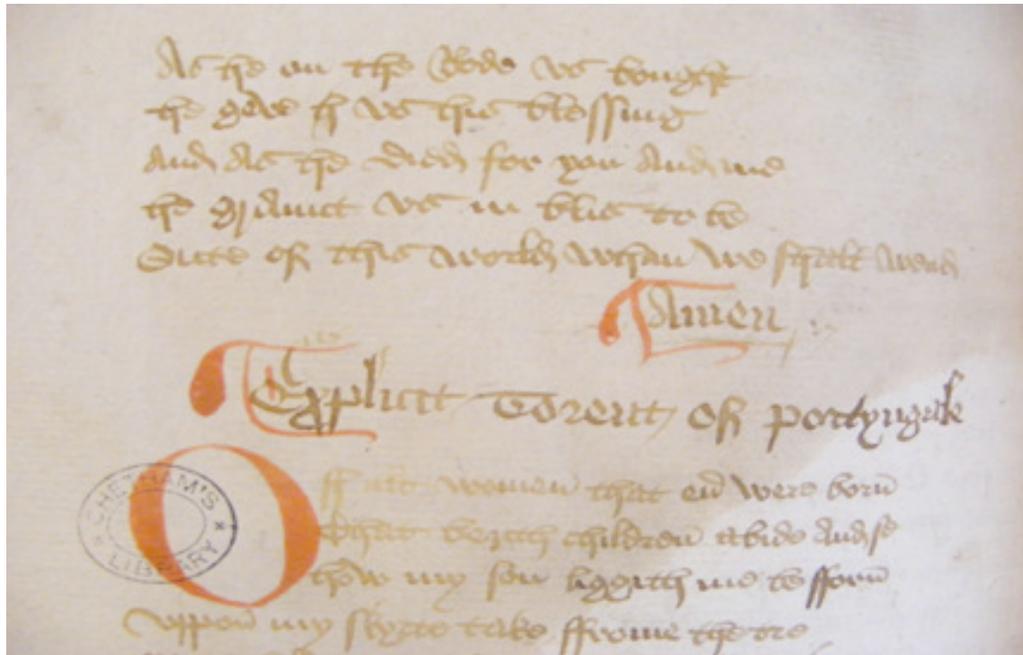


Figure 2: The end of *Torrent* and beginning of the *Lamentation*, f. 119v

Creating visual continuity on the page, I would argue that the placement of the *Lamentation* invites a devotional reading of the preceding romance. *Torrent* is a romance saturated with devotional language. However, while the volume of devotional language in *Torrent* is remarkable, it is its manuscript context which significantly underscores the romance's devotional significance.

Scholarship on *Torrent* has typically focused on reading it in the context of other Middle English romances, such as *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and concentrated on its familiar romance motifs, particularly those related to familial issues.⁹³ Rife with

⁹³ See for example, Harriet E. Hudson, 'Construction of Class, Family, and Gender in Some Middle English Popular Romances', in *Class and Gender in Early English Literature: Intersections*, eds. Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 76-94. For an exploration of 'fathers' transgressive behaviours', including a discussion of Desonell's father, see Joanne Charbonneau, 'Transgressive Fathers in *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and *Torrent of Portyngale*', in *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern*

romance archetypes, *Torrent* employs motifs also present in *Bevis* and *Ipomadon*, including the trope of the wicked parent, giants, twins separated at birth, and gold rings of recognition. It is a narrative full of adventure, treachery, and unsurprisingly, romance. Contrastingly, as a Marian lyric the *Lamentation of our Lady* is a sombre and reflective meditation on the pieta. It inspires prayer through its contemplative, emotive language which uses the bodies of Mary and the ‘woman’ to whom the poem is addressed to create a sense of intimacy. The lyric juxtaposes the image of the pieta with images of the ‘woman’ and her child throughout the text.⁹⁴ Following the *Lamentation*, the *Prayer of our Lady* again contrasts both the romance and the *Lamentation* in tone and content. It is a prayer of supplication in which the speaker directly asks Mary for help.

Individually *Torrent*, the *Lamentation*, and the *Prayer* embody distinctive genres: romance, devotional lyric, and prayer. However, when considered as co-creators of meaning in their manuscript context, the devotional import of the romance and specifically its penchant for prayer becomes distinctly visible.

Literature, ed. Albrecht Classen, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 278 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 243-65.

⁹⁴ David Aers argues that ‘Christ’s humanity and passion became focal points’ of medieval piety, and were expressed in ‘the humiliated, tortured, whipped, nailed-down, pierced, dying but life-giving body of Christ’; see David Aers, ‘The Humanity of Christ: Reflections on Orthodox Late Medieval Representations’, in *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture*, eds. David Aers and Lynn Staley (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), pp. 15-42 (p. 17). The *Lamentation* follows a prevalent theme of the Marian lyrics, positioning her at the Foot of the Cross. John’s gospel provides the source for this scene, reporting that Mary was present at the Crucifixion. Saupe, *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, p. 23. The suffering Christ, ‘the Christ of the crucifixion, of the vulnerable, bleeding flesh of the Passion’ was extensively used in private devotion. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 302. Meditations on the crucified body of Christ and his humanity, such as Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* and the Middle English lyrics, can be seen directly influencing and evoking strong emotion in women like Margery Kempe, who sees ‘veryly & freschly how owyr Lord was crucified’. Carolyn Dinshaw, ‘Margery Kempe’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women’s Writing*, eds. Carolyn Dinshaw and David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 222-39 (p. 232); *The Book of Margery Kempe*, eds. Sanford B. Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS OS 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 69.

‘*On Iesu Cryste dyd she call*’:

DEMONSTRABLE DEVOTION IN CHETHAM 8009

The *Lamentation* inspires prayer through its repetitive, contemplative language typical of the affective piety prevalent in the later Middle Ages. As the speaker, Mary employs graphic corporeal images to engage the reader’s imagination and places the holy suffering of Mary and Christ literally into the lap of the ‘woman’ to whom Mary addresses the lyric. For example, Mary compares the hands and feet of the woman’s child as she holds it or as the child ‘daunce[s] vppon [her] knee/ with lawing, kissing and mery chere’ (5-6), with Mary’s situation as she puts the ‘fynger of [her] hond/ thorough [her] sonnys fete . . .and pull yt oute sore bledand’ (45-47). Mary also compares the child’s head joyfully adorned with a ‘chapelet’ with Christ’s head whose ‘chapelet is thornys sore prekyng’ (17-21). Throughout the *Lamentation*, Mary as the speaker presents a dual vision for the reader: Mary with the crucified body of Christ, and the woman nurturing her child. As Mary describes the woman kissing, caring for, and playing with her child, Mary implicitly calls the reader to view those interactions through a contemplative, imaginative lens of the *pieta*. The end of each stanza repetitively calls the reader’s attention to ‘my dere sone dere’. Through this repetition and Mary calling the reader ‘to love my son’ (85), the lyric has a devotionally meditative quality.

The following *Prayer of our Lady* engages in prayer more directly. The speaker begins, ‘Mary moder, well thou be!/ Mary mayden, think on me!’ (1-2), and later states, ‘Swete lady, I the pray’ (34). The speaker asks for ‘helpe’ (6) to be kept from ‘shame’ (6), ‘helle-pyne’ (16), and ‘velonye’ (17), and also prays for friends, enemies, and ‘for me’ (39) that Jesus will ‘graunt me in hevyn to haue a place’ (42).

At the end of the *Prayer*, the speaker states that he or she will pray ‘with aues fyve/ A pater noster, and a crede’ (46-47). The contemplative devotion potentially inspired by the *Lamentation* moves to direct Marian supplication in the *Prayer*.

Although *Torrent* seems a hyper-typical romance with its characteristic motifs and episodic adventures, in its manuscript context with the *Lamentation* and *Prayer* as a coda to the romance, a devotional focus emerges in a dramatic way. As the *Prayer* provides a specific invocation for help and the *Lamentation* inspires devotional thought, a devotional reading of *Torrent* produces a focus of the hero as a model of pragmatic piety.

‘Torent knelyd on hys kne,/ to Iesu Cryst prayd he’ (205-206): the hero at prayer is a recurrent image in the Middle English romance *Torrent of Portyngale*. It is a romance in which bloody adventure and ‘gestenyng’ (amorous bed play, 1364) are interwoven with devotional rhetoric and extensive prayer.⁹⁵ While *Torrent* battles giants, woos and impregnates the princess Desonell, casts his would be father-in-law out to sea in a boat full of holes, and is ultimately reunited with his family, devotional imagery saturates the 2,669 line verse romance. One hundred and thirty-two of its two hundred and thirty-two stanzas contain religious references, from brief exclamations invoking God, the saints, or the Rood, to extended prayers, manifestations of religious institutions such as the mass, and devotional commentary by the narrative voice. While devotional motifs hold an integral place in the narrative fabric of almost all romances, the frequency of devotional references, and significantly the manner in which *Torrent* prays, is unique; it is a romance teeming with prayers and invocations extending far beyond the genre’s arguably formulaic devotional ‘tags’. Throughout his quest for Desonell’s hand in marriage, *Torrent*’s

⁹⁵ *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. Adam. **gestening(e (ger.)** 2. (b) ‘entertainment in bed’. *MED*.

episodic adventures are punctuated with prayer: Torrent prays, he fights, he prays again. Roger Dalrymple's study of devotional language in romance demonstrates that *Torrent* contains a greater number of formulaic devotional phrases proportionally than either of the other two Chetham 8009 romances, *Bevis of Hampton* or *Ipomadon*.⁹⁶ However, it is not just these formulaic phrases that are substantially higher in *Torrent*, but rather the complete integration of devotional intention and language in the romance, and significantly in the language of its hero. While *Torrent* has been previously recognised as a more than usually pious romance, its deeper devotional significance has been overlooked.⁹⁷

Wanchen Tai argues that the opening and concluding prayers of romance habitually provide a framework, a type of 'narrative bracket', in which God, the narrator, and the narrative are systematised, and where the sacred and the secular are integrated.⁹⁸ While framing the narrative with prayer is a normative convention of romance, in the context of Chetham 8009, *Torrent's* framing is more devotionally

⁹⁶ In Dalrymple's study of formulaic devotional references, he identifies twenty examples in *Torrent* (2669 lines), six in *Bevis* (4332 lines), and fifty in *Ipomadon* (8890 lines). The formulae identified only include phrases that conform to strict grammatical criteria, or 'precise grammatical paradigms', such as 'God me spede' or 'Iesu, for thy holy name', as seen in *Torrent*. While Dalrymple notes these formulae often quickly 'commemorate and characterise the deity', or provide a resource for fulfilling 'verse schemes', he asserts that 'encoded in these formulae are images of God' which provide a 'wide variety of invocations appealing to God and Christ in distinct theological aspects.' See Roger Dalrymple, *Language and Piety in Middle English Romance*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 1-23, 151-55.

⁹⁷ Hornstein suggests *Torrent* is part of the 'Eustace-Isumbras type' with its 'pietistic attitude, invocations, prayers, references to saints and the rites of the Church' and that it is connected with romances with themes of 'trial and faith'. See Lillian Herlands Hornstein, 'Eustace-Constance-Florence-Griselda Legends', *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 1, gen. ed. J. Burke Severs (New Haven, Connecticut: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), pp. 120-21. Hopkins suggests that it is part of the 'penitential', 'homiletic', 'exemplary' or 'edifying' romances. See Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 12. *Torrent* is omitted from a discussion of didactic romances and romances, like *Sir Cleges*, which Barron calls a 'secular saint's legend'. See W.R.J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London: Longman, 1987), p. 200. Charbonneau remarks that 'despite' *Torrent* having a 'heavily didactic and Christian overlay' that the narrative is not primarily concerned with 'the salvation of the soul at all', but rather 'collapse[s] into archetypal forces of good versus evil'. There are factual errors in Charbonneau's article, such as naming the Norwegian giant Weraunt the 'fourth' giant. See Charbonneau, 'Transgressive Fathers', p. 263.

⁹⁸ Wanchen Tai, 'Is There An End?: Repetition and the Happy Ending in Middle English Romance' unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York, 2008, pp. 194-97.

focused than either *Bevis* or *Ipomadon*, particularly in the opening of the romance. A focus on God is made clear in the first lines of *Torrent*. Unlike the beginnings of both *Bevis* and *Ipomadon*, which speak primarily about their heroes, the first stanza of *Torrent*, indeed the first word of the romance, privileges God. *Torrent* begins:

God that ys worthy and bold
Heuen and erthe haue in hold
Fyld watyr and wynde
Yeve vse grace hevyn to wyne
And brynge vs owt off dedly synne.
And in thy seruyse to ende. (1-6)

It is only at the end of the stanza that the narrator finally introduces the hero of the romance, and even then without naming him, saying, 'I schall yow tell, ore I hense pase,/ off a knight, þat dowghtty wase,/ in Rome ase clarkys ffynde' (10-12). Contrastingly, *Bevis* does not begin with a prayer but rather speaks to 'lordinges' and asks them to 'lystonythe . . .yf ye will dwell:/ of a doughty man I wyll you tell' (1-2). The tale is prefaced by the 'stalworthe' and 'hardye' characteristics of Bevis and his father Sir Guy, stressing the 'man', his masculine importance, and how Bevis 'holdyn in Englonde his honoure' (4). Like *Bevis*, the beginning of *Ipomadon* does not employ devotional language but is rather wholly concerned with the subject 'off love' and 'what love may meane' (1, 3). In the second stanza when God is mentioned, it merely supports a description of Ipomadon, as 'a stravnge lover he was one;/ I hope ye haue harde speke of non/ that euer God made to be man' (19-21). The endings of all three romances fuse the celebration of their heroes and heroines with prayers to 'Jhu criste' to 'bryng hem all to hevyn blis' (*Bevis*), and 'that good lorde bringe vs to his blis/ that bought us on the rode tree/ and that ye shall for louers p[ra]ye' (*Ipomadon*). Richard Kaeuper argues that the ethos of knights, both of history and of romance, 'combined their violence and their piety' for 'prowess, as

knights like Geoffroi de Charny knew, is a gift of God and like all divine gifts must be used well'.⁹⁹ While this combination of piety and violence is not fully integrated in the journeys of *Bevis* and *Ipomadon*, *Torrent* presents a perfect synthesis of prayer and action. Indeed, it is in his prayer and his connection to God that he finds his source of strength.

Torrent's episodic fights against the five giants (Begomese, Rochense, Slongus, Cate, and Weraunt) seem to follow the normative, if slightly excessive, adventures of a knight of romance. However, in his second challenge against Rochense, Torrent conveys a striking and unfamiliar image of the knight dressed for combat. Torrent 'had... nether schyld ne spere/ but pray to god, he schold hyme were' (549-50). Here, God becomes Torrent's shield. When Torrent is stripped of his weapons his strength comes 'thurrow the grace of god almyght' (557). Relying on the grace of God above his own martial prowess, Torrent arms himself, not with his physical armour, but rather with his prayer to God ('Iesu, for thy holy name,/... than be my helpe to nyght!'; 537-39). Torrent is victorious against Rochense. Aid, however, does not arrive spontaneously but rather as a direct result of his prayer. Bridging the human and the Divine through words, prayer embodies a privileged space for constructing devotion. The paradigm of Torrent in prayer pervades the romance. Throughout *Torrent*, the narrator presents the humble and devout hero in multiple attitudes of prayer: he prays for strength when gearing up for battle; he prays in thanksgiving when he is victorious; and he prays when he is vulnerable. Within its manuscript context, with its highly devotional language, and with Torrent as an actively pious hero, *Torrent* becomes a quasi-devotional text. Torrent remains the hero of his own life, but it is in partnership with God that that life is heroic.

⁹⁹ Richard Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance: Northwestern Europe', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 97-113 (p. 105).

Torrent is a wholly secular knight. He does not belong to a religious order, nor has he devoted his life (in the style of Guy of Warwick) to the service of God, but thoroughly inhabits the temporal world. The impetus of his adventures is the romantic pursuit of Desonell, with whom he ‘dwellid all ny3t... on her bed-syde’ (1362-66). As a result of this ‘gestenyng’ Desonell bears twin sons. When the family is reunited at the end of the romance, Torrent has not only attained the throne of Portyngale, but also the title of Emperor, while his progeny inherit the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Greece. His adventures yield temporal rewards, including ‘both the Erth and the woman’ (1323), castles and ‘gold and syluyr’ (350), and his fine sword Adolake, ‘ase glemyrryng ase the glase’ (426). It is from his position as a wholly secular knight that the complete integration of prayer into his life is significant.

Torrent’s fusion of sacred and secular constructs a model of pragmatic piety. While he embraces the secular world, in its challenges, riches, and relationships, Torrent is wholly engaged with the Divine and his spiritual life. Through his prayer, Torrent overcomes the obstacles that face him in a way that reconfigures the idea of the quest; he is not searching for his identity or for his salvation through Christ. Unlike the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic knights whose primary purpose was to fight for God, Torrent fights to achieve his own ends, and while doing so uses his relationship with God to aid his journey.¹⁰⁰ While formally religious knights often displayed a cross or a symbol of Christ on their arms or armour, Torrent’s reflects his earthly ties and renown. His shield of ‘a3ure’ is decorated with ‘a squier of gold’, commemorating his squire murdered in the Forest of Magdalene, while his helmet bears a gold ‘dragon lying hym be-syde,/ his mouth grennyng full wyde’ (1122,

¹⁰⁰ See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 48-50. In regards to the crusade as a ‘concept of the Christian mission of knighthood’, Keen quotes Urban II saying ‘Let those who have been robbers now be soldiers of Christ’. Keen further argues that ‘in the crusading context, the military orders – the Temple, the Hospital, and the Teutonic and Spanish orders – came to be...the strong right arm of the militant church.’

1125-26), recalling his mastery over that beast and promoting his martial prowess.¹⁰¹ In his final giant-battle, Torrent asserts ‘I ffyght here, Iesu, for thy sake’ (1547). However, this dedication occurs only after he has acquired vast riches, offers of marriage, and renown from his previous battles. While this pledge indicates Torrent’s spiritual growth, it is not the primary impetus of the romance. Torrent is not a penitential knight like Gowther atoning for his diabolic sins through pious deeds, or Isumbras for his formerly gratuitous lifestyle; nor is Torrent primarily a crusader knight, like the zealous bishop in the *Sege of Melayne*, although in the latter part of the narrative he fights in the Holy Land where he is reunited with his family.¹⁰²

Torrent’s first extended prayer, prior to his fight against Begonmese, demonstrates the kind of language he employs to converse with God, and the characteristic way the voice of the narrator calls attention to the physical and devotional import of the prayer:

Torrent, on kne knelyd he
 And be-sowght Jesu so fre,
 That bowght hym with hys blod:
 ‘Lord, ase thow dyd ryght for Mary,
 Let me never take velony
 And gef me of thy fode!
 Serttes, yf I hym slepyng slone,
 Manfull Ded were yt none
 For my body, be the Rode.’ (133-41)

¹⁰¹ The knights Templar bore an image of a red cross over their armour, similar to the emblem worn by crusaders, while the standards of the Hospitallers and Teutonic knights also bore crosses, of white on red, and black on white, respectively. See Jaroslav Folda, ‘Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ’, in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 87-107 (p. 97).

¹⁰² Torrent’s battles in the Holy Land are significant, however, the narrator passes quickly over his sieges and victories there, none of which he specifically fights for the sake of Christianity, although he does fight every Good Friday, and instead seems to hasten to the reunification of Torrent and his sons. Leobertus has been raised in the court of Jerusalem, Anthony Fitzgriffin has been raised in the court of Greece, and Desonell has found protection in the court of Nazareth. See also *Sir Gowther, Sir Isumbras*, and the *Sege of Melayne* in *Six Middle English Romances*, ed. Mills.

Torrent states his petition for himself, that he may ‘never take velony’, in the middle of his prayer, positioned between appeals to Christ’s benevolent and just nature. While his request is straightforwardly spoken, his humbled physical position and his carefully chosen imagery, specifically of Christ’s ultimate sacrifice (shedding his ‘blod’ on the ‘Rode’), craft a prayer that is simultaneously bold and reverential.¹⁰³

After he is victorious against Begonmese, Torrent prays again, changing his language from supplication to thanksgiving, and establishing a pattern that is followed in subsequent challenges:

Torent knelyd on hys kne,
To Iesu Cryst prayd he,
That hathe thys world to wyld:
‘Lord, lovyd, evyr lovyd thowe be,
The feyer fyld thow has lent Me,’
–Vpp bothe hys handes he held –
‘All onely without any knaue
Of the fynd the maystry to haue,
Of hym to wyn the fyld.’
Now ys ther none other to say,
Of hyme he wane the fyld þat day;
I pray God hyme schyld. (205-16)

In this prayer of thanksgiving Torrent attributes his victory to Christ while also underscoring a theme central to his devotion – with Christ, he can master any challenge. In this prayer he emphasises the paradox of his solitary state, being victorious ‘all onely without any knaue’, while attributing his success to the help and presence of Christ to whom he is speaking. In a later fight Torrent again implies this paradox by saying, ‘now Iesu, for thy holy name,/ ase I ame but man a-lone,/

¹⁰³ The relationship established as Torrent kneels, placing himself in a position of humble reverence resonates with the relationship of servants and their ‘lords’ and masters in the court setting. Echoing this relationship the porter of the King of Provence ‘to the kyng he ys wente/ and knelyd vppon ys kne: “God blyse (p)e, lordd, in thy sale!/ Torrent of Portynggale/ thus sendythe me to the’ (880-84), and later, when Desonell is reunited with Torrent, she approaches him ‘and knelid on her kne’ (2502).

than be my helpe to nyght!’ (539-41). As a knight alone on his temporal quest, battling giants for Desonell’s hand, Torrent confidently converses with Christ who he knows will listen and come to his aid.

Torrent’s sustained use of prayer to converse with Christ is unique in romance. While *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, often assumed to be the model on which *Torrent* is based, also uses extended prayer, both the manner in which it is spoken by the hero and the relative infrequency with which it appears differentiate each hero’s devotion. In a similar manner to the way in which Torrent’s prayers are prefaced, the narrator of *Eglamour* describes how the knight physically begins to pray:

Both his handys he cast up sone,
To Jhesu Crist he made his bone,
To that Lord that us bowght.
‘The Erles dowghtur, that swete thyng,
She myght be myn at myn endyng,
On her ys all my thocht.
That I myght wedde her to my wyfe
And sythen kepe her all my lyfe;
Owt of care then were I browght.’ (Sir Eglamour of Artois, 100-108)¹⁰⁴

While the description of Eglamour’s hands resonates with *Torrent*, the language of the prayer demonstrates a distinct difference. Eglamour does not directly address ‘Jhesu Crist’. His language is wholly concerned with his relationship to the earl’s daughter, almost as if he were speaking to himself rather than praying to Christ. Contrastingly, Torrent cries: ‘Lord, mykyll of myght...Iesu, for thy holy name,/ ase I ame but man a-lone,/ than be my helpe to nyght!’ (530-41). Torrent presents his

¹⁰⁴ *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, in *Four Middle English Romances*, ed. Harriet Hudson, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006); Adam restated the assertion of Halliwell that *Torrent* and *Eglamour* were closely related narratives. However, Torrent’s extended prayer is entirely unique.

vulnerable situation ('ase I ame but man a-lone'), and demonstrates an awareness that Christ will help him in his dire need.

The romance reinforces the idea that the Divine will respond to prayers, either through action or, on occasion, voice. When preparing for his final challenge against the Norse giant Weraunt, Torrent uses his prayer to think through his position and then request help. Torrent initially prays:

Lord god, what is beste,
So Iesu me helpe, Est or Weste,
I can not rede to say.
Yf I to the shipp fare,
No shipmen ffynd I thare;
It is long, sith they were away.
Other wayes yf I wend,
Wyld bestis wyll me shend:
Falshede, woo worth it aye!
I ffyght here, Iesu for thy sake;
Lord, to me kepe thou take,
As thou best may! (1538-49)

Importantly, Torrent here acknowledges that he fights 'Iesu for thy sake'. In response to this declaration, a 'voys was fro hevyn sent' (the voice of an angel) which tells him to 'be blith' and 'to ffyght with my lordys enemy:/ whether that thou lyve or dye' (1568-72). Torrent's ability to pray confidently is the core of his devotion, but it is the Divine response, the other half of the conversation of the prayer that makes his model of piety so compelling.

In the latter part of the narrative, once his giant-challenges are over, Torrent's journey moves from primarily physical trials to a challenge of faith through which his prayer seems to echo and, consequently, align himself with Christ. While he has proved his might against the fiendish giants, Torrent must demonstrate the strength of his devotion when he is made physically powerless. While imprisoned by Leobertus in Jerusalem, Torrent experiences a crisis of faith. In a surprising moment

of symmetry, Torrent echoes Christ's words in the passion ('My god whi hastou me fforsake', *The Southern Passion*; 1577). Torrent entreats:

To hym selfe gan he say:
'Why lye I thus alone?
God, hast thou forsakyn me?
All my truste was in the,
In lond where I haue gone!' (2294-2304)¹⁰⁵

Following Christ's example, Torrent's momentary despair reflects the complexity and difficulty of faith. However, the power of Torrent's devotion is immediately reaffirmed. Once his prayer has been uttered, Leobertus releases Torrent from the dungeon. Even with his moment of despair, the romance demonstrates that Torrent maintains a steadfast relationship with God, and that God continually remains Torrent's source of 'myght and strengith'. Torrent's quest mimics a Christ-like narrative as each man undergoes challenges on the path towards his goals. Even as a righteous, Christ-like hero, Torrent's piety is pragmatic. It is human and flawed, but ultimately, like Christ, the moments of doubt pass and God sends Torrent grace 'that was never ffayland' (1276-80).

Prayer is not restricted to Torrent; although his prayers dominate the romance, Desonell also directly entreats God when she has been cast out to sea. However, while the romance displays Torrent praying assertively, Desonell makes her prayer out of desperation:

¹⁰⁵ Although the phrase comes from *Mark* 15: 34, in *Douay-Rheims Bible (Latin Vulgate Bible)*, online, 'And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani? Which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'), the words, quoted above circulated in different Middle English versions of the Passion of Christ. See, for example, *The Southern Passion*, ed. Beatrice Daw Brown, EETS OS 169 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971). The *Southern Passion* originates in the late thirteenth-century, but according to Brown the 'Middle English *Evangelie*' is from the early fourteenth-century, and the *Northern Passion* is 'somewhat later', p. xiii.

Whan that lady was downe fall,
On Iesu Cryste dyd she call;
Down knelid that lady clene:
'Rightfull god, ye me sende
Some good londe, on to lende,
That my children may crystonyd bene!' (1831-36)

Torrent's prayers also occur in situations of danger, before or after combat with the giants or dragons, but he has arrived at those situations by choice. In those instances, while danger is involved, the adventure and threat of the situation serve to increase his reputation of bravery, valour and martial prowess. Contrastingly, the dangerous situation in which Desonell finds herself is out of her control; it is only after great protest and shame that she and her 'bastard with-in' (1793) are cast into the sea. Torrent has sought his challenges while she has been thrust into hers. Nevertheless, her communication with God is not neglected, and when she and her sons arrive on land she attributes it to Christ: 'Iesu Cryst hath sent vs lond' (1852).¹⁰⁶

Surprisingly, the character ostensibly closest to the Divine, St Anthony, is blatantly rejected as a model for devotion within the romance. Anthony is a hermit, a respected 'holy man' (1996) who gave up his princely life and who finds one of Torrent's sons. As a hermit removed from the world, his form of devotion is the antithesis of Torrent's. While Anthony is respected, it is the princely life he relinquished that Torrent and his sons seek. The hermit's isolation from the active courtly life is emphasised by his distance from the civilised world. 'Ouer a water fflood,/ over in to a wyldernes,/ ther seynt Antony ermet wes,/ there as his chapel stode' (1871-75). Emphasising Anthony's remoteness, the previous stanza contrasts his wild space with Desonell's views of an urban space 'with towrus ffeyre and

¹⁰⁶ Similarly the audience of *Octavian* witnesses the detailed prayers of the adultery-accused wife of the emperor Octavian, but only after she is placed in a dire situation. Initially, she makes 'oon oryson' to her husband, 'for Jesus sake' in regards to her execution. After that she prays to 'Jesu Cryste' in an extended manner, just prior to her sentencing, once she is cast into the wilderness, and then when her children have been taken from her by beasts. See *Octavian*, in *Six Middle English Romances*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (London: J.M. Dent, 1992), (247-48; 253-64; 313-24; 385-402).

bryght' (1862-63). While the narrator acknowledges 'that man was well with god all-my3t' (1948), Anthony's prayers are not detailed in the way that Torrent's are. Indeed, rejecting the model of his hermitic lifestyle, Anthony takes Torrent's son from the wilderness and restores him to the courtly world, effectively giving the child all that Anthony had rejected. Anthony requests that the child take his relinquished place at court 'in the stede of me' (1986).¹⁰⁷ After he has returned the child, Anthony recedes from the narrative. As expressed in the contemporary, late fifteenth-century romance, *Paris and Vienne*, Paris's father demonstrates that a hermitic exemplar is not an ideal but rather a source of anxiety for those in an active, secular life.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

Nicola McDonald argues that 'popular romance ...has a sensationalist taste for sex and violence'; while I have argued that Torrent is an exemplar for pragmatic piety through his extensive prayers, the romance is certainly not without a predilection for sex and violence.¹⁰⁹ It is in the fascinating combination of the secular and sacred, the complex relationship and paradoxical harmony between Torrent's knightly secular life combined with his effortless conversing with the Divine that is so significant.

¹⁰⁷ Dalrymple argues that Anthony (a conflation of the desert father St Antony and Antony of Padua) enables 'the ultimate good fortune of Sir Torrent and his kin' through his 'penitential spirit.' See Roger Dalrymple, 'Torrent of Portyngale and the Literary Giants', in *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 159-70 (p. 170).

¹⁰⁸ See William Caxton, *Paris and Vienne: Translated from the French and Printed by William Caxton*, ed. M. Leach, EETS OS 234 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

¹⁰⁹ Nicola McDonald, 'Polemical Introduction', in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 1-21 (p. 1); Field argues that 'medieval popular romance, unlike its modern descendants, is stronger on violence than sex, but there is frequently room for a frisson of forbidden sexual activity'. See Rosalind Field 'From Gui to Guy: The Fashioning of a Popular Romance', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, eds. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field, *Studies in Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 44-60 (p. 47).

Living an active life and using prayer to overcome the obstacles in his path, Torrent embraces the 'mixed life'. Reading *Torrent* in the context of the *Lamentation* and the *Prayer*, the 'sex and violence' no longer remains the primary focus. Instead, Torrent's active devotion comes to the fore. The romance constructs prayer as the most vital component to his quest and his life: 'he that schall wend soche a wey,/ yt were need for hym to pray,/ that Iesu hym schuld saue' (112-17). The romance and devotional literature occupying the same booklet blurs lines of secular and sacred, and encourages a particularly devotional reading of the romance. In *Torrent*, the commonplace devotional element in romance emerges as a prominent force and its hero emerges as an exemplar of pragmatic piety.

1.3.3 ‘*Emprent my techyng in thy soule*’: EDUCATION IN CHETHAM 8009

The *Liber Catonis* and John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture*:

THE TEXTS & USUAL INTERPRETATIONS

This section considers two texts, the *Liber Catonis* and John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture*. The Chetham *Liber Catonis*, one of twenty-five extant copies of Benedict Burgh’s medieval translation of the *Distichs of Cato*, provides a guide to moderate living, often seemingly based on the golden mean. Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture* is firmly rooted in later medieval England. The speaker asserts that he is ‘John Russell, in London dwellynge’ (959) and that he teaches his pupil to carve the ‘flesche feste after þe maner of Ingland’ (513). Russell is an usher who serves ‘a prynce ryall of hi degree’ (3-4). Although not named directly in the Chetham text, this royal prince is arguably Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother of King Henry V and renowned bibliophile and literary patron. The Harley 4011 version of the text directly names ‘Iohn Russelle. . . Som tyme seruaunde with duke vmfrey, duc of Glowcetur in dede’ (1229-30). Although very different texts, the *Liber* and Russell’s *Book* share a common purpose: to teach.

Both the *Liber* and Russell’s *Book* are constructed as educational tracts. The *Liber* instructs its reader to ‘com neer and leer by this reding/ To be a man vertuus in lyvyng’ (429-30). Similarly, Russell states that his ‘condicion is to teche and to forme’ (5). The texts view themselves as transmitters of knowledge and encourage that the information that they impart should be passed on: ‘Lere of the wysse and tech the unconnyng’ (*Liber*, 1045). Russell altruistically observes that ‘it is a cheritabill dede to teche vertu and gode livyng’ (10), while the *Liber* calls attention

to the pleasure in it: ‘to leare and teche – it is full agreable’ (1049). Together, the texts educate and encourage their readers to perpetuate that education.

The didactic nature of the texts has habitually categorised them with courtesy and conduct literature, or with later medieval household manuals in the case of Russell’s *Book*.¹¹⁰ The *Liber Catonis* is a classically based, Middle English translation on moral conduct. Stemming from the *Distichs* of Cato, it is not primarily focussed on religious morality but rather details the ways in which good living can occur. While moderation seems the pervading theme of the *Liber Catonis*, Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture* instead relishes in detailing the excesses of elite household consumption while providing instructions on serving within that sphere. The text is divided into parts based on types of servers and includes brief sections on personal hygiene and conduct on the part of the server. Russell’s *Book* moves from the lowest to highest ranked positions, from the panter, seler, boteler, and ewerer to the carvers of meat, fish and fowl, to the chamberlain, and finally to the usher. The extensive lists of all manner of edible delights and recipes given, including for sauces and drinks such as ipocras, are of the abbreviated style common to the later Middle Ages.¹¹¹ Despite their distinct differences, both texts are at their core purposefully and deliberately instructional. When read independently, each teaches

¹¹⁰ For further reading on later medieval courtesy and display see the following: Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, eds., *Medieval Conduct*, Medieval Cultures, vol. 7 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain Poet* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985); Kim M. Phillips, ‘The invisible man: body and ritual in a fifteenth-century noble household’, *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), 143-62.

¹¹¹ Hieatt argues that English medieval recipes were often given in abbreviated form, more concerned with naming what could be cooked than how it was cooked. She acknowledges that ‘the earliest English recipes . . . are terse, leaving a great deal up to the cook’s basic knowledge, but nevertheless precise and discriminating in directions for seasoning and colouring.’¹¹¹ See Constance B. Hieatt and S. Butler, eds., *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary MSS of the Fourteenth Century (Including the Forme of Cury)*, EETS SS 8 (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 8. For further reading on medieval feasts, recipes and cooking see: Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Cook* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), and Constance B. Hieatt, *A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

its own particular lesson – one in service and the other in morality. However, when read in the manuscript context, the *Liber* and Russell's *Book* together produce the distinct idea that education is a significant means to security, happiness, and good living. By reading the texts as co-creators of meaning, they present a type of comprehensive education which encompasses practical skill, for service in an elite household, as well as a guide to good living through wise conduct and good behaviour. The *Liber* and Russell's *Book* become two parts of a single, well-rounded education towards leading a better life.

'How to lyve welle': A COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

Attention is drawn to the theme of education in other Chetham texts. The *Life of St Katherine*, for example, champions the importance of education. Its scholarly heroine is famous for defeating the pagan Maxentius' fifty men who are 'oncomen in wisdom' (562). However, prior to her famous debate with the pagan masters there is a precedent for her educational prowess. Katherine undergoes two phases of education: first, in the seven arts and then, after her mystical marriage, in Christian doctrine. Katherine's education begins in her private study, which seems the greatest gift that her father and her privileged status can give her: 'Havyng so grett joye of her hye bewte and wysdome, [her father] lett ordeyn for her a large/ toure in his place withe dyvers chambers and studyes that no/ man shold come to her and lett her of her stodye but whan her/ luste' (14-18). Seven of the 'beste maysters of/ connyng that myght be ffound in that end of the world' (18-19) come to teach her, but in a reversal of roles were soon 'glad to become . . . her desiples and to lorne of her' (23-24). After her mystical marriage, she stays with Adrian 'the/ tyme that oure lord

assigned to her, tyll that she was sufficiently/ taught all that was need to her' (467-69). Although her defeat of the pagan wise men could be considered to be divinely aided or inspired, her wisdom and education moving her forward in life predates that event. Katherine's education and wisdom, in addition to her devotion, lead to her triumph and conversion of a multitude of pagans. As in the *Liber* and Russell's *Book*, Chetham 8009 promotes the idea that education is a crucial tool to success.

