Robert Thornton and His Book Producing Activities:
Aspects of the Transmission of Certain Late Medieval Texts in
the Light of Their Present Context in Thornton's Manuscripts

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DECLARATION

An earlier account of Thornton's rearrangement of the "Thornton romances" in the Lincoln Thornton MS was delivered at a conference on MSS and ME literature at the University of York in July 1981. A version of my discussion of the <u>lacunae</u> in Thornton's copy of the <u>Liber de Diversis Medicinis</u> has been published in <u>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</u>, 8 (1982), pp. 270-5.

This thesis examines the range of evidence presently available
that indicates the practical conditions under which Robert Thornton
copied the items in Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 (the Lincoln
Thornton MS) and British Library MS Additional 31042 (the London Thornton
MS). In the opening chapters the physical and textual evidence which
suggests how Thornton's MSS were originally put together is examined.
By analysis of the problems which the present physical state of Thornton's
books force us to face, we can establish in some detail the informal
manner in which Thornton's fragmentary two-volume collection grew
to its present "shape" and size. However a major complicating factor
here is that, due to the varied textual reputation elsewhere of some of
Thornton's items, it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between
Thornton's own compiling efforts and those of earlier readers and
scribes. Consequently, the discussion is extended to include an
analysis of the particularly unstable textual history of certain late
medieval texts in Thornton's collection. In chapter III this includes
a reassessment of the way in which the Cursor Mundi should be regarded
as an integral ME text. In turn, this discussion enables us to reconstruct
Thornton's probable attitudes and motives when faced with a copy of this
venerable biblical history to transcribe. Chapter IV then describes the
manner in which Thornton prepared his texts for future decoration,
and the rather incomplete, gradual, and often haphazard ways in which
some of the decorative features were eventually added to his books.
Finally, chapter V offers an account of the watermarks in Thornton's
paper and combines the information with other physical and textual
details to support a reconstruction of Thornton's working methods.

ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
Beazeley	Beazeley's Tracings of Watermarks at Canterbury (British Library MS Additional 38637)
Briquet	C.M. Briquet. Les Filigranes. 4 vols. Geneva, 1907, republished 1968
C.M.	The Cursor Mundi
Eng. Stud.	Englische Studien
E.S.	Extra Series
G.D.	Gratia Dei
Index	C. Brown and R.H. Robbins. The Index of Middle English Verse. New York, 1943
introd.	(author of) introduction, introduced by
Manual	J.B. Severs and A.E. Hartung. A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500. New Haven,1972-
M.E.D. (Plan)	H. Kurath and S.M. Kuhn, et al. Middle English Dictionary. Ann Arbor, 1952-. (Plan and Bibliography. Ann Arbor, 1954)
M.L.N.	Modern Language Notes
M.L.R.	Modern Language Review
M.V.C.	Meditationes Vitae Christi
N and Q	Notes and Queries
N.H.C.	Northern Homily Cycle
N.M.	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
N.P.	Northern Passion
N.S.	New Series
O.S.	Original Series
P.C.	Prick of Conscience
R.E.S.	Review of English Studies
S.E.L.	South English Legendary
S.P.	Southern Passion
Supplement	R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler. Supplement to the

Index of Middle English Verse. Lexington,1965

V.C.H.

Victoria County History

Walther

H. Walther. Lateinische Sprichworten und Sentenzen
des Mittelalters, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris
Latina. 6 vols. Göttingen, 1963-9

Wells

J.F. Wells. A Manual of the Writings in Middle
English 1050-1400. New Haven, 1916

INTRODUCTION

The figure of Robert Thornton is an important one in any

discussion of late medieval vernacular book production. It is now

generally accepted that this fifteenth century scribe wrote two MSS,

Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 (the Lincoln Thornton MS), and British

Library MS Additional 31042 (the London Thornton MS). Both MSS are

well known, but it is the Lincoln MS, with its collection of "Thornton

romances," which is perhaps best known to scholars.[1] The London

Thornton MS is generally considered a smaller, less varied, and therefore

less important MS than its sister volume. One of the main objectives

of this study will be to test the validity of these assumptions, and

to clarify, where possible, some of the terms in which we should consider

the relationship between Thornton the scribe, the material he copied,

and the two MS collections he produced.