Even prior to engaging critically with the content of the *Liber Catonis* it stands apart from the other texts of the manuscript and is visibly and linguistically distinguished as potentially educational with its rubricated Latin headings preceding each stanza. Like much of the Middle English within Chetham 8009, the *Liber's* Latin verses are not without error. However, retaining the Latin headings signals not only the text's dedication to disseminating Classical thought but also perhaps an awareness of the erudition associated with Latin. These educational connotations are deliberate. As noted above, the *Liber* is self-aware of its purpose and capacity for learning and commands its reader to 'reed and conceyve' (12). Importantly, the text directly places emphasis not just on reading but on understanding as well, and scorns uncritical reading and misunderstanding: 'he is to dispysse/ that redith . . .not what is ment;/ such reding is nought but wynde dispent' (12-14). The *Liber* further expounds on this topic saying, 'to reden hem awayllet not a been/ But yf a man the kyrnell wolle unshit' (650-51).

The *Liber* promotes reading as the basis for education. It directly states how reading can improve one's life: 'by redyng and connyng men mow aryse;/ Than reed, my sone, and cunnyng accomplysse' (341-42). Additionally, just as the *Liber* urges the reader to pass on the knowledge gained by reading the text, it also encourages further reading and education by directing its reader to other works. Depending on

what subject the reader is interested in pursuing further, the *Liber* recommends a host of texts to expand one's understanding. For example: 'my child, yf that the lyst/ The vertue of herbis forto discryne' (396-97), the *Liber* suggests, 'Than rede Macer in his olde dicte' (401). Or if perhaps, 'thou lyst, my child, to setten thy delyte/ Of erth forto knowe the tylth and culture/ . . .I counsail the to musen for a whille/ In the laureate poete, grete Virgille' (389-90, 394-95). If the reader's interest is in 'lovers' and he would like to advance himself in 'that craft', then 'Naso can tech hym speede' (412). Ovid and Lucan are also recommended for writings on 'other thinges divers of plesaunce' (414) and 'manly prowes' (406), respectively. However, if the reader finds no 'pleseure' in the literature of those authors, the *Liber* directs its reader back to the text at hand saying 'that thou may be wyse in thy lyvyng/ Yif thou lyst to yeven me audience,/ I shall shew the doctryne of sapience' (421-23).

Specifically, the 'doctryne of sapience' includes instruction on how to conduct oneself to live well, through speech and behaviour. This instruction spans a number of topics from diet and drinking, to dealings with other people, to saving and spending money. In terms of diet, for example, the *Liber* recommends that the reader 'take good heed unto thyn owne estate/ To rule thy body welle with good diett' (634-35). Recommending moderate drinking, the *Liber* instructs the reader to 'feed not thy throte so faste;' as 'to moch drinke maketh men of witt full bare' (573-75). As the *Liber's* recommendation of other books demonstrates the *Liber's* commitment to directing its reader to learn outside of the text itself, part of its philosophy of education is to teach the reader to think for himself or herself. It teaches that his or her actions can determine certain outcomes. Placing the responsibility of decision-making and the subsequent consequences in the hands of the reader, the *Liber* notes,

‘and yitt the wyne therof is not to blame’ but rather ‘the drynker maketh hymselff lame’ (576-77).

The *Liber* reiterates throughout the text that it is not just trying to impart wisdom but also instruct on how to live pleurably. As it encourages pleasure in education through reading, it also encourages healthy living through a positive outlook. Warning against dwelling on death, the *Liber* muses, ‘whoo dredith soo is alway myrthles;/ Whan dreed of deth a man so encrochith,/ It wasteth lyfe and his tyme abreketh’ (449-51). The *Liber* recommends living with pleasure, prudence and profit: ‘emprent my techyng in thy soule stedefast/ All full profitable thou shalt it fynde’ (686-87).

The text further imparts a basis for good living by instructing on practical dealings with others including one’s wife, friends, and strangers. In what again seems like advice for protecting one’s security and happiness it recommends, for example, that the reader ‘chaunge not thy frend that thou knowest of olde/ For any new intrust that thou shalt fynde’ (268-69). This conservative attitude promotes keeping what one knows already and maintaining relationships upon which one can rely. However, in regards to money, the *Liber* promotes the idea of living pleurably, though moderately, rather than miserly. It advises to ‘kepe nevyr the coyne and lyve in grevaunce’ (965), however, ‘conserve thi thyng gotten with labour./ It is full faire to be said liberalle/ But eschew waste and be none surfectour;/ Consume not all thy tresour in an oure’ (318-21). It also recommends to be generous but not beyond one’s means, in regards to gifts and feasts for others. ‘Be free of mete, but look that larges leed/ The no further than thou may well attayne;/ Be thyn owne frende for thus Caton saith certayn’ (370-72).

Unknowingly anticipating Russell's *Book*, the *Liber* recommends teaching one's children a craft so that they may live well and avoid 'the nedy lyffe' (246). The *Liber* instructs its reader to 'teche thy children with craftes forto deele/ That with their art they may themself chevice./ Yif thou do thus, thou worchest as the wyse;/ Crafte is full good and craft is lucratyfe./ Be crafte they may defende the nedy lyffe' (242-46). Learning a craft provides purpose and security through a profession. The *Liber* is very aware of the changing nature of fortune and seeks to help its reader guard against poverty and unfavourable situations: 'Cunnyng and craft remaynen to endure,/ And by them a man may hymself releve/ Whan fortune hath cast hym into myscheve' (1021-23). With skills and cunning one may be able to determine one's own future, even if 'fortune' provides an unfavourable situation. Again encouraging a proactive attitude towards living well, the *Liber* encourages working hard and efficiently: 'thou shalt the occupye/ To worch thinges that ben profitable' (975-76). As a very complementary companion text, Russell's *Book* reiterates the ideas of hard work and purpose through an occupation. Within Chetham 8009 the *Liber* and Russell's *Book* may be interpreted to be read as a compilation of complementary lessons.

The focus in Russell on the transformative properties of education, as a means of changing one's life from being 'unparfite' (*Liber Catonis*, 62) or in poverty (material or spiritual), and to one that is 'profitable' (*Liber Catonis*, 687), emerges in the example of the unnamed young man in Russell's *Book*. The young man's education is presented as a journey, highlighted in the way in which the text begins. Russell borrows narrative elements from other genres where the journey, physical, emotional or spiritual, of the central character is key, such as from romance, dream vision, or chanson d'aventure. At the beginning of Russell's *Book* the young 'hero'

of the text is in despair. His ignorance prevents him from having any occupation, as each potential master ‘seyd me nay... for I am as lewid as a poppyngaye’ (35-37). His ‘lewid[ness]’ impedes finding his place in life and the development of his livelihood. However, by the end of Russell’s *Book* the young man addresses his teacher saying:

Nowe, worchipfull mayster, be blessud ye be,
For a connyng man ye have made me.
Nowe dare I do service to s[o]verente
Where afore I durst not, be my lewte! (953-56)¹¹²

The instruction given to the young man throughout Russell’s *Book* has made him ‘connyng’ with the knowledge of how to serve in a great household where he may now be employed. Here, his journey is from ignorance to understanding, and it is Russell’s self-conscious use of a journey-text model that transforms his instructional text into one that associates education with the ‘hero’s’ personal growth and the construction of his identity.¹¹³

Russell’s *Book* does not begin in the kitchens or hall where one might assume a book of ‘kervyng’ to start. Rather, it begins in a forest on a May morning, a time and place resonant with meaning and suggestive of a space open to the unexpected and the possibility of change. By discovering his pupil in the forest Russell develops

¹¹² John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture*. All quotations are from my diplomatic edition unless otherwise noted.

¹¹³ Russell’s first person description of his May morning forest wandering resonates closely with dream vision openings. See, for example the opening of *Pearl* which takes place in an ‘erbere’ (9), or Book I of the *Confessio Amantis*: ‘and that was in the monthe of Maii...unto the wode I gan to fare’ (100-10). See *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl, Cleanness, Patience*, ed. J.J. Anderson (London: J.M. Dent, 2002), and John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vol. 1, ed. Russell A. Peck, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006). The narrative importance of the May morning and wandering in a forest is also significant in romance. Malory writes ‘in a May mornynge, they toke their horsys wyth the quene and rode on-mayinge in wodis and medowis as hit pleased hem, in grete joy and delytes’. Here, Guenevere and her knights revel on a May morning before Meliagaunt interrupts them, whereas Russell’s young man encounters an opposite turn of fortune on his May morning. See Thomas Malory, ‘The Knight of the Cart,’ Book XIX, in *Malory: Works*, ed. Eugene Vinaver, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 649-50.

his own form of journey-text. Analogous to the romance hero's quest, for example, the young man's discovery of purpose happens as he progresses through an education in courteous service. On the evocative May morning, Russell 'walkid softly into a lawend so gren' (15, 18), and finds a despondent young man consumed by 'whanhop' (31) because he has no employment, and consequently, no purpose in his life. He does not belong anywhere, and no master will employ him because of his ignorance, although he 'sought' them 'fere and nere many a day' (34). In order to keep the young man from despair, Russell tells him 'I shall the teche' (46). Significantly Russell discovers the young man 'as I lokid on my ry3t hond' (20), and promises to teach him with 'right good will' (46). By constructing his meeting with the young man in this way and foregrounding his instruction in these terms, Russell implies that his pupil, his decision to teach him, and the intention behind the instruction are not only beneficial but also morally right.¹¹⁴ With its distinctive opening, Russell's *Book* becomes a vehicle for displaying an ideological perception of the importance of education and employment.¹¹⁵

In romance, the narrative path of the knight leads him through various challenges to a confirmation of identity and often, marriage. Each of the knights' challenges, which form a kind of education, allows his martial and chivalric prowess to grow. Each challenge builds the hero's reputation and brings him closer to his goal, whether of marriage, hereditary right, or possession of a kingdom. The romances of Chetham 8009, *Torrent of Portyngale*, *Bevis of Hamtoun*, and *Ipomadon*, display this archetypal educational trajectory of romance. Each hero

¹¹⁴ **right (n.)** 1a 'that which is morally right'; **right (adj.)** 2c '~half (arm, honde), power, strength', 3a 'morally good', 3c 'righteous, virtuous, good'. *MED*.

¹¹⁵ Goldberg argues that 'in the early fifteenth-century town most adolescents were probably in service with others rather than living with their natal families.' See P.J.P. Goldberg, 'What Was a Servant?', in *Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Anne Curry and Elizabeth Matthew. *The Fifteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 1-20 (p. 7).

begins the narrative in an imperfect state from which he must undergo an 'education' of challenge and adventure before he can attain his objective. Torrent, the son of an earl, must prove his worth in numerous battles against giants before he will be granted marriage to Desonell, the daughter of a king; Bevis, also an earl's son, battles against monsters and men in order to reclaim his patrimonial title and lands from his father's murderer; Ipomadon, the son of a king, while supremely courteous, must learn to wield arms and earn his honour in successive tournaments, gaining the distinction of the best knight in the world, before he can marry the Fere. Each romance follows the growth of the knights through their adventures until they assume their positions at the head of a court.

While the knights follow their road towards self-fulfilment through martial adventures, the young man's narrative follows a very different path contained within, rather than without, the elite household. The adventures of the knights invariably revolve around a high status court as a place from which to mark their departures and returns, a place to measure their imperfections when they leave and their growth when they return. Courtly halls punctuate the quests of Torrent, Bevis and Ipomadon. Departing for their adventures, and returning with renown, the space of the hall allows the public observance of honour, or of shame. For Russell's young man, however, the hall, arguably the heart of the elite household, is not the point of departure and return, but rather the primary locus of his education. Rather than overcoming giants, Russell's adventures follow his progression from the lower-level positions to the high-ranking offices in the household.

While the knights of romance arguably fulfil their identity through chivalric battles that end in the conjugal, courtly rule, the path of Russell's young man is not so fiercely determined; Russell offers to educate the young man in various

professions including a servant, ‘plowman’, labourer, ‘clerke’, ‘marchaunt’, ‘artificer’, ‘or else a chambrylayn, a boteler, a panter, a kerver’ (39-41).¹¹⁶ The young man chooses his path. Determining his own future, he replies that he desires to learn ‘the office of a boteler, panter, chambirlyayn,/ and ... the connyng of a kerver’ (42-43). The young man recognises an education in service as an accomplishment. For the young man the journey for identity and purpose ends with the highest level of service in the masculine world of the household — as an independent man, with no family ties, nor patrimonial heritage to consider, his means of stability and life purpose are rooted in his employment. While Erich Auerbach argues that the knights of romance follow their path as a means of fulfilling and identifying their societal status, work and occupational perfection becomes its own type of life journey for one such as the young man.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

Russell’s *Book* is not simply an instructional manual for serving in an elite household, nor is the *Liber* simply a book transmitting classically based morality. Rather, the *Liber Catonis* and Russell’s *Book* together meaningfully construct a composite portrait of the way in which education is a means to good living – through good work and activity (‘for God and man hathith idilnesse; it makith a man unthryving’, Russell’s *Book*, 57), and more generally, through sensible behaviour and good conduct. Significantly education, specifically through reading, provides the

¹¹⁶ Woolgar argues that ‘many servants had no formal training, but learned on the job’, and that evidence of training is now mostly reduced to the fifteenth-century tracts ‘setting out matters of courtesy’, like Russell’s *Book*. See C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Erich Auerbach, ‘The Knight Sets Forth’, in *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 123-42.

tools for attaining a good life: ‘Thes preceptis kepe wel in remembraunce,/ Enrollyng hem and prenttyng in your mynde,/ How to lyve welle the mennys shall ye fynde’ (*Liber*, 930-32). Encouraged by the promotion of learning found in both the *Liber* and Russell’s *Book*, the manuscript collection provides a kind of composite education in which each text provides various lessons. The *Liber* and Russell’s *Book* encourage their readers to keep learning, displaying a belief that education not only is a key to good living but that it can always be improved upon; education is a perpetual journey. The *Liber* encourages, ‘Museth a while what all this maters mene’ (648) and ‘though in connyng thou have full gret conseyte,/ Enforce the ay to lerne more’ (1031-32).

1.3.4 ‘*thou may see be my glyttrand geyre and be my riche ar[a]ye,
so good as I, maye no man be*’: DISPLAY & CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

Ipomadon, the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*, and John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture*: THE TEXTS & USUAL INTERPRETATIONS

This section examines *Ipomadon*, the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*, and John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture*. Each of the texts shares a thematic focus on the importance of display. From *Ipomadon*’s many disguises, the Duke’s orchestration of wealth and armies, and Russell’s systematised portrayal of an elite household, the use of display, specifically the outward show of riches or behaviour, emerges as a means to construct identity.

The *Book of the Duke and Emperor* chronicles how Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy was accompanied by a visually impressive company of men in October of 1473 as he travelled from his duchy in Luxembourg to Trier (‘Tresues’, in the manuscript) to meet with Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor. While the Dukes of Burgundy held immense power, they perpetually sought to attain a royal crown and for the Duke, politically inferior to the Emperor, the meeting provided a forum in which to assert his status and power. Arrayed in ‘clooth of gold’ (51) and ‘a manteline’ covered in ‘perlez and stones’ that were ‘the richest and the best’ (52-53), the Duke ensured he and his company formed a dazzling and formidable sight, aiming to evoke awe in those who beheld them.

The elaborate display described in the *Duke and Emperor* is not just the textual artifice of the chronicle. The separate financial accounts from 1473, now preserved in the Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, B2098, recorded by the

Duke's treasurer, Nicolas de Gondeval, detail the Duke's extraordinary expenditure on his household's adornment: £38,830 was spent on robes of velvet and crimson, silver brocade, and taffeta.¹¹⁸ Sparing no expense, the Duke purposefully used his company as an extension and representation of himself, and as a visible demonstration of his wealth. As the *Duke and Emperor* makes clear, the Duke created a 'pompeux arraye' (171) of 'riche tapisserie of gold and of silke' (162-63) and 'tapisserie, al with armes of Bourgine' (170) solidifying in the viewer's mind the wealth and status of the Burgundian court. The text makes clear that the Duke is a paragon of excellence, the ideal standard of elite living.

As a courtesy text, household manual, and educational tool, Russell's *Book* is designed to be emulated. While it provides a detailed education in service and asserts that through education the pupil's life may improve, Russell's *Book* at the same time glorifies the sumptuous living of those in an elite household. As the *Duke and Emperor* elaborately details the expensive garments and decorations for the Duke's retinue and feast, Russell's extensive listing of the components of the feast – edible and decorative – indicate the high status of the master being served. The 'sovereyn' is confined to a voiceless position in the text as the dialogue occurs between a teacher and student, a high status servant to novice. Yet, it is for this master that the servants seek to maintain excellence, for the good of his personal comfort and his reputation. As the Duke, Russell, and Ipomadon demonstrate, reputation is inherently linked to display. Controlling the public's perception through their

¹¹⁸ See Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 140-47. Gondeval's account included the names of those for whom the clothing is made and bears witness to Duke's large retinue—1,003 men according to his account. Vaughan argues that the meeting served as a 'public exhibition of Burgundian wealth and splendour, and the magnificence of the clothes and accoutrements of himself and his retinue was commented on and subsequently grossly exaggerated by numerous chroniclers.' I would like to thank Craig Taylor for his generous help with understanding the historical context of this text.

displays by meaningfully constructing their images is a way to assert social status and power.

Romance typically is very comfortable with this idea of display; under the gaze of the courts and heroines of the narratives, the heroes exhibit their martial prowess, gleaming armour, and courteous behaviour in order to gain renown and secure their futures. As the Duke shows off his resplendent armies and Russell presents lavish feasts, Ipomadon publicly exhibits his knightly skills, albeit in disguise. However, in a reverse image of the knightly ideal, Ipomadon deliberately manipulates his appearance to demonstrate that perhaps, display without substance is not enough. By reading across these texts we see the importance of visual display and how it is used to construct identity, however it also becomes clear that image alone is not everything.

*'In erthe ys none so worthy a knight/ but yf his dede be shewyde in syght
men will no good sopose': DISPLAY UNDER DEBATE*

The visual image of social excellence that the *Duke and Emperor* and Russell's *Book* seek to portray is questioned by *Ipomadon*. Substance as well as spectacle is important. Concealing his identity once again, Ipomadon enters King Mellagre's court in order to champion the Fere who is beset by Sir Lyolyne. Earlier in the romance, it was at Mellagre's court that Ipomadon had pretended to be Drew la Reine, the fool and servant of the queen. Drew la Reine hunted by day but refused to take up arms, much to the queen's embarrassment and his own ridicule. Although his 'hunting' actually consisted of taking part in the tournament for the Fere's hand

in marriage in disguise, his true purpose was unknown and unseen by Mellagre's court and thus he was ridiculed.

Prior to his re-entering Mellagre's court, Ipomadon's preparation is carefully detailed, each 'gleaming' piece related to the audience:

He made his mayster to cotte his heyre
Hye behynde and lowe before,
Wondyr ille faringlye.
A blake soty sheld he gate; . . .
An old rusty swerd he hadde,
His spere was a plowgh gade . . .
Vpon the to[n] legge a brokyn bote,
A rente hose on the other foote . . .
His helme was not worthe a bene,
His hors . . . was an old crokyd meyre. (6226-40)

Inverting the archetypal image of the prepossessing knight armed with his glimmering shield and sword, here Ipomadon deliberately creates its antithesis. Reminiscent of *Octavian's* Florent in his 'unfaire wede' (959, 1016, 1088), which draws for its wearer 'many a skornefulle word' (974), the knight's outer clothing does not reflect his capability ('full many a Sarezene made he to blede', 1089).¹¹⁹ Hacking his hair into what appears to be a mullet, donning tattered clothes, and carrying black and rusty weapons, Ipomadon transforms himself into the inverse image of the chivalric knight. In his unsightly ensemble, Ipomadon rides into the court with short stirrups and a crooked back. Echoing the court's previous ridicule of him as Drew la Reine, the court erupts into laughter at the sight of his ludicrous appearance. They laugh so hard that 'there knyves oute of there handys gan fall' (6268), and 'there was non a coppe myght hold in hand,/ so low3e they all att onys'

¹¹⁹ Florent's armour, like Ipomadon's is 'rysty', with an 'unsemly' shield and spear (938-46). His 'atyre...was unbryghte' (971) and, like Ipomadon's, causes the bystanders to 'loughe so faste thay were nere wode,/ and skornede hym that tyde' (987-88). See *Octavian*, in *Four Middle English Romances*, ed. Harriet Hudson (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006).

(6272-73). However, it is not merely his appearance that makes them laugh, but the fact that he is attempting to dress as a knight and, in their eyes, failing spectacularly.

While Ipomadon's ability has not changed, the deliberate alteration of his outward appearance illuminates the clay feet of a court relying only on outward displays to signify worth. Ipomadon mocks the perceived importance of outward display by drawing attention to his appearance. He tells the court

'So worthy as I am one,
Vnder heyven I trowe is none,
Where freke men fleys awaye.
I hate pease and louye the were,
Thou may *see* be my glyttrand geyre
And be my riche ar[a]lye.
So good as I maye no man be.' (6313-19)

While Ipomadon speaks ironically, wearing his rusty armour, his words lay bare the ideology of display and the motivation behind the Duke's actions during the meeting of 1473. Ipomadon successfully satirises the display ideology of the courts and the emphasis placed on physical appearance, the 'glyttrand gere' of outward show. By his performance, again 'incognito', Ipomadon illustrates that the worthiness of the man has not changed; he still speaks as eloquently as he has before, and later fights with equal fierceness. Signalling the deception that appearance can provide, the narrator warns that he who calls Ipomadon a fool, 'he is twys so moche foule as hee-' (6440). The superficiality of the court is laid bare. For all of their ridicule of Ipomadon, when a true challenge is brought into their court, not a single knight backs up his outward persona with a demonstration of his internal worth. Imayne pleads with the court to save the Fere from Lyolyne. No one takes up the challenge: 'thow^{3e} she [Imayne] made neuer so muche moo[ne],/ they satte all stille as anny stone,/ the kynge and all togedur' (6544-46). This lack of action, reminiscent of the

young court of Arthur in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, indicates a great flaw within the court and brings shame to Mellagre and his knights.¹²⁰

Imayne reveals that she shares the same visual perceptions as the court when Ipomadon, dressed in rags, accepts the challenge. Although there are no other takers, she rejects his offer. Imayne would rather be ‘drowned in a pole/ or I ouer land shuld ledde a fole’ (6652-53). Her prejudice about appearance is so deeply entrenched that even when Ipomadon fights fiercely and saves her from an ill-intentioned knight, she still does not accept the display of prowess that she has seen. Imayne believes that ‘he dyd it be his grette folye,/ and nothing be his chevalrye’ (6813-14). Even with a visual demonstration of his worth Ipomadon’s tattered appearance presents such a strong façade of unworthiness that Imayne refuses to respect him. Display for the sake of display is valueless and appearances are not always to be trusted. At the same time, outward appearances are clearly very important in order to be taken seriously.

Significantly, the only character who recognises Ipomadon’s worth is a dwarf. The dwarf, in awe of Ipomadon exclaims to Imayne, ‘damysell . . . have ye not *sene* this dede?’ (6794-95). The nameless dwarf is not described, however the trope of the dwarf is enough to bring connotations of one who is physically mean, one who does not fit the knightly ideal nor who is able to sit in a saddle ‘stone stille’ like the ‘bygge men’ (8416-17) such as Ipomadon. It is this figure, marginalised because of his short stature, who is able to see beyond Ipomadon’s fool’s clothing and appreciate the worthiness within.

Ipomadon recognises that ‘dede’ must ‘be shewyde in syght’ (1139). Ipomadon exhibits his martial superiority in the visible space of the tournament

¹²⁰ See Anderson, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and Wells, ‘Manners Maketh Man’, pp. 76-81.

while ‘incognito’, disguised in white, red, and black armour.¹²¹ However, while his identity is masked, his deeds are public, and ultimately bring him recognition and reward.¹²² Without a visual demonstration, there is no substance to one’s claim of worth. The Fere’s public vow, Ipomadon needing to leave home so that his great works may be seen, and the recognition of his good birth by his display of courteous behaviour all establish that ‘syght’ (public image) is powerful. The text probes the question of the importance of outward appearance and display. Display, in the sense of proving one’s worth through action is important, but display without substance is worthless. The Duke uses the display of his military company to promote his own importance, illustrate his wealth, and increase his power. Reading the *Duke and Emperor* in the context of *Ipomadon* forces the reader to consider how the Duke’s displays of affluence and irreproachable courtesy construct his reputation – is there substance behind the show?

With his rank technically inferior to the Emperor, the Duke uses the sumptuous display of his wealth as a means to demonstrate that his status is not only equal to that of Frederick III, but in fact greater. After arriving in Trier, the Duke, under the guise of courtesy, engages in a power struggle with the Emperor in which initially neither agrees to visit the other first, as that would demonstrate deference to the other man. Although ‘this question dured long’ (82) the Emperor finally concedes.¹²³ After this minor, yet emblematic victory, the Duke then ‘did the

¹²¹ See Purdie, *Ipomadon*, and J. A. Burrow, ‘The Uses of Incognito: Ipomadon A’, in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 25-34.

¹²² Early in the narrative Ipomadon acknowledges the importance of perception and of coming into the sight of others; recognising the visually isolated space of his home, away from the gaze of others, he compares his state to that of a bear in a den, saying ‘here I lye as bere in denne./ and come neuer amonge no men’ (208-209). By staying at home he recognises that he eliminates the chance of proving his worth. He expresses his desire to venture into the world saying, he ‘who lovys ay at home to wonne./ lyttill gode shall he conn’ (211-12).

¹²³ In his *Memoirs*, Philip de Commines, the chamberlain and councillor to the Duke around 1468, describes him as ‘a powerful and honourable prince’. Nevertheless, when commenting on the meeting of 1473, he places it in his chapter on ‘A Digression, Demonstrating that when Two Great Princes

Emperer all the worship that to hym was possible' (111). Only after the Emperor has metaphorically bowed to the Duke will he condescend to pay homage to the Emperor. During the meeting of 1473, the Duke, and then later his chronicler, strove to construct his preeminent status, aiming to demonstrate that he was 'not a duc...but the greitest emperer' (62-63) through the display of his company and wealth. When the Duke receives the Emperor to his 'hous' (160), he greets him visually with symbols of his wealth, as his chronicler presents the reader with a textual imitation of the Duke's visual display:

My lord brought him to his hous, whiche hous themperer stoid *beseen* full triumphantly as it so belanged. The halle was hanged withe a riche tapisserie of gold and of silke, and there was hanged for themp[er]er a riche cloothe of estate.

(160-64))

Using opulence as a means of demonstrating power and enhancing reputation resonates with the feasting extravagance evident in Russell's *Book*. For Russell and the Duke, conspicuous consumption conveys an image of wealth, and thus status. Literally carving an image of excess, Russell promotes the use of subtleties. These extravagant culinary crafts were made with edible and inedible materials, including

meet, in order to adjust their differences, such interviews are generally more prejudicial than Profitable'. His brief account of the meeting begins as follows:

Since that time Charles Duke of Burgundy with great Labour and Solicitation obtain'd an Interview with the Emperer Frederick, (who is still living) and spent vast Sums of Money to shew his Grandeur and Magnificence: The Place of Meeting was at *Treves*, where several things were discours'd of, and among the rest a Marriage between their children, which was afterwards accomplish'd.

Comines describes Charles' expenditure of 'vast Sums' as a demonstration of his importance, 'his Grandeur and Magnificence' and suggests a lack of control on the Duke's part, saying that the meeting with Frederick was only granted 'with great Labour and Solicitation'. Far from the praise of the *Duke and Emperer* chronicler, Comines offers further censure as he describes the lack of 'true love' between Charles and Frederick explaining 'the Duke's pompous and lofty manner of speaking, (which they imputed to his Pride) offended the Germans; and the Emperer's Meanness both in his Train and Dress appear'd as contemptible to the Burgundians'. The respect that Comines held for the Duke as an 'honourable prince' is tempered with a disapproval for his extravagant ways and gross expenditure for the sake of display. See Philippe de Commynes, *The Memoirs of Philip de Comines: Containing the History of Louis XI and Charles VIII of France, and of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy* (London: John Phillips, 1712), pp. 451, 167, and 168.

marzipan. Extravagantly accompanying different courses are representations of ‘the tonge of your dame’ (661), a ‘woman dansynge’ (674), and a woman ‘mery of chere law3inge’ (679).¹²⁴ In the *Duke and Emperor* and Russell’s *Book*, the impressive visual presentations of well-clad people, food and wealth become synonymous with worth; the feast and spectacle become the ‘dede’ that is ‘shewyde’ (*Ipomadon*, 1139).

The Duke creates a performance of his identity through the men of his retinue, their clothing and armour, and the accoutrements and courtesy of the feasts. As Russell’s *Book* presents a well ordered structure of servers, the Duke constructs a powerful image of vast numbers of men, his ‘companie’ (117), which is also referred to as his ‘bataile’ (84) and his ‘housholde’ (28) at once represents his political, military, and domestic power. The Duke and his chronicler present his retinue almost as a fixed image, a static moment where the sheer expanse of their numbers presents a tableau crafted to inspire awe. The chronicler moves through the company as it stands in ‘estate’ and ‘ordre’ (61-62). Each man is identified in terms of his function within his company and the particular weapon or skill with which he is associated. This task-oriented identification is much like the household officers in Russell’s *Book*. The Duke’s retinue includes his ‘men-of-armes of the garde’ (31), the ‘speres reserved [in] his housholde’ (21), ‘archiers’ (26), knights, and squires, all who form ‘so fiers and so doubtfull a compaignie’ (39-40). As each section is described, a systematic portrait of order emerges, presenting the reader with a textual illustration of the collective power and might of the ‘speres’ or archers.¹²⁵ In addition to the

¹²⁴ Subtleties were a form of entertainment created specifically for high status feasts, and often consisted of constructions, such as a lion, castle, or saint made out of either edible or non-edible materials and often accompanied by an explanatory verse. See Anne Brannen, ‘Intricate Subtleties: Entertainment at Bishop Morton’s Installation Feast’, *Records of Early English Drama Newsletter* 22 (1997), 2-11.

¹²⁵ **spere (n.(1))** 4. A spearman, lancer; also, a troop of spearmen. *MED*.

intimidating, although static, display of martial might, the Duke emphasises his political force through the accompaniment of the ‘lordes of my seid lordes blode and diversez oper noblemen’ (60). Merging the military ranks of his ‘bataile’, domestic servants, and kinsmen, the Duke assembled a masculine force suitable for a king, or emperor. However, like Ipomadon’s deceptive clothing donned for show, the Duke’s ‘tableau’ seems just that; it is a vision of power and might, but is there any power behind it? The ‘tornay’ (470) and ‘melling’ (237) attempt to demonstrate physical might, but essentially they seem games for exercise and amusement, although injuries are incurred. It is not the purpose of the text to extensively detail the Duke’s military campaigns. Rather, power here is perceived in his interaction with the Emperor. In this type of political negotiation, perhaps the visible display of the Duke’s company, feasts, and courtesy is emblematic enough of the worth he desires to convey.

Repeatedly using imagery of viewing and seeing, the chronicler emphasises the important visual quality of the Duke’s display; his company were the ‘ffayreste...to *beholde*’ (32-33) and ‘fiers and dredfull...to *loke on*’ (37). The chronicler asserts his authority as an eyewitness to the events, stating that he was there with ‘the men-of-armes of the garde, whiche been under my charge’ (31-32). Aware of the influence his words may have by transmitting the meeting through his text and attempting to enhance the Duke’s reputation, the chronicler confesses:

I know well that this little epistle shal be *seen* of so grete and of so valeureux personnes that it is harme and pitie that the grettest historie[n] of the world had nat put his hand thereto.

(13-15)

He anticipates that ‘this little epistle’ will be ‘seen’, that through his text a tangible commemoration of the event has been created. The words themselves become a means of display, creating in the minds of the reader the visual splendour of the meeting. Complementing this dazzling sight, the Duke’s courteous behaviour reinforces his status: ‘my lord receivd them full c[e]rteisly, every man after his/estate’ (85-86). Display, through visual, and in the *Duke and Emperor*, textual performance demonstrates a self-fashioning of identity, image, and reputation. Using the indescribability topos, the chronicler accentuates the visual quality of the Duke’s company: ‘and as for his company, I beleve nat that any suche hathe *be seen* of long tyme’ (305-306). The chronicler manipulates the reader’s perception, just as the Duke attempts to manipulate the perception of those he encounters during the meeting. The chronicler wants his reader to see what he saw, to feast through the eyes of their imagination on what others were able to ‘beholde’ (33). Through his repeated adulation, the chronicler attempts to convince the audience of the text that the Duke’s display of visual and behavioural excellence is enough to signify his power. While Ipomadon must demonstrate his prowess to illustrate his worth, the Duke’s worth is defined by his wealth and courtesy.

Worth and display are also constructed differently in Russell. Worth comes to the young man through his education; before his instruction he is rejected and in despair. In Russell’s *Book* the value of the lord’s household comes from the hard work of the servants. Their attention to precise detail as they serve, present and prepare food, create the correct seating arrangement for guests, and meticulously care for the lord’s chamber and body all reflect on the quality of the lord. The high standards set in Russell’s instruction ensure his pupils will be able to provide elite service and always in a way ‘to do your sovereyn worshepynge’ (627).

The conscious use of display in *Ipomadon*, the *Duke and Emperor*, and Russell's *Book* demonstrate the way it was viewed as a vital component for asserting and maintaining status. In each text its 'hero' has certain social aspirations, whether that is to gain a better position in life, attain a royal crown, or marry the Fere. The manuscript reveals the later medieval enthusiasm for texts illustrating, and instructing on, social advancement. In the late fifteenth century, the Burgundian court embodied the epitome of fashion and established a contemporary standard of gentility. While the Chetham 8009 *Duke and Emperor* is now the only remaining copy in Middle English, Meale argues that John Paston III, part of a family well known for their social aspirations, owned a similar text.¹²⁶ In 1474 he wrote to his brother and requested that 'my book of the metyng of the Duke and of the Emperour' be sent to him.¹²⁷ This trend-setting Burgundian court was arguably 'the accepted "mirror" by which other societies could judge themselves.'¹²⁸ Nevertheless, while Burgundy exerted huge cultural influence, *Ipomadon* introduces a voice across the manuscript that questions the stability of assumptions made on appearances and reputations built on them.

¹²⁶ Sir John Paston II's 'Grete Boke' incorporated different accounts of tournaments including one 'which took place in Bruges in July 1468 following the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy'. See Godfrey A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984), p. 10.

¹²⁷ A contemporary English version has not been previously identified and the source of the Chetham *Book of the Duke and the Emperor* is unknown. The book requested by John Paston III is not recorded in the c. 1479 'Inventory off Englysshe bokis' of John Paston II. See Carol Meale, 'The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*', footnote 65, p. 171; see also Norman Davis, ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, Part I* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 516-518, 592. Davis notes that it was disputed whether this inventory was of John Paston III, but concludes that the handwriting was 'unquestionably' John II's. This conclusion leads Davis to date the letter not after 1479, when John II died. Lester also believes this list to be dated after 31 March 1474, and before John II's death.

¹²⁸ Meale, 'The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*', pp. 146, 171.

Conclusion

The companion texts within the manuscript are in conversation with each other. Independently, Ipomadon's ruse in his ridiculous armour may be read as its hero laughing at the court who ridiculed him. However, when read with the *Duke and Emperor* and Russell's *Book*, two texts that place such importance on outward perceptions, the reader is encouraged to take a more serious look at the impetus of the laughter and the potential flaws that the scene reveals. Ipomadon's dabbling in the anti-hero disguise makes the reader pause, step back, and question the identities and reputations that have been built on a sumptuous show of wealth. Display without substance is nothing but a pantomime.

1.3.5 CONCLUSIONS

Considering reading and interpreting in medieval terms means returning to the manuscript and experiencing the literature in its medieval context. Privileging the manuscript in this way brings fantastic collections of late medieval literature to the foreground, such as Chetham's Library MS 8009 with its hagiography, romance, courtesy literature, historic and comic texts. Based in the physical artefact of the late fifteenth-century manuscript, reading across the manuscript and across genres in atypical ways creates new interpretations. Narrative focus shifts from Ipomadon to the Fere as Katherine's declarations of her desires and subsequent trials throw the spotlight on the romance heroine and other bold and vocal women in Chetham 8009. Focus shifts again when we consider *Torrent of Portyngale* with the devotional texts that share its manuscript booklet. The romance hero becomes a model for prayer in an active life as he blends secular and sacred seamlessly. The two instructional texts, the *Liber Catonis* and Russell's *Book*, together produce the idea that education is not just a way to enhance one's morality or gain employment, but rather it is essential on the path to good living, with security and purpose. Reading three very different texts together, a romance, a historical account, and an instructional text, reveals the prevalent desire for social advancement and that display provides a way to achieve it. However, while display is important, the necessity of questioning the worth behind the façade, and how that worth is defined, surfaces through a contextual reading.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate how by reading the manuscript understanding emerges as texts act as co-creators of meaning within the 'whole book'. These four brief interpretations are mere 'tasters' of the readings that may be made within Chetham 8009. In Part II I provide four diplomatic editions. With a

listing of the texts that precede or follow it, each edited text is placed in the order in which it appears in the manuscript. Thus, the whole manuscript is represented and ready to be read and interpreted by the reader.

PART II
THE EDITIONS

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

2.1.1 *General Notes*

As a diplomatic edition, I have tried to replicate the text that appears in the manuscript very closely. Modern capitalisation and punctuation have been applied to the texts. The medieval u/v and i/j have been regularised according to modern usage. The double ‘ff’ has been retained, except when it falls at the beginning of a sentence or a line of verse, in which case it becomes a capital ‘F’. The Tironian ‘et’ reads as ‘and’ in the edition. I have retained the use of the ‘þ’ and ‘3’ (for yogh) when they appear. Word-divisions have been modernised without note. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Illegible words or letters in the manuscript, due to tight binding or cropping, are indicated with brackets. Decorative elements have not been noted, but large capitals appear in bold. The prose texts, the *Life of St Katherine* and the *Book of the Duke and Emperor*, follow the paragraphing, but not the lineation, that occurs in the manuscript.

Additions and emendations have been noted by square brackets and noted at the foot of the page followed by the original word. These notes follow the format used by Rhiannon Purdie in the EETS edition of *Ipomadon*.¹²⁹ Where I have added a word the note reads ‘*MS om.*’ for ‘manuscript omission’. I have noted where single

¹²⁹ Purdie, *Ipomadon*, lxxxix.

letters or words have been written in above the line or inserted above the line with a caret, except in cases where the scribe uses a regular system of abbreviations. For example, in the *Duke and Emperor* the scribe habitually writes ‘BourGINE’ with the ‘ine’ written in above the line, as in line 9. In the *Life of St Katherine*, the *Liber Cationis*, and John Russell’s *Book of Carving and Nurture* emendations have occasionally been made based on the authority of previous editions and other manuscript witnesses. These are noted by the initial letter of the editor, followed by ‘MS’ and the Chetham word. The references are discussed below.

I have largely maintained scribal spellings including those that are varied and inconsistent. For example, in Russell England is written as both ‘Ingland’ (l. 513) and ‘Yngland’ (l. 837), and while routinely appearing as ‘ipocras’ (179), the drink also is written as ‘epocrase’ (139) and ‘ypocras’ (668). Where a scribe inconsistently spells plural endings, I have expanded the plural abbreviations based on the nearest exemplar. For example, in the final stanza of f. 340v of Russell’s *Book*, ‘bagges’ is written with both the ‘es’ ending (183) and with the ‘is’ ending (186). I have therefore expanded the plural abbreviation for the word in line 184 as ‘bagges’.

As a diplomatic edition, I have not included word glosses. In the cases where highly variant spelling makes understanding difficult, I have provided a brief definition in the notes. These appear with the Chetham word in bold, followed by the definition and the *MED* headwords, or in a rare instance, the *AND* headword.

2.1.2 Notes on Individual Texts

Life of St Katherine

Initial capitals that appear in the manuscript in blue ink appear in bold in the edition. The few emendations made on the authority of A. Kurvinen's unpublished edition of the life, based on Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237, are noted with a 'K.'¹³⁰

Liber Catonis

I have retained variations in spelling in the *Liber's* Latin. Capital letters and oblique strokes have been preserved as they appear in the manuscript. Emendations made after consulting the early printed version by William Caxton are noted with a 'C.'¹³¹

John Russell's *Book of Carving and Nurture*

Initial capitals that appear in the manuscript in blue ink appear in bold in the edition. The Furnivall edition of Russell's *Book* is based on London, British Library Harley MS 4011.¹³² The Harley and Chetham versions of the text are significantly different, however large sections are very similar. When I have used Furnivall's edition to emend the Chetham text, it is noted as 'F.' 'p^u' has been expanded as 'pou', as the

¹³⁰ A. A. Kurvinen, 'The *Life of St Catharine of Alexandria* in Middle English Prose', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1961.

¹³¹ William Caxton, *Parvus Cato, Magnus Cato, Translated by Benet Burgh*. Westminster, about 1477. Francis Jenkinson, facsimile ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906.

¹³² Frederick J. Furnivall, ed. *John Russells Boke of Nurture, The Babees Book, etc.* EETS OS 32. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868.

scribe writes out thorn-ou, as in line 47. I have retained the use of both ‘þe’ and ‘ye’ in the text as ‘þ’ and ‘y’ are distinguishable both visually and in context.

The Book of the Duke and Emperor

In the *Duke and Emperor*, retaining the variations in spelling extends to people and place names. For example, the names of three Bavarian dukes appear as ‘Duc Stephen, Duc Obert, and Duc Loys’ (365), ‘Stephen, Abert, and Leys’ (177), as well as ‘Duc Obert’ (258). As noted above, the ‘ine’ in ‘Bourgine’ is consistently written above the line, as is ‘ines’ for ‘cap[t]ines’. This has not been noted except in instances where ‘ne’ is written above the line with the ‘i’ missing, as in line 75. The edition includes one reference to Richard Vaughan, in regards to the word ‘dixiniers’ (27), and is noted as ‘V’.¹³³

¹³³ Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002. Vaughan explains Charles’ military organisation: ‘In each company of ordinance there were to be 100 men-at-arms, each the leader of a nine-man detachment or lance as described above. These men-at-arms were divided into tens, each commanded by a *disenier*. The commander of the company, called the *conducteur*, was himself also a *disenier*’, p. 207.

CHETHAM 8009: THE EDITIONS

In the following section I provide four diplomatic editions in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. These are accompanied by the listings of the companion texts of Chetham 8009 as they occur before and after the diplomatic editions. The companion texts are listed with their most recent or authoritative editions. More editorial work still needs to be done on the Chetham texts. For example, the *Assumptio Sancte Marie* and the *Life of St Dorothy*, although affected by water damage, remain to be fully edited. In the meantime, the editions I have listed below not primarily based on Chetham 8009, either include the Chetham variants or have proved to be quite similar when compared to the Chetham text. By listing the texts and the new editions I hope to provide a sense of the whole manuscript, allowing my reader to further think contextually about Chetham 8009 and reading across its texts.

2.2.1 *Texts within Chetham 8009: ff. 1r – 29v*

Life of Saint Dorothy, ff. 1r-2v

C. Horstman, ed. 'Prosalegenden' *Anglia* 3 (1880), 325-28. This edition is based on London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 432.

Assumptio Sancte Marie, ff. 3r-17v

George H. McKnight, ed. *King Horn, Floriz and Blanche-flur, The Assumption of our Lady*. EETS OS 14. London: Oxford University Press, 1901. Pp. 111-36.

Life of Saint Anne, ff. 18r-29v

Roscoe Parker, ed. *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*. EETS OS 174. London: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 90-109. The edition of version II is from the Cambridge, Trinity College MS 601, but includes variant readings from the Chetham 8009.

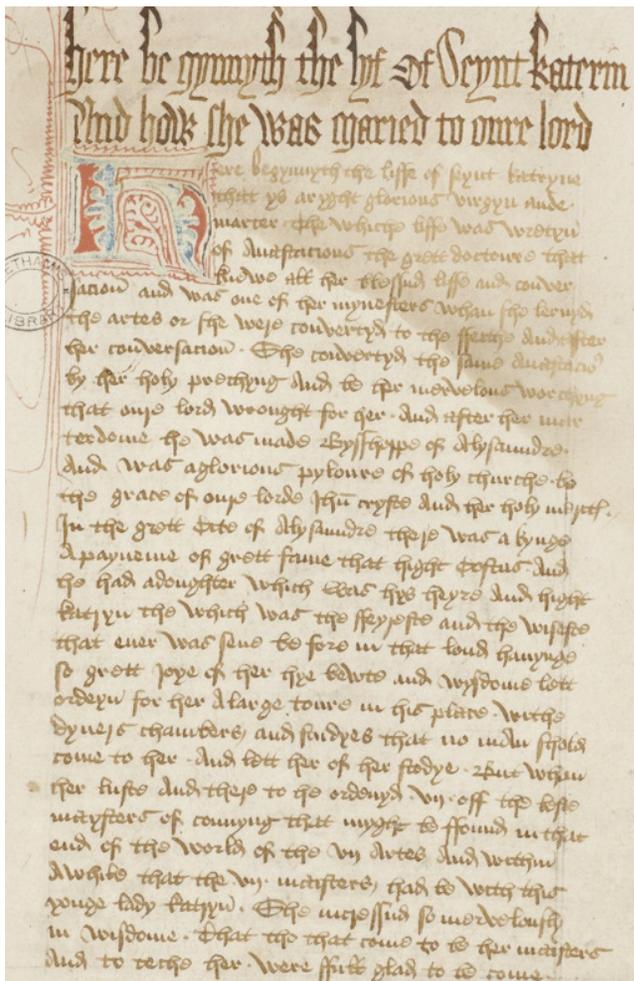


Figure 3: Chetham's Library MS 8009, f. 30r

2.2.2 The Life of Saint Katherine

f. 30r

Here begynnyth the liffe of Seynt Katryne that ys a ryght glorious virgyn ande marter, the whiche liffe was wretyn of Anastacious, the grett doctoure that knewe all her blessud liffe and conversacion and was one of her mynsters when she lernyd the artes or she were convertyd to the ffeithe and after [by] her conversacion she convertyd the same Anastacious by her holy prechyng and be her mervelous worchyng that oure lord wrought for her, and after her marterdome he was made bysshoppe of Alysandre and was a glorious pyloure of holy churche, be the grace of oure lorde Jhesu Cryste and her holy merites. In the grett cite of Alysandre there was a kyng, a payneme of grett fame that hight Costus, and he had a doughter which was hys heyre and hight Katryn, the which was the ffeyrete and the wiseste that ever was sene before in that lond. Havyng so grett joye of her hie bewte and wysdome, [he] lett ordeyn for her a large toure in his place wythe dyvers chambers and studyes that no man shold come to her and lett her of her stodye but whan her luste. And thereto he ordenyd vij off the beste maysters of connyng that myght be ffound in that end of the world of the vij artes. And within a while that the vij maisters had be with this yonge lady Katryn, she inressud so mervelously in wisdome that tho that come to be her maisters and to teche her were ffull glad to become

*Title: Here begynnyth the lyf of Seynt Katerin and how she was maried to oure lord 5 by] *MS om.* 15 he] *MS om.*

f. 30v

all her desiples and to lorne of her. Thus in ffewe yerys [when] this glorious mayde was xiiij yere old, died her ffader Kyng Costus, and she was made quene and ayre after hym. And whan the days of wepyng were passud, the lordys and the estatis of her lond come to this yonge quene and besought her that there myght a parlement be somonnd, of the whiche parliament she myghte be crowned and receyve her omage and suche rule and governaunce be sett in her yonge begynnynge that prosperite and peas myght folow in her lond. This yong quene thankyd hem goodly and graunted theire askyng. The tyme come that the parlimante was begun; this yonge quene, crowned with solempnite, with riall ffeeste [gave] grett joy to all her people. And whan the ffeste of the coronacion was endyd and the quene on a day sett in her parliament, her moder beside her and all her lordys and comons, than one lord rose be the full advise of her moder and of all her lordys and comons and than he knelid down before the quene sayinge thes wordys: ‘Right hye and my3ty princes and oure sovereyn lady, here in erth like it youre hy3e nobulnes to wytt that I am comaundyd be the quene, youre moder, and be all youre nobull lordys and comons to requere youre hy3nes to graunte hem leve and grace that they my3t go o[r]deyn som nobull kyng or prince to you that my3t rule you and yore lordys and us all in peas and reste, right as the kyng, youre nobull fader and oure sovereyn lord dyd before you that we my3t rejoyse the glorious liffe of you

24 when] *MS om.*

45 ordeyn] *r written in above line*

48 glorious] *Preceded by crossed-out gr*

35 gave] *MS om.*

f. 31r

25 which is moste oure desire and shall be youre moste joye, withoute whiche joye we liffe in moche sorowe and hevynes, besechyng youre exilence to tender oure desire and to graunte us gracious answeere of youre hye grace.’ This yonge quene, heryng this requeste of her moder and of all her lordys, ffell in grett trobull of her soule how she my3t answeere to her moder and her lordys to putt hem in reste and to kepe her chastite, ffor all her joye was ever to kepe her body and her soule clene f[ro] all corrupcion of synne, and she had so grett love to that vertue of chastite that she had lever suffer deth than to blemyshe that in eny wyse, but ffor to utter her counsell so sodenly to her moder and to her lordys, her thought that was not for the beste. And therefore, with a sober loke and a bonor voyse, she than answerid to her lordys in this wyse to this lordys: ‘Cosyn’, she said, ‘I thanke my lady my moder and all my lordys and comons of the grett love and the tendernes that they have to me and to my realme. Truste ffully that thou3e there be no gret haste as touchyng to the mater of mariage, that there may be no perell there in consideryng the gret wisdomme of my lady my moder and of you all with the grett trouthe and kyndnes that ye have shewid me and my realme. Trustyng ffully in youre good contenuaunce, wherefore, we shall not nede to take a straunge lord to rule us, ffor us thinke us abull inou3e with youre trouthe and wisdomme to governe us

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55
60
65
70

f. 31v

and oure realme and you all in suche peas and reste as my lorde, my fader, lefte us. Wherefore, I pray you all seas of this mater

56 fro] *K.; MS for*

and turnyth to suche as ye thinke moste spedefull to the nede of my realme.' Whan the quene had all said, her moder and all her lordys were in so grette sorowe that they wiste not what to do, ffor they considerid well be her wordys that she was not in wyll to be weddyd. Than stode up a duke of her lond, which was her uncle, and knelyd to her with humble reverence and said in this wise: 'My right sovereyn lady, savyngge youre hy3e noble discession, this answeyre ys full hevy to my lady, youre moder, and to all youre noble legmen, withoute that ye take better advise to youre noble and descrete herte. Wherefore, I shall move you of iiij notable thingis that the grett God hath endowid you with beffore all erthely creatours that we know of, which muste nede cause you to take an husbond and a lorde. That the plentevous yftis of kynd and of grace my3t spryng of you by succession off right lyne in generacions which ffructyffe generacions muste cause all youre lege people that yet be not and to come to be an inffinite joye and gladnes and the contrarye here of to grett sorowe and hevynes.' 'Now, good uncle', said the quene Katryn, 'which be the iiij notabull þingis

f. 32r

that ye prayse so gretly?' 'Madame, yf it like youre highnes and youre noble estate, I shall declare them unto you shortly.' 'Uncle, saye what ye liste, I shall here you gladly.' 'Madame, firste ys this: we knowe well that ye be come of the worthieste blood that is this day in erth. The second ys that ye be the grettiste heyre that is this day of woman born. The thryd poynte ys that ye be the wiseste that ever was borne of womon. The iiij^t ys that ye be the ffeyreste that ever erthely eye behelde ande, madame, thes be the iiij notabull thingys that muste nedys

102 madame] a *written in above line*

75 constreyne you to inclyne to oure ententes.' 'Nought,' she said, 'yf God and kynd have wrought thes gret werkys in me; thanne I am moche more bounden to love hym and to please hym and to serve hym, and therefore I thanke hym mekely of all his grett gyftus. But sethyn that ye wyll that I consent to youre ententes as touchyng to my mariage, we lett you witte that like as ye have discrybed me, I wyll dyscrybe hym to you that I wyll have to myne husbond; and, yf þat ye may gete me suche one, I wyll be hys wiffe with all my herte. For he that shall be my lord and my hert and my husbond shall have the iiij thingis in hym above all creatouris, ffor all creatouris shall have of hym nede, and he shall have nede of no man; ffor he that shall be my lord muste be of notable blood that all kyngys

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f. 32v

90 shall worshippe hym, and so grett a lord that I shall never say that I made hym a kyng, and so riche that he shall never have nede to none other mannis good, and so ffeire that aungellis shall have joye to behold hym, and so pure that his moder shall be a virgyn, and so benyngne and meke that he can gladly forgeve all offencys done to hym; that I wyll have to my lord and husbond. And nowe I have dyscrybed hym that I wyll have, goo ye and seche hym and ye may ffynd suche one - we wyll be his wyffe with oure hole herte yf he wyll assent and agree. And fynally, but ye may ffynd such one we shall never have none and take ye thus ffor a full answeyre.' With this she caste her eyn down and held her styll. Whan her moder and all her lordys had herd this there was grett sorowe and wepyngge for they sye well there was no remedy. Than said her moder with an angrye voyce, 'Alas, doghter, ys this youre grett wysdome that men tell of? Moche sorowe be ye like to do me and all yourys. What, who sye ever any woman to chewse for her suche an husbond with

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suche wordys as ye have desirud for you? Suche was never none, nor never shall be, and therefore, good doughter, leve this gret ffoly and do as youre elders have done before you.’

f. 33r

‘Madame’, she said, ‘there ys one moche better þan I can devyse, who so myght hym ffynde. But yf that he be ffounde to me I shall never have joye, ffor I wot well there ys a trew way that we be clene oute of, ffor we be in derknes and tyll that the light of grace come we may not se the trew way, and whan he comyth we shall se all cloudys and ygnoraunce, and shew hym clerlye that my herte lovithe and desyrute. And hym luste that I ffynd hym not, yet reason comaundith me to kepe holy that ys onhurte. Wherefore I beseche you, lady and moder, that ye, ne none other, never move me of this matere, ffor thou3e I shold dye I shall never be weddyd, but only to hym whiche I have discrybed to you, whome I shall kepe my vergenite with.’ Thus she rose up and her moder also, and all her lordys ffrome the parliament with grett sorow and lamentacion toke her leve. And every man went his way and the quene unto her paleys, whoos herte was so stydfaste on this husbond that she had discrybed that she couth no þinge thinke nor no thyng do, but all her mynd and all her intencion was on hym, wherefore she mused and studyed contenually howe that she myght ffynd hym. But that wolde not yet be, ffor she had not all the meanys thereto, not withstandyng he was ffull ny3e

134 nor] *Preceded by crossed-out o* 141 all] *Followed by crossed-out co*
155 wolde] *wolrd; l written in above line; crossed-out r*

f. 33v

135 her – ffor het was Jhesu Cryste which had kyndelyd a brennyng
ffyre of love in her herte, which was never quenched ffrome hym
ffor no payne neþer tribulacion, as well it may be ffounde and
also understonde hereafter in h[er] glorious passion. But nowe I
leve this glorious yonge quene for a litull tyme syttyng in paleys,
contenually thynkyng and ymagenyng how that she myght
ffynde this newe spou3e with meny a tere of elongacion and
meny a sore sy3e ffor her blynde ygnoraunce. And I shall you
140 lerne, as God wyll geve me grace of the proces, how that oure
lorde by speciall myracle callid her to baptye in a singuler
maner that never was herd of before ne sythen. And after, how
that he weddyd her visibely in a glorious maner, shewyng to her
soveraigne tokenys of love that never were shewid before ne
145 sethyn to none erthely creatoure, save to his blessud moder,
Seynt Marye.
Besydu Alysaunder, in a sertayn place of myles iij, there dwellid
one holy fader in deserte whoos name was Adryan, which holy fader
servid oure lord in that deserte by the space of xxx^{ti} yere in gret
150 penaunce. On a day as he walkyd by his sell in holy meditacions,
there come ayenste hym the moste reverent lady that ever man sye
with eye. And whan the ermet beheld her exelent astate and

f. 34r

155 bewte above kynd, he was so afferde that he fell down as dede.
This blessud lady, seyng his grett drede, callid hym goodly be
his name saying, ‘Broder Adrian, drede thou nought, ffor I come
to the ffor thy grett worshippe.’ And with that, she toke
180

160 her] *K.; MS his* 172 *No page break preceding capital B*
174 xxx^{ti}] *ti written in above line*

hym up myldely and comforyd hym and said in this wise:
'Adrian, thou muste go in a message for me into the cite of
Alexaundre and unto the paleys of the yong quene, and say to
her that that lady gretith her well whoos son she chose to her
lord and husbond syttyng in her parliament with her moder and
all her lordys, where she had a grett conflicte and a batayll for
kepyng of her maydenhede. And say to her that þat same lorde
that she dyscryved þere ys my sonne that am a clene virgyn, and
he desiruth her beute and loveth her chastite above all women in
erthe. And sey to her withoute eny taryng that she come with
the alone to thys paleyce. And she shall be newe clothid and þan
shall she ffynd hym and have hym to her everlastyng spouse.'
The hermytte, heryng all thys, answe[d] dredffully saying,
'Blessud lady, how shold I do this message, ffor never knew I
the cite ne the way? What am I, thou3e I knew that, for to do a
message to a quene? Nether her meyne wyll not suffer me to
come to her presence. And thou3e I do, yet wyll she not suffer
me to com to her,

f. 34v

ne she wyll not beleve me but putt me to dures as thou3e I were
a traytor.' Than oure lady said thus: 'Adryan, drede the nought
ffor my sonne hath begune that in her whiche moste nedys be
performed, ffor wytte thou well that she is a speciall chosyn
vesell of grace before all women. Wherefore drede thou nought,
ffor bothe thou shalte know the way in the cite and into her
paleys, and there shall no creatoure take hede off the. And whan
thou comeste into her paleys, take good hede which doere ye
opyn ayenste the withoute helpe of man and entre in tyll thou
come to this ffeire yonge quene, whome thou shalte ffynd alone

194 answered] answerd

185 in her stodye lokyng ffull sore to ffynd be her wyttys that never
wyll be, wherefore my sonne hath compassion of her labor. And
for her good wyll, she shall be so specially illumyned with his
grace that never was none like her excepte me that is his own
moder. Wherefore, Adryan, hye the faste and bryng me my
deriste that I love with all my herte.' And whan þat Adrian had
receyved this message, he layde hym down uppon the ground
before that blessud lady sayinge, 'All worshippe and joye be to
my lord Jhesu Cryste, thy blessud son. And, lady, nowe I wyll go
youre wyll to fullffyll.' He rose up and hied hym faste to
Alexaundre and he

195 f. 35r

passed throu3e the towne into the paleysse, and as he had lernyd,
so he dyd. He enterid in to the durris that he sye opyn and he
enterid fro chamber to chamber tyll he come to her prevye stodye
where no creaturye come but her selffe alone. And whan that
he enterid into that durr, he sye the ffeyreste creatoure and the
moste goodly that ever man sye with eye. And she was so sad
in her stodye that she herd hym nought unto the tyme that he
knelyd down beside her and said hys message in thys wise:
200 'Madam, the endeles my3t of the ffader allmyghty, the wisdome
of his son all wytty, the goodnes of the holy gooste, thre persons
and one God, be with you in youre stodye.' This yonge quene,
whan she herd a mannus voyce besyde her, and [saw] he was an
old preste and he had an old slaven uppon hym, than was she
sore abasshid ffor well she knew that she had shytted to her the
durrys and had the keys with her. And she said with a dredffull
205 voyce, 'What arte thou þat this vilionslye comyste heder to my
stodye where that never man come? How comyste thou ynne –
235

232 saw] MS om.

be chauntment?’ This holy man answerid and sayd, ‘Nay, but madame, I com as a messingere.’ Than she askyd hym, ‘Who was so herdy to send the into my stodye?’ He said, ‘Madame, the quene of all quenys, the lady of all ladyes, the floure of the bewte of all women.’ ‘A, good sir, where dwellith this lady that thou preyste so fferr? We never herd speke off such one.’

f. 35v

‘Madame, her dwellyng ys in her sonnes kyngdome where everlastyng joye reignethe, and her sonne ys callid Jhesu Cryste, kyng of blys.’ ‘Sir, that is a grett merveyll that she ys so grett in all dignites and her sonne so myghty as thou sayste, and they to send so symple a messingere as thou arte.’ ‘Madame, that ys the properte of that ladye to love and to cherishe moste the[y] that refusen erthely goodys ffor the love of her sonne, and ffor this cause she sendith me to you. She gretyth you well as her dere doughter, and be that tokyn that whan ye satt in youre parliament with youre moder and youre lordys, and, kepyng youre virgenite, ye discrybed you a lord and an husbond whereof youre moder and lordys were in grett hevynes. But for that ye were so stronge in that conflucte and bataylle whan that ye refused all erthely kyngys, therefore she sendith you word that ye shall have an hevynlye kyng whiche was borne of a clene vergyn, and he ys kyng of all kyngys, lord of all lordys, to whome obeyth hell, the erthe, and all that is conteyned in hem. And this lord is her dere son which was con[c]eyved of the holy gooste, and she bare hym withoute eny wemme of her bodye or of her virgenite, with sovereyn joye whiche was never ffylud off woman before and never hereafter shall be, whare that she send me to you at this tyme to say that ye shold come alone to my

249 they] the

261 conceyved] conteyved

f. 36r

240 sell, and there ye shall se that lorde and that ladye the which abyduth youre comyng with gret joye and gladnes.’ Whan this yonge quene herd this clerlye of her spouse, she was so smetyng with love and desire of hys presens that she fforagate all questions and all her meyne, and she rose up mekely and as a lombe she ffolowyd this old man Adrian thorou3e her paleys and thorou3e her cite off Alexaundre that ys so riche and so glorious, and so thoroughe deserte. And in her walkyng she askyd hym full meny vertious questions and he answerid her sufficiently to her desire. 270
245 And he infformed her of the blessud trenite, and of the incarnacion of oure lord Jhesu Cryste, and of the ffeythe, and she receyved plentevously of his doctryne and informacion and understode them mervellously. And thus walkyd this old man and this quene in deserte to and fro tyll they wiste not where they were, ffor þan Adrian had leste his wa[y] and his hermytage so that he wiste not where that he was, ffor the whiche he made grett sorowe and lementacion seying to hymselfe, ‘Wheþer I be disceyved, wheþer this vission be turnyd to illussion; shall this yonge quene and lady perishe here amongiste wild bestys? Lady, quene of all comforte, thou comforte me ffor I am allmoste ffall 285
255 in disspayre, and all my sorow is for this yonge quene that so mekely hath lefte all her royall estate and obeyth youre comaundment.’ And as he sorrowed

f. 36v

260 thus by hymselfe, this yonge quene Katryn, percevyd hym and askyd hym why that he sorowid so greviously. ‘Trewly lady, it 290

278 walkyd] I written in above line

280 way] was

is ffor you and not for myselte, ffor and I shold be dede I wott
never where I have brought you, ffor my sell is loste and I can
not ffynde it, nor no way of knowlege.’ ‘Fader,’ she said, ‘have
good feith and comfortte to the, ffor this good ladye that is so
good sent never for us to that entent that we shold be spyllid in
this wyldernes. But fader, what mynster ys that I se yonder that
ys so riche and so glorious?’ ‘Lady,’ he said, ‘I se none.’ She
answerid and said, ‘Yonder in the este.’ Than he caste his sight
into the este and he sye the moste glorious mynster that ever
man sye. And than he was ffullffyllud with joye and said,
‘Blessud be thy holy ffeythe, ffor there is that place that thou
shalte receyve to the[e] grett joye that there was never none like
but only the quene of all quenys.’ ‘Now, good fader, hye we
faste that we were there, ffor there is all my joye and all my
desire.’ And within a litull while they ny3ed to this blessud
place. And whan they comein to the utter gate there come
ayenste hem a glorious compeny all in white with crownus off
white lyles on theyre hedys. And the exilent bewte of hem was
so grett that nether this quene ne Adrian myght behold hem, but
a[s] all

f. 37r

ravysshid, they ffell down beffore hem with grett drede. Than
one that was more than one other said to that quene, ‘Stond up,
owre dere sustre, and welcome, ffor be thy grett mekenes,
stidfaste beleve, and chastite, oure worshippe and joye shall be
right grettly encresud. Wherefore be glad, for all vergyns shall
praise the. Come forth with us to that sovereyn that wyll wirke
on you the marvelous werke off love.’ Thus they passed fforthe
withe gret joye and solempnite tyll they come to the second

302 thee] the

310 as] al

gate. And whan they enterid there come ageynste them another
glorious compeny clothid all in purpu[l]e, beryng reed rosus on
theire hedus. And whan this yonge quene sye hem, she ffell
before hem on her knees with drede and reverence and benyngly
they comfortid her and with glad chere said to her, ‘Drede not,
oure dere sustre. There was never none but one more erthlyer
welcome to our lord Jhesu Cryste than ye. And therefore be glad,
for ye shall receyve oure clothing and crown with so grett joye
that all seyntes shall joye in you. Com on faste ffor the kyng of
blys abyduth and he desiruth youre presens.’ This yonge quene
with trembelyng joy mekely passith fforthe as she that was
ravyshid with joye, and she þan marvelid gretly that she had no
word to saye to all that to her was said. And whan that they
enterid into the body of the churche she herd a marvelous
melodye of swetnes whiche

f. 37v

passyd all hertys to discryve. And there she beheld a riall quene
standyng in estate with multytude of aungellis and seyntes
aboute her -- the bewte of this quene can no herte thynke ne no
penne write, ffor that excedith every mannus reason and mynd.
Than this noble compeny of marters with the felishippe of
vergyns led this yonge quene betwene hem and ffell down before
this riall emprice and with sovereyn reverence said, ‘Oure moste
sovereyn lady, quene of hevyn, emprice off hell, moder of oure
lord Jhesu Cryste, to whos comaundement obeyth all erthely
creatouris, likyth it you to understond that at youre
comaundment we present to you here oure dere sustre, who that
ys specially wretyn in the boke of everlastyng liffe, besechyng
youre benyng[n]e grace to receyve her as youre servand and

320 purpule] purple

346 benyngne] benyngie

chosyn doughter, and to make a perfett yend of the werke which
oure sovereyn lord begun'. And with that this glorious emperice
with glad chere and reverence said, 'Brynge me my beste
belovyd doughter.' And whan this yonge quene herd this
wordys, she was so fyllid with hevynly joye that she lay a longe
space as a dede woman. And than this holy felishippe toke her
upp and brought her to the quene of blis and than said the quene
of comforte, 'My deriste doughter, welcome. Be stronge and of
good comforte, ffor thou arte specially chosyn

f. 38r

beffore all women to be sovereynly worshipped with my sonne.
Katryn, have ye mynd how that ye discryved you an husbond
sittyng in your parliament, where ye had a grett coniflicte of
batayll to defend your maydenhede?' 'A, blessud lady, blessud
be ye above all women! I have mynd that I chose there that lord
that was ffull ffer ffro me and my knowlege, but now, good
lady, be his my3t and mercy and your speciall grace he hath
openyd the eyn of my blynde ignoraunce that I se the clere way
off trouthe. Wherefore, moste blessud lady, I beseche you that
ye geve me mercy and grace, and geve me hym that ye behight
whome my herte lovith above all thyng, withoute whome I may
not lyve.' With thes wordys her sprytes were closid faste so that
she lay as a dede woman. Than this noble quene of grace with
swete wordys comforted her and said, 'Drede the nought, my
dere doughter, ffor it shall be as ye desyre. But ye lak one thing
that ye muste nedys have or that ye come in the presence of my
sonne; that is ye muste be clothid with the sacrament of
baptyme. Wherefore, com ye on for all ys redy.' And sodenly
there apperid a fonte solempnely arayed with all that longith

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thereto. Than the quene of joy callid Adrian to her, the old
preste. 'Brother, this werke longith to you that be a preste.
Baptise my doughter, and loke thou

f. 38v

change not her name, ffor Katryn she shall hyght and I shall
hold her to the myselfe.' And with that Adrian wexid all blynde
and than was he a sory man, but nought he durste say. Than oure
lady onclothid this yonge quene Katryn and she brought her to
Adrians hond and he bapt3id her and oure lady namyd her
Katryn. She clothid her ageyn and be that tyme Adrian had hys
sight, and he thankyd oure lord and his blessud moder with all
his herte. Than said the hevynly quene to Katryn, 'Now, my dere
doughter, be glad ffor now ye lak nothing that longith to a wiffe
of an hevynly spouse. Come with me ffor I shall bryng you with
my lord, my sonne, that abyduth you with grett joye.' That was
grett joye of swetnes to this yonge quene Katryn and [she] went
for that with oure lady tyll they come to the kyng. And as they
enterid there come so grett swetnes ageynste hem that it passith
all hertys to thinke, and she sye the semeliste kyng that ever she
sye standing at the autere, crowned with a riche crown, havynge
with hym gret multitude of aungellis and seyntes. And whan his
blessud moder sye hym she ffell down prostrate and toke of her
crown of her hede and said to hym with lowly reverence,
'Sovereyn joye and worshippe be to the, kyng of blis,

f. 39r

my lord God and my sonne! Here have I brought you, as your

389 she] *MS om.*

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wyll ys, youre lowly servand and handmayde Katryn, that for
 youre love hath forsake all erthely good and her riall estate,
 trysting to my promesse. Wherefore I beseche you, my sovereyn
 lord and my deriste sonne, that of your endles goodnes ye wyll
 ffullffyll my promesse.’ And whan Jhesu Criste had herd his
 moder he toke her goodly up and said to her, ‘My dere moder, ye
 know well all that ye wyll, I wyll, ffor I have desirud her to my
 spouse before all women that live now in erthe. Wherefore,
 Katryn, come heder to me.’ And whan she hard do name her
 Katryn, so gret [a] swetnes [entrede] in her soule that she was
 dede before hym. With that Jhesu Cryste lifte her up and gave her
 a newe strength whiche passid kynd, and toke her by the hand
 and sayd, ‘Katryn, maiste thou ffynd in thyne hert to love me
 above all thyng?’ ‘Yea, blessud lord,’ she said, ‘so have I do and
 shall do whilis that I lyve, ne never lovyd I no thing but only and
 for your sake.’ Than said Jhesu, ‘Katryn, I take the to my wyfe,
 behotyng you trewly never to forsake you whilis that your liffe
 dothe laste. And after this life I shall bryng you to the endeles
 liffe where ye shall dwell with me in everlastyng blysse withoute
 end, in tokyn whereof I sett this ryng uppon youre ffynger, in
 remembraunce of me as youre weddyng ryng. And, my dere

f. 39v

wyfe, be glad and stronge of ffeith ffor ye muste do grette
 thyngys in my name and receyve grett turment and payne, and
 at the laste, deth. But yet drede ye not, ffor I shall never be fro
 you in your tribulacion.’ Than said this lovely spouse, ‘O
 blessud lord, I thanke you of all youre grett mercyes, besechyng
 you, sovereyn lord, to make me worthye to receyve your

401 my] *Preceded by crossed-out h*

408 a] entrede] *K. so greta a swetnes entrede into her sowle; MS om.*

lyveraye that sufferid so moche for me, [so] that I may in som
 thyng be like to you thatt all my hert lovith above all thyng.’
 And with this he made Adrian do on his vestment and to go to
 messe and say the service over hem, as longith to the costome of
 weddyng. And Jhesu Cryste hild his spou3e be the hond, knelyng
 with her all the masse tyme before Adrian. A lord, that was grett
 joye to that holy vergyn! At this tyme there was never joye like
 before -- oute take the joye that oure lady had whan she bare
 Jhesu, the kyng of blys -- ffor all the sprites of hevyn joyed [in]
 this mariage so moche that at that tyme was herd how all
 hevynly vertues songe knelyng this notable and blessud vers:
 ‘*Benedicta sit sancta trinitas*’, with so grett melodye that no
 thing may tell. This was a solempne mariage, ffor there was
 never none such herd of here in erthe before nor never shall
 be. And whan that solempne masse was endyd

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f. 40r

this hevynly spouse said, ‘Nowe, my dere wiffe, tyme comyth
 that I muste goo ageyn ffrome thens that I come fro. I have
 ffullffyllud all your desire, and yf þat ye desire eny wise eny
 more, I am redy to graunte you. And, my dere wiffe, ye shall
 abyde here x days after my partyng, that ye perfetly lerne my
 lawes and my wyll. And whan ye come home, ye shall ffynd
 your moder dede; but drede ye nought, ffor ye were not myssud
 there all this tyme for I sett one in your styd and all men wend it
 had be you, and whan that ye com home she shall voyde. Now,
 farewell, my dere hert and wyffe.’ With that she cryed with a
 petyous voyse, ‘O Jhesu lord, that with thy precious blood haste
 me bought, have mynd on me and forgete me nought!’ Than her

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426 so] *MS om.*

434 in] *K. joyed of þis mariage; MS om.*

hevynly spouse blessud her and vanyshid away. And in this sorowe of departyng she fell down in a sownyng, so that all her sprites had loste liffe be a longe space. Than Adrian, that sory man, wepte and cryed sore on her with gret sorowe and mornyng. At the laste, this blessud vergyn lifte up her eyn and she sye no thing but a litull old sell and Adrian wepyng besydu her, ffor all was gone that there was, bothe the mynstre and the paleys and all that comfortable sight, and specially he that was cause of all her joye. Now is her hert in so gret mornyng that she couth no thing do but wepe and

f. 40v

wayle tyll at the laste she beheld the ryng that was on her ffynger, and than sowned she ageyn. And whan she woke, she kyssud it with meny a petyous crye, and Adrian comforyd her with meny a blessud exortacion and she toke mekely all her comfote and obeyd hym as her fader, and dwellid with hym the tyme that our lord assigned to her, tyll that she was sufficiently taught all that was need to her. And whan tyme come she went home ageyn and, as sone as she my3t, she and all her meyne to receyve baptye. And, myn hert, iiij yere after thus she held her husbond in her paleys with ffull Cryston governaunce, but all her joyes was to speke and thinke on her lord and spouse ffor there was none other thing in her mynd but his worshippe and his praying. And she comforyd meny a creatoure in the meanetyme: she was never ydull, but contenually in his service, and full of charite, and all her joye was to drawe creatouris to hym. And thus I lett her dwell in her paleys, ffullffyllud with all

463 wayle] *Preceded by* and

vertues as the full dere spouse of Jhesu Cryste.