The scholarly reputation of Thornton's MSS is quite secure. Both

books contain unique copies of several important ME verse items, and

also copies of texts extant in only one or two other MSS.[2] This has

ensured that individual "Thornton" texts, notably items such as the

alliterative Morte Arthure and Wynnere and Wastoure, have been edited

frequently, and have also received considerable critical attention. By

contrast other items, presumably because they have long been considered

of limited interest to the modern editor or literary critic, have remained

almost totally neglected. Many of these texts, set as they are on the

periphery of literature itself, pose considerable problems of interpretation

to the modern editor or textual critic. By using the mixture of physical

and textual evidence presently available, and by relating these "Thornton"

items to the changing circumstances in which they were originally written

and then successively recopied and read, we can establish important new

perspectives from which to consider late medieval attitudes towards the

texts themselves.

The choice of the material in Thornton's collection as the basis for this study is quite deliberate. Thornton is clearly not the only scribe upon whom a case study of a late medieval book compiler in action could be based.[3] However, at present, no other extant pair of related MSS would seem to offer us quite such a range of written material, or quite such a wealth of other information, that can be so closely associated with the work of a single identifiable late medieval scribe.[4] Moreover, in some important respects, Thornton is already one of the most identifiable of all ME scribes. In both MSS his name appears at the end of several items, on three occasions in the characteristic phrase, "R. Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus" (Lincoln MS, ff. 98v, 213r; London MS f. 66r). His name also appears on ff. 53r, 93v, 98v (twice), 129v (badly faded), 176r, 211v, 213r and 278v of the Lincoln MS, and on 50r of the London MS. These signatures are not, of course, marks of authorship, nor are they all necessarily marks of ownership. Their general purpose seems to have been to draw the reader's attention to the identity of the scribe-compiler of the texts themselves.

Due to the well known work of James Halliwell, Margaret Ogden and, more recently, the continuing work of George Keiser, we now also have an increased, but still far from complete picture of the socio-literary milieu in which Thornton lived and worked.[5] In 1844 Halliwell first tentatively suggested that Robert Thornton could be identified with the Yorkshireman who, in 1418, became lord of East Newton in the parish of Stonegrave, in the wapentake of Ryedale, North Riding. Halliwell's suggestion was later supported by the findings of Ogden in 1938. Both scholars based their identification of Thornton, and their localization of the Lincoln MS in Yorkshire, first of all on references to Ryedale in a birth record on f. 49v of the MS. In addition several

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of the medical perscriptions in the Lincoln MS refer to the parish of

Oswaldkirk which is a few miles from East Newton.   Halliwell and

Ogden then also noted that other Thorntons left their names in the

Lincoln MS.   These are William (on ff. 49v and 144v), Edward (on ff. 75v,

137r and 194r), Eleanor (on f. 135v), and Dorothy (on ff. 265r, and 266r).

A pedigree of the Thornton family of East Newton was compiled in the

seventeenth century by the antiquarian Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham,

and the copy published in the nineteenth century by the Surtees society

supports the identification of William, Edward, Eleanor and Dorothy

as descendants of Robert Thornton of East Newton.   Finally other names

found in the margins of the Lincoln MS can be associated with the names of

families who are known to have lived in Yorkshire, near East Newton,

in the sixteenth century.   These names are Louson (f. 29r), Rokeby

(f. 220v) and Blande (f. 265r).

Both Halliwell and Ogden recognized that other men named Robert

Thornton could also be shown to have had Northern English connections,

or to have lived in Northern England in the fifteenth century.   Professor

Keiser's recent research has even identified at least seven contemporary

Yorkshiremen (including Thornton of East Newton) with the same name

as the scribe.   Therefore, without the assistance of the information

noted in the MS and in Comber's pedigree, and without some account of the

history of the MS before it became part of Lincoln Cathedral Library,

the identity of the scribe would have to remain open to question.   Never-

theless Keiser's recent research on the identity of the scribe has revealed

no other candidates that are more suitable than Robert Thornton of East

Newton.   Paradoxically however his work on the descent of the Lincoln MS

has not only emphasized the importance of Dean Comber's association with

the Thornton family in ensuring that the MS eventually passed into Lincoln

Cathedral library, but it has also called into question the accuracy of

Comber's pedigree of the East Newton Thorntons.