455 In this meanetyme, the emperoure Maxencius -- that was ffull of envy to Goddus lawys and a cruell tyraunte – considerid 480

f. 41r

460 the grett nobelite of the Cite of Alexaundre, [and] ordenyd hym to come theder with grett multitude of people to do a solempne ffigure of sacrificce. And whan that he was come, he made hem all assemble bothe pore and riche and do sacrifice to the ydoles; 485

465 and the Cryston that wold not do sacrificce, he þan made ham to be slayn be cruell turment. This yonge quene Katryn was thanne of the age of xvij yere, and as she satt in her stodye in hygh contemplacions of her spouse, she hard a hy3e voyce of songe and instrumentys and of crying of bestys, wonderyng gretly what 490

470 that my3t be, and callid a messingere anon and bad hym to bryng her word in haste what it myght be. And thus he come ageyn and said all the maner thereof. Than a grett sorowe went to her herte for the understanding of her spouse that she forgate herselfe and all her estate and she signed her with the signe of the crosse, and she went theder ffull faste. And whan she come there she fowned meny Cryston men doyng sacrifice for drede of dethe, wherefore she was greviously sterid with sorowe, and she went in amongis the prese. And all that beheld her had gret mervell of her bewte, 495

475 and meny lefte their sacrifice and ffolowyd her. And whan she come to the emperoure she lokyd on hym with a sad chere 500

f. 41v

and sayd in this wise: ‘The dignite of thyne ordre be the way of

482 and] *MS om.*

reason movith me to folow the yf thou knowiste thy maker of
 hevyn and woldiste call thy corage ffrome thes ffals goddus. O,
 whye haste thou assemblid this multitude of people heder in
 vayne to worshippe fals ydoles? Loo, thou merveliste gretly of
 this temple made with mannus hondys and of thes ornamentis
 which shall come to powder and to nought. Thou sholdiste
 rather merveyll of hevyn and of erthe and of all the thingis that
 [b]e conteyned in them. The sonne, the mone, the sterrys, how
 they shyne fro the begynnyng of the world unto the end! Loo,
 howe they renne ny3t and day to the occident and come ageyn
 be the oryente, and they be never werye! And whan thou haste
 percevyd thes thingys, axe and lerne who is moste my3tye and
 thou shalte ffynd none like hym. Therefore, hym thou worshippe
 and gloryffye, ffor he ys God off goddus and lord of lordys.’
 And whan she had dissputed with hym of meny thingis of the
 incarnacion of Jhesu Cryste, Cesar was than abasshid and couth
 not answeere her. ‘O thou woman, suffre us to do sacrifice and
 after that we shall answeere the.’ And than he comaundyd that
 she shold be brought to his

f. 42r

paleysse, there to be kepte with grett deligence. And he and all
 tho that herde her had gret mervell of her grett exilence and
 bewte and her wisdome and her passinge bewte, ffor she was
 feire before all women that levid. And so she aperyd to them, in
 the beholdyng of theire sadnes and reverente bewte, that they
 had lever suffer dethe than to forsake that tyme her feithe. And
 whan þat the emperoure come to the palays, he send for the
 yonge quene and said to her, ‘Katryn, we have herd of thy
 eloquence and we have had gret mervayll of the wisdome, but

510 be] he

528 palays] initial a *written in above line*

we were occupyed in sacrifice that we myght not intend to the.
 Wherefore, we aske the nowe at the begynnyng: of whatt kynred
 thou arte come?’ Katryn answerid this: ‘Loo, it is wrytton that no
 Criston creatoure shuld blame hymselfe nor praise hymselfe ffor
 tho usith folyes that travelith in ffolye. Notwithstanding, I shall
 say what be my kynred not in the way of avauntyng, but by the
 way of humilite. I am Katryn, doughter of Kyng Costys, and
 though I were borne and norishid in purpure and lerne[d] in all
 the liberall artius, I have refusid and dispisud and have
 conservid me to oure sovereyn lord Jhesu Cryste. O thou
 curssid worshipper of suche goddus, ffor whan they be callid to
 nede they be not ffound, ne they helpe not, ne socoure nou3t to
 them beyng in tribulacion, nother defend none beyng in perell.’
 And the emperor

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f. 42v

sayd, ‘Yf that it be so as thou saiste, than all the world ffaylith
 and thou onlye sayste the sothe, and all wordys shall be
 confermyd with the mouthe of ij or thre wyttensse. For thou3
 thou were an aungell or a vertue of hevyn, yet me ought not
 beleve the alone, and yet so moche the lesse for þat thou arte a
 frele woman.’ And she said, ‘Sesar, I pray the that thou suffer
 thy madnes to be overcomyn, that so cruell perturbacion be not
 in thyselfe so myghty, for yf thou wilte be governyd be good
 corage, thou shalte be a kyng, and yff that thou be governyd be
 thy bodye, and thou shalte be a servaund. And, as me thinkyth,
 thou haste inbrasud us in dedly sotelte whan thou woldste lede us
 by insample of philosophers.’ And whan that cesar sye that he

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538 lerned] lerne

549 þat] *Followed by that*

myght not contrarye [t]his wisdom, he sent prevely his letters to all the gramarions and retoriaunse that [they] shold com in grett haste to the cite of Alexaundre beffore hym, and yf they my³t overcome be eloquence the vergyn before hym, he wold reward hem with many dyvers yeftys. And theder were brought of meny dyvers provincis ffyfte maisters that were oncomen in wisdom. And whan they come to the presence of cesar they desyrud to knowe the cause of his sendyng and the emperoure answerid, 'We have a mayden none like her in sovereyn wisdom

f. 43r

and she conffoundith all oure wytte and sayth that oure goddus be ffendys. And yf that ye may overcome her be wisdom, I shall send you to your contraye with grett joye and worshippe.' Than answeryd one of hem with grett disspite and said, 'This ys a ffeire counsell of an emperoure?' And said, 'For so meny wise maisters ffro so fer contreys to disspite with a yonge mayde whan one of your leste servauntis may lightly overcome her?' And the emperoure said, 'I myght have overcome her and I had constreyned her to do sacryfice, but I had lever that she were overcome be youre argumentis.' And þan they said, 'Bryng her fforthe so that whan she is overcome be her ffoly she may well knowe þat she never erste sye wise men.' And whan this glorious vergyn knew the stryffe of their dissputacion, anon she caste her mynd and herte uppon oure lord Cryste Jhesu, her spouse, with full triste of his behest. And thanne the aungell aperid to her and bad her drede nought but be styll and stable in her ffeithe, ffor she shold have a grett victorye and bryng hem

557 this] his

558 they] *MS om.*

all to the crown of marterdome. Than was her soule ffull of joye, yeldyng sovereyn worshippe and thankyng to her sovereyn lord and trewe spouse, and she was þan brought before the emperoure and the maisters. She sayd to cesar, 'This is a ffeire jugment off an emperoure to sette ffyfty maisters ageynste

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f. 43v

a mayden and behyght hem grett gifftes ffor their victorye, and me ye constrayn to disspute with hem withoute eny helpe of eny benyface! But my lord, Jhesu Criste that is the veraye socoure of all tho that soferyn, ffor hym shall be only my reward.' And the maisters said thanne that it were onpossible þat God had be made man or that he shold suffre dethe. Than the vergyn shewyd hym that paynems had said before that that was done, for Pylate had said it and Sibylle also, that he was blessud þat shold hange on a tree. And whan this vergyn had wisely dissputyd with the maisters and confoundid their goddus be opyn reason, they were sore abasshid and wiste not what to say, but held hem styll. The emperoure, seyng that, than was ffullffyllud with grett wrath, blamyd hym and said, 'Cursud be ye that suffre yourselfe thus to be overcome of a yonge mayde!' Than one that was maister of all said, 'Sir emperoure, wytte ye well that there was never none but this mayde in whiche the sprite of God spekyth, ffor she gevith us so grett mervell that we may not say agayne Jhesu Cryste. And therefore we knowlege sadly yf thou canste [not] geve us provable sentence of goddus that we have worshippud unto nowe, we be convertyd all to Jhesu Cryste.' And whan this tirraunte herd this thinge he was than ffullffyllud with gret woodnes and comaundyd

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597 reason] *Followed by and*

606 not] *MS om.*

f. 44r

that they were all brennyd in the myddis of the cite. And this holy vergyn comfortid and stabelyd hem to suffer marterdome, and taught hem deligently the ffeith. And than they sorowed that they shold dye withoute baptyme. The holy virgyn answerid to them, 'Nede ye not to drede, my dere brederne, ffor the shedyng of your blood shall be conmyttid to you for your baptyme; and sygne you with the signe of the crosse and ye shall be crownyd in hevyn.' And whan they were caste in the myddes of the ffyre they yeld up their soules to Jhesu Cryste, and nother their clothis ne their here was touchid with the ffyre. And whan the Cryston had beryed their bodies, the tyrraunte spake to the vergyn: 'Have pyte on thy selfe and thou shalte be nexte to the quene & be callid lady in my paleys and thyne ymage shall be made in the myddus of the cite, and þu shalte be worshippud as a goddes!' To whome the vergyn said, 'Leve to say suche thingys, ffor it ys wekydnes to thynke hem, ffor I am holye geve to Jhesu Cryste as his spouse. He is all my joye and all my love, and all the swetnes off my soule, wherefore nother ffor wordys, ne ffor turmentis may not parte me ffrome hym.' And than he was ffullffyllud with cruell woodnes [and] comaundyd that she shold be disspoylid and betyn with sherpe scorgys, and after that to be putte

f. 44v

in a derke preson and there to abyde xij days withoute eny mete or drynke. [I]n that tyme, the emperoure went oute for certayn occupacions and than the quene was ffullffyllud with grett love of this vergyn.

629 and] *MS om.*

633 In] *n preceded by mark for a capital i in margin*

610 She went be nyght to preson and Purffurye, the prince of knyghtis, went with her. And whan this quene beheld in the preson, she sye the preson all shynynge with so grett light that all erthely light was but derknes thereto. And there she sye glorious aungellis that benyngnely anoynted the woundes of the glorious vergynne. And thanne the glorious virgynne beganne to preche to the quene the joyes of hevyn with so swete wordys that she convertyd her to the ffeithe and said, 'Be stronge ffor thou shalte receyve the crown of marterdome.' And they were togeder ffrome evyn to mydnyght, and whan Purffurye had herd all her talkynge he fell downe to the ffete of the vergyn and he receyved the ffeith of Jhesu Cryste with ij hunderid knyghtis. And for that the tyrraunte had comaund that she shold be xij days in preson withoute mete and drinke, allmyghty God, her sovereyn lord and spouse, sent to her be aungellis downe ffrome hevyn hevynly mete. And after that,oure lord Jhesu Cryste come hymselffe with a grett multitude of aungellis and virgyns and sayd to her, 'My dere doughter and trew spouse, knowiste me thy maker ffor whome thou haste take upon the

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f. 45r

630 this trebelous batayl?' And whan she sye oure lorde and herd hym speke she fell down to his fete with grett joye and said, 'O my deryste lord and spouse, how shold I do but I knowe you that have shewyd to me so meny gracys and arte all the sovereyn joye and swetnes of my soule! And gracious Jhesu, all my sprytes have sore longid after the, and lord, I thanke the of all the grett giffytys and joyes that ye in my disseasis have shewyd me, and gracious Jhesu I am redy in hert and soule to suffer ffor thyne holy name all the turmentis that eny man may thynke ageyne me. Wherefore, moste dere lord, have mynde on me.' And than said Jhesu to her, 'Drede the nought but be of good comforte, ffor I

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shall be with the in all thy batayll and I shall never parte ffrome the.’ And thus said, he vanyshid away and so grett swetnes abode in the preson after hym that no tonge may discryve. And whan the emperoure was returnyd ageyn, he comaundyd that this vergyn shold be brought before hym. And whan he sye her shyne in suche bewte that he had wend she had be disvegurid be fastyng, he wend that som of his kepers had ffed her and he was ffullffyllud with grett woodnes, and he comaundid that the turmentis shold be turmentyd. And than said this holy vergynne, ‘Trewly, I toke never mete of man all this tyme

f. 45v

but of my lord Jhesu that hath noryshid me.’ Than said the emperoure, ‘Feire vergyn, sett that in thy hert that I shall teche the. Ne answeere us nought be no such voyde wordys, ffor we wyll not hold the a chamberleyn, but thou shalte hold the ladyshippe of this realme as quene of sovereyn bewte!’ To whome the vergyn said, ‘Nowe understand, I pray the juge trewlye which of these I ought to chewse: the everlasting kyng, ffeire and glorious, or ellis a foule, dedly donghill, wrechid and oribull?’ And than the emperoure, ffull of disspite and woodnes, said to her, ‘Chese the of thes two – oþer do sacrifice or ellis to suffer dyvers turmentis and to dye!’ Than she answerid and said, ‘Terry not to do what turment that thou wylte, ffor I desire to offer to my lord my blood and my fleshe as he offerid hym ffor me. He is my God, my love, my spouse, and my joye, and all myn hope.’ Than was there a cruell maister that taught the kyng he shold do make iiij whelys of iryn evyn rounde with sherpe naylis, and two of the wheles renne ageyne the other to be grett violente so that they shold all to rente all thinge that shold be sett betwene hem. And this blessud vergyn prayde oure lord that he wold breke thes whelis to the praysinge of his name so that

665 the people that sye it myght be convertyd be this myracle. And 695
as sone as this vergyn was sett in thys

f. 46r

670 turment, the aungell of oure lord brake this turment with so grett 700
strength that it slewe ffoure thousand paynemus. And this quene that was on hye on her toure beheld thes thyngys come down and beganne to blame the emperoure ffor his grett cruellnesse. And than the emperoure, ffullffyllud with woodnes agenste the quene, coma[u]ndid her to do sacrificce; and than she denyed all his fals beleve. And than he juggyd þat her brestys shold be rent off and after to be hedyd. And as she was led to her marterdome, she

675 prayde to this vergyn that she wold praye oure lord ffor her 705
marterdome. She prayd to this blessud vergyn þat she wold praye oure lorde for her, and she said, ‘Drede the nought thou beloved quene of God, ffor this day thou shalte have the everlastyng kyngdome ffor this dedly kyngdome, and thou shalte receyve an

680 hevynly husbond ffor this dedly man.’ And tho she was stidfaste 710
and coma[u]ndid the tormentouris to this jugment, and than they led heer oute of the cite and with brennyng tongis rent of her brestys and smote of her hede, and than Purphurye stale the body and beryed it. The day after, whan the body of the quene was

685 askyd, and the tyraunte comaundid that meny shold be torment 715
ffor to tell the trouthe, Purphurye com before the emperoure and said, ‘I am he that hath beried the servand of Jhesu Cryste.’ Than Maxencius beganne to gnasce with his tethe and to tremble

694 name] *crossed-out e above the a*

702 comaundid] comaindid; also l. 711

f. 46v

as wood and beganne to crye dredfffully: ‘O thou cursid
caytiffe! Se here only Purphurye that was the keper of my soule
and comforte in all my disseas nowe ys disceyved!’ And whan
that he had said all this wordys to his knyghtis, they answerid all
and said, ‘We be Cryston and redy to dye for the love of Jhesu
Cryste.’ And the emperoure bad and comaundid all to be hedyd
with Purphurye and theire bodyes to be caste to houndys. And
than he callid Katryne and said, ‘Though it so be thou haste
made my wiffe to dye be thy arte magyke, yf thou repent the
thou shalte be the ffy[r]ste in my realme as sovereyn quene, ffor
this day thou shalte do sacrifice or lose thy hede!’ To whome
she said, ‘Do all that thou haste thought, ffor I am redy for to
sufferre ffor the love of God þat thou maiste ymagyn.’ And than
he gave sentence and comaundid that she shold be byhedyd and
[she] was led forth into the place that was ordenyd for her. And
than she knelyd down and lifte up her sight to hevyn and prayde
sayinge, ‘O thou lord Jhesu Cryste, blessud kyng that arte the
worshippe and the joye of vergyns, the hope and the helpe of all
trew lyvers! I praye the, gracious Jhesu, þat who that ever have
mynde of my passion, be it at deth or at eny necessite, that they
call my [name] that they may have prophett of theire prayere,
and to be herd. And than a voyse was herd ffrome hevyn that
said to her, ‘Come, my feire love and

f. 47r

my dere spouse, ffor the yatys of hevyn be opyn ayenste the and
I graunte the trewly that all þat worshippe thy passion shall have

727 magyke] *a written in above line*

729 name] *MS om.*

728 ffyrste] *ffyste*

733 she] *MS om.*

hevynly comforte and theire prayer shall be herd.’ And than her
blessud hede was smetyn of and instede of blood there come a
streame of mylke. And thanne aungellis toke her body and bere it
to the mowntte of Synay more thanne twenty days jurney ffrome
thens, and there they beryed it worshipfffully. And oyle dothe
renne oute of her bonys contenually withoute cesyng that helith
all maner of sekenes. Thus she sufferid dethe under Maxencus
the emperoure that beganne the yere of oure lord God iii c and x,
and it is conteyned in the storrye of the invencion of the holy
crosse how that Maxencius was ponyshed ffor this dede and
meny moo. Now Jhesu Criste, Goddus sonne, that arte fader full
of myght, graunte us grace to have mynd on this passion, by the
which we may come to the eternall light. Amen. Amen.

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Here endyth the Lyf of Seynt Katerin
and the maryage to oure lorde.

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753 was] *Followed by crowned with dashed box around word*

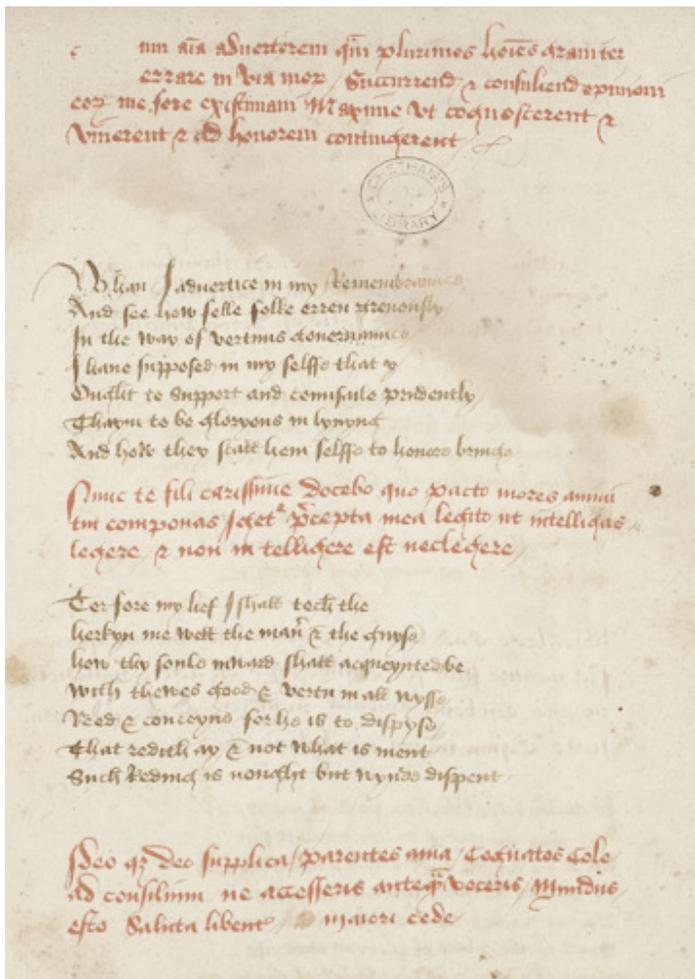


Figure 4: Chetham's Library MS 8009, f. 48r

2.2.3 The Liber Catonis

f. 48r

Cum anima adverterem quam plurimos homines graviter
errare in via morum/ Succurrendum et consuliendum opinioni
cordis me fere existimam Maxime ut cognoscerent et
vin[c]erent et ad honorem contingerent/***

When I advertice in my remembraunce
And see how felle folke erren grevously
In the way of vertuus governaunce,
I have supposed in my selffe that y
Ought to support and counsaile prudently
Thaym to be gloryous in lyvyng
And how they s[h]all hem selffe to honore bringe.

5

*Nunc te fili carissime docebo quo pacto mores animi
tui componas Igetur praecepta mea legito ut intelligas
legere et non intelligere est negligere/*

Terfore, my lief, I shall tech the.
Herkyn me well the maner and the guyse
How thy soule inward shall acqueynted be
With thewes good and vertu in all wysse.
Reed and conceyve, for he is to dispysse
That redith ay and not what is ment;
Such reding is nought but wynde dispent.

10

*Space left for capital c
7 shall] scall

**vincerent] vinerent

[Ita]que deo supplica/ Parentes ama/ Cognatos Cole/
ad consilium ne accesseris antequam voceris/ Mundus/
esto Saluta libenter/ Maiori cede/*

f. 48v

Prays thi God and pray hym with all thyn hert;
Fader and moder have thou in reverence,
Love them welle and be thou never to smert,
Tyll thou be cleped be clene withouten offens.
Salu gladly to hym that is more digne
To hyre mennys consaile but kepe the thens
Than is thi celf thou shalt thy place resygne.

*Magistrum metue/ Rem tuam costodi/ ffamilam cura
Coniugem ama/ Blandus esto/ Irasci ab re noli
Ius iurandum/ serua/ Quod satis est dormi vino te tempora*

Dreed thi master, thy thynges looke thou kepe,
Take heed to thy houshold, ay love thy wyffe;
Plesaunt wordes out of thy mouth lete crepe,
Be not irous, kepe thy byhest as thy lyffe;
Be tempryd with wyne and not to excessiffe;
Thy wyffes worde make none auctorite;
In foly sleep no more than nedith the.

*Libros lege/ Quod legeris memento/ Neminem irasteris/
Nil mentire Illud stude/ quod in[ju]stum est agere/ maledictus**
ne esto/ Cum bonis ambula/ In indicum ad esto ad praetorem
stato/ Equin indica consultus esto/*

*Itaque] Ideo que

*injustum] instum

In goodly bokes whyllom shalt thou reed,
And that thou redyst in thy mynd it shit.
Stere no wyght to wrath, lye not, I the rede,
Do well to God and that woll be quyte;
Be not wicked ne to the wikked be knyht;
Stand in the place of pletyng excerci[s]e,
Deme the ryght [and] be counsailed of the wysse.

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f. 49r

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*Troco lude/ Alias fuge/ Minorem ne contemseris/
Alienum noli concupiscere/ Pauca in comunio loquere/
Verecundiam serua Beneficii accepti memor esto/
libenter ferto amorem/*

Play with a tope – the dyse look thou eschewe;
Dispyse no man, kepe hem thy byhest,
Scorne nevyr wrech, for than thou shalt it rewe;
Covayt no mannys goode, speke few at feste,
Looke thy vengeaunce be alway with the leste,
Whoo hath doo the good have in remembraunce;
Love every wight and hit shall the avaunce.

40

25

L'envoye

Beholde, my master, this littill tretis,
What it is, full of witte and sapience;

34 exercise] exercife 35 and] C.; MS om.
37 byhest] C.; MS byh
38 shalt it rew] C. than shalt þu neuer rew; MS sh

Enforce thou the matter to complice.
Thinke it is translate at your reverence
Enrolle it therefore in your advertence;
Desire to knowe what this Caton ment.
Whan ye it reed, lat not your witte be thens;
Doth as he saith with all your holle entent.

Explicit

f. 49v

*Si deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt/
Hic tibi precipue/ sint pura mente colendus/**

For thi that God is inwardly the wytte
Of man and yevyth hym understanding
As dyttes saith, therefore shalt thou unshite
Thyn hert to thyn soverayn lord and kyng,
Yevyng hym laude, honoure, and reverence,
Which hath endowed the with excellence,
Principally above all other thing.

*Plus vigile semper ne sompno deditus esto
Nam diutur[n]a quies viciis/ alimenta ministrat/***

Awake my childe and love no slogardy!
In mych slep look thou never delite
If thou porpose to worship for to styte.

* mente] t corrected over a d
**diuturna] diutura

51 For] F written in space for capital letter

45 Long sleep and slouth to vices men excite:
It maketh dulle, it makyth unparfite,
It fostereth up the filthes of the flessch,
It pallith eek and wastith blodes fressh.

50 *Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam
Proximus ille deo qui sit ratione tacere*

Trust me also, the fyrst of vertusse alle
Is to be styll and kepe thy tung in mewe;
Of tung untayd mych harme may falle.
And leve me welle this is as gospelle trewe:
Who can del[i]auans of word eschewe
And rest with reson – this is veray text –
To God above that man is alder next.

f. 50r

55 *Sperne repugnare tibi tu contrarius esse/
Conveniet nulli qui secum desid[er]et ipse/**

Avise the welle that thou nevyr traversse
Thyn aun sentence, for therof sueth shame.
Say not oon and efte the contrary reherse;
Such repugnaunce wolle make thy worship lame,
Where stedfastnes wolle cause the good fame.
For he shall nevyr accord with man onlyve
That with hymself will ay repuge and stryve.

67 mych] ch inserted above line with caret

69 deliauans] delauans

*desideret] desidret

75 repugnaunce] repungnaunce

*Si vitam inspicias hominum si denique mores/
Cum culpas alios nemo sine crimine viuut/*

Yf thou advertise and behold about
The lyffe of men and ther maners also,
Both of thy selffe and other the withoute,
In myddelerd thou shalt fynd whoo
That in some parties to vertu is foo.
Blame no mane therfore yf thou do right
Sith in erth lakkeles lyveth ther no wight.

*Que noscitur tenes quamvis sint cara relinque/
Utilitas opibus preponi tempore debet/*

Iff thou suppose thinges shall noy and greve
Though they be deer and right gret of pryse,
Such as suffereth not thy profit eschewe.
If thou lyst be rewillid as the wysse,
Abstayne the fro such thinges and guylles
For it [is] more wysdome in sothfastnes
To proferren profite than such riches.

f. 50v

*Constans et lenis ut res expostulat esto/
Temporibus mores sapiens sine crimine mutat/*

It is a good lesson for the nonys
A wyght to be tempored with constance

91 is] *MS om.*

And to be glad and mery eftesonys,
Nought allway sadde ne light of contenance.
A mannes chere may full ofte avaunce
For at iche tyme as the thyng requireth,
So the wyse mane visageth and cherith.

*Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti
Sepe etenim mulier quem coniunx diligit odit/*

Yeve no credence alway to thy wyffe
That for here ire and here unsapience
With sharper tung than is swerd or knyffe
Playneth of thy servant thow noon offence
Thow fynd in hym. Lere well this sentence:
Thy wyffe woll hate and cause eke for to smert
Often hym that her husband lovys in hert.

*Cumque mones aliquem nec se velit ipse moneri
Si tibi sit carus noli desistere c[a]ptis/**

And yf thou warne a wyght of his forffayte,
Allthough he gruggith with frownyng countenance
And in his langage manace the and threte,
Yitt forbere not for ony such displesaunce
To techyn hym amend his mysgovernance.
As thou begane correct that is amysse
And that is ay a frendly tacch y wysse.

101 unsapience] *crossed-out in later ink; also 105 hate, 103 servant
captis] ceptis

f. 51r

*Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis/
Sermo datur cunctis animi sapientia paucis/*

Ayent the wordy folk ay full of wynde
Stryve not at all. It may not the profite—
Such janglyng folk beth in conceytes blynde.
The wytteles worde avaylleth not a myght,
In wordes felle is wysdome oft ffull lyte
For to every wyght is yeven speche
And the wysse full often been to seche.

*Dilige sic alios ut carus tibi amicus
Sic bonus esto bonis ne te mala dampna sequantur*

Love other men and have hem soo in cheere
That to [t]hy selff thy love may most extende.
Look that no person be to the more dere
Than thyn estate, for than shalt thou offende
And hurt thy selff and other folke amende.
But ay cheryssh other and love hem soo
That to thy selff thou be not founden a foo.

*Rumores fuge ne incipias novus auctor haberi/
Nam nulli tacuisse nocet/ nocet esse locutum/*

Rumors newe that fleith as the wynde
Eschewe, my childe, with all thy diligence;

122 thy] *First letter not clearly t*

Be nevyr to bysy newe tydynges to fynde,
Such novelte causeth ofte offence;
It is no wytte, it is no sapience.
Hit hurtith not a man to be in pees,
But it dothe harme to put his tung in prees.

130

115 f. 51v

*Rem tibi promissam certam promittere noli
Rara fides ideo quia multi multa locuntur/*

120

Make no promisse of other mennys beheste;
Remembre well that promes is unsure
But that thou kepe thyn, thy name thou sleest;
To serven thy beheste do thou thy cure.
Trust not the word of every creature;
Some mennys faith is esy for to breke
For mony folk thinken not as they speke.

135

125

*Cum te aliquis laudat iudex tuus esse memento
plus aliud de te quam tu tibi credere noli*

With wordes faire whan fauell fedith the,
Be not thou blynde for his fals flaterye;
Lat thyn owyne reson alway thy juge be.
And in effecte yf thi state be high,
Though fauell with his crafte will blynd thyn eye,
In all thi lyve thou never gyve credence
Moor to thi self than to thi conscience.

145

137 thy] *End of word smudged; y perhaps written over ou*

Officium alterius multis n[a]rare memento
Atque aliis cum tu benefeceris ipse sileto*

Whan thou seest another mannes disart
As for his good dedis comendable,
In every place pryvy and pert
Such a wyght wyth thy worde enable.
And thowe thou have be ryght avaylable,
Yit of thi good mak thou no bobbaunce
And than other men thy name shull enhance.

150

f. 52r

*Multorum cum facta senex et dixta resences/
Fac tibi succurrant iuvenis que feceris ipse/*

And yf thou lyve longe an old man shalt thou bee—
Age woll approche magre who saith nay.
Than perceyve: behold abowt and see
How aged folke be treted every day
And so to purvey for thi selff assay.
Into crokyd age whan thou art crepte
Thing may the helpe that in thy youth was kepte.

160

*Non cures si quis tacito sermone loquatur/
Consciis ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici*

Charge not allthow some men speke soffte
Ne change no cheer for ofte it is full bett
In secret wys to speke than crye on loffte.

165

*narare] nurare

A man shuld alway see wher he wer sette
And after that soo shuld he speke or lett.
But to the suspect of harme it semeth
Men speke on hym he noon odyr demyth.

*Cum fueris felix que sunt adversa caveto/
Non eodem cursu respondent ultima primis/*

Whan fortune hath yeven the felicite
And sett the on high, than war the of a fall;
Than sueth ofte full sharp adversite.
Fals fortune turneth as doth a balle—
In here trust have thou no sekerness att all.
Hir parillus play turnyth whyllom to game
The end is woo of that began with game.

170

175

f. 52v

*Cum dubia et fragilis sit nobis vita tributa/
In mortem alterius spem tu/ tibi ponere noli*

Ooure brotelle lyfe is here so full of doute
Than in varry sewrte no wyght may stand
So sonderly crepith the sowles oute
About this world in every land.
Of yong and olde for every wyght is bonde
To dethe, therfore seet not thy affiaunce
In deth of hym that may survyve perchaunce.

180

Exiguum munus cum det tibi pauper amicus/
Accipito placite/ et plene laudare memento/*

*munus] over written in above munus in same brown ink of Middle English text

A litell yefte yeven with good entent
Of thy frend that lyveth in poverté,
With right good cheer such yeftes tak and hent
Supposing ay that as good wyll hath he
And more than mony men that richer be.
P[r]ayse not the yifte ne ponder not the pryse
Thentente is good and that shall the suffice.

*Infantem nudum cum te natura creavit/
Paupertatis onus/ pacienter ferre memento/*

Sithen nature that is thy first norisse
Hath browght the hyder all naked and bare,
Though thou cannot richesse accomplisse
But thou art alway hold in povertes snare,
But no force make nevyr to mochill care.
Take paciently poverté for the best
Richesse is not of nature but of request.

f. 53r

*Ne timeas illam que vite est ultima finis/
Qui mortem metuit/ quod viuit perdit id ipsum/*

Though deth be fyne of every creature
And no wyght on lyve shall from hym escape,
Yit drede not deth with ouyr besy cure;
To leve in erth it is but a jape.
Yiff thou shalt after deth so alway gape
Think well to dey but modifi thy thought
Or els to lyve awayleth the ryght nowght.

189 Prayse] Payse

185 *Si tibi pro meritis nemo respondit amicus/
Incusare deum noli set te ipse coherce/*

For thy desert yf no frend thank the, 205
(I meen whan thou hast do thy force and payne,
To other folk full frendly for to bee)
190 Yif they cannot to the gramercy sayne,
Withdraw thyn hond and so thy selff refrayne.
Blame not thy God for ther unfrendlynesse, 210
But for such men doo afterward the lesse.

*Ne tibi quid desit quesitis utere parce/
Ut que quod est serues semper tibi desse putato/*

195 Sithe no richer man lyveth ther anywhare
Yif he consume his goodis all and wast,
But that povert shall greve hym soor and deer.
Therefore, my child, such goodes as thou hast 215
Latt not to soon out of thyn hand be raste,
Lest the good hereaftyr will faylle.
Hold that thou hast—it may the efte availe.

f. 53v

*Quod prestare potes ne bis promiseris ulli
Ne sis ventosus dum vis bonus ipse videri*

200 Behoot no man a thyng to lene hym twyes
And fayle hym, for that is but vylanye. 220
Yf thou may leane, do it in frendly wyse—
Such chevisshaunce will frendlynese bewrye.

221 leane] *Preceded by crossed-out in*

Of thy good dedis clamor not ne crye;
Be not to wynddy ne of wordes breme
Yif a good man the lyst apeer and seme.

225

*Qui similat verbis nec corde est fidus amicus/
Tu quoque fac simile sic ars deluditur arte/*

And if thou fynd the sone of doublenesse,
The false dissymylour yf thou espye,
With paynted word and hert full of falsenesse,
Thou mayst in no wyse better blere his eye
Than serven hym with his owne trecherye.
For wordes faire and frendlynesse no part
Do thou the same and art begyle with art.

230

*Noli homines blando nimio sermone probare/
Fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps/*

Preve not a man with ovyr paynted speche;
Under fayre wordes often is covered gyle.
The word is gay but frendship is to seche.
And as men say, suche crafte is in this ile—
Sume thinken harme when they her tung fille.
The whistelyng fouler maketh mery songe
And yit brides begyllith he evyr amonge.

f. 54r

*Cum tibi sint nati nec opes tunc artibus illos/
Instrue quo possint inopem defendere vitam/*

Whan that god hath yeven the children fele
And no riches, than do thou on this wyse:

240

Teche thy children with craftes forto deele
That with their art they may themself chevice.
Yif thou do thus, thou worchest as the wyse;
Crafte is full good and craft is lucratyfe.
Be crafte they may defende the nedy lyffe.

245

*Quod vile est carum quod carum vile putato
Sic tibi nec cupidus nec avarus nosceris ulli*

Have this consaite, for it is often seen
Thinges deer shall often abate of pryse
And thinges that of litell valew been
In tyme comyng may to derth aryse;
Remembre well this and it woll advertyse.
Thus shalt thou best the name of chincherye fleme
And other men shall the no nygard deme.

250

*Que culpate soles ea tu ne feceris ipse
Turpe est doctori cum culpa ipsum redarguit/**

235

Avyse the well, late reson be thy guyde.
Whan other folke thou art aboute to blame,
That such defaute in the be not espyed,
For yf ther be, than shalt thou have the shame.
A mannes honour suche thinges woll reclame;
It is foulle whan that a man wole teche
Yif that his deede ayen his word preche.

255

260

* ipsum] *The abbreviation ipm is boxed; in the right margin ipsum is written out and underlined in a later hand.*

f. 54v

*Quod iustum est/ petito/ vel quod videatur honestum/
Nam stultum est petere/ quod possit iure negari*

Loke thy desire be grounded in aryght
And that it never travers honeste.
For as oft tymes as any wyght
Desirith more than ryght and equyte,
Than may his request repelled be
And it is clepyd nyste and gret foly
That asken ofte that men woll ay deny.