Comber's interest in the Thorntons stemmed from the fact that he had married into the family, and that he had lived for a time at East Newton as rector of Stonegrave.[6] Unfortunately the original copy of his pedigree is now missing, but a corrected nineteenth century copy was added by Charles Jackson to his Autobiography of Mrs. Alice Thornton.[7] Jackson probably had access to Comber's original document since he states that, in it, Comber actually referred to a note on a leaf in the Lincoln MS. In turn Comber must also have had access to various other documentary sources, perhaps even private family papers, which have now gone missing. This is particularly unfortunate since the corrected Comber pedigree disagrees with the information provided by public records, and of course this seriously weakens the value of this corrected copy as an accurate historical record.[8] However the information presently available certainly also suggest that, in Comber's time, and perhaps even partly because of his own research efforts, the Lincoln Thornton MS continued to be associated with the Thorntons of East Newton. Although it is not yet known how much Comber's original research was influenced by the other Thornton names in the MS, and although it is not certain that Comber actually found the MS at East Newton, it certainly seems most likely that, until Comber's time, the MS had remained in the private possession of members of the Thornton family.

The Lincoln MS was obviously also well looked after by its later owners. Mr. A.E.B. Owen has drawn attention to the fact that some of the paper leaves were formerly repaired with needle and thread, and he cites ff. 23, 42 and 154-9 as pages where the old sewing holes remain to show where tears were mended.[9] He suggests that this mending was probably done when the MS was still being read, probably by members of the Thornton family. In addition Ralph Hanna III and George Keiser

have both drawn attention to Madden's description of how he borrowed

the MS from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in 1832.[10] The binding

of the MS was in such a decayed state that Madden had the book rebound

at his own expense. The earlier binding was presumably thrown away,

but Madden describes this as, "thick oaken boards, covered with white

leather, and fastened by a clasp." This was probably the original

binding of the book, and it may even have been provided for the MS by

Robert Thornton himself.

The relative certainty with which we can trace the descent of the

Lincoln MS is matched by our increased knowledge about Thornton's life

and the socio-literary milieu in which texts were copied and enjoyed

in late medieval Yorkshire. This is due to Keiser's important work on

late medieval public records and testamentary evidence. His research

has produced impressive confirmation of the accepted view of Robert

Thornton of East Newton as a member of the minor Yorkshire gentry. In

particular Keiser has highlighted Thornton's work as a tax collector,

his contacts with many of the leading Yorkshire families of the day,

and (less certainly) his possible involvement in local disturbances

caused by the rivalries between the Percies and the Nevilles. In

addition we now have some evidence from specifically Yorkshire sources

which suggests the increasing availability and importance of written

literature among the middle strata of fifteenth century society.

Therefore there remains the possibility that the two Thornton MSS are not

the only documents that were actually written by Thornton. For example

future examination of the remaining available documentary sources may

produce further examples of the scribe's hand in other local records.[11]

In turn, these could reveal other valuable clues about the Thornton scribe's

day-to-day life and occupation. However these documents, if they

exist, still await discovery.

The history of the London Thornton MS is less clear and, in
general, the MS has received much less attention. The only name which
both Thornton MSS share is that of the scribe himself. However the
absence of other Thornton names in the London MS does not necessarily
mean that the book passed immediately out of the hands of the scribe's
family.[12] Instead it may simply mean that, for a time, the London MS lay
around in a much more neglected and unfinished state than its sister
volume. For example, unlike the Lincoln MS, there is no evidence to
suggest that the London MS was ever preserved in a medieval binding.   This
is hardly conclusive evidence that no such binding ever existed, but
the possibility remains that the present vellum flyleaves in the volume
were originally added to protect Thornton's unbound quires. These protective
leaves could have been added at any time during the long history of the
MS, but it is of some interest that they seem to have once formed part
of a medieval breviary. Presumably at the time when they were added
to the London MS it was deemed more useful that these vellum leaves
should protect the remaining items in Thornton's unbound and
already damaged collection. It is most likely then that the flyleaves
themselves were originally added long after the items in the London MS
were first copied and gathered together.