*Ignotum tibi noli preponere notis/
Cognito iudicio constat incognita casu/*

Chaunge not thy frend that thou knowest of olde
For any new intrust that thou shalt fynde
Better than he, but in thy handes holde
Hym that hath to the freendly been and kynde.
Such eschaunges been full often blynde—
Thow wenest to know, and yit knowest thou never a delle.
To knowe a frend, it is full ofte caswelle.

*Cum dubia et fragilis versetur vita periculis/
Pro lucro tibi pone diem quicumque laboras/*

Sith mannys lyffe is full of myserye,
Whilom in myrth and after in myscheffe,

265

270

275

Now in the valle, now in the mount an hye,
Now man is pouer and efte ryches releve,
The shynnyng morow hath ofte a stormy eve.
To this policy take hend and attende:
Look thou have lucre in thy labors ende.

f. 55r

*Vince cum possis interdum cede sodali
Obsequio/ quin dulces retinentur amici*

Thow thou may venquyssh and have the victorye
Of thy frend and fellow it forbeere.
Rafrayn thy selff: be not to hawte nor hye;
Irus hart full often men dothe deere
Wher with esy softnes frendis may conquer.
For by good deddis sett in holynes
Men beth togeder knyht in frendelynes.

*Ne dubites cum magna petas impendere parva/
hii etenim rebus coniungit gracia caros/*

The lymytour that visiteth the wyves
Is wyse ynowgh of hym a man may leere
To yeven girles pynnys and knyves.
This crafte is good, this doth the cely frere;
Yeveth thinges smalle for thinges that be deer.
Yif thou ressayve yife sumwhat ayene
And that woll noryssh freendes deer certayne.

*Item inferre caue cum quo tibi gracia iuncta est/
Ira odium generat concordia nutrit amorem/*

280

285

290

295

Toyle not ne stryve with hym that is thy frende;
Beware of that — make not of thy frend thy foo.
A toylous man may frendship breke and shende;
Thes baratours that beth mysrulod soo
In trik hemselve and wrap in mekyll woo,
For ire of kynde engendrith not but hate
Whereas accorde norseth love algate.

f. 55v

*Servorum ob culpam cum te dolor urget in iram/
Ipse tibi moderare/ tuis ut parcere possis/*

Whan thy se[r]vaunt thou takest in defaute,
Though he can not his neclygens excuise.
Yitt in the yre make not to ferse asaute,
But with thy malle talent awhile tak trows.
Thou shalt fynd ease this feet if that thou use:
Rewle thy passion ay by such mesure
That than save hem that ben undir thy cure.

*Que superare potes/ interdum vince ferendo/
Maxima etenim morum est semper paciencia virtus/*

‘Suffraunce doth eese’ was said full yoore agoo;
Suffer thou and have all thyn entent
Though thou may ovyrcome yt do not soo;
Conquer through sufferance and be pacient
But to foule cruelte nevyr consent,

303 servaunt] sevaunt

For it is clepyd in vertu excellence
A wyght to lyve in humble pacience.

315

300 *Conserva potius que sunt iam parta labore/
C[um] labor in dampno/ crescit mortalis egestas**

Be not to scant ne be not to protegalle,
Conserve thi thyng gotten with labour.
It is full faire to be said liberalle
But eschew waste and be none surfectour;
Consume not all thy tresour in an oure
Whan of thy labour riseth none avayle—
Nedy povert must the full sone assaylle.

320

f. 56r

305 *Iudicis auxilium sub iniqua lege rogato/
Ips[i] eciam leges cupiunt ut iure rogantur/***

Whan that the lawe is strayte and rigorous,
Entret the juge to shewen the favoure.
Enclynynng hym to be gracious
An egale juge may par caas socoure—
And yitt the law shall be his governoure
(Which he oweth sumtyme to modefyne
As in the caas he may a poynt espye.)

325

330

316 humble] b has a descender; initially written as a p
*Cum] Final two letters smudged
**Ipsi] Ipse

*Quod merito pateris pacienter ferre memento/
Cumque reus tibi sis ipsum te iudice dampna*

What payne thou sufferest for thy dissert
Resceyve it wele in gre with pacience,
And though thy trespasse be preve covert,
Yit whan thou felest in thy advertence
That thou art blemesshid in thy conscience
Wythyn thy selff than make arbitrement,
Demyng thy selff in thyn awn judgement.

*Mo[li]ta legas facito perlectis perlege multa/
Nam miranda canunt set non credenda poete/*

Mispend no tyme for slouth nor for latchese
But whylom reed in bookes olde and wysse.
Reed and reporte with gret attentyfnesse—
By redyng and connyng men mow aryse;
Than reed, my sone, and cunnyng accomplysse.
These poetis writ thingis of gret mervaylle
And of smale credens oft this is no faille.

f. 56v

*Inter convivas fac sis sermone modestus/
Ne dicare loquax dum vis urbanus haberi*

Among frendis sitting at the fest,
Be curtas and demure of thy langage;
Whoo speketh most may not offenden leste.

332 it] *Written in above line*

*Molita] Moilta

Of flessh and bone nature hath made a cage
The tung to kepe that she be not outrage;
Than if thou wilt not be lewde of nature,
Refrayn thy tung with all thy busy cure.

350

Coniugis irate noli tu verba timer[e]/
Nam lacrimis struit/ insidias dum femina plorat/*

Sum wymen weep of pure femynyte
Whan otherwys they cannot their entent
A Chew, but yit bewaare of nyce pete
That of thy manly reson thou be not blent;
For such wepyng thyn hert ought not to relent.
Sum wymen of kynde been ovyr wepyng
And under that can they both pryk and styng.

355

*Utere quesitis set ne videaris abuti
Qui sua consumunt cum deest aliena sequuntur*

That thou hast gotyn to thyn awne worship, use—
What avayleth riches withouten honour?
To sparen good and worship to refuse,
The nygard chynch with payn and laboure
Is busy to gete. But I reed the not devoure
Withoute reson thy good excessively,
For than must thou of other bege hastely.
f. 57r

360

365

*Dapsilis interdum/ notis et caris amicis/
Cum fueris felix semper tibi proximus esto/*

* timere] timera

Be not like Zenola, for he wold ete
 With every man and at his fest hym feede
 But nevyr wyght myght tasten of his mete—
 No man to hym but he to all men yeede.
 Be free of mete, but look that larges leed
 The no further than thou may well attayne;
 Be thyn owne frende, for thus Caton saith certayn.*

Taketh heed, syr, how holsumly this clerke
 Entreyth men with vertuus doctryne.
 This first part of his compendious werke,
 In worship how they shall full clerly shyne,
 Guydyng to renowne streyght as any lyne.
 Whoos preceptes observen ye lyst,
 And to his good counsaile your herttis enclyne—
 Ryght on your welth full welle it shall be wyste.

The vertuse four[m]e that men shall forth convey
 Loo in this lyffe as bryddell doth a beste,
 That man not erre here in this parlus way,
 Stablysshing hym as doth a stedfast reste.
 As syker guydes that been worthiest.
 Mannys lyvyng to sette in governaunce,
 This sage Caton full wisely reg[n]est:
 Prenteth his sawes in your remembraunce.

* *No Latin headings preceding the next two stanzas*
 381 fourme] C.; MS foure 387 regnest] regest

f. 57v

*Teluris si forte velis/ cognoscere cultus/
 Virgilium legito/ quod si mage nosce laboras/*

370

Yif thou lyst, my child, to setten thy delyte
 Of erth forto knowe the tylth and culture, 390
 And yf thou wilt be of knowlege perfite.

375

Why sum is arable and sume is pasture,
 And why sum is spreynt with floures picture,
 I counsaile the to musen for a while
 In the laureate poete, grete Virgille. 395

Herbarum vires macer tibi carmine dicit/

380

And ferthermore, my child, yf that the lyst
 The vertue of herbis forto discryve,
 It may in erth better be wyst
 Which be consumyng and whiche be untrytyve, 400
 Which hote, which cold and which confortatyve,
 Than rede Macer in his olde dicte,
 Which redith them in propre qualite.

385

*Si Romana cupis et punica noscere bella/
 Lucanum queras/ qui mortis prelia dicit/*

And yf thou have desirus fressh currence,
 To here of noble Romayns worthynesse,
 How that they venquessht hem of Cartage 405
 And mony other throw manly prowes,
 Than reed Lucan; full well can he expresse
 Who bare hym best in towyn and eke in felde
 And dud marvayllis under Marces shelde.

f. 58r.

*Si quis amare libet vel discere amare legendo/
Nasonam petito/ sin autem cura tibi hec est/*

And he that list of lovers for to rede,
And in that wyse hymselff to avaunce,
As in that craft Naso can tech hym speede;
Sume loveth songe, sume harp, lute and daunce,
Sume other thinges divers of plesaunce,
Sume loveth covertly and list not to be aspyde,
Sume woll be know, and thus writtith Ovyde.

*Ut sapiens vivas audi que discere poscis/
Per que semotum/ viciis deducitur euum*

But yit, my lief child, yef in adventure
Thyn hert be yeue to none such maner thing,
Or yf it be not all to thy pleseure.
That Virgile, Macer, Lucan and Naso bryng,
Yit that thou may be wyse in thy lyvyng
Yif thou lyst to yeven me audience,
I shall shew the doctryne of sapience.

Ergo ades que sunt sapientia disce legendo/

Therefore, my chylde, come to me and leere
And y shall the shew the verrey tresure
Of sapience, yf that thou lyst to here,
And how thow shalt in good estate endure
And lede thy lyef after Godes plesure.

410 he] *Written in above line*

Therefore, com neer and leer by this reding
To be a man vertuus in lyvyng.

430

f. 58v

410 *Si potes ignotis eciam prodesse memento/
Utilius est regno/ meritis adquirere amicos/*

415 Ther is no wyght that forther may report
Of thy good deddis than the stranger may;
Make hym good chere and shewe hym thy disport
And he shall utter thy nam, this is no nay,
For the unknowen sumtym doth assay.
Frendis inowe to have is better thing
Than is frenlys a man to be a kynge.

435

*Mitte archana dei celum inquirere quit sit/
Cum sis mortalis/ quem sunt mortalia cura/*

420 Of Goddes mystery and his worching
Make nevyr, my child, to ferre enquirance;
It is folly to muse uppon such thing.
Dispute nevyr Goddis purviaunce;
All thinges most be in his governaunce.
Sith that thou art man clad in mortalite,
Dispute thou thyngys such as mortall be.

440

425 *Linque metum leti nam stultum est tempore in [e]uum/*
Dum mortem metu is amittis gaudia vite/*

* euum] ouum

The drede of deth that is inordinate,
—I meen to dred it evyr and nevyr sese—
Beware of that, y counsell the algate.
For this is trew as gospell doutles:
Whoo dredith soo is alway myrthles.
Whan dreded of deth a man so encrochith,
It wasteth lyfe and his tyme abreketh.

f. 59r

*Iratus de re incerta contendere noli
Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere verum/*

For thing to the that is uncertayne
Whan thou art wroth looke that thou nevyr stryve;
Thy passions esely withdraw and refrayne.
For ther is no parson in erth on lyve
But that all re[s]onles he is as blyve
As busy wrath hath kenlid hym on fyre
And than can he not deme the trouth for ire.

*Fac sumptum proprie cum res desiderat ipsa/
Dandum etenim aliquid est cum tempus postulat aut res/*

As tyme requirith, so make thyn expence;
Measure thyn hand after thy properte,
Of thing of tyme and after thy presence.
So that thou spend no more than nedith the,

456 resonles] refoles

445 And that to spend look that thyn hert be free.
A man shuld doo cost and mak his spendyng,
Consideryng tyme a rewarding the thyng.

450 *Quod nimium est fugito parvo gaudere memento/
Tuta mage puppis modico quo flum[i]ne fertur*

To moch is nought of any maner thing,
The meen is good and moost comendable;
That man standith surest here in his lyvyng
With meen estate that halt hym greable.
Plente and povert be no sufferable,
For than is the ship in the see moost sure
What tyme the flode exceedith not mesure.

f. 59v

455 *Quod pudeat socios prudens celare memento/
Ne plures culpent id quod tibi displicet uni*

460 Yif thou know ought may turn oon to shame
Kepe it secre, for no thing it bewrye;
Be not to busy such thinges to proclame
And publish as thou knowes pryvely;
Make not all men to guare on hit and crye,
Lest more deprave whan thou thy worde hast sowe
That was before to other folke unknowe.

Nolo putes pravos homines/ peccata lucrari
Temporibus peccata latent et tempore patent/***

* flumine] flumne

* peccata] C.; MS ppca

**peccata] C.; MS pcca

465

470

475

Yif thou espye and see a sourfecture,
A thef, a shrew of gret mys-governance,
Trust well sune tyme shall com an houre
Whan for his deth he shall suffre penaunce.
Cursed deed axeth wrech and vengeaunce;
Though wykkednes for tyme be kept secre,
Yit att the last will it discused bee.

*Corporis exigui vires contempnere noli
Consilio pollet cui vim natura negauit/*

Though than sumtyme nature hath be unkynde
And yeven a man to be of smale stature,
Yit, my child, remembre and have in mynde
That thou nevyr dispice that creature,
For God may send hym fortune and good ure,
As ofte as they beth with good counsaile alyed
To whom that nature hath gret strength denyed.

f. 60r

*Quem scieris non esse parem tibi tempore cede/
Victorem a victo/ superare sepe videmus*

Whan the happeneth to travers or to have a doo
With hym thou knowest not egall to thy myght,
Thyn utterest power schew not such on too
Lest that eft sones he have the in such plyght.
For it is seen in turnement and in fyght,
Fortune changeth ofte within an oure,

480 And he is scumfit that ofte was victure.

*Adversus notum noli contendere verbis/
Lis minimis verbis interdum maxima crescit/*

485 Of brondes smale bith made this fires gret;
Withdraw the bronde, the fire than discrese.
Ayeyn the knowen ayere looke thou not beet
With wordes felle, for wordes distrobleth pees;
The man is wyse that can of wordes cees,
For this is sothe, as God yave the lyffe:
Of wordes smalle it bredde full mekyll stryffe.

490 *Quod deus intendat noli perquirere sorte/
Quod statuit de te sine te deliberet ipse/*

Deel not with sorcery ne with surquydry;
In Goddes hand is all thy sorte and faate.
Be not aboute to call thy destanye
Yif thou be mysurus or fortunate,
Late God allon in hym is all thy state
And that hym lyst of the purpose
Withouten the can he well dispose.

f. 60v

495 *Inuidiam nimio cultu vitare memento/
Que si non ledat tum hanc sufferre molestum est/*

Beware of envye with her taches fell;
Withyn thyn hert look that she not rest
For it is oone of the paynes of helle
Whan she sojorneth in a mannys brest;

500

505

510

515

Than brennyth fenyx right in his owyn nest
And though she may none othir man myscheffe,
Yitt Ethna ceceth not herselff to greve.

*Esto forti animo cum sis dampnatus inique
Nemo diu gaudet/ qui iudice vincit inique/*

Enforce thyn hert with manly sufferance;
Though wrong jugement ayene the procede,
Be not abasshid in word nor countenaunce
For thoppressour fals may rewle and lede
The law but trust me well withoute drede,
Longe to reioyson achevyth he not,
Which by meenys untrue his good is goot.

*Litis preterite noli maledicta referre/
Post inimicicias/ iram meminisse malorum est/*

Wrath of olde that shuld be oute of mynde
Be not abouten to make efte onlyve,
But the envyous hath the tech of kynde;
Such malice, my child, look that thou not revyve
For such ire of olde maketh a man to stryve,
And who that remembryth olde emnyte
A wycked man forsoth, my child, is he.

f. 61r

*Nec te collaudes nec te culpaueris ipse
hoc faciunt stulti quos gloria verat inanis/*

Thy selff alsoo look thou not prayse
Ne dispraysse, but let othir men allon

520 Alway after preudens thy wordis payse,
For thyn avaunt honour shalt thou gete none,
But have a mok as fast as thou art gone;
A man to prays hymselff, as saith the scole,
Or dispraysseth mych is token of a fole.

*Utere quesitis modice cum sumptus habundat/
Labitur exiguo/ quod partum est tempore longo/*

525 Whan it is tyme of cost and gret expence,
Beware of wast and spend by mesure;
Who that to spend or wast make no difference
Maketh his goodis may not longe endure;
The olde sawe saith, 'mesure is tresure',
For in a short tyme thy good may slip away
That was begoten in mony a sondry day.

*Incipiens esto cum tempus postulat aut res/
Stulticiam/ simulare loco prudentia summa est/*

530 It is no wisdom alway to seme sage,
But sumtyme to be nyse and fayne foly;
Who that hath this feet shall fynd avauntage
Whan tyme and thing requirith that espye
535 And than to dissymull it is good polysye,
Sumetyme to be unwyse in apparence
Among the wyse is clept high prudence.

f. 61v

Luxuriam fugito simul et vitare memento/

538 wordis] *Preceded by crossed-out pr*

540

545

550

555

Crimen avaricie nam sint contraria fame/

The fylthy flessch in meving bestiall,
That fyghteth ay ayenst the soule within
By force of here enticement sensuall,
Eschew, my child, and kepe the from here gyne;
That act and grace be sett full fere atwyne.
And flee of avarice, the wykkyd fame;
This two it been that causen evyll name.

*Noli tu quedam reverenti credere semper
Exigua est tribuenda fides/ quia multi multa loquentur*

Beleve not in every wyghtes sawe,
For sume report thinges all other wyse
Than it was don than or ony man it sawe,
And sume have hit of costume and of guyse
To feed folk with flatteryng and with lyes;
Yeve lyttyll trust therfore to such spekyng,
For mony folke speken mony a thyng.

*Quod potu peccas ignosce tu tibi noli
Nam nullum crimen/ vini ese s[ed] culpa bibentis*

If thou surfecte in drynke, forget not that
A vyse the efte come not in that snare—
Withdrawe thyn hand, feed not thy throte so faste—
Drinke that sufficeth the and other whylle thou spare.
To moch drinke maketh men of witt full bare,
And yitt the wyne therof is not to blame,
But the drynker maketh hymself lame.

f. 62r

*Consilium archanum tacito committe sodali
Corporis auxilium medico committe fideli*

560 To thy secre frend that is ay secre
Shewe thy counseil, to hym thyn hert bewrye;
A trusty frend is chest of pryvyte
But it is hard such frenddes to espye
Trye one out among a companye
And of thy body be take thou the cure
To such a lech as is trusty and sure.

*Successus indignos noli tu ferre moleste/
Indulget fortuna malis ut ledere possit*

565 Withyn thy selff a greve the not to sore,
Though thing amys sumtym the betyde
Dismay the not in busy wyse therfore.
570 Thy adventure nedis most thou abide,
Fortune may not alway be on thy side
With harmys to greve in awayte lieth she
To reven their welth and prosperite.

*Prospice qui veniunt hos casus esse ferendos/
Nam levius ledit quicquid previdimus ante/*

575 In thy selvyn compas aboute before
Thyng to perceve that after shall befall;
It noyeth not ne greveth not so sore
That is forsayne as othinges shall;
Soden chaunges disevyn moost of all.
It hurteth lesse and is in better plight

580

585

590

595

Wherof before a man can have a syght.

f. 62v

*Rebus in adversis animum submittere noli
Spem retine spes una hominem nec morte relinquit*

Whan dyvers thinges traversyn thyn entent
And thou art wrapped in adversite
Waytte for wanhoppe thou be not lost and shent;
Late not dispayre thy wytte bereven the,
Abyde the tyme that to the better shall be;
Hope is she that shall make the a seth;
Hoop leevyth not a man though man levyth the breth.

*Rem tibi quam nosciscis aptam dimittere noli
fronte capillata post hec occasio calua/*

Whan profyre is than mekely it ressayve
Take thinges whiles they be in ceson;
They profre now that efte yiftes wyll wayve
Plente will nowe afterward be geson
Taketh in tyme for so comaundeth reson;
The ballid hede, sumtyme full of herys,
Now is bare without raser or sheris.

*Quod sequitur specta quod eminent ante videto/
Illum imitare deum/ qui partem spectat utramque*

Provyth thy selff and have delyveraunce
Be lykly conjecture what may betyde;
Advertise, my childe, in thy remembraunce
Afore and after, aboute in every syde;

Folow God and late hym be thy guyde
That all thyng hath in his governaunce,
Future and past and that is present.

f. 63r

*Fervor ut valeas intardum parcior esto/
Paucavoluptati debentur plura saluti*

It is a tach of a devouryng hounde
To resceyve superflue and done excesse
To his resceyte agayn frome hym rebounde;
Content thy nature and slee gredynesse;
Foull lustes ay kepe under and respresse
Feed not thy lust with all that she woll crave
Yif thou in helth thy body lyst to save.

*Judicium populi numquam contempseris unus/
Ne nulli placeas/ dum vis contempnere multos/*

Whan a multitude hath yevyn a decre
Or concludith ou3t agaynst thyn entent,
Travers not yit ageynst the commynte
For yf thou do, thou shalt lygthly be shent;
Dispice not alon the peples jugement
In aventure thou please of them not oon
Whille thou wylt inpuge ayen hem everychon.

*Sic tibi precipue quod primum est cura salutis/
Tempora ne culpes cum sit tibi causa doloris/*

633 Whille] Followed by crossed-out I

Take good heed unto thyn owne estate
To rule thy body welle with good diett;
But looke with tyme thou be not at debate.
Though through thyn awyn myrle and surfecte
Secknes or sorowe have gyeve the an hete,
The tym ys good, and no dismall ther ys
But men it make for that they doo amys.

f. 63v

*Sompnia ne cures nam mens humana quod optas/
Dum vigilat sperat per sompnum cernit ad ipsum/*

Drede no dremys, for so saith Dewtrome,
Though they be caused of compleccion,
Or els of any nysed fantasye,
Or of a superflue repleccion
For dremes be but fals illucion;
Whan men be wakyng they desyre or thinke
Upon that thing they dremen whan they wynke.*

Museth a while what all this maters mene;
Abidith sir, and gothe no ferther yitt—
To reden hem avaylleth not a been
But yf a man the kyrnell wolle unshit.
Therfor your hert such a nutrytyve
Which your state shall ay preserve onlyve
In gret honour and kepe it fro noysaunce
Plente and foysyn theryn shall ye fynde.

* No Latin headings preceding the next three stanzas

635 Refressheth you with this holsome diett
That fostreth vertu and kepeth on lyve.
To your parson me thynketh it full mette
For to ressayven such a nutrytyve
Which your state shall ay preserve on lyve 660
In gret honour and kepe it fro noysaunce,
640 Out of danger and of vices infectyve
Yf ye woll worch after this ordynaunce.

f. 64r

And in especyall look that your deed
May beryn true wittenesse and testefye 665
The mater that ye behold and reed;
Look with your hart as well as with your eye,
Than dare y say sumwhat shall ye espye
That to this werk shall moven your currage.
645 Wherfore your hert, your eye and applye 670
Your self to rule after this dyttys sage.

*Hoc quicumque velis carmen cognoscere lector/
Hec precepta feras que sunt gratissima vite/*

650 Beholde, what wyght that listeth to reed,
In this my dicte sumwhat shall ye fynde
Wherwith his soule to foster and feed
With thewes good and it from vice unbynde. 675
Come nere, my child, therfore and have in mynde
655 Such doctryne to beere away and leer
As to thy self shall be to the leef and dere.

*Instrue doctrinis animum ne discere cesses/
Nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis ymago*

Thy soule resembleth a newe playne table
In which as yit appereth no picture,
The philossoffre saith withoute fable.
So is the soulle but a deedly fygure;
To tym she be reclaymed with the lure
Of doctryne, and so to gete a good abitte
To bene expert in connyng and parfite.

f. 64v

*Comoda multa feras sin autem spreueris illud
Non me scriptorem sue te ne[g]lexeris ipse/**

Emprent my techyng in thy soule stedefast—
All full profitable thou shalt it fynde.
Forsake it not, ne from thyn hert it cast,
For yf that thou exclude out of thy mynde
This lesson, thou art full barren and blynde
From vertue, and therof awitte not me,
Sith the defaute, my sone, is than in the.

*Cum recte vivas ne cures verba malorum
Arbitrii nostri/ non est ut quisque loquatur*

If thou lyve justly, kepyng the upryght,
Never declyne for meed ne for favour.
Than standyst thou in a full holsome plyght—
Though men malyng the with wordes of rigoure,
If thou have this thy good lyff is thy toure,

*neglexeris] nelexeris

680 Ne may not let the peple guare and crye
But doo wee welle if they say mysse they lye.

*Productus testis salvo tamen ante pudore/
Quantumcumque potes celato crimen amici*

685 If thou be called the soth to testyfy,
Ay savyng thy worship and honeste,
Thy frenddis trespase about to wrye
Whereas no shame therof may grow to the;
This requireth ay frendlynnes perde:
In welle and woo, be trewe benyvolence
Betwixt folke is frendship in existence. 700
705

f. 65r

690 *Sermones blandos blesosque cauere memento/
Simplicitas viri fama est fraus ficti loquendi*

Make busy wacch and kepe thy soule algate,
Behold aboute, espye the covert trayne—
Whan that false fauell knokketh at thy gate,
He mennyth gyle though outward fayre he fayne;
He can enoynt softly thyn eryl twayne
With oyle of plesaunce in full grett foyson,
But under that kepe the from his poyson. 800

695 *Segnicie[m] fugito que vite ignavia fertur/
Nam cum animus languet consumit inhercia corpus/*

Slouthe, slogardy and dull ydelnes,
Lacches that causeth to be neclygent, 805

Eschew, my child, with all thy busynes,
For idell soule maketh thy body shent.
Ther is in erthe no gretter argument
For to conclude the body apte
Than that the soule in idelnes be wrapt.

*Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis/
Ut possis animo/ quem vis sufferre dolorem/*

Who that lakketh rest may not long endure
Therefore among take thyn ese and disport;
Delite the nevyr in busynes and cure,
But that whillom thou maist resort
To play, recreacion and comfort.
Thou shalt the better labour at the long
Whan thou hast myrth and busynes among.

f. 65v

*Alterius dictum vel factum nec carperis unquam
Exemplo simili nec te derideat alter/*

It is full hard to plesyn eche a wyght;
Disprays no mannys dedys nor lak
Ne wordes nouthur. For evyn so right
As thou prauyst hym, byhynd thi bake
Ryght so woll men mak the a moke and a knake;
The contrary though men had it sworne,
The scorner shall ay be guerdoned with scorne.

809 conclude] conclude *with initial d crossed-out*
812 take] *Followed by take*

*Quod tibi fors dederit tabula suprema notato/
Augendo serva ne sis quem fama loquatur/*

810 Whan the last sorte that sume men clepen fat
Is good and plesaunt after thyn entent,
—Thus meen I loo, whan thou art fortunate—
Reserve thy good that God hath the sent;
Suffre it not rechesly to be spent
For than of wastour thou shalt have the name,
For gret riot wolle cause feble fame. 825

*Cum tibi divicie superent in fine senectel/
Munificus facito vivas non parcus amicus/*

815 Into gret age what tyme thou art crept
And thou hast ryches and gret habundaunce,
Be liberall of good that thou hast kepte.
Thynke thou hast ynough and suffisaunce,
Let not thy good of the have the governaunce,
But governe it and part it with thy frende;
Whan thou goste hens, it may not with the wende. 835

f. 66r

820 *Utile consilium domin[us] ne despice servi*
Nullius sensum si/ prodest tempseris unquam*

Grace is yeven unto men in sundri wyse:
Sume have wysdome and sume have eloquence, 840

834 of] *Followed by crossed-out of*
*dominus] domini

Thes pouer folke sumtyme they byth full wysse.
A servaunt may be of gret sapience;
Reward his wytt yf hit be worth the whylle—
Though he be had in lyttell reverence,
Vertu is hidde undir an abite vile.

*Rebus et in sensu si non est quod fuit ante
ffac vivas contentus eo qd tempora prebent/*

This worldly welth, ebbing and flowyng ay,
Att noon certayn as is wanton Aprille.
Though thou han lost, thou shalt not the dismay;
Be content with that thou hast for the whylle,
Sume man ther ys that hath nother cros nor pyllle,
Non in his warde and good adventure
Is hym full nygh none may know his ure.

*Uxorem fuge ne ducas sub nomine dotis/
Nec retinere velis si ceperit esse molesta/*

Wed not a wyff ffor hir enherytaunce,
For she woll cast hit often in thy berde!
And yf she be noysaunt full of grevaunce,
Constreyne hir not to abide in thy yerde
Of chastisement; it is a cursed yerde
To kepen oon that wole the ay attwytt—
He is at ese that of suche oon is quytte.

850 ther] *Followed by crossed-out hast*
855 she] *Followed by crossed-out wo*

f. 66v

*Multorum disce exemplo que facta sequaris/
Que [f]ugias vita est vobis aliena magra/**

845

Of other men thou shalt thy myrroure make:
Conforme the to that most men appreve
What thou shalt doo and what thou shalt forsake—
A bettyr fette ne canst thou non contryve
Than to other mennys deed to releve.
In all that apperteyneth to thy teching,
Make other men a rewill for thy lyvyng.

860

850

*Quod potes id tempta operis ne pendere pressus/
Succumbat labor et frustra temptata relinquo*

Attempte no thing that surmountyth thy myght,
Ne that to fynyssh thou maist not a[c]chefe,
For than thou standist foulle in thyn awn lyght.
Over his powere what man list to meve,
With shame his werk must nedes taken leve;
It is folye such thing a man to begynne
Which to parforme his wittis be to thyn.

865

870

855

*Quod novisti factum non recte noli silere/
Ne videre malos imitare velle tacendo/*

Lawe presumeth that what man kepith styll
The cryme of oon that hath do gret offence
And discovereth it not, he is as ylle

875

* fugias] sugias

866 rewill] *Followed by crossed-out o*

868 acchefe] atchefe

As is the criminus for all his scilence.
Therefore, my sone, bryng hit in audience
That thou parceyvest not well done is,
Lest for scilence men deme of the amys.

f. 67r

*Fac tibi proponas mortem non esse timendam
Que bona si non est finis tamen illa molorum est/*

Emprent, my child, ay sadly in thy mynde
That thou be not of dethe so soore adradde—
That shall the from wrecchednes unbynde,
Wherein thy self so long forth ladde
Tyll of thy corps thy soule hath be full sadde.
For ryght as deth is fyne of feerfulnes,
So is she ende of all thy wrechidnes.

*Uxoris linguam si frugi est ferre memento/
Namque malum est nil velli pati nec posse taceri*

Thy wyves worde suffre and tak in gre
Whan it availleth, for betyede it may
Full ofte that of gret prudence is she
And must be alowed, this is no nay.
Suffer hire and hyre conceyt assay
For hit is hard whan she may not be still
Ne hyr to suffre thou canst not have thy wyll.

*Dilige non egra caros pietate parentes/
Nec matrem offendas dum vis bonus esse parenti*

878 audience] *Preceded by crossed-out h*

880 Goodes that been yeven the of nature
Cometh eek of thy progenytours.
Therefore, my child, with all thy forsse and cure,
Love heme welle and cherissh at all oures—
Thay fostred the and kept in youthes shoures.
Thy modyr, my child, in especiall,
Yiff thou do welle nevyr offend att alle.*

f. 67v

885 Resorte, resort and hyderward releve
My master now here is an holsome ayre!
For your avayle unto this place reteyne
Whereas of mortalite floures fayre
And soot full plesauntly dothe repayre.
Gadereth therof and maketh you a gay
And resteth you right here in this herbere;
Behold and se what thing is to your pay.

890 Whan ye have gadered floures to your list
Tasteth hem, for they been full preservatiffe;
Haldeth hem fast and berith in your fist,
For the pestelence ayris infectyve.
I counseil you and I jubarte my lyffe
That ye shall leed your lyf in sykernesse
Thurgh vertu of this conservatyffe,
And eek atteyn to moch worthinesse.

Thus move y you, under proteccion

* No Latin headings preceding the following three stanzas

Of your good grace: that what tyme ye reede
Or have in this matter inspeccion,
As is bid that ye woll doo in deed.
And than, dar y afferme withouten dred,
Ye shall acheve and be full vertuus;
Heer shall you fynde that may guyd and leed
Stryght to good fame and bryng you to her hous.

f. 68r

*Securam quicu[m]que cupis deducere vitam**
Nec viciis herere animi que moribus obsunt
Hec precepta tibi semper religenda mento
Invenies aliquid quod te vitare magistro/

What wight that lyst leed in secrenes.
Hys lyfe, and kepe his soule from encombraunce
Of vices which ageynst good thewys expresse
Beth ay at stryf, yeve good attendaunce;
Thes preceptis kepe wel in remembraunce,
Enrollyng hem and prenttyng in your mynde,
How to lyve welle the mennys shall ye fynde.

Dispice divicias si vis animo esse beatus
Quas qui suscipiunt mendicant semper avari

The foule talent of riches, my child, eschew;
Resemble not the gret Tantalus,
Whos etyng in hungyr is all newe
Among the fayr appelus delicius,
No watter swete quenchith his thrist right thus;

* quicumque] quicunque

920 To the vylans swallow of covetoys,
Loo all thus cannot, ne may suffice.

*Comoda nature nullo tibi tempore deerunt/
Si contentus eo fueris quod postulat usus/*

925 Nature can with littill thing be content;
As in diet, a man shuld nevyr charge
Hymself with mete, for mony men ben shent.
For their conceytes been to gret and large:

Meen seen alday the littill bote and barge
Woll drench anon when it is over freight;
Cherissh nature but hurt hur not with weytte. 945

f. 68v

Cum sis incautus nec rem ratione gubernas
Noli fortunam que non est discere cecam

930 If thy thinge thou happen to mysgerne
Withoute reson and ony provydence,
Than, my childe, of me this lesen lerne:
Sith that is was thi fortune such expence
To mak but wyet thyn awn necligence
For fortune may nevyr compellen the,
Thy good to spend but at thi liberte. 950

935 *Dilige denarium set parce dilige formam*
Quem nemo sanctus nec honestus captat haberi/

Love the peny as for thy chevyssaunce

Not for to covey to horde it in an hepe,
For of the prent was made an ordinaunce
Not for it shuld in cofers lye and slepe,
But for it shuld among the peple lepe
In ther eschaunges, and who it kepith yn
As for the fourme is subject to syn.

*Cum fueris locuplex corpus curare memento/
Eger dives habet nummos set non habet ipsum/*

Whan thou hast plente and art pecunyell,
—I meen whan thou hast gret suffisaunce
Of mony foyson and of helth but smalle—
Than spend thy mony and thy self avaunce,
Kepe nevyr the coyne and lyve in grevaunce.
The seek hath silver in full gret excesse
But of hymself hath he no sykernesse.

f. 69r

*Verbera cum tuleris discens aliquando magistri/
Fer patris imperium cum verbis exit in iram/*

Though sumtyme thou suffre gret sharpenesse
Of bettyng, yit thy masteres chastyment
Tak well in gree with lowly humblenesse
Sith it is do but all in good entent,
To cause the for to lere and wysdom for to hent;
And towching his wordes sownen full of yre,
Yt suffer thou the talent of thy syre.

955 an hepe] *Preceded by crossed-out h*
971 entent] *Preceded by crossed-out en*

955 *Res age que prosunt rursus vitare memento/
In quibus error inest nec spes est certa laboris*

Also, my child, thou shalt the occupye 975
To worch thinges that ben profitable,
But look thy wittes thou nevyr applye
To thing that may not be available.
To cast a thing that is not prevable
Be witt or strength, it is but gret error; 980
Dispayred hoop is ende of such labour.

*Quod donare potes gratis concede roganti/
Nam recte fecisse bonis in parto lucrosum est/*

965 Whan thou shalt yeve, than yeve in frendly wyse;
Frendly content a prayer of request
For thing yevyn in tym ys yevyn twys;
Sich gladsume chere make yiftes richest 985
Who yevyth gladly and sone yeveth best.
Loo, nothing may better frendes conquer
Than to lene that he may wele forbere.

f. 69v

970 *Quod tibi suspectum est confestim discute quid sit/
Namque solent/ primo que sunt neglecta nocere/*

Whan in a thing thou haste a conjecture 990
—As in thy conceyt holdyng it suspecte—
To discusse that thing anone do thy cure.
For at the first, whan such thing is rejecte,
The reest is after esy to corecte.
And, thing that at the first is not set by,

Is often seyn dothe grevyn fynally.

*Cum te detiniat veneris damp[n]osa voluptas/
Indulgere gule noli que ventris amica est/*

And whan thou art disposed inwardly
To venus actes, than repressse currage.
Foster not thy flesche to lustely,
For gret diate maketh flesh outrage
Whereas mesure myght causen it to asswage,
And gloteny is clept chef promet vice,
Ledyng the fleshe to wantonese and vice.

Cum tibi proponas animalia cun[c]ta timere
vini precipue tibi plus hominem esse timendum*

The rawmpand lyon and the tygre felle,
The irus boor, the hound of envye,
And beestes moo than nedeth here to telle,
Meen dreed full soore and feren their tyranny.
And wele they doo, but yit oo beest y espy
That is to foren moost in especiall:
Man is beest that thou moost dreden shall.

f. 70r

*Cum sapias animo noli irridere senectam
namque quicumque sene puereleis sensus in illo est/*

And ay, my child, conceyve and advertyse
That nevyr thou scorne feble sto[u]ping age.

* cuncta] cunta 1011 stouping] stomping

995 Thyn elderys, my child, for no thing dyspysse
 Though in theyr wittes they be not so sage.
 As in theyr youth, sith age is outrage
 Whan age comyth, this is full sothe certayn:
 A man begynnyth to be a childe agayn.

*Disce aliquid nam cum subito fortuna recedit/
Ars remanet vitam quia hominis non deserit unquam/*

1000 Enforce thy wyttes sumwhat for to leare,
 Aquaynte the cunnyng, for that is sure:
 If fortune chaung and than povert appere,
 Whoo that hath cunnyng is likely to recure;
 Cunnyng and craft remaynen to endure,
 And by them a man may hymself releve
 Whan fortune hath cast hym into myscheve.

Prospicito cun[c]ta tacitus quod quisque loquatur
Sermo hominum mores et celet et indicat idem*

1005 Be stille in scilence with avisedenys,
 Tary, my child, to othyr men hath said;
 Soo shalt thou leer sumwhat in soothfastenes.
 Lat not thy tung sodenly be untayde,
 For that myght the of hastynes abrayde;
 By mannes worde his maners woll be shewed,
 By wordes knowen the wyse man fro lewede.

1010 1014 youth] *Followed by crossed-out a*
 * cuncta] cunta

1015

1020

1025

1030

f. 70v

*Excerce studium quam vis perceperis artem
ut cura ingenium sic et manus adiuuat usum*

Though in connyng thou have full gret conseyte,
Enforce the ay to lerne more.
The soule it is that must be they resceyte,
Replenysch hyr with that tresoure and stoore;
Use maketh mastery, use cunningg therfore,
Use helpeth arte as cure helpeth the witt,
Than use and cure to cunningg must be knyht.

*Multum venturi ne cures tempora fati
Non metuit mortem qui sit contempnere vitam*

Body from soule shall have disseveraunce;
Deth is end, comune to every wyght,
Charge not to moch of dethes chaunce;
The trybute of deth most thou pay be ryght,
But yit by deth shalt thou set more lyght
Yf by this lyfe thou sette nothing expresse
That is soo full of woo and wrechednesse.

*Disce set a doctis in doctos ipse doceto
Propaganda etenim est rerum doctrina bonarum*

Lere of the wysse and tech the unconnyng,
For it is vertu and full comendable
To encrease doctryne thugh such connyng;
It is alway a deed of charyte

1035 maketh] *Followed by* maketh

To leare and teche – it is full agreable;
To good doctryne kepyth vertu on lyve
Which ne were doctryne soon fro men shuld slyve.

1050

f. 71r

*Cum tibi prevalide suerint in corpore vires
ffac sapias si tu poteris vir fortis haberi*

1035 The vertu that is clepyd fortitude
Standeth not all in strengthes bodely
As to ben virus myghty, strong and rude,
But in the soule it most be secrely
Than, yf thou wilt thy selven fortefye
Thy soule withyn, aqwaynt with sapience
And than shalt thou be strong in existence.

1055

1040 *Auxilium a notis petito si forte laboras
Nec quisquam medicus melior quam fidus amicus*

What thing on herth thou shalt take on hand
And thy supporte shalt be in frendelynes;
No straunge wyght on lyve so nye to the will stand
As thy knowen frend, my childe, this is expresse;
Of the straunger hast thou no sykernesse
For whan all other ben full feer to feche,
The faithfull frend can than best be thy leche.

1060

1045 *Cum sis ipse nocens moritur cur victima pro te
Stultitia est in morte alterius sperare salutem**

1065

1059 herth] *Preceded by* crossed-out hond
* Stultitia] Stulcia

The dethe of bestis that bith unresonable,
As by custume and right of sacrifice,
To purgen the is no seth agreable.
Trust not as soo to getyn thy reprys,
For thay that trusten so been full unwysse;
By deth of bestis God woll not whemyd be
And a man abyde in his inequite.

f. 71v

*Cum tibi vel socium vel fidum queris amicum
Non tibi fortuna est hominis/ set vita petenda/*

Whan thou wylt chese a frende for trustynes
Than of his fortune make none inquirance,
For fortune is moder of chaungeablenes.
Aske of his lyff and of his governaunce,
For that [is] preve of gretter suffisaunce
Than ure or fortune that is casuell,
For lyfe of man his fortune doth excell.

*Utere quesitis opibus fuge nomen avari
Quid tibi divicie/ prosunt si pauper habundas/*

Use welle thy richese that thou hast of quest;
Of avarice the wikked name eschewe.
Late not thy good lye stopped in a chest,
Kepe not thy stuffes ay closyd still in mew.
Such olde tresure woll mak thy shame full newe,
And in povert a wreche alway endure.

1077 is] *MS om.*

1078 fortune] *t written over s*

*Si famam servare cupis dum vivis honestam
ffac fugias animo/ que sunt mala gaudia vite*

1070 Yf thou desire to rejoysen thy good fame
In honeste whylles thou lyvest heere,
Eschewen thinges that may cause shame.
Lecherous lustes must be leyde on bere
And thinges feel that full jolysly appere—
This worldes joy is ay full diffectyve,
But beware of joy that hurteth thy good lyve.

1090

f. 72r

*Dimissos animo tacitos vitare memento/
Quod flumen est placidum forsan latet alcior unda/**

1075 The soleyn full ofte menyth fraude and gyle;
Of such a man eschew the company,
For the stille man compassith othir whille
With his hert dissaite and trechery.
In flodes stille is watere deep and hy,
In stremys soffte, semyng to hy plesaunce,
Often betideth full unhappy chaunce.

1095

1080 *Cum tibi displiciat rerum fortuna tuarum
Alterius specta quo sis discrimine peiori/*

1085 With thy fortune whan thou art discontent
And canst not take in gree thyn adventure,
Beholde and see in thyn avisement

1100

* unda] undo

1100 discontent] disconttent

How they that whyllom were as thou as sure,
And more lykely in welth for to endewre
Both fore bounte and eke for noblesse,
Have yit falle downe into wrechednesse.

*Quod potes id tempta nam litus corpere remis/
Tucius est multe quam velum tendere in altum/*

Attempt thy thing soo as thou maist suffice,
Passe not thy myght, beer not to hye thy saile;
Ther is parell yf that the storme aryse.
Certeyn, my childe, this is withouten faile:
The vessell small is at full gret avayle
Whan with his oore he may to land reche,
Wher the sailes hye full ofte they goon to wreche.

f. 72v

*Contra hominem iustum praeue/ contendere noli
Semper enim deus iniustas ulci[sci]tur iras/*

Ayent the trew, juste man braule not ne stryve,
For to God above that is displesaunce.
Trust this truly: ther is man on lyve
That to the just man doth deer or grevaunce,
But at the last, God woll take vengeaunce.
And her of it is good heed to take:
The rightwes man of God is not forsake.

1112 land] *Followed by crossed-out* 1
*ulciscitur] ulcitur

1105 *Ereptis opibus noli merere delendo/
Set gaude potius tibi si contingat haberi*

Yif exortacion of mysaventure
Have plucked at the and made the thredbare
Of riches, yit doo thou thy force and cure
To be mery and eschewe thought and care,
For frettyng thout is a full cursed snare. 1125
Come not therin as fortune is unstable;
For after povert, riches is regnable.

1110 *Cum Venere et Baco est coniuncta voluptas/
Quod lautum est animo/ complectere sed fuge litis/*

Venus is redy to all here actes vyle
Whan he Bacus hath sent her in largenes
The tresour of his hoot and fervent ile. 1130
Therefore, my child, thyn appetite repres;
In wynes hoot do not to grete excesse.
Drynk that for thy soule is expedient;
Eschew stryffe, with mesure be content.

1115 f. 73r

*Est iactura gravis que sunt admittere dampnis/
Sunt quedam que/ ferre decet pacienter amicum/*

1120 It is an harme thy goodys to forgoo 1135
That bith in hand by force and violence.
But, my child, thou most consider whoo

1137 consider] condsider; *crossed-out* d

And what he is that dothe the suche offence;
 Betwyxt frend and foo have eny a difference.
 For in sume case thou most a frende forbere
 And suffer hym though he both noy and deere.

*Tempora longa tibi noli promittere vite/
 Quocumque ingrederis sequitur mors corporis umbram*

Be not to sure that thou shalt lyve here longe;
 A man shall dey all be he loth or leef,
 And as the olde, soo dye the yong amonge.
 Deth stellith on as doth a prevy theffe
 Loo ayenst dethe men fynden nevyr releef;
 She is abouten to make a devorce
 And foloweth the shadewe of the corse.

*Thure deum plaga vitulum sive crescit aratro/
 Ne credas placere/ deum dum cede litatur**

Serve ay thy God with lowly observaunce,
 With hert enteer or with swote smellyng encense;
 Such sacrefice is moost to his plesaunce.
 Of calves smale that nevyr dyde offence,
 Though thou them sle, the blood may not dispence
 With the – late them growe and swynk in thy plowgh;
 Thyn hert to God is sufficiaunt inough.

1144 olde] *Preceded by crossed-out letter, perhaps the top of an l, h, or b*
 * cede] *Preceded by crossed-out d*
 1155 inough] *inough with initial g blotted out*

f. 73v

1140 *Cede locum lesus fortune cede potenti
 ledere qui potent prodesse aliquando valeb[un]t/**

Yeve place to hym that exceedith thy myght;
 Though thou be hurt, it may profite parchaunce
 And seld availleth a man for to fyght
 Ayenst such oon as passeth his puyssaunce.
 Thow he greve nowe, yit efte he may avaunce;
 Full ofte it is seen after the gret dures
 The myghty man woll kyth his gentilnes.

1160

*Cum quid peccaris castiga te ipse subinde/
 Vulnera dum sanas dolor est medicina doloris/*

After thy surfect and gret offence,
 Chast thy self – correcte that was amyse.
 Correct thy gylt, amend thy neeclygence;
 Sorowe for syn a verray medycyn is.
 Repent the soor than art thou saafe, y wys.
 For fysyk saith, my child, y the ensure,
 A bitter drynke the sharpe seknes may cure.

1165

1155 *Dampnaris numquam post longum tempus amicum/
 Mutavit mores set pignora prima memento/*

Iff thou han found longe frenship in a wyght,
 Full yoor a goo though he begynne to chaunge,
 Dispreyse hym not – meen byed not in oo plyte.
 This worldes cours is wonder quaynt and straunge

1170

*valebunt] valebit 1173 straunge] *Preceded by smudged s*

For sum men of kynde beth full ethe to chaunge
But though the man as now be wax unkynde,
His olde ffrendship remembre in thy mynde.

f. 74r

*Gracior quo sis mage carior esto/
Ne nomen subeas quod dicitur officii perdi*

If it ure the in office to be sette,
Than be thou gracious to other men;
They may report a goodly man it mette
With such office and soo good fame shall renne
About of the, but y ensure the when
Thoffecers is unkynde than saith the prees
'Now wold God that this man were offiselees.'

*Suspectus caviat ne sis miser omnibus horis/
Nam timidus et suspectus/ aptissima mors est/*

Be not suspect; that is a wykked tache.
The suspect wyght with coward jolysnes
In his levyng is but a verry wrech;
Moch is amyse and all woll he redrese
He demyth false and fayleth hartynes;
His fals conseyte seet in malecoly
Sleeth hym, anone deth endes his foly.

*Cum propriis fueris servos mercatus in usus/
Ne famulos dicas homines tum esse memento/*

If thou have men withouten liberte,
Such as be clepid the men of bondage,

1175 Though they be under thy capivyte
Yit ovyr such men be nevyr outrage
Yf all they be holden under thy bondage,
Thow they be bond, yet very men they bee;
That they be men than ay remembre the.

f. 74v

*Quam primum rapienda tibi est occasu prima
Ne rursus queras que tam neclexeris ante*

1180 The first fortune resceyve with redynes;
Refuse it not though it be scant and smalle.
It is well bet in gree to take the lesse
Than refuse it, and after faylle of all;
Yftes of fortune, tak them as they falle;
Forsake hem nowe and eft thou shalt nede;
Tyme is to take whan men profre and berde.

*Morte repentina noli gaudere malorum
ffelices obeunt quorum sine crimine vita est/*

1185 Rejose the nevyr, child, in all thy lyve
The soden deth of a cursed man or wrecch.
Whan he is deed the soulle may not revyve,
From payne to joye that sprit may not stretche
1190 The fendes holde so sore that they may not catche.
Who lyveth well, ful wel eke dyethe he;
That soule is sure of grete felicite. 1210

1208 joye] *Preceded by crossed-out y*

Cum tibi sit coniu[n]x nec res et fama laborat
vitam dum ducas inimicum nomen amici*

If thou have a wyffe in asuraunce
Than trust hir well and love her inwardly
With hart and thought, with all thy affiaunce;
Be not infect with suspect jolysy
Yf no defaute in here thou canst espy,
And yf thy frende telle the suche is thy same,
He is a frend and sche nothing to blame.

f. 75r

*Cum tibi contigerit studio cognoscere multa**
ffac discas multa vita nil velle doceri*

Whan trough study and long exercise
Thou knowest mochell and hast gret cunnyng,
Yt do thy dyligence in busy wyse
More to conne, it is a holsum thyng
To gret honour connyng may the bryng;
And ay eschewe not for to will to be taught;
Withouten techyng, science wole not be caught.

*Miraris verbis nudes me scribere versus
hec brevitatis sensus fecit coniungere liveros*

And yf thou ought in vayle lyst to muse,
In nakyd wordes why my verse y wrytte,
In no wyse y may me better excuse

* coniu[n]x] coniu[n]x

** contigerit] contingerit

Than say my witte is so dulle and imparfite
Arteth me thus rudely for to endite
By two and two my metter for to knyght,
Not causeth me but symplenes of wit.

1230

1215

*Explicit Liber Catonis quod scripci
da michi quod merui QHP
una pro valde dum tantum dum me
Quod non pro ne ad eum nisi summe*

1220

1225

2.2.4 *Texts within Chetham 8009: ff. 76r – 335r*

Torrent of Portyngale

E. Adam, ed. *Torrent of Portyngale*. EETS ES 51. London: N. Trübner, 1887; reprinted, 1973. Also, Keith D. Montgomery, ‘*Torrent of Portyngale: A Critical Edition*’. PhD dissertation. University of Auckland, 2008.

Lamentation of our Lady, ff. 119v-121r & Prayer of our Lady, ff. 121r-121v

Max Förster, ed. ‘Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte’, *Anglia* 42 (1918), 145-224.

Bevis of Hamtoun, ff. 122r-190v

Eugen Kölbing, ed. *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, EETS ES 46, 48, 65 London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1885, 1886, 1894.

Ipomadon, ff. 191r-335r

Rhiannon Purdie, ed. *Ipomadon*. EETS OS 316. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

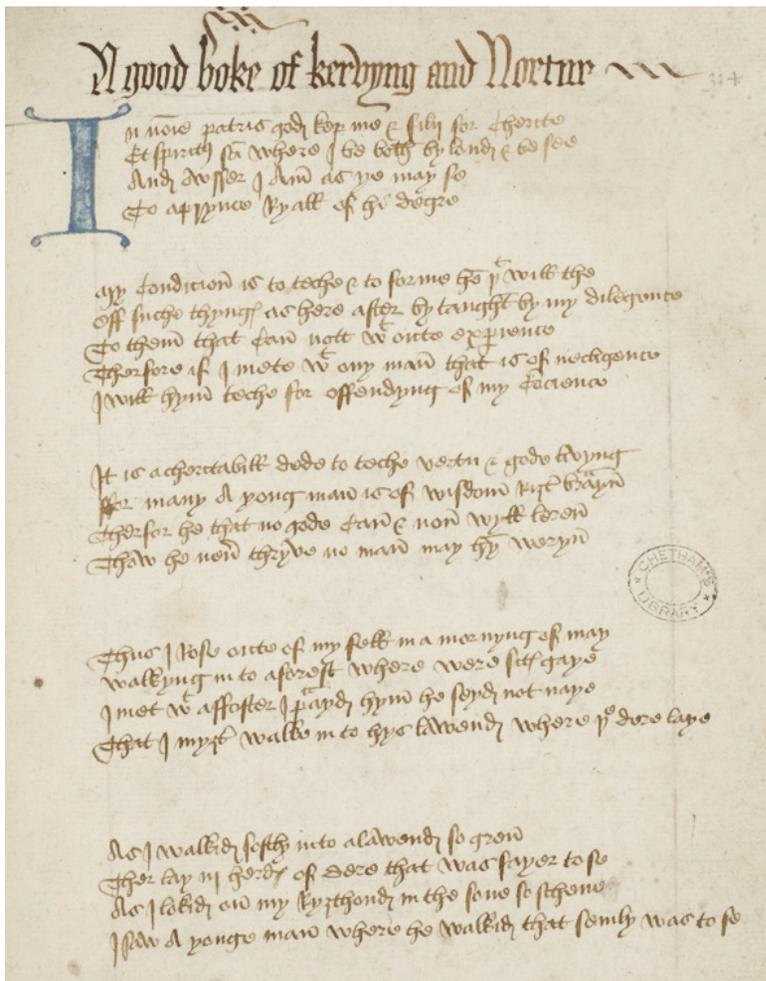


Figure 5: Chetham's Library MS 8009, f. 337r

2.2.5 John Russell's Book of Carving and Nurture

f. 336r

A boke of kervyng and nourtur

f. 336v

[blank folio]

f. 337r

In nomine patris, God kep me, and filii for cherite,
 Et spiritus sancti where I be both by lond and be see.
 An owsser I am, as ye may se,
 To a prynce ryall of hi degre.

My condicion is to teche and to forme hem þat will the
 Off suche thynges as hereafter by taught by my diligence
 To them that cannott withoute experience;
 Therefore if I mete with any man that is of necligence,
 I will hym teche for offendyng of my concience.

5

It is a cheritabill dede to teche vertu and gode livyng,
 For many a yong man is of wisdom ri3t barayn;
 Therfor he that no gode can and non wyll leren,
 Thow he never thryve, no man may hym weryn.

10

Thus I rose oute of my sell in a mornyng of May,
 Walkyng into a forest where were sites gaye

15

*Title: A good boke of kervyng and nourtur, written above l. 1
 3 An] And

I met with a ffoster; I prayed hym (he seyde not ‘naye’)
That I my3t walke into hys lawend where þe dere laye.

As I walkid softly into a lawend so gren,
Ther lay iij herdes of dere that was fayer to se;
As I lokid on my ry3thond in the sone so schene
I saw a yonge man where he walkid that semly was to se.

f. 337v

He toke hys bowe in hys hond, þe dere began to stalke;
I prayd hym hys shote to leve and softly with me to walke.
Thys yong man to me lokid as he to me wold talke;
He prayd me that he my3t go with me into sum halke.

Thus yonge man I freynid with whom that he dweltt,
He sayd to me, ‘With no man’, so God hym amend.
‘Sone’, I seid, ‘as I trowe, þou ar not wele leryned’.
‘Syr, I wold that I were oute of this lond exiled!’

‘Good sone, beware and say not so in no wise
For God forbidithe whanhop, for a gret syne it is.
Therefore, sone, opyn thyn herte and tell me þyn hevines,
For God is [a] good lord – he shall amende that is amys.’

‘For sothe sir, I have soght fere and nere many a day
To get me a maistir and every man seyde me nay
For that I cowed no good, þerfor I do þus playe,
For I am as lewid as a poppyngaye.’

26 freynid] Meaning ‘found out’ or asked, MED freden (v.) (c)
33 amys] Line followed by crossed-out For sothe sir I have soght

‘Therefore, good sone, if I teche þe wilt þou away it bere?
Wilt thou be a servant, a plowman, or a laborer?
Wite thou be a clerke, a marchaunt, or an artificer,
Or elles a chambyrlayn, a boteler, a panter, or a kerver?’

40

20 f. 338r

‘Truly sir, of the office of a boteler, panter, and chambirlayn,
And of the connyng of a kerver, therof wold be fayn
All thes connynges to have in certeyn,
I were bound to praye for you that your soule schulde never cum in peyn.’45

25

‘Sone, I shall the teche with right good will
So that þou love and dred God þerto þou shalt skylle
And to þi master: be trwe his goodes not to spill,
Hym to dred, his good to spare, and to hym be not sotill.

30

With kne bowing, with eye jentill off semblant to your master,
Your hede claw not, nor your ere pike not, with your nose no sloutter,
With your mowith noþer like nor blow, nor with your fingers make no caster;
All knavis tacchis that ye voide, of your master gode be no waster.

35

Be not hye of jangelyng nor hye of þi felowship complaynyng,
For bowe not thyn eris to counsell ne to lewid speche. Be not smatering,
Be not þou no skorner nor japer; with games that be forbedyn, be you not
pleyeng.
For God and man hathith idilnesse, it makith a man unthryving.

41 a kerver] a written in above line; keerver with second e crossed-out

Put not your hande in your neck, boson, nor arme,
 Nor in youre hose a fle for to sharme;
 Sh[ru]ge not with youre body, lest it do you harme,
 Sette not the tone fote on the todyr for to warme.

Suyte not your nose with your tonge, your lippis be not likyng,
 Ne suppe not of every cuppe that to the tabill bryng;
 Be not with your mowith spowtyng ne squaryng,
 For to a gentill boteler it is a gret slawndryng.

f. 338v

Sone, thou shalt be panter and boteler all the first yere.
 Pou must have iij pantry knyvis that be good and sure:
 One knyff to square thyn trynchorys levis, and anoþer to be sharp,
 The iij^{de} to be sharpper and ffyne to make smoth trenchorys.

Allway thyn soveren brede loke it be hote and abill,
 And odyr bred se that it be a daye old, for that is profitabill,
 And trenchor brede iij dayes old so it is profitabyll;
 So shallt þou make trenchoris good and abull.

Also loke that thyn salt be white, fayer, and drye;
 Also thy planer for þi salte, [that] it be made of ivery;
 Loke that thi planer be of brod ynchis ij and off lenyth ynchis iij,
 Also that thyn salt seler lede towich not þyn salt by.

Goode sone, loke that thyn bordcloþis, twelles, napkyns be fayr and clene
 And þat they be fayer fold in a cheste or on a perch þ[i] maist[er] not to weme.

60 shruge] shurge 75 thy] they *with crossed-out e* that] *MS om.*
 77 salt by] shalt by 79 þi maister] þou maist

Thyn tabill knyvis ffaier polissyd, a fayer sight to sene,
 Thy sponys fayer wasschid, þyn master not to ten.

Loke þou have ij tareoris, a more and a lasse, ffor wyne
 And also wyn canellis, acordyng to the teryares of box fyn;
 Also a gemylet sharp, a fawcet to put in,
 And tampons – fawcettes be redy –to stope þe pepyn.

Gode son, wen þou settist a pipe a broche, do in þis wise:
 Fowyr fyngers brede above þe nedyr chyne (þat may not mys)
 With a terer, a gymlet set hym aslawnt upward[es],
 And so shall þe cause the lyes never to ryse.

f. 339r

Good sone, that thou have in all maner seasons:
 Buttir, ches, applis, plombis, grapis, dates, figges, and reysonys,
 Compostis, gren gyngir, chardquynces with suger and almonys,
 And know well allwey þyn mastris wyll for after questions.

Serve ffastyng butter, plumbis, damysonys, chereis,
 Grapis, youre master to please;
 After metis, peris, nottis, strawberis, hurtilberes, and hard ches,
 Also blaunderelles, pipyns with careawey in comfet, his stomake to ease;
 After soper, rostid aplis, peris, blaunchyd powdyr with hard ches.

Beware of creme of the cowe and of the goote,
 Also of strawberys with the joncate,

88 a gymlet] a agymlet; upwardes] *es crossed-out*
 96 metis] *s written over another letter, perhaps an e*

For with thes may be made a seke man in a cote,
But if he ete hard chese after and ipocras, be note.

Hard chese hath this good operacion:
That he will kepe a stomake opyn in þe botme,
The whiche is never in conclusion
The helth of man in this condicion.

Buttir is an holsom mete first and laste,
For he wyll help poyson away to caste;
Also he norishith a man to be laske,
And with bred he wyll kepe his mowith tast.

Mylke, creme, grene chese, and joncate –
They close a maw and so doth a possate;
Therfore ete ches after all þat,
And romeney of moton for dred of chekemake.

f. 339v

Beware of saladis gren, metes, and frutes rawe,
For they make a man have a sike mawe;
Perfor of ffresch loustes set not an hawe,
Beware of suche metes, [they] be not worth a strawe!

After all metes that sette thy te[t]he on egge,
Al maner suche metes, almondus hard, I the segge:
Yt will away do the ete not to myche in þi stomake nor legge,
For the weyete of half an unce withoute remeney modon is gret plegg[e]

115 beware] b ware
119 tethe] teche

118 they] *MS om.*
122 plegge] *e obscured in tight binding*

Off divers drynkes of þer fumosites to the displeseyd,
Ete an appill rawe, his fumysites to sesid;
Mesure is a mery mene whan it is well usid, 125
Abstynence is to be preysid whan God þerof is plesid.

105 Take goode hed of thy wynes rede, white, and swete;
Loke every ny3t with a candill that they reboyle not nor breke,
And every ny3t with cold water whash þyn pipe hede and þat it þou not forget
And allway have a thyn jeren and hardes with feyer leny clothe wete. 130

110 Iff thyn wyn reboyle, þou shalt it know by his hissyng,
And þerfore kepe a pipe of colowr rose that is spent in drynkyng,
The reboyled wyn to racke oute to the lies off rede wyn hym mendyng;
Yff swete wyne be seke and pallid, put it in a romeney vessell for lesing.

The namys of swete wynes I wold that ye þem knewe: 135
Vernage, vernagill, vine kute, pyment, raspise, muscadell of grewe,
Romeny of modon, bastard, tyre, ossey, torentyn of ebrwe,
Grece, malmesay, caperike, and claray whan it is newe.

115 f. 340r

Goode sone, to make epocrase it ware good lernyng
To make a spicery [with] a trew proporcionyng: 140
Gynger, synamon, graynes, sugure, trensoles for lordes is good makyng;
For comen pepill, gynger, canell, longe peper, clarefied hony is gode makyng.

120 Loke ye have a pewter bason i, ij, or iij
For to kepe your powdyr and ipocras to ryne in, so wold it be.

130 a thyn] athyn thyn

140 with] *MS om.*

Also to vi basonys ye most have vi reners on a perch;
Loke your powdyr be redy and the gynger clene parid, I þe tell.

Se your gynger be well paryd or it to powder be bete,
And that it be hard, hote, and white withoute worme in hym lete.
For good gynger columbyn is best to drynke and ete;
Gyngir bellandyn and maydekyn is not holsom in mete.

Loke that your stykes of synamon, þat they be not þyn, brotill, and fayr
c[o]lorid,
And in your mowith fresch, hoole, and swete by me declaryd.
For canell is not so jentyll in his speracion conveyed;
Synamon is hote and dry in his condicion to you servyd.

Graynes of paradys, hote and mowst they be,
Sugir of iij kute, hote, moist, and swete in his properte.
Sugyr candy is the best sugyr, I the tell,
Rede wyne is hote and dry that I will ffele and see.

Grynes, gynger, longe pepir, sugyr, they be hote and moyst in workyng;
Synamon, canell, and rede wyne, þey be hote and dry in his werkyng;
Torensole is gode and holsom[e] for rede wyne colowryng;
Now þou knowiste the properteis of ipocras makyng.

f. 340v

Good sone, your powdris be made yche by them selffe in bladdys layd;
Hange sure your perche and your bagkis þat þey fro you not brayde,

151 colorid] clorid
161 holsome] e *partially formed*

153 not] *Followed by crossed-out so*

145 And that no bagge towch oder but bason towch bason. Do as I you seid: 165
The first bagge of a gallon, all oþer of a potill well tide.

150 First put in a bason red wyn, i galon ij or iij,
Then put it in your powdyrs, for so wold it be.
Now put it into his rynnner to do hys properte,
Then put it into the secund bagge, for so wold it be. 170

Then take a pese in þyn hand, sum tyme amonge,
Assay in thi mowith if it be stronge,
And if þou fele þat it wile tary nat to longe,
To put hym the iij^{de} wessell, þeris to make perfite fonge.

155 And þan if þou fele it be not made perfite, 175
That it tast to moche gynger, alay it with synamoun tite,
And if it hath synamon to myche, aley with suger kute,
And if it has to myche suger, alay it with graynes tyte.

Thus shall þou, sone, make perfite ipocras, I the sey,
Allway be tastyng with thy mowith to preve it no man it naye. 180
Lette in rene in ij or iij or [i]ij, v or vi bagges, þe finer is your
ipocras, do so if ye may of bultid cloþe þi cloþis be withoute delay.

Goode sone, thi bagges be hopid at þe mowthis
The better maist þou put þi wyne into þe bagges;
The first bagge of a galon and all oþer of a potell, þe soth it is, 185
Hange thi baggis on a perch wele stryngid by þe hapis.

180 tastyng] *Preceded by crossed-out sta*
181 iij] iij

f. 341r

Goode sone, under every bage, a bason clene,
For now is the ipocras made, as I wene;
The draffe of the spicery is goode for sewis, þe soth to say,
Therfor þrowit not away, thy master to que[m]e.

Now, goode sone, thi ipocras is made perfite and well,
I wyll that ye put it in a clene and strange wessell,
And at the mowth a bladdyr wele bound, I the tell;
Now serve ipocras and waffers to hym þat rose out of his sell.

Now, good sone, se thi pottes and tappis be clene;
Thyn ale v days old or men it drynke þem to qweme,
For ale that is stale is not wastabyll as I wene.
Kepe wele your howse of office, do as I you seyn:

Be fayer of answer, redy to serve, gentill of chere,
And then men will seien ye be a gentyll officer.
Beware that ye geve no man pallid drynke for fere,
For that wyll brynge a man madry, skabbe or fevyr.

Sone, it is tyme of the day þe tabyll wold be layd:
Fyrst, w[i]p[e] your tabill with a clothe or that it be spred,
The[n] lay on a clothe on the tabill, a cowcher it is callid, I the seyde. 205
Take þou felow the ton ende of the clothe and you þe oþer no man it nayed.

190 thy] *Blotted out letter between h and y*
196 thyn] *Crossed-out e between h and y*
197 For] *Followed by crossed-out that*
204 wipe] wp
205 Then] The

queme] quene

f. 341v

Then ley the clothe streyt and lay the bou3t on the inner [e]ge so it is pessibill,
And ley estate with the upar parte abofe a fote brode for that is greabill;
Take the upar parte and leyt it hang sid and abill,
190 Then take the iij^{de} and lay þe bou3t upward ege so it is greabill. 210

Kever thyn copberd and ewry bord with þin twell of diaper.
Take a twell abou3t thyn necke, for that is curtesy;
Lay the tone sid of the twell on þyn left arme manerly,
And on thy arme ley þi soverens napken pleynty,

195 Then lay on thy arme viij loves with iij or iiij try[n]cher lovis. 215
Take the end of the twell in þyn left hond, as the maner is,
Take the salt seler in þyn left hand,
Take the oþer end of the twell in your ry3t hand to bere your soveren knyvis
[and] sponys;

200 Sette thyn salt on the right sid—þer your sovereyn shall sit-
On the left syde off youre salt your trenchoures, for so wold it be; 220
On the left of your trenchores lay your knyvis on be anoþer, ye þem set;
On the left sid of your knyvis, set your bred on be anoder, ye þem let.

Youre spones and napkyn, fayer fold it wold bee,
Besid the bred it wold be layd, sone, I tell þe.

207 ege] age
209 upar] upart
215 tryncher] trycher
218 knyvis] *Inserted above line with caret* and] *MS om.*
221 anoþer] *Preceded by crossed-out na*
222 anoder] a *inserted above line with caret*

Keuer your brede, sponne, napkyn, trenchoris, knyvis, þat no man þem see;
Att every ende of the tabill, salt seler with ij trenchor lovys set ye. 226

Yff þou wilt wrappe thyn soverayn bred stateily,
Thou must sqware and proporscion þe bred clenely,
And se non loff be no more þan anoder konnyngly,
And so þou shalt make þi wrapper manerly. 230

f. 342r

Then take a twell of raynes, ij yerdes and a half it wold be;
Take the twell by the endys, fayer on a tabill lay it ye.
Than take the end of þe—bou3t an hanfull in your hand that ye it wele se;
Wrappe ye wele þat hanfull or more, it is þe stiffar I tell þe.

Then lay þat end so wrappid in þe mydes betwen ij twelles 235
And on the end wrappid, lay bred botn to botun, I tell þe,
Vj or viij lovis or bunys þer wyll be layd wele.
Then take the upper parte of þe twell

And ley it on the [u]pper parte of the bred gently. 240
Take bothe endes of the twell and draw streytly, strangely,
And wiyth a hanfull of a twell next þe brede my3tly,
Ða[n] se that thy wrapper be made evyn and stifly,

And so ley þem forth as it is aforesayd;
Than oppyn the uppete do þus outyn brayd.

Opyn the last end of your wrapper, byfore youre soveren layd, 245
And in your brede sett in forme and maner of aforsayd.

Sone, whan thy soveraynys tabill is þus layd,
Then emperell coppeborde with coppis of gold and silver not frayed,
Also thyn ewere borde with basons, ewars water hote and cold, ich to oder
ayde.

Se wele that ye have napkyns, sponys, cuppis inowe 250
To serve youre sovereyn tabill to his power,
Also for that pottes for wyn and ale be waschid sure,
And ever of metes and fleys beware, I red you.

f. 342v

The sornap make ye with curtesy 255
With a clothe under a dowbill feyer napray;
Take the twell endes next you, withoute velony,
And the end of the clothe of the uttersyd of the tabill by,

Thus all thre endis hold ye at onys, as ye wele may.
Now [f]old ye all þes at onys and þat a pli3ter passe a [f]ote of brede I yow
sey. 260
Ðen lay it ffayer and evyn as ye can it lay,
And after mete to wasche, sey not nay.

At the right end of the tabill, ye must it forth gyde,
The marchall must i[t] convey evyn on ech side;

225 napkyn] napkyng with g very faint, perhaps wiped away

236 to botn] Preceded by crossed-out I 239 upper] wpper 242 Ðan] Ða

250 inowe] Final e written over ie 251 power] Preceded by crossed-out powder

259 fold] sold fote] sote

263 it] in; abbreviation written in above line

<p>Se of all clothis the ry3t side be upward leyd, And it be drawen streite and evyn glyde.</p> <p>Then muste ye draw and arise þe uppar parte of the twell, Ley it withoute gronyng streite on the oper side, I the tell. Than at every ende of þe tabill convey half a yerd well, Than þe sewar may make estate reverently, so lay it still.</p> <p>Whan the state hathe washid, þe surnap draw evyn, Then must ye bere forth the surnap in þe mydes of the bord at a shewen; Se ye take it up afore the estate, to you I seyen, And bere it away into þe ewere ageyn.</p> <p>Whan your soveren is set, loke your twell abou3t your nek be, Den to your soveren make curtesye that he you see. Oncovyr the brede and þe salt the brede set ye, His napkyn, knyff, and spone loke afore hym þey be.</p> <p>f. 343r</p> <p>Knele down your kne, youre soveren to plese, To the porpeyn passe þe viij lovys to lese; Set at the endes of the tabill iij lovys at mese, Than se that every persone hath spone, napkyn withoute lese.</p> <p>Wayte wele with s[e]wer how many potagis he coveryd; Ke[r]ver ye so many personys and y shall be excusid.</p>	<p>265</p> <p>270</p> <p>275</p> <p>280</p> <p>286</p> <p>290</p> <p>295</p> <p>300</p> <p>305</p>	<p>Then serve forth your tabill that ye be not reprevid, And ever have a good eye þat þer lack no bred, trynchoris, ale, wyn providid.</p> <p>Be glad of chere, curtese of kne, softe of speche, Fayer handes, clene neylis, honestly arayed, I the tell; Seve nowt nor spill not, nor to lewd reche, Nor put not your thumbis into cuppis motes for to reche.</p> <p>Yet to all the bordis have ye a good sight for gruchyng Off ffelawes, the be at met for backe bytyng! Se they be servyd of brede, ale, and wyn for complaynyng - So shall ye have of all men good seyng.</p> <p>Symple condicion of a person þat is not lernyd nor well I tawght, I wyll þat ye eschew them, the which be wreten here after þei ben nau3t. Your hede, your backe þe clawe not lest þei sey a lowse ye sou3t, Nor your ere ye pike lest they sey it was a lewd draw3t.</p> <p>Youre eye pike not nor with eye be not hevy of chere, With your eye be not wynkyng nor with eye dropyng but of si3t clere. With your nose sny3t not lowde nor still þat your soveren it here, Pyke not your nose nor with it be not dropyng, þen þei will sey ye be a suy[...]</p> <p>f. 343v</p> <p>Your necke noder rubbe nor clawe, Put not your handes in your hose nor brich—it is not w[or]th a strawe! With your handes be not styffelyng nor in your boson clawyng your mawe, Your hand nodyr clawe nor rub not your nayles as blacke as a crowe.</p>
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279 **porpeyn**] *Meaning* ‘a cloth for covering of carrying bread’, *MED* port-pain (n.)
282 sewer] swer 283 Kerver] Kever

301 suy...] *Page cropped at y*
303 worth] wroth

Youre eris pike not, be not to swyft of heryng,
 With mowith spit not to fere, be not lowid law3yng.
 Speke not to lowde, be no maner wise nor [u]se not stornyng,
 With your mowith be not lyberus nor lyer with thyn mowt drevelyng.