    There are also at least two good indications that the London MS
left the Thornton family some considerable time before it arrived in
the British Library.   One is that Thornton's name has been disfigured
and partly erased on the two occasions where it appears in the MS.
This was possibly the work of a later owner. The other is that, on f. 49r,
a later reader, and presumably a new owner of the book, has written,
"John Nettleton's boke."   Again on f. 139v, the name "Nettylton"
occurs three times, and also "Netylton."   In addition, on f. 73v,
someone has written the name, "Willa Frostt" in red ink in the head

margin of the page.[13] The latter signature is written in what seems

to be a fifteenth century hand, but the identity of Frostt, his

relationship (if any) to the Thornton family, and his possible interest

in the London MS, is unknown, but open to some speculation. Furthermore

the hand in which the Nettleton notations have been made has been dated

variously as early-fifteenth century, late-fifteenth century, mid-sixteenth

century and late-sixteenth century.[14] Some of this disagreement is

understandable since the signatures themselves offer little solid

palaeographical evidence as to their date., Nevertheless the marginal

scribbles which accompany the Nettleton signatures on f. 139v are

certainly written in a sixteenth century hand, and so we can perhaps

assume that these were added by the same man.

Despite the inadequacies of the evidence for dating the signatures,

the most probable candidates to have emerged as possible later owners

of the London Thornton MS are the John Nettletons of Hutton Cranswick in

the East Riding of Yorkshire. One of these men was a sixteenth century

book collector who, according to A.G. Watson, was, "the largest single

identifiable source of Henry Savile's MSS."[15] Nettleton is known to

have supplied Savile with books from the monasteries of Byland, Fountains

and Rievaux. These are all in close proximity to each other and convenient

to Hutton Cranswick. Interestingly Hutton Cranswick is itself only

about twenty miles from East Newton. An established local book collector

like Nettleton then might well have acquired the London Thornton MS

directly from the Thornton family.

Although John Nettleton remains little more than a name, Fr Hugh

Aveling's study of recusancy in the West Riding has revealed that, in

1570, one John Nettleton who was a recusant schoolmaster was ejected

from Ripon grammar school.[16] In the same study reference is made to a

Henry Savile, gentleman, of Halifax, who was a recusant in 1580. Watson

claims that this is probably a reference to the elder Savile. A tradition of recusant tendencies in the Savile family, plus Henry Savile's interest in collecting so many MSS from Northern religious houses, makes Watson's suggestion particularly attractive. Furthermore the facility with which Nettleton obtained so many monastic MSS for Savile, directly or indirectly from these houses on their dissolution, might well be explained by Nettleton's own recusant tendencies. Even if Nettleton the recusant schoolmaster is not to be identified with Nettleton the book collector, the latter figure obviously had close contact with adherents of the old religion.

If these contacts are extended to the East Newtown area, then we can establish another link between the Thorntons and John Nettleton which makes his eventual ownership of the London MS seem even more plausible. On July 8th, 1607, Dorothea, wife of a Robert Thornton of Stonegrave, was under charge for recusancy.[17] Ogden claims that it was this woman whose name appears on ff. 265r and 266r in the middle of a sequence of Latin prayers in the Lincoln Thornton MS. A great number of recusant families were certainly living in sixteenth century North Yorkshire, and some of them were probably even still using much older devotional material for their own private reading purposes.[18] But the number of these families is still perhaps small enough for us to speculate that the Thorntons' shared religious sympathies (as well as perhaps the prospect of some limited financial gain) lay behind their disposal of the London MS to Nettleton.

It would be gratifying if we could complete a network of recusant ownership for the London MS by finding solid evidence that, in turn, the book passed from Nettleton's hands into the collection of Henry Savile of Banke. Any suggestion that this may have been the case however can only be tentative. The only entry in Savile's catalogue which may

refer to the London MS is an item in Savile's Libri Manuscripti which reads:

> Tractatus qui dicitur Cursor Mundi (anglice the Cursur of world) secundum cursum sacrae paginae 4°.