With your mowith noþer sqwarte nor spowte, 310
 Be not jangelyng nor jape not to stowte,
 Like not with thi tong in a cuppe a mote to have ou3t,
 Be not rasshe ne racheles of speche –it is not worth a clowit!

With your brest sigh not, nor cowght not nor reche not to sore,
 Be not yeskyng nor bockyng ne grone þou no more; 315
 With your fete be not trapplyng, nor set not on fote on anoþer ther;
 With your body be not schruggyng – forgettyng is no lore!

Also with thi teth, good sone, be not gnastyng,
 Also þat ye with your teth be not pikyng,
 Nor off stynkyn breth on your soverayn be not bowlyng, 320
 And allway beware your erys be not carpyng.

Panter, þe man of the wyn seler, botler, and ewrer
 Will that ye obbey to the marchall, sewer, and kerver,
 Hem to plese in youre maner,
 So shall they sey ye be a gentill offycer. 325

Thus, I have tawght with good will,
 I pray you have it in mynd it is skylly.

Also, that ye teche oþer it is nott ill,
 For God will be so plesid, for it is skylly.
 Amen.’

Explicit panter, þe man of 330
 The seler, botler, and ewrer.

f. 344r

‘Good ser, I pray you þe conyng of carvyng ye me teche,
 And the fayer hanleyng of a knyf, I you besche,
 And with all ffowlis and fisshis I shuld do with eche, 335
 And also whan I shall all maner foule serche.’

‘Sone, thy knyvis muste be fayer and clene,
 And thyn handes fayr wasshyn; it will the wele besen.
 Hold allwey thy knyff [i]n thyn hand, kerver, þi self not to ten
 And passe not ij ffyngyrs and a thombe –loke þat ye have no cure!

Sette never on fische ne fflesche best ne fowle, truly 340
 More þan ij ffyngyrs and a thombe, for it is curtesy.
 Touche never with your ry3t hande no maner mete surly,
 But with your left hand ij ffyngyrs and a thombe is goodly.

And allway with your lefte hand hold your loffe with my3t,
 And hold your knyf sure, as I have gevyn you insight. 345
 Enbrwe not your tabyll for than ye do not ry3t,
 Nor wipe not your knyf on your tabill clothe but [on] your napkyn ry3t.

308 use] wse

312 with] *Inserted above line with caret* tong] *Followed by crossed-out in a*
 314 sigh] sight 315 **yeskyng]** *Meaning ‘hiccupping’ or ‘yawning . . .or gulping’,*
MED yexinge (ger.) (a) and (b); **bockyng]** *Meaning belching or ‘retching, vomiting’,*
MED bolking (ger.) (a)

333 a] *Written in above line* 334 with] *Preceded by crossed-out the*
 338 in] n
 346 **enbrwe]** *Meaning ‘to stain, soil, dirty’, MED* embreuen (v.) (a)

Fyrst, take a loff of trenchores, and be anoder sqware ther þen sette
 Upon the trenchores iij or ij trenchores unto þe sewer þe sette.
 Then take your lof, as I have seid afore it,
 And with the egge of your knyff ny3e your end ye it kytt.

350

Fyrste, pare the quarters of the lofe round abowt,
 Th[en] kut þe on c[ru]st to your sovereyn and to hym alowt.
 Suffer to your perell to stond still to the boton of the lof se kut,
 So ley them of the cromes a quarter of the lof abou3t.

355

f. 344v

Towche never the loff that he is after so servyd;
 Put it in a plater, see that it be woydyd.
 Make clene your borde that it be feyre clensyd,
 That the sewar may his bord serve þat he be not blamyd.

Off all maner metis ye muste know this:
 The fumosites of such flesche and fowlis,
 And of all maner sawces, fiche and fleshe, to serve þer appetites –
 The it behevyth to knowe þies propertes.’

360

‘Syr, fumosites, whiche be they?’
 ‘Salte, sowir, resty, facte, freyed, I the sey,
 Syn[e]wis, skynnys, hydr croppons, yowge feders, sey not nay;
 Hedes, pynyons, bonys understonde, I the praye.

365

All maner leggis of beste and fowle,
 The utter side of the thy3e of al maner of byrdis and fowlis

Is fumosites with al maner skynnys, I the say in scole;
 All þes lay never to youre soverayn leste he call þe fole.

370

To undirstond fumosite, it is goode connyng:
 Of all maner fisshis [and] flesshis, it is no lessyng
 Where they lay all maner flesshe is good voyding.
 Therfor, of all thes loke ye have good undirstondyng.

375

Sone, as I have aforeseyd, take they knyff in þyn hond,
 Kit brawon as it is in þe dysche lyand,
 Ley it on your sovereyns trenchore with þi k[n]if berand.
 Pare the hier sid and þe ffatte be not gettand,

f. 345r

Then, with youre knyff, lay it one your soverayns trenchore.
 Loke þat ye have good mustard and good licoure:
 Fat venyson with furmenty; it is gret plesure
 Your soveren to serve with grette honowre.

380

Towche not the venyson in youre hande,
 But with your knyf, afore your hand.
 With the forpart of your knyf be it parand,
 Xij drawttes with the eggis of the knyf þe venyson crosand.

385

Then, whan ye the venyson hath checchid,
 With the fourparte of your knyf þen kyt ye it
 Into the firmenty that ye it put.
 The same maner with bacon and peson so sit.

390

347 on] not 353 Then] That crust] curst
 366 Synewis] Synwis croppons] o *written in above line*; n *written over e*
cropperns] *Meaning* ‘the hindquarters (of an animal)’, *MED* croupoun (n.) (a)

373 and] *MS om.*
 377 in] *Written in above line* 378 knif] kif

Withe youre left hand towche befe chyne motyn as i[s] aforeseid.
 Pare your bef chyne moton or ye it kit and to your soveren it layd;
 With the iiiijth part of your knyf kit it not to litill, for embraying.
 Beware of fumosite – salt, sowir, resty, fat, raw may be in hem leyd.

395

In sirope sesaunte pertrichyd, stokdove, chekins in servyce.
 In your left hand, take hem by þe penyons – be not agrefe!
 With the foreparte of your knyff lifte up your wyngis,
 Myns þem thyn into the sirope (beware of skyn raw and synewys).

Good sone, of that is rostyd I tell you as I can:
 [Every] goose, tele, malard, [ospray], and swanne
 Rise up the leggis of þes firste, than
 Afterward the wyngis round and large, so blame you no man.

400

Off eche of thes ley the body in þe mydes, or elles in noder plater,
 The wyngis in þe mydes, the leggis so after.
 Ye maye the browen of iche, and ye will, vj lese kit without chater
 And ley them between the leggis and the wyngis in þe plater.

405

f. 345v

Kapon, henne of grese, I wold þat ye hem dighte:
 Onlase þe leggis and wyngis in sighte,
 Caste wyn or ale on þem tyghte,
 Mynce hem thyn into the sawce righte.

410

Take of a capon and henne when ye have þer unlasid,
 Take þe leste wynges firste; into the sawce myns it.

Yff your soveren [h]ave þer to apetite,
 Take þe odir wyng and set it [to] be well sawsid.

415

Fesaunt, pertriche, plovyr, lapwynke, I you sey,
 Arise the wyngis firste, as I you praye;
 In the dische forthwith he ye hem laye,
 After the leggis withoute delay.

Woodcoke, bu[stard], egret, synyte, and a corllewe,
 Heronsew restroratif, so is the brewe.

420

Breke of the pyneonys, necke, and becke in þat ye þen sewe,
 Thes vj fowlis muste be unlassyd [in] maner trewe.

They muste be unlasid in this maner:
 Afterward þere her leggis suffer þer sete to be still ther,
 Then the wyngis in the dische loke ye have sure;
 The body in the mydes loke þat ye have cure.

425

The crane is straunge with to ffare:
 Þe wyngis ye muste arise firste, large pare.
 Of his tromp in his breste ye muste beware,
 Towche þou not his tromp but þat ye it spare.

430

Pecoke, storke, bustard, schoveler, and cranys,
 So that eche of thes have þer fete, it is þer curer,
 And ever of a scharpe knyf loke þat ye be sure;
 Ye muste unlase þem in þis maner.

435

392 is] it

401 Every] ospray] *F.* Every Ospray; *MS* Elke aspyr; *the corresponding line from Harley 4011 reads:* ‘Every goos / teele / Mallard / Ospray / & also swanne’, l. 402.

414 have] gave

420 bustard] buttr

415 to] *MS om.*

423 in] and

f. 346r

Quayle, sparrow, larkis, martenetis, pegan, swalowe:
Dres þe leggis firste ye sette,
The leggis of thes vj to your soveren ye never lete,
Afterward the wyngis of þem if the liste to ete.

Off ffawne, kydde, lambe, the kidney first ye it ley,
Then lifte up the sholder, do as I you sey.
Iff he wyll þerof ete a ribbe, to hym ye spey,
Kit be the necke, not be þe fauxe.

Venyson rostyð ryt in the dische to thi soverayn it lese;
The shuldyr of a pigge first, þen a ribbe, your soverayn to ples.
The cony, ley hym on the backe in the dische; if he have grese.
Pare away the skynne and þe sides not sese.

Between þe hyndir leggis, breke þe canell bone
Then with your knyff arise the sides, aflawt þe chyne alone.
Ley your cony on the wombe, iche syd of þe cony a strek on;
Betwen þe bulke and þe sides parte asondir, good sonne.

The ij partis depart frome þe chyn (that is nurture)
Then lay bulke chyne and sidis in the dische togedyr.
Firste kit oute in þe nap lane mossell for þe lyver,
Then þe sidis to ley to your soveraynis trenchore.

443 **fauxe]** *Meaning* ‘the narrow passage at the back of the mout leading into the pharynx’, *MED* fauces (n. pl.)
450 strek] r *written over* e

Ribbys sekis, departe the foreparte from þe hyndyr;
The hyndyr parte kut a twayn thorowe þe cheyn, raþer.
Pare away the skyne of the sides and that is nurture;
The side lay on youre soveraynis trenchore.

f. 346v

440 Maner and forme of carvyng þat I have you shewed, 460
I good and true as I have unto you sayd.
Yet, good sone, to all estates riall se how þe kervers be queyed—
With connyng of your selff and sight of oþere ye shall not be lewed.

445 I wold that ye þe wysely undirstond all maner kervyng. 465
Ye muste mynse thyne iiij leses to an mossell hangkyng
That your soveryn maye take it with ij ffyngirs in his sawce depyng,
and so his napkyn, hand, borde cloth, nor brest enbrwyng.

450 This ye muste: off grete fowlis, the wyngis in the sawce myns. 470
Passe iij messelles in the sawcer at onys, ley it not in the sawce.
Off all maner of grete fowlys, kit the leggis with into serve his appetite,
Thus shall ye never ffayle of connyng servyce.

455 Off all maner smale byrdis, preyse over þe trenchore leying. 475
With your knyvis poynt bere doune þe flesshe to þe end of the bone having
And so ley it on a trynchore, your soveren plesyng,
And with ffayer salt over a trenchore, your soveren servyng.

All maner metes þat ben good and hote,
Open the[m] above the coffyn cote,
And all that ben callid, your soverayn to lete
Allway open hem mydwey of the coffen cote.

477 them] then

Off capon, chekyn, tele bake
Owte off the pye that ye hem sake
In a plater that ye þe wyngys oute lake,
Then mynsid in the pey with your knyff ye it shake.

f. 347r

Stere wele þe stuffe of the pey with þe poynt of your knyff,
Mynse then the wyngis into þe befe.
With a spone youre soverayn muste it ete to kep with his lyff;
Þe bake metes shall be þus withoute any stryff.

Venyson bake or of a bere,
Cut it in the pastri and ley it on þe trynchore.
Pegon bake, lay þe leggis afore your soverayn sure;
Custard in þe sqware, checke hem with a knyff, þe ensure,

Youre soverayn with a spone welle may it ete.
Off dowcettes pare away the sides to the botn þat ye not let,
In a sawsere afore your soverayn that ye it sette,
That you may it ete and not forgete.

Payne puffe, the pare þe botn [yn] the stuff take hede.
Also, þe coppey of payn puff that ye it kyt; þat is nede.
Also, pety pernes be fayre and clene, so God you spede.
Off al maner fumosites in ffrutis is need.

Frutis wante frutus: sage ben good, beter is frutus powche.
Appull frutis is good hote; all frutus cold, þat ye not towche.
Tanysssey is good and hote, or elles put it not in your towche.
Al maner lessis wil be forborne; in your mowith, put non suche!

487 bake] e *written over* y

496 yn] ny

480 Worttis with an henne, cony, beff, or elles an hare;
Furmenty with venyson, peson with bacon longe, wortes not spare. 505
Forcid grewell or grewell of bef or moton have ye no cure;
Gelly, morteres, crem of almonys, and blaunchid maunger is good fare.

f. 347v

485 Gressell and charlet, cabegis, umblis of a dere,
All thes potagis they ben good sure.
Off all oþer potagis and sweis beware þat þey be not mad be nature, 510
Off all maner soropis beware yourselff to endure.

490 Now good sone, I have the tawght as I undyrstond
To [k]erve it of flesche feste after þe maner of Ingland.
Forget not all thynges that I have ben to you techand
And allway on oþer kervers be ye lykyng and lernand. 515

495 Sone, to know your sawcis for all flessh it is curtesy,
For a soverayn cannot ete mete without sawce by hym by.
Þerfore, good sone, loke þou have good sawce redy,
And than [he] may ete his mete and be mery.

520 Musterd is good sawce to brawyn bef, moton, chyn, and bacon;
Vergis is good to boyled chekyns and capon.
Also, a swan is good with chauderyn;
Ribbis of beffe and gose is good with garlyke, musterd, or veneger pep; in
conclusion,

500 Gyngere sauce to lambe, kydde, pigge, and faun;
Musterde and sewgere to fesaunte, partche, cony, and lambe. 525

513 kerve] lerne 519 he] *MS om.*
523 in conclusion] *Written in above line*

Sau3e gamlyn to heryn, plowere, and crane, Also to bustarde, showelerde gamelyn ys in seson.		Good haddoke and worthy codlynge, areyse hem a brode levyng, Pieke oute the bonys, the resset in the bely restyng. Solus, carpe, hem de mere, and troute, They muste be take off as they in dishe loute.	550
Wodkoc and lapwyng, martenettes, larkus, and venyson, Sparroos, thrussus – to all thes salte ys the concludion; Quayles suytes whiet salte and good synomome; This with all manere metes sau3e haþe the operacion.	530	Baylyn baike togedere there to be gobond, So laye hit to youre sovereyn, loke well aboute. Whall, ele, swerdfishe, porpoyse, dorrey rostid there oute, Gret samon, cungere, sturgyn, and turbut.	555
Explicit the kerver of flesshe.			
f. 348r		f. 348v	
Nowe, good son, of kervyng off fishe I woll þe teche. To peson oþer fremente, the tayll off bever fiche. Yff there be salte porpose, torentyne off yche, Ye must do after the forme of venyson that out to piche;	535	Thornepoll, thornbake, hounde fishe, and halibut, All thes kytte in a dishe, the porpose without. Tenche in his sau3e and in his dishe ye kytte, And on youre soverens trenchore so ley þe hitte.	560
Bake heryng, afore your sovereyn laye hole on his trenchore; Whiet heryng brodde in a dishe then to his honore. The bonys and the rawe pieke oute (the letter ys the favoure); Allwey loke ye have good musterde to your soverens plesure.	540	Elys and lampreys rostidde well and tite, Pike away the bonys and skyn on every syde. Crabbe ys a fultte for a kervere do dight, Breke the crabbe asondere, for it is right.	
Off salte fyshe, grene fiche, salte samon, and kungere, Pare away the skyn; lay hit asondere. Then, laye hit to thy soverens trenchore withoute any wondere, Allwey that ye lay good musterd and hym togedere.		In a dishe put the stuffe there to have good sight And make clene schell and skyn and senewe right. And then, pieke oute the stuffe in the shell, be hit dight, With the poynte of youre knyeff temper hit with myght.	565
Salte fyshe, stoke fyshe, macrell stande uttere, For hake may well be layde in hakeney buttere. Gurnarde, rochet, breme, chevyn, molet in kervyng, Perche, roche, dase, sole, macrell, and whytyng,	545	Put there to a litull wyne veneger and a sell, Caste on powdere, kever hit –do as I the tell. Send the crabbe to the kechyn there to hete well, The gret clawis off the crabbe loke ye breke in sell.	570
541 kungere] <i>Meaning</i> ‘conger’, ‘a large marine eel’, <i>MED</i> <i>congre</i> (n.)		550 Pieke] <i>Initial e written in above line</i>	

Ageyn hit feche to thy sovereyn then for to ete;
I[n] a dishe hym laye, youre soveren to mete.
Off crabbis and dedous, kytte the bellye,
And the fishe in the dishe, lay hit clenlye.

575

And gyngere and powdere loke there le bye,
Then pray youre sovereyn to ete deyntelye.
The joll off salte stergyn to mossellis ye kytte,
And rounde aboute the dishe then laye ye hitte.

580

f. 349r

The welke ye muste hede and tayle aweye pitte,
Hys pyntull and goutte ye away hit kytte.
Then kitte the welke in ij pesus asondere;
So ley the welke aside and sturgyn undere.

All rounde aboute the dishe, my gentill brodere,
Put venegere in the dishe and touche none other.
Freshe lamprey bake muste be this dight:
Obyn the pastey that they may have a sight,

585

Take whiet bred and put hit in then, sone,
And ley hit in a dishe other sau3er as yt ys to done.
In [t]o the dishe on the bred laye hit ye in vin,
With reed wyne, powdere synamome temper yt alone.

590

Kut a gobyn off the lamprey sloute, as I wotte;
Mynce ye the gobyn off lamprey as thyn as a grote,

Then laye hit on a chafere till hit be hote.
This muste ye dight bake lamprey to your soverens note.

595

White heringe in a dishe yff hit be freshe,
Eefe your sovereyn to ete for a deynte fiche.
Loke he be whiete by the bone, there he be neshe,
Whiet salte and wyne ys good therefore in a dishe.

600

Shrympus well pikyd, the skalus away caste,
Rounde aboute a sau3er ley ye them in haste
So that the shrympus no veneger taste:
So shall ye of shrympus make no waste.

f. 349v

Off youre sau3us I wolde ye had understandyng:
Musterde is good sau3e with salte herynge,
Salte fishe, salte cungere, samon with sperlinge,
Salte ele thereto macrell and merlynge.

605

Venegere ys good to salte porpose and torentyne,
Salte sturgyn, salte swordefyshe fyne;
Salte thornpoll, salte wale ys good with eger wyne;
Hit ys good mete to a man not for to tene.

610

Playce with wyne, pieke with his refette,
Lamprey with sodyn ynons in galantyne to ete;
Vergons to rochet, molet and dace I set;
Bace, flounders, cape, solus, chevyn is good mete.

615

574 In] I 577 gyngere] *Preceded by crossed-out* the fishe
591 to] do

601 shrympus] r *written over y*

<p>Garlyke with musterde and powdere is good sau3inge Thornpoll, thornbake, hond fyshe, and freshe herynge, Hake, stokfishe, haddock, codlynge, and whitynge: Hit ys good mete for any mannus levynge.</p>	620	<p>Then goo ye to the borde off the servyng And se that ye have officers redy conveyinge For drede off dishus off your cours stelynge, For hit may do you velony in youre servyng.</p>	645
<p>Grene sau3e ys good sau3e with grene fishe and halibut, Codlynge, and breme and freshe torbut. Put not grene sau3e away ne taste hit not oute, For hit ys good oftyniys with musterd, make ye no doute.</p>	625	<p>Then se that ye have servitures your dishis to bere, And also marchall, squers, sergeantes off armys þat be there. Then your soverens good mete brynge to hym with good chere; Set ye furthe the mete thereof, be ye right sewre.</p>	
<p>Explicit the kerver off fyshe.</p>	625	<p>f. 350v</p>	
<p>f. 350r</p> <p>Nowe good son, off servyng I wolde ye were connyng. Then were you abull to do your sovereyn worshepyng, For ye muste devyed your dishis after your sesonyng. Therefore, lurne ye shall be trewe in techyng.'</p>	630	<p>Furst, set ye forthe mustarde and braun, Suche potage as the coke hathe made of his wyn, Befe and motyn and swan, fesaunte and swan, Capon, pigge, venyson, bake custard, leshe lumbard. Than,</p> <p>Fruete wamite with a sotelte, the tonge of your dame, Tway potage blaunchid, the sothe for to sayn, For a standarde venyson, rostid kyd, and cony. Than, Bustarde, starke, crane, pekoke with his tayle as riall as ye can,</p>	650
<p>'Good sir, what can a sewere do, I the praye?' 'He muste sewe and fro the borde convey All manere metes, the sothe for to saye, Honestly and sostely before his sovereyn then laye.'</p>	630	<p>Herynsewe oþer buttewre, yche off thes to serve trewlye. Perchid wodkoke, plovere, [e]gret, rebate sekerlye, Dowcettes with payn pufte, lesse lumbarde with jely, Fruete peche with a sotelte, the tonge of your dame, sewrly;</p>	655
<p>'Good mayster, a connyng sewere wolde I fayn be!' Off that connyng, sir, I praye yewe teche me.' 'Every day comen with the cook and sermonre, I the praye, Wit off hem what metes and howe many dishus shall be.</p>	635	<p>Also, comen with the pantere and officere of the spicire, For sewte that wolde be ete fastynglye, As buttere plommys, damysons, grapus, and chery, Serve fastyng your sovereyn with thes frutes onestlye.</p>	660
<p>Also, comen with the pantere and officere of the spicire, For sewte that wolde be ete fastynglye, As buttere plommys, damysons, grapus, and chery, Serve fastyng your sovereyn with thes frutes onestlye.</p>	640	<p>643 se] <i>Inserted above line with caret</i> 651 wyn] <i>Preceded by an e</i> 653 leshe] <i>Also lesse, l. 660 and lese, l. 674; variants of MED leche (n.(2))</i> 654 Fruete] <i>Initial e written in above line</i> 659 egret] <i>F. egret, l. 697; MS agret</i></p>	

Dowcettes with payn puffe, leshe lumbard with jely,
Frute peche with a sotelte, creme of almondus with mamony;
Curlewe, brewe, snytes, quaylis, martennes rostynge,
Perche in jely, crabbes dedowis, pervys, qince bakynge;

Lese dugarde, fruite, sage, a sotelte, a woman syngynge,
Blaunderellis oþer pepyns, with careaway in comfet plesabull;
Wafers to ete, ypocras to drynke; then yt is greabull!
Nowe this feste is done, voyde we this tabull.

Goo we to a fishe fest that is greabull founde.
Musculate menys is good potage, oþer off samond,
Bak[e]n heryng with sowgre, grene fishe, pike, lamprey rounde,
Solus, porpose rostud, gurnard bake, lampreys sound.

f. 351r

Lese fruite, a sotelte, a meke woman dansynge on grounde,
Datys in coumfet jely, whiete and rede in servynge,
Sugere, synamome, dorrey in seroppe lyinge,
Carpe, base, troute, molet, chevyn, breme, lampreys rostynge;

Tenche in jely, crabbus, craves quince in seroppe beinge.
Lese frutere, a sotelte, a woman mery of chere law3inge,
Creme off almondus and mamony, that is acordynge.
Freshe sturgyn in demore; perche in jely is fittyng.

A joll off sturgyn, welles, menewis in sewe is goodlye,
Shrympis, freshe heringe rostud is deputely.

672 Baken] Bakon

677 rostynge] Line followed by crossed-out Tenche in jel

Pete provis stuffud with creme of almondus and mamonye,
Lese off fruite tansey, a woman goodly.

685

665 Appuls, perus rostid with sewer candy is abull.
Off malieke ffygges, resons, dates cappud goodly at tabull
With gyngere, colombyne myncid is manerly and greabull;
Wafers with ypocras makythe hem chere merely without fabull.

Explicit the sewere.

690

670 The curtesy off a chamberlayn is in his office to be deligente,
That he be clenly off hymselfe, his clothus not to rent,
His handus and face well washe, his hede well kempd,
And allwey off the candill be not necligent,

And to your maystere geve deligent attendaunce.

695

675 Be kurtes [and] glad of chere and mery off countenaunce,
Loke ye be curtes of youre delynge and jentill in dalyaunce,
Ever your eye ley to your maystere ffor to do hym plesaunce.

f. 351v

680 In the morrowe tide when your sovereyn doþe ryse,
Ye wislye take his shirte in this wise:
Warme hit by the fire at the beste avyse,
So shall ye your mayster plese in all wise.

700

684 mamonye] *Crossed-out letter before y* 691 a] *Inserted above line with caret*
696 Be] *Followed by crossed-out to your maystere geve deligent and] andnd*
696 countenaunce] *Written in later hand above line; original cropped after*
initial 'c'

And allwey be not to hym nye, leste that he clepe.
Bason and ewere with towell on þy choldere kepe,

And allwey that hit be redy, loke þou not sese.
Youre sovereyn aftere mete, his body to ease,
He woll take a slepe, his body to plese.
Loke off kercheffe ne combe thereoff to lese.

f. 352v

Pelowe ne hede shete ye have with all.
Loke that ye have bason and also urnall
Redy for hym or that he do yewe call.
So shall ye have thanke amonge over all.

When he haþe soupud, to chambere he woll walke.
Then, loke ye be redy; ren not into no halke.
Ongyrde your sovereyn; ley his gyrdull on balke.
Take off his gowne, by hys lecence, that is on his bake.

Upon his body ley a mantell, his body to warme.
Set hym his fote shete, his body frome harme.
His shoue, sokkus, and hosyn, drawe hem off yerne.
His hosyn caste on thy sholdere above thyn arme.

Se there be good fyre, thy soveren to plese.
Throwe on hym watere of rosus – þat ye not sese.
Chave hym afore the fire; loke ye not mysse.
This shall ye youre sovereyn do no dissease.

750 Yeff your sovereyn goo to stewe his body to washe clene,
Hange shetus rounde aboute, for hit is beste I wene,
And the shetis full off erbys and floures, þy maystere to queme.
Loke that ye have spongis thereto well sene.

Loke there be a gret sponnge, your sovereyn there out to sette. 775
And on the shete a gret sponge, loke ye not lette.
And undere his fete, a gret sponge loke thereto ye sette.
Allwey be sewre off your durre that hit be shitte.

755 And allwey se the basons be full off erbus swete
For to washe your sovereyns handis, thereto be ye mete. 780
And loke that ye washe hym with softe spongis and grete,
Then, se gothe he to his bed, lay on hym clothus to hete.

f. 353r

760 Nowe in the wardrope I muste be besye;
The robus with all nessesaryes to brushe clenlye,
And with the end off the brushe ye brushe softely, 785
So shall ye brushe moste perfetly.

765 Good son, nowe thinke on my techynge.’
‘Worchipfull maystere, I geve yewe thankyng
For nowe ye have me taught off grett connyng.
Therefore, your soule I woll be prayinge.’ 790

Explicit the chamberlayn.

770

777 there to ye] *Inserted above line with caret;*
loke] *Followed by crossed-out ye not lette*

<p>'The office off a connyng marchall, and there to be abull Muste to all the status off the churche be greabull, And the hye estate off a kynge with his blood honerabull; Hit is gret connyng and nurture notabull.</p>	795	<p>The worshipfull prechors that be lawdabull, And clerkys that be gramerde good and abull; All orders off chastite that be comendabull, And also persons that be honourabull,</p>	
<p>The estate off a pope haþe no pere; The estate off an emperoure thereof be ye sewre; The estate off a kynge next to indure; The next off a cardinall, þat I the in sewre.</p>		<p>And all prestus sekelere, thereof speke I, And gentill men and yemen that be taught manerly, And all gromys that be off condecions lowlye, Aftere there condecions set them manerly.</p>	820
<p>The estate off a kynges son, prince ye hym call; The estate off an archebeshope is to hym egall, The estate off a dewke off blood riall; The estate off a beshope makythe an erle in hall.</p>	800	<p>Off all the estatus I have yewe tolde withoute fabull. They maye be set in hall as every man ys abull, As many at a messe as is comendabull, And loke ye serve hem honestly, there to be greabull.</p>	825
<p>The estate off a baron, an abbotte with his mytre; The estate off a justice in London, the meyre; The estate off a abbotte withoute mytere, knyght bachelere; The estate off an archedekyn, knyght freshe and feyre.</p>	805	<p>The estatus vij aforesayde, hye off renown, Every state by hym selfe shall sit down That none off them se oþer in felde ne in toune, But yche off them in a perlour or in a pavelyoun.</p>	830
<p>The estate off the maystere of the rollis; The estate off the ondere Justice; The estate off the barons, off the cheker ellis; The estate off the mayre off Caleys,</p>	810	<p>Yff the beshope off the province of Caunterbery Be in the precence off the archebeshope of Yorke reverently, They shall be covered, every beshope goodly, And in the presence off the mytrepolitan none sekerly.</p>	835
<p>f. 353v</p>		<p>Yeff the beshope of Yorke the province be sittyng In the precence off the prynce off Ynglond beyng, They muste be keverde in all there servyng, And not towerd the bychope of Yorke, yff he be presentyng.</p>	
<p>The estate off prevnciall and doctoure, I wis. The estate off hym that haþe be mayre of London; The estate off sargauntes of the lawe boundun; The maysters off the chansery thereto foundun.</p>	815		

834 every] e *written in above line*

Nowe, good son, hit is to understande for drede of displesaunce
That a marchall offte muste be withoute distaunce,
For some lordus be off blood riall, his lyvelode litull to vauce,
And some lord off gret lyvelode and blood riall no chaunce,

f. 354r

Some knyght ys weddid to a lady off ryall blood.
Therefore, blood riall in hall is ever good,
For the blood riall sometyme sittithe at borde,
There they sit stilly and speke never a worde.

Off this matere I dare no more yowe tell!
There thaire noþer pope ne cardinall ne none þat sit in sell
That haþe fadere and modere levyng as in hele.
Ye may not the fadere ne modere geve hem praysinge fell

To be egall in estate with there son to stande.
Therefore, fadere and modere maye not be desyrand
To sit ne stande by his son in his empire dwellande,
But sit by themselfe that is conueuyande.

And yff they were in riches clothud in pall,
Theroff her byrthe take hede — that be marchall.
And [n]ext off the lyne thereto be egall,
Then next off officers leyng over all.

Also, a mar[c]hall muste take hede of straungers,
And speciallye to them off this londe beinge,

858 next] eiext

860 marchall] marhall

840 And that ye set them in there degre as they be occupyers,
And this shall ye have worchippe in all maner daliaunce.

Unto a marchall ys gret connyng
Allwey to strangers ever curtes beinge, 865
For yff they have gentill chere and manerly gydyng,
The marchall doþe his maystere gret worchopyng.

845 Yeff þou be a marchall to any lorde off this londe,
Take hede of the kynge yff he send thy lord any sonde.
Yeff he be a knyght, reseve hym as baron honourand, 870
Yeff he be squiere, reseve hym as knyght by the hande.

850 Yeff he be yeman off the croune, rese[yve] hym as squiere;
Yeff he be grome, after yeman in manere;
Yeff he be page, as grome rese[yve] hym withoute dere;
Yeff he be a childe, rese[yve] as grome to rere. 875

f. 354v

855 Hit ys no rebewke for a knyght to set a grome of þe knyghtes at his tabill,
No more hit is a marchall to be hym plesabull.
So, frome the hyste to the loweste yt is comendabull
And ever that a marchall have good eye to his tabull.

Hit is to marchall do to be wise and to understande 880
All the worchippe off officers that is in a lande
860 Off cetis, [shires], borowis, yeff they be well rewlande,
They muste be set aftere the cete and they be well governd.

872 reseve] reser; *also* ll. 874, 875

882 shires] *F.* Shires, l. 1131; *MS* sreis

Hit longithe to a marchall to have understandyng Off all the estates in this londe beyng, Frome the estate of a kynge off this londe beyng, To the estate off a pore knyght, sympull in his doynge.	885	f. 355r Now good son, I have the taught to be marchall. Yeff that thy sovereyn a fest make shall, Demaunde what estates be within the hall, And take hede to your sovereyn, lest he do yewe call	910
Also, the meyre off London is notabull, And a sympull meyre of Quynborowe is comendabull, Yet they shall not sit bope at a tabull, For the meyre off Quynborowe ys not abull.	890	That ye may device youre marchallynge That ye marchall to your soverens worchepyng, And there be any doutes malyng, Reforte to be hede off officers beyng.	915
Also, the abbot off Westemynstere ys hieste in this londe, And the abbot off Tenterne porust, I understande. They be bope abbottes in gre, as I fynde, Ye[t] be they not abull togeder ne sit ne wende.	895	There shall ye to none estate do amys, To set every persone acordyng as hit is, And afftere the lyvelode and hynes, I wis. Set ye them honestly and loke ye not mys	
Also, the pryoure off Canturbery he is worchipfull, And the prioure off Esynge, specill pore and doutfull. Yet maye not the pryour off Elnyng, thou3e he be rightwes, To sit with the prioure of Caunterbery; that is joyfull.	900	All the estates off hye office and off hye degre. Nowe, good son, I have the taught to be pantere, A butlere and a yeman off the selere, And thereto I have the taught to be a kervere,	920
Also, reverent doctors xij yerus in devyne Muste sit above the doctoirs off yerus ix. Th[ou]3 that the yongere may spende golde fyne, Yet shall the eldere sit furst, frend myne.	905	And a marchall and a connyng sewere withall. Wherefore, good son, I am with a prince riall, Ushere in chambere, marchall in hall: All thes officers to be redy when I do them call.	925
The same manere al[d]ermen, when they be togedere, The yonge shall sit oþer stande benethe the eldere. The same manere off craftes, there wardens to endewre, And the eldist off them that hathe be warden afftere.	905	For I may have love and dislove in my conveyinge, In office off butrye and pantrye, I have my sayinge, Off wyne celere and spicery, hole my comaundyng, Off all thes officers to do my lorde worchepyng.	930
895 Yet] ye 902 Thou3] They3	904 aldermen] althermen	925 prince] prinice	

Thes connynge off dyvers I have taught thy persone,
Whiche connynge maye be occupyed by one man alone.
Yet, the soverente off a prince is so hy done,
To be the rewlere in his office withoute question.

935

f. 355v

Nowe, good son, I have the taught to be marchall
For a princis service; have ye no dowte,
Further than his office he woll to no man loute.
Every officere in his office woll kepe well aboute
For to gyed hym so he woll be in no doute.

940

Tastyng and credence longith to a lorde ryall,
Kynge, quene, and prince, archbeshoppe in pall,
And to a dewke and to no moo off them all;
This to understand, teche yewe I shall.

Credens ys usud for drede off poysonyng
To all officers, a gret charge takyng.
Every man in his office muste kepe his closyng,
Close hous oþer cheste for counfetyng.

945

Stewarde and chamberlayn off a riall prince,
They have knowlege off omage and credens, I wis.
To marchall and sewere he muste loute this,
And p[r]aye hym to tell hym off his office.'

950

'Nowe, worchipfull mayster, be blessud ye be,
For a connyng man ye have made me.
Nowe dare I do service to s[o]verente
Where afore I durst not, be my lewte!'

955

'Now, good son, thy selfe and oþer officers beinge,
That by the vertu off his boke shall have connyng.
Praye ye for the soule off John Russell, in London dwellyng,
For his fadere and moders soule þat ye be prayinge
To bryng us to the blis þat never shall have endyng.'

960

Amen.

Explicit the boke off nurture
And off kervyng. Quod Ego.

936 *This line straddles the top margin and has faint cross-out marks over Nowe, good, son, taught, to, and marchall*
952 office] ice written in later hand

955 soverente] severente

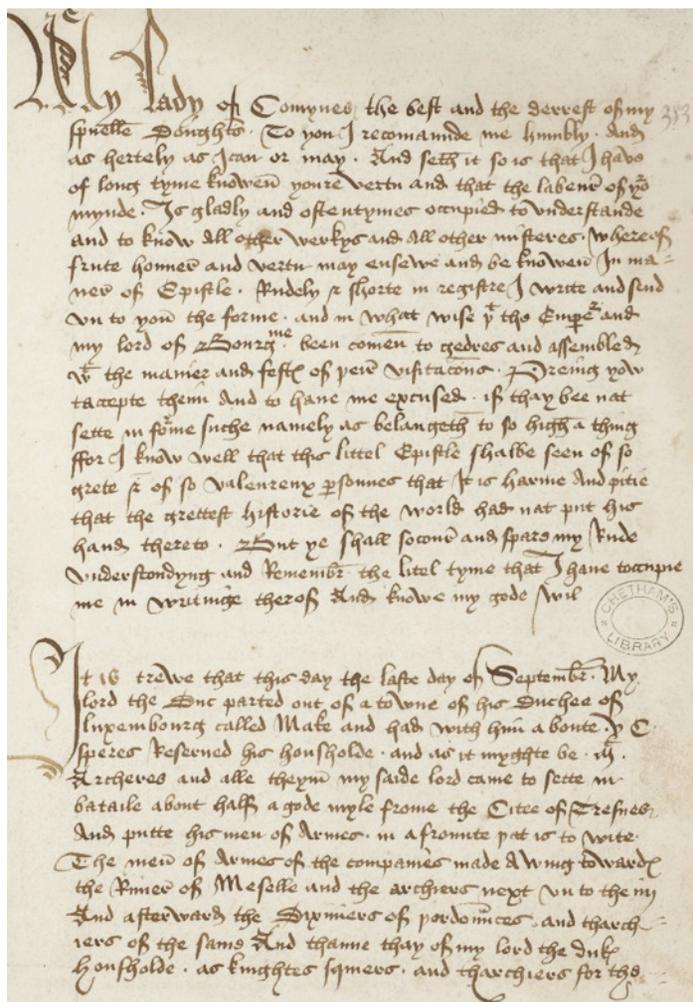


Figure 6: Chetham's Library MS 8009, f. 357r

2.2.6 The Book of the Duke and Emperor

f. 357r

My Lady of Comynes, the best and the derrest of my spirituuelle
 daughters, to you I recomaunde me humbly and as hertely as I
 can or may. And seth it so is that I have of long tyme knowen
 youre vertu, and that the labour of youre mynde is gladly and
 oftentimes occupied to understande and to know all other
 werkys and all other misteres, whereof frute, honner, and vertu
 may ensewe and be knowen, in maner of epistle, rudely and
 shorte in registre, I write and send unto you the forme and in
 what wise þat the Emperer and my Lord of Bourgine been comen
 togedres and assembled, with the manier and festes of þeir
 visitacions, preing yow taccepte them and to have me excused if
 they bee nat sette in forme suche namely as belangeth to so high
 a thing. For I know well that this littel epistle shal be seen of so
 grete and of so valeureux personnes that it is harme and pitie
 that the grettest historie[n] of the world had nat put his hand
 therof and knowe my gode wil.

5

10

15

It is trewe that this day, the laste day of September, my lord the
 duc parted out of a towne of his duchee of Luxembourg, called
 Make, and had with him aboute xc speres reserved [in] his housholde
 and, as it myghte be, ML archeres. And alle theym my saide lord
 came to sette in bataile about half a gode myle frome the citee of
 Tresues, and putte his men-of-armes in a frounte. Pat is to wite,
 the men-of-armes of the companies made a wing towards the

20

25

15 historien] historie
 21 in] MS om.

22 ML] L written in above line

Rivier of Meselle, and the archiers next unto theim, and afterward the dixiniers of þordonaunces and tharchiers of the same, and thanne thay of my lord the dukes housholde, as knightes, squiers, and tharchiers for the

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body, and after thaim, tharcheirs of the garde, and joining to thoo archers were the men-of-arnes of the garde, whiche been under my charge. And certainly it was the ffayreste companye that was possible to beholde, for every man was wel in point and araided in goldesmithes werk and fethers, and no man went afore other but þe conduiters and the cap[t]lines that were richely horsed and armed and that hilde the people in batail and in ordre. And it was a varray fiers and dredfull thyng to loke on so many standardz, soo many tipettes shakynge and wavring wythe wynde, and I beleve not that it hathe be seen of so fewe, so fiers and so doubtfull a compaignie. And before the same bataile was the standarte of my sayd lord the duc, the whiche bare the squier of the squierie and had xij hors of a sewte after hym barded, couvered, and harneised full richely with clothes of golde and of brawderie, and the pages all cladde in clothe of golde bering sallades and plumaille garnished with gold with perles and precious stones passyng richely. And before the same standard was the tipet of the chaumber, and behinde the tipet, xx men-of-arnes of the sayd chaumbyr armede, their helmetz on their hedes, barded and right richely besene. And before þe same tipet was my lord the duc armed of all pieces excepte the hede. His hors was richely barded and covred with clooth of gold, and that day he wered a manteline all covred and couched with perlez and

27 **dixiniers]** *Meaning a 'group of ten people', AND dizeiner, also disenier; specifically here meaning the commander of ten men-at-arms, see V., p. 207*
35 captines] capines 42 xij] xijth

stones, the richest and the best as I suppoos þat evyr prince wered or bare. And before hym was a squier of the squieire armed of all partes beringe the swerde upright afore hym and ij sergeantz of armes þat bare theire maces, officeres of armes wering theire cootes of armes, and also þe trumpettes with great and large bannieres of my lordes armes, which greatly embelished and florished the companie. And there were the lordes of my seid lordes blode and diversez oþer noblemen. And truly my Lord of Bourgine was there in suche estate and in suche ordre that he semed not a duc

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or a prince oonly but the greitest emperer of all the world, and in suche ordre and in suche estate anonced himself and his compaignie unto the iijth parte of a legge frome the towne. And nowe shall I leve a litil to speke of my sayd lord and shall come to themperer þat was in the same cite of Tresues, at the whiche jornee and place were taken of theire meting like as I have somewhat touched here above.

Whanne themperer knewe that my sayd lord approched his citee, he drue hym to the feld accompanied wythe thelyzers, the Duc of Ostriche, his sone, iij other dukes, and many erllez and marquiset. And whanne he was withouten the towne, as I understonde, the said eliseurs and other princes wolde nat that þe Emperor shold goo too mete my Lord of Bourg[i]ne, saying it was foly to þemperer to goo ayens a duc, his soubgiette. And other saide the contrary and that my Lord of Bourg[i]ne is of the hous of Fraunce, the grettest after the kyng, and had many and diverse duchies and lordships nat subgietz to themperour, and

75 Bourgine] Bourgne; also l. 77

76 **soubgiette]** *MED* subget (n.), also soubget(t)es

that he came to visite hym in his empire and in his owne citee, ffor which causes themperer might wel mete with the duc. So this question dured long. And that tyme hangyng, diverse princes and men of honner of themperers court came to make theire reverencez unto my seaid lord and to see his bataile, and my lord receivd them full curteisly, every man after his estate, and made them to be conveyed by the lordes that were aboute hym for to shew theym thordonaunce of his compaignie; and thidder come þe Archebisshop of Tresues to hym accompaigned withe IIIC feightyng men welle horsed and welle armed and afterwarde retourned to the empereur. Long dured the debate of the question betwene þe princes of Alemaigne ffor the causes abovesaid. And my said lorde abode alway

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tidinges from Sir Pierre de Haergnebac whome he sente to themperor for that þat by hym, þemperer had sent to my saide lord that he wolde mete with hym. And finally, whan themperer had hard all þopiniones, he concluded and said that he wyste wel that his cousin of Borgoigne was of his nativitie, oon of þe noblest men of the worlde, and of the best blode of Fraunce, of Alemaigne, of England, and of Espaigne; and over that, as to his personne, he was so vertueux, so vaillaunt, and so renommed, and that he came to see hym in his awne towne and in his empire, the whiche concedrede he couthe nat do hym to muche worshippe, and concludyd to goo agains hym and to mete withe hym. And soo he came forwardes and all his noblesse withe hym, and as sone as my said lord sawe that, he approched and came nigh unto themperer. He habondoined all his felaship and, accompanied with my lordes of his blode, my lorde the chancellor, and the

85 certeisly] crteisly
95 themperer] thempererer

90 empereur] empererur

80 great men of his hous, he went to mete withe þemperer; and as sone as that oon of them sawe that othere, they uncovred them and embraced, þe oon the other on horsbac. And certainly my lord did the Emperer all the worship that to hym was possible, and themperer in likewise to hym, and long it was or that my lord couth make him to be covred. At laste he covred him and my said lord welkomed all thelisers and the other princes in like wise frome lord to lord þat it was a worshipfull thing for to see. And themperer on his side honeured muche them of my lordes companie and toke them by the handes and receyved them withe great humanitie. Anon, after that themperer and my sayd lord had welkomed and received every of them other, the saide Emperor desired to se the batailles and the men-of-armes of my sayde lorde, whome my lord lad al along his batailles of whiche themperor toke þe conduiteurs and cap[ti]nes by the hande. But at the making of this visit on there began so great a reyne that themperor, my lord of Bourg[i]ne, and they of their companies were alle made wete.

95

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100

105

Off his parte, demeaned hym right wisely and honestlye so as every man was wel content, and so went they bothe up into the halle of the palois where was great presse of people, where my lord the duc made his chaunceller to propose in full fayre termes how that the duc thankyd themperer of the worship that he had doone hym, of that he hadde taken the peyne to come frome so ferr, and thonners that he hade doon to his personne; the duc, knoulaging the heght of the estate imperiall and the vertues of themperer, offrimg him therfore to do hym honoure and pleasuer to his power, whiche the chaunceller touched in so honnerable

122 captines] capnes
124 Bourgine] Bourgne

termes and in so faire Latyn that þemperer and his counseil wer content. After that, themperer and his counseil had drawn þeim a litel aperte for to advise theyr aunswere, whiche the Emperer comaunded tharchebisshop of Mens, elizeuer of thempir, a ful gode honnest and a wise personne, to make who said that themperer had wel knowen the vertues and the vaillaunces of my lord and duc, for whiche cause he had gladly travailled to finde hym and to speke with hym as with his best kinnesman. And, as touching the worshippe that he hadde doon to him, he knewe hym so noble of his nativite and so vertuex of his personne, that him semeth he cannot doo ynough unto him. And that ffor his parte, themperer asked and desired of my said lord all love and gode intelligence and frenshipe with hym. And so passid the same day in makyng of great chiere. And thanne my lord toke his leve of themperer, but the Emperer with all force conveyed him right fer foreward in the courte and comaunded tharchebisshopes of Tresues and Mens to conveye him unto his logeinge.

The next day, that was Sondag, my saide lord was enformed that themperer schulde come to hym to thentent

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to doo propose some thyng. So, therefore, my lord ordeined too make redy the halle to receive him. And after disner, my lord toke his hors right wel acompanied, his people rechely cladde, and cam to themperer at suche time as he toke his hors to come toward my saide lord, and my lord brought him to his hous,

144 doon] *Preceded by a curved mark*
 159 to come] *Followed by to come*

whiche hous themperer fand beseen full triumphantly as it so belanged. The halle was hanged with a riche tapisserie of gold and of silke, and there was hanged for themperer a riche cloothe of estate under whiche was sette an high chayer covered with tappettes, whiche hadde on bothe si[d]es ij benches and iiij benches in lengthe of the comyng up ij on þe on side and ij on the other syede, and certainly ther degrees or stedes with the saide benches were covered with riche cloothes of goold, and the chaier yet with richer, and all the halle was bailed and benched with tapisserie, al with armes of Bourgine, and I have noo remembraunce that ever I saw a more pompeux arraye. Finally, themperer set hym downe in his chaire and on his right hand were sett tharchebisshopes of Mens and of Tresues, eliseurs, the Duc of Osteriche, son to themperer of whom it is soo that I muste speke in this wise. He is a fayer yongman, honnest and wele enmaniered, and may wele be xv yere of age, beside whome were sett the Dukes Stephen, Abert, and Leys of Bavier, and on the same right side princes, marquiset, and erles of Alemaign in great largesse with many knyghtes and squiers of the hous of themperer. And on the left side was my lord the duc sittinge alone upon the benche and upon the other banke of the same side satte the princes of his blode, his chaunceller, his knyghtes of his ordre, and all the noblesse whiche is to you wele knowen and certain. Whanne they were alle sette hit semed nat the Cenate of the Romains, of Thebes or of Athenes,

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160 but as there had been assembled all the Augustes, themperers, the kynges, and the great men that have regned sethe the deluge,

163 themperer] temper 165 sides] sithes
 166 lengthe] t *written in above line*
 179 knyghtes] knightes

whiche is to say the flode of Noe, ffor to kepe and to halowe in that place the fest and union of all the princes of the erthe and þus muche wil I write unto you, þat themperer, for a man of lx yeres or therabouts, is oon of the semeliest princes and best enmaniered that I have seen in my tyme, and hathe been at this assemblee alway and at diverse changes, rychely and popeusly beseen of cloothe of goolde, of perles, and of stones. And as touchinge my Lord of Bourgine, he hathe wered dayly so many riche habitz and soo lordly bordured and garnisshed with perles and stones that verrailly he may wel be called overpassinge all pompers princes of þerth. And for to devise and speke of that þat was doon at this assemble, þe same day before that themperer came to the gret halle he made to be pr[o]posed by þarchebisshope of Mens in a chamber of estate wel stuffed how that þe infideles occupied gret parte of Cristendome and make them daily more and more redy to do furþer harme, þe whiche he desired to withstand to his power and that he myghte nat doo withoute aide and helpe of Cristen princes, and espe[c]ally of þeim that halde of themperer. And for as muche as he was advertised and knewe the power and great vailaunce whereof my Lord of Bourgine was garnisht, he hathe þe sounest þat he myght drawen hym into place where he myght speke with him and make to be shewed unto him the necessitie in whiche Cristendam is and the wil þat he hathe to socoure it to his power and þat alway þe hous of Bourg[i]ne hath shewed himself by effecte so catholique doghter of the chirche, that he trusteth fermely þat my Lord of Bourg[i]ne shulde be of the fyrst princes þat sholde deliver and be determined

202 my] *Preceded by crossed-out t*
 210 proposed] prposed
 222 Bourgine] Bourgne; *also* l. 224

215 especally] espeally

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200 to the service of Cris[t]en feith, and whanne alle oþer wolde faile him, he trustith to have my said lordes comferte and assistance after his desire and many other fair woordes and termes drawing to þententes abovesaide. And upon thees pointz, after ther satinges made in the manere þat is saide in þe gret halle, my lord þe chaunceller made answer shewing the gret disire and þaffeccion þat my lord the duc had to the secours of the feithe, and made him demonstracion: how þat sethe he came to his landes and afore, the king cessed nat forto ymagine his destruccion, makyng him gret werres by many and diverse moyens ffyrst; how he wend to have destrried him in broullyng and melling betwene my lord his fader whome God assoyle and him to set them in div[i]sion of the werr þat was of the tyme of Montherry and of the batayle, of the pees that was made at Conflans at the kynges request in his gret necessite; howe the kyng brake the pees incontinent and the taking of Normandie frome his brother; how þat hee wold have had þenglisshmen to have been with him ageynst the hous of Bourgine; how that he wold have holpen the Liegioys, and of the traictie that was made at Peronne; how the king had broken the pees by the taking of Amiens and of Saint Quintin, and daily continued what trienes that were made to ymagine by many waies nat hable to be reherced the harme and destruccion of my Lord of Bourg[i]ne and of his contrees; concluding, in effect, that every man might lightlye understonde þat withoute otherwise to have assured this matyer. It is not to him liefulle, resonable ne after God ne after resone, to take hede or entende to eny oþer thing, to whiche matier of the feithe he had nertheles soo good wille þat there was no thing so mich in his hert, ne in his mynde. And certinly of

226 Cristen] Crisen
 248 Bourgine] Bourgne

238 division] divusion

þanswer of my said lord themperer and the lordes were right well content for they understond and know welle the causes to be true. And so wer the spices and wyne brought fourthe of þe whiche þe Duc Obert

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off Bavier served themperer, and my lord made þerle of Marle and þerle of Viande to serve the ij eliseurs, and the other dukes and princes were servedde by knightes and noblemen. And so departed that day, my said Lord of Bourg[i]ne, conveyng themperer to his howse by grett force. Themperer wold not have sufferd it and other thing was there nat doone the next day. Anoon after diner retorned my said lord toward themp[er]er and preyd him that on Thursday next after it myght pleas him to come dine in his hous and that he wold bring with him theliseurs and the princes, whiche themperer accorded and graunted unto him. And every day my lord veseted themperer in revewing of array full riche and pompeux, and more shall we nat speke of the comunicacions of the ij princes, but enter to speke of thordonaunces and appereil that was made for the comyng of themperer.

Provisions and ordenaunce were made for the feest of themperer and the halle, called the fraiteur of thabbaye, hanged with riche tapisserie of gedeon. High steires wer made, and principally, þat for the gret table was higher and more lifte up by iiij paas in height thanne any other and traversed the travers of the halle. And bynethe in the lengthe of the same hall were made highe steires soo long þat þey endured the gret parte of the lengthe of the halle.

262 Bourgine] Bourgne
265 themperer] temper

255 And ij tables that were sett al along occupied the ij renkes and sides of the halle. And over the highe table was hanged a large and a riche clothe callyd tele, and under þat ther was cloothe of estates of more richesse sett in the middes of the table, whereas themperer sholde sete. And ye shall understonde that ther was sett upon the same table for themperer a riche newe sallier and a gobelet garnished with stones. And as touchynge the cupborde, it was set in þe side of the halle afore the great tabull, whiche was high and large and richely charged with gret vesselle gilte

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265 and of goolde, and garnished with stones in gret largesse and with many hoole unicornes. And so was it righte faire to see the halle and the appereile þerof. Nowe, shall we retourne to the comyng of themperer, to the sittyng, and to the service, and to alle that was doon that day.

270 Themperer came before his oure to þentent my lord the duc sholde not come ayens him and mete with him on the way and came accompanied with the elizeures, with the princes, and with his nobles righte richely clad and habiled in the manere of ther contre, and brought with him iiij lordes, as erle and barons, whereof þerl of Vistembec was on, whiche is right a godely persone and they wer horsed, armed, and habilled to renne with speres and do armes in ther shertes of silke with sharpe heedes in their contre guise. And so soon as my lord understode the comyng of themperer, he went towards him full richely beseen. And as for his company, I beleve nat that any suche hathe be seen of long tyme soo appereiled in gownes of cloothe of goulde, in gownes of cloothe of silver, of velewet, of satine fig[u]rre of

307 **figurre]** figgre; *Meaning 'of cloth . . .satein figuri, satin brocade', MED figuri (adj.)*

damaske, and satin of the richest coleures and of the best that mighte be founde, and all that array. My lord þe duc gase to worshiþe the same day, whiche yeste coste him wel CML francs, and after that themperer and my saide lorde hadde made þeire bienvenues, the ranke was made to see tharmes doon of the lordes of Alemaigne, wherof ij, the first þat is to wite þerll of Westembac and another erlle wer. And at first cours þey coopyd and attained þeir sheldes and yave soo grett buffeitz þat eyther of theym bare other to erthe and downe of ther horses; and he þat ranne ayenst þerl of Wistembec brake a gret spere. After þoo ij ranne ij other lordes and made so grett atteintez in þeire sheldes that in like wise either bare other downe of there horses. And soo was of þat jouste made an ende.

f. 362r

And thanne themperer and my lord the duc went to the chirche, whiche was muche notably prepared of riche tapisserie, as wel the coer as the body, and as touchinge the auter. It was full rychely garnished with ymages of golde and silver and with lightes where was the riche flore deliz, and many other riche reliques. And as for thoratoire, or the closett, it was arayd for themperer and al tapited underneþe wyth clooth of goold so that no man þere tred on other þinge, and whanne themperer was in the same oratoire, he wold not suffre that my Lord of Bourg[i]ne sholde parte and goo oute ayein, but kept him with him, where they were boothe aloon togedirs. And þanne beganne divine service, and I ensure you that the chapelle shewed well what they couthe doo and sang a full faire and a solempne messe. And

310 CML] L *written in above line*
325 flore deliz] r *written in above line*
329 Bourgine] Bourgne

francs] c *written in above line*
326 as] *Inserted above line with caret*

whanne it was comen to the offringe themperer wolde that my Lord of Bourg[i]ne sholde come and offre as he didde and sayd he wolde nat offre onles þan my said lord wolde offre. And thanne my lord, to content themperer, went oute of the closett with him and, wening themperer þat he had folowed him, he went and offred to whome the Duc Obert of Bavier gaff þoffring. And themperer offred many floreins, and my lord withdrewe him in his retorne full humbly and went bothe ij into thoratorie.

The messe doon, my lord conducted themperer into his chaumber for to rest him, and in the maynetyme, the diner was made reddy, and entre made to themperers men in full grett presse and with right grett noyse. And anon aftyr my lord sette themperer, the elizeurs, and the princes, and water was brought for themperer, to whom Duc Obert and Duc Leys of Bavier helde the serviette or the towel, and the brother of the grett Tourque served him of water, who is a yonge knight of xxvith yere nat Cristened

f. 362v

and at this time duelleth with themperer, and afterwarte was brought to my Lord of Bourg[i]ne and to þe ij elizeurs, the whiche my lord made alway to be served with erlle and by the grettest aboute him, excepte my lordys of Cleves and othir dukes, erllys, and lordes to be served with noblemen. And now we shall devise þeir sittinges and how þei were servid. First was sett themperer in the myddis of þe table, and on his right hande, fer ynough from him, was set tharchebysshope of Mens and beside him tharchebysshop of Tresues and after, my lord the Bysshop of

335 Bourgine] Bourgne; *also l. 352*
357 ynough] *Preceded by crossed-out yo*

Eliges; and þat ordinaunce made my lord the duc for to honner the chirche. And on the othir syde sat my lord þe duc somewhat nigh themperer and nat soo nigh as þemp[er]er wold have had him, for my said lord did him alway all the honor that was possible. Beside him sat the Duc of Ostriche, son [of] themperer, and after him, Duc Stephen, Duc Obert, and Duc Loys of Bavier. And it is soo þat the said brother of the Torque hath of youthe duelt amonges Cristen men to flee and voide the custume of Tourkys, whiche is suche þat the grete lordes there make all þeir brether to be slaine for fere that þey shold ameve them and put them downe. And as touchinge the other tables, the Marquis of Bade was chief of the table on the righte side, and the Bisshope of Lieges set on the lift side, and all the same tables werre full of erlls, of great ambassadors, and of lordes. And ther were noon of o[ure] people set but yf it were al onely my lord, of treth. At whiche sitting þer were wel xl grette estates. And þesquierie were ordeigned to take hede to the yate of þentre where the presse was right grett, and þe squiers of the chaumber to take hede to an oþer yate

f. 363r

that servid to avoide and to goo out: thesauers pannetiers to serve of brede, of serviettes, and of plattiers; caussous or botteillerz to serve of wyne and ypocras; and thesauers kervers to serve the lordes and before the princes. And for þat day ther were no yomen that melled or entermetted anything at the tables. And whanne all wer sette men went for mete for themperer and came ayen in thestate and maner that folowethe.

362 þemperer] þemper

364 of] *MS om.*

374 oure] or

380 brede] *Preceded by crossed-out lorde; underlined*

385 in] *Inserted above line with caret*

360 Fyrste, as sone as the mete was lifte up and þat the yate was open for to bring it in, a tabourin began to playe upon ij great tabours so high þat all the halle redounded and thanne cessed. And incontinent þe ij huisshers of my lordes halle entred to make the ranke, and after theim the stewardes of my said lordes hous, 390 cled in long gownes of velowett crimiosin, whiche were alle togeders except the Lord Clery, the fyrst and chief steward. And after þeim came the ministrelles of my said lord the duc, and afterward, the trumpettes with all þer grette banieres, and þanne þofficers of armes wering þer coottes of armes in grett nombre, ij 395 and ij, and alwey as they came and had made the reverence to þemperer, þey went oute ayen by the yate [þat] was ordeigned þerfore, þe whiche thestiners of the chamber kepte. And after þoos officers of armes came þe chiefz of þestates, of knyghtes of grett precisioners, the knyghtes of þordre, and the next of my lordes 400 bloode, alway ij and ij, wering longe gownes of cloothe of gold, excepte John, my Lord of Cleves, and Philipe my lord, whiche had longe gownes of cloothe of silver, for as muche as they were squiers, and after theam came the steward of þemperers

f. 363v

380 hous, his panetier, and his noblemen bringing his mete. And after came the Lord Clery, first steward of my lord the dukes hous, clad in a long gowne of cloothe of gold, and after him the first panetier without to waille and bare his mete, the yoncre of Nassow, the son of þe Marquis of Rotelin, and many erllis and grett personnes all cladde in long gownes of crimosin welwet in 410 a sewte. And it is nat forget þat every mes was fournisshed with xij sewtes. Afterward cam the mete to þarchbisshep of Mens,

389 **huisshers]** *MED* usher (n.) *Also* huish(i)er

394 trumpettes] *Preceded by crossed-out themperer*

397 þat] *MS om.*

404 þemperers] *Preceded by the*

brought by xiiij oþer knyghttes, of the whiche the Lord Lingnes was chef; and thoo knyghtes were all werein shorte gownes of velowet crimosin. And þenne came the mete of þarchebisshipe of Tresues whiche was brought by xiiij other knyghtes cladde in lyke wise, of whome þe Lord of Santes was chief. And after þat came the mete for the sone of þemperer, brought by þe conduitours of thordonaunces or þeiere lieutenantes cladde in shorte gownes of tawne velowet; and soo were served þeliseurs and þemperer son, alle with knyghtes. And after was served Duc Stephen of Bavier by the dixiniers of þe garde clad in gownys of cloothe of silver, and oþer dukes by thestiners, dixiniers of the ordonaunces, and the oþer tables were servyd with squiers of the garde. And alway every service of like sewte whiche diner was served with iij cours and allway of xiiij mes þe cours. And it was plaid afore the table with al maner of instrumentes, and after þat service off wafres and of ypocras. And whenne themperer and the princes hadde wasshen, the tables were taken away and the graces said, and anoon after were the spices brought and themperer served with þe r[i]che spiceplate, whiche is all garnished with perlus and stones; and the other spices were brought in xij spice plates by xij squiers dixiniers

f. 364r

off the garde, beseen in cloothe of sylver as is abovesayde. And after the spices taken, þemperer wente to evynsong, and frome þens my lord the duc conveid him to his hous.

So passed that day. And the morn after came þemperer with fewe people unto my lord, and toke my lord unwarres, soo as with grett peyne he myght come downe to mete with him at foot of

413 xiiij] xiiijth 431 riche] rche

415 the steires. And þemperer was long with my lord in his chamber, whome my lord woulde have conveid to his logeing, but þei fande ij knyghtes reedy to doo armes, wherefore þemperer wold þat my lord shold retorne to see the same armes, and soo my lord conveyd him no farther. The said knyghttes toke their speres and gave eithyr oþere soo grett attaintes þat they were booth borne to therth; and þerl of Roloff brake a gret spere, and of þat falle was the sholder of the one hors brought oute of jombe and horsed, and soo were the same justis accheved and finissed. And þen al þat weke was emploied in comunicacions, secreetes and in preve, ambassades of the on side and of þe other, off whiche matiers þere shall nat att this tyme be any mencion made unto other time and place.

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430 **D**urige this time, the noblemen of the courte, considering that þemperer men had doon armes in þere maner, anonced þeim to doo som þing in the guise of þeir contre, and made a tournoiz by manier of escarmuche, of whiche was chief on þat on side, þerl of Viande, son to þerl of Nassowe, he þe xvth of noblemen;

f. 364v

435 and on that other side was the Lord of Bandevile, son to the Marquis of Rotelin chief, also accompanied in like wise with xv noblemen. And alle oþer horses were barded and parted, every of þeim of divers colour with grette feders of the same; that is [to] say: of the side of þerl of Viande, blac and violet, and þey of the Lord Bandevilles, partie of rede and grene. The ex[e]cucion of the same tournoiz was in maner that folowethe, and how be it þe said tournoiz shuld have ben þe Thursday folowinge, yet was it so þat

445 oþere] *Preceded by o þere*

461 to] *MS om.* 463 execucion] *exccucion*

the weder was so divers, and the reyne soo longe continuinge þat it was nat possible to doo it nouthur the Friday, Saterdag, ne Sondag ensewinge. And the Monday it cessed somewhat, and thanne my lord sent unto þemperer þat yf his plesire myght soo be, the tornay shold be executed at ij houres after midday, wherof þemperer was full joieux and cam himselff, his son, thelizeurs, and the grett lordes and were sonner in the feld þan was my lord the duc. And in that tyme þe men-of-arnes þat shold make the tournoiz made redy every man as he was ordeined. And þerl of Viande and his felauship toke a gard in, by manier of embusshement, uppon the side of the River of Meselle; and on the other side, the Lord of Bandovile toke the garde, and keping of an high yate towarde the towne. Thenne came themperer and my lord the duc and toke a place in the feld whiche was ordeigned and made redy for them, the best that men might. But þer were soo many men on horsbac and on foote that unnether men mighte set any rieule or ordre. And the place made, Sir Robert de Mauneville lept oute of þembusshement for the parte of þerl of Viande, Calville and x or xij of þarchers for the body habilled as constelliers

f. 365r

and came to make þe scarmishe. And for the oþer parte, broke oute some men-of-arnes of the garde whoo helde þe maner of escarmishe with þeim. And to sustein the same escarmushers of the side of þembusshemente yssued Jaques de Tinteville, Charlez de Visan, and þoo iij men-of-arnes, þeire speris upon their thigghes, and the swerdes girt hilde manier to make so grett an aide to thescarmushers of their side, þat þe othier were put abake. But anoon sprang oute for the parte of þe Lord of

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Bandeville, Sir John de Bergnes, and Philippe his brotheir, and hilde maniere for forto susteigne þer escarmusheurs in helping, of whiche came oute men-of-arnes and archiers on foote þat made a grette crye and put þeim abac of þembusshement, with many a shotte of serpentine and conveyde þeim chassing þeim afore þeim, till they came nigh unto þeir felawes, whereupon came oute þerl of Viande and all his embusshement, the spere on the thiggh and þe swerd redy for battaile. And on the other side came oute the Lord Bandeville and his felashipe and went forwardes on ayenst an other in fayre ordre and whanne þey cam nigh togedirs, the trumpettz blewe and þe men-of-arnes laied their speris in the reste and ranne that oon upon that oþer, as muche as the horse myght goo. And þe recontre of the speres, þe noyse and brius of the hors and men-of-arnes was soo gre[t]e and soo hard that þer were ij hors dede upon the place, and iij oþere astoned and brosed, and iij men-of-arnes hurte. Þe Lord Bandeville was borne to therth, his hors dede under him; Pierre de Longueval and his hors were beten downe, and the said Pierre right sore hurte; Gosquin was smiten downe, and his hors dede;

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f. 365v

the hors of Manestens was soor broused; Thomas the Italien was hurt at the same recontre and many othere. And the othere that aboode set þeir handes to þeir swerdes and faught long and sore. And after that, they were departid and put ayen in bataile, þe oon by the other. The Lord of Bandeville and oþer þat had lost þeir horses toke othir horse[s], suche as they myght fynde, and for the seconnde time began þe tornoiz and the bataille of swerdes

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501 battaile] *Preceded by crossed-out þe*

507 grete] grece

513 Thomas] *a written in above line*

518 othir] orthir horses] horse

whiche was long foughten þanne was þe first. And þeir was hurt Ser Antoine de Halewin, right sore on his hand, and other hurte and desarmed. And whanne þei wer departyd they þat abode in the tournoiz required to feight oon ayens an other, body to body, of whiche ij, þe fyrste were Ser John de Bourgnes and Anthonie Dusye, þe ij^{de} were Phelippe de Borgnes and John le Tournier the yong, þe iij^{de} were þerl of Viande and Guion Dusye, the iiijth were Frederic de Flamessane and the Lord of Arbain, whiche faught alle well and quicly. And I assure you that þemperer and the lordes of Alemaigne hilde gre[t]e cou[r]te, and made right muche of þat tornois, whiche or it were accheved and ended, it was right late, and þenne conducted my lord þemperer to his hous.

And after þe saide torneis, þe torners and þe secretz comunicacions continued betwene þemperer conseil and the conseil of my lord the duc, atte whiche for þemperer, parte were but iiij or v feabli and trusty personnes, and on the side of my lord the Duc of Bourg[i]ne were my lord chaunceller, my lord þe prothonotaier of Cligny, my lord the provost of Saint Donas, my Lord of Imbercourt, my Lord of Clery, and Ser Pieire de Haquerebac.

f. 366r

After þe whiche time þemperer and my said lord saugh neither of them other unto þe Saterdag, xxiiij^[rd] day of October þat my lord went unto þemperer who had been seke, and drew þeim togeder into a chamber apart, right richely beseen, where þer abode not with þemperer, but thelizeurs and they of his conseil

529 grete courte] grece coute

531 conducted] *Preceded by crossed-out* conten

539 þemperer] *Preceded by* þe

535 Bourgine] Bourgne

540 xxiiij^[rd]] xxiiijth

520 and with my Lord of Bourg[i]ne, but the personnes above
named, the lordes of his blode, my Lord of Yolain, thambassader
of þe Pope of Naples and of Venice, thambassader of my Lady of 545
Savoie and fewe other people. And þer my sayd lord made my
lorde his chaunceller to propose iiij points of whiche he made
525 requestes. The first was þat þemperer liked to receive my Lady of
Savoie to doo homaige for hir son þat was but a yong childe, and 550
also to app[ro]ve and consente unto hir the gerde and tutelle of þe
same, hir sone, whiche by the iij estatz of þe contre was to hir
committed. Secondly, þat he wolde receive þe Conte Palatin,
530 touching þe lordshipe þat he haldeth by cause of his nepveu,
whiche þe same his nepveu requireth him to doo and yeveth 555
þerto his consent. The iij point touching some rightes and
duetees taken upon þeim of Holand by þauctorite of themperer
of whiche þe contre is grettly aggreved and yet hathe themperer
noo proufite, nor my lord þe duc noon hurt. The iiijth and þe last
535 pointe, þe duc requireth þemperer that he wold consete,
conferme, and agre, þe remonstracion made to my said lord by þe
Duc of Iyliers of the duchee of Gueldres, and of þe counte of
Zutfen. Uppon þe whiche iiij pointes, after þat þemperer was
withdrawen and hade spoken with his conseil, he made thansuer 560
by þarchbisshop of Mens þat he wolde take advise upon the said
matiers and þat withinne fewe daies he wolde make suche an 565
answere as my said lord shulde be therof content.

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f. 366v

After that answer my lord Loys of Bourbon, Bisshop of Liege, set him on his knee before þemperer, his hede bare to do his homaige,

544 Bourgine] Bourgne

551 approve] apporve

<p>to whome was brought a booke wherein was writtin in Latine all pat he sholde saye and promette to þemperer. And me semeth he said in substance þat he reprised and toke ayen of him in feith and in homaige alle þat he myght holde of him as Empereur, soo and in suche forme and manier as his predecessers, bisshopis of Liege and erles of Loor hadde done; whereupon þemperer toke him with his right hande by bothe thandes, and that doon, he arous up and as of þat reprove þer was no mor doon for þat time and anon after. My lord chaunceller of Bourgine and my Lord Hunbricourt presentid maister John Potel, president of Liege, to þemperer who set him on his knees and required knighthode. And after þat þemperer had takeen þe swerd of estate all nakyd in his hand, he made þe saide mayster John Potel to make divers othes, moche herder þanne I have seen accustomed to kepe and entreteigne thordre of knighthode. And efterward þemperer gaff him iij strokes with þe swerd betwene þe nekke and þe bake; and soo was Sir John Potel made knighte and þeruppon departed. And þemperer conveyde my Lord of Bourgine untoo þe foote of the degrees and had conveide him farther had not been his sekenes as is abovesaid. Other þing was there nat betwene þeim unto þe xxvith day of October MCLIII su[r]ely but joures and daies of comunicacions halden by þeim above named. And whanne oþer þing shal come þat is worthy to be written, I shall late yow knowe it with the helpe of God, my lady, my daughter, whome I beseche to send you all þat ye desire. Writen at þe sayd Saint Maximien beside Tresues, the xxvijth day of October.</p>	<p>570</p> <p>575</p> <p>580</p> <p>585</p> <p>590</p> <p>595</p>
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590 surely] suely

2.2.7 *Texts within Chetham 8009: ff. 367v – 372r*

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