Watson identifies this entry as a possible reference to British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.3. But this MS bears no evidence of Savile's ownership, and the identification rests on the similarity between the wording of the title of this copy of the Cursor Mundi (C.M.), which reads, "the Cursur of the World," and the English title in Savile's catalogue. It is however hard to see how else the words "Cursor Mundi" could be translated into English. The wording of the heading itself has been taken from the prologue of the poem (1.267), so the ascription of this MS to Savile depends solely on the uncertain but late date at which the title was added to the margin of MS Cotton Vespasian A.3.

We can set against this evidence the equally reasonable claims of the London Thornton MS. This book provides us with the only extant copy of the Cursor Mundi which may show traces of Savile's ownership through having once belonged to John Nettleton. The first item in Thornton's book is in fact a copy of the Cursor Mundi, and it is from this text that a compiler of Savile's catalogue would have taken the general title of the miscellany, if it appeared in the Libri Manuscripti. Unfortunately the opening folios of Thornton's text, which would presumably have contained the heading of the poem, are now missing. Therefore, we have no way of comparing Thornton's heading to Savile's catalogue entry. However even if the London Thornton MS was for a time in the Savile collection, it must have been dispersed as mysteriously as many of the other Savile volumes. The continuing descent of the London MS is equally uncertain. Nothing further is currently known of the volume's whereabouts until 1879. In that year it was sent from America to J.

Pearson, and then sold to the British Museum where it has since remained.[19]

Obviously there are still many frustrating gaps in our knowledge about Thornton's life, his family and social contacts, and about the descent of his MSS. Moreover, traditionally Thornton's reputation as an important medieval collector rests mainly on the impressive range of written material to which he had access, and which still survives in his two volume collection. However we still know very little about Thornton's status as a scribe, the conditions under which he worked to compile his collection, the probable nature of his exemplars, or even his attitudes to the material he was copying. This study will use a mixture of physical and textual evidence in Thornton's books, and in other related MSS, to attempt to discuss some of these problems more fully. Nevertheless, at this point in our discussion it seems appropriate to draw attention to the present state of our knowledge (or lack of knowledge) regarding Thornton's general scribal practices.

It is now generally agreed that a single medieval scribe is responsible for transcribing the main items in both Thornton MSS. Mrs. Karen Stern's detailed discussion of this point has effectively dismissed S.J. Herrtage's early claim that the items in the London Thornton MS are the work of several copyists.[20] Dr. A.I. Doyle and Mr. M.B. Parkes have also recently expressed the view that, despite variations in the shape, size and degree of formality of the script, the main items in both Thornton's collections are the work of a single scribe. Other, much later scribes have however used some of the space remaining in Thornton's books, notably on ff. 50r - 52r (Lincoln MS) and f. 94v (London MS), to add extra items to the collection.[21]

Thornton regularly copied his material in an Anglicana script of the mid-fifteenth century. In his general study of English book hands in the later middle ages Parkes suggests that, since the fourteenth

century, the type of script Thornton used was not only commonly used in documents and official records, but was also a cheap book hand.[22] It is probably fair to say then that the style of writing preserved in Thornton's collection is one which grew out of a need to write fluently and quickly in day-to-day business activities. This is not necessarily an indication of Thornton's "professional" scribal status. Nevertheless some of the variations in his script might well suggest that Thornton copied the items that now survive in his collection over a fairly long period of time, and possibly at quite different stages in a lengthy scribal career.[23]

Unfortunately we still lack a clear understanding of the extent to which, by accident or design, Thornton himself actually altered the material he was copying from his various exemplars. However, although editorial attitudes and approaches have changed radically since the nineteenth century, Halliwell's general comment in 1844, that the texts of "Thornton" romances in their various extant copies, "are not... to be always implicitly trusted," still holds true. In 1895 Horstmann also recognized that the texts of some of Thornton's religious items (and especially his copies of Latin material) were often "very incorrect," and it is obvious that Thornton's collection contains items that have been variously contaminated in the course of their transmission.[24] What is not so clear is the extent to which Thornton can be held personally responsible for that contamination. Karen Stern is probably close to the truth when she suggests that many of Thornton's copies are marked by different types of scribal meddling, some of which may be related to the differing circumstances, and different textual states, in which Thornton variously received and copied his sources. However it is hard to build upon this tentative conclusion until individual texts of many more Thornton copies are closely examined. For example my own very cursory

examination of Thornton's romance items suggests that it is unlikely

that the number of textual variants in these texts can be used to

construct any kind of consistent picture of Thornton the "editor-scribe"

at work.[25]   Nevertheless Karen Stern has already commented usefully

on the scraps of evidence presented by some of Thornton's more serious

mechanical errors and repetitions and these do suggest that Thornton may

sometimes have changed his sources.   Future studies already in progress

also promise to reveal more about Thornton's "good ear" for ME poetry

(David Lawton), his tendency to self-correct (Mary Hamel), and a range

of other interesting details about his minor scribal habits.[26]

     It would also be useful to know more about the dialect features

in some of Thornton's items.[27]   Professor Angus McIntosh has already suggested

that, "Robert Thornton was not by habit a scribe who transformed or

'translated' exemplars so thoroughly as to obliterate all those

characteristics in them which were alien to his own" and the information is

certainly potentially useful.   Professor Frances McSparran has now

undertaken the daunting task of examining all the items in Thornton's

collection in the light of McIntosh's existing work on ME dialects.

However it is hard to escape the impression that this research will

probably produce much less certain results than the work that McIntosh

has already published on the textual transmission of Thornton's copy

of the alliterative Morte Arthure.   For example it was extremely fortunate

that McIntosh was able to isolate the uncommon use of "whas" (was) and

"cho" (she) in just two of Thornton's texts (the alliterative Morte and the

pseudo Bonaventuran Previty), but this type of linguistic exclusivity is

unlikely to occur elsewhere in the items in Thornton's collection.

     Future dialect work will probably have to rely on an exhaustive

study of common linguistic features which, when assessed as a complex,

may then suggest possible localizations for other clusters of Thornton's

texts. However it is unlikely that these localizations can, by themselves,

accurately reflect the nature of Thornton's original exemplars, the areas

in which the anonymous scribes who produced them necessarily lived and worked,

or the different regions in which Thornton himself had literary contacts.[29]

Nevertheless, if in the future the dialect evidence in Thornton's items

is examined in conjunction with the mixture of other types of physical

and textual evidence discussed at length throughout this study, then

we are indeed likely to gain an even clearer impression of Thornton's

activities as a late medieval book compiler.

1.   The title "Thornton romance" was first coined by J.O. Halliwell in his edition of The Thornton Romances, Camden Society 30 (1844). Halliwell recognized, "the advantage of a short distinctive title, the value of which is known to every one in the habit of using works of reference" (p.vi). Despite the difficulties of defining the slippery term "romance," it remains a useful label. Throughout this thesis I use the term to describe the ME texts listed as "romances" in Gisela Guddat-Figge's useful, Catalogue of MSS containing ME Romances (1976). This does not of course mean that I necessarily endorse the conclusions reached by Dr Guddat-Figge in her study (see N. 4 below).

2.   For a description of the items in Thornton's collection see Appendix 1. Some of the most important editions of Thornton's texts are also listed in the Bibliography.

3.   In their recent work both Malcolm B. Parkes and Alastair J. Minnis have shown that ideas of compilation (compilatio) belong in their purest form to the realms of medieval literary theory. See, for example, "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book," Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (1976), pp. 115-41 (Parkes); and "Late Medieval Discussions of Compilatio and the rôle of the Compilator," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 101 (1979), pp. 385-421 (Minnis). In this thesis I use the term "compiler" in a much less specialized sense to describe Thornton's activities as a scribe working consciously, although not always consistently or with the same degree of interest, to impose some system of order upon the diverse material he was inheriting from his sources.

4.   In her general study of vernacular MSS containing ME romances, Gisela Guddat-Figge has drawn together descriptions of a whole range of MSS which she attempts to classify according to their methods of production ("amateur" or "professional"), and their contents ("secular," "religious," or "miscellaneous"). She herself recognized the limitations of this approach, and the time is now ripe for further work in this area. This will only be possible, however, if individual medieval MSS like Thornton's books become the subject of close codicological scrutiny. Fortunately some of this work is already under way and other collaborative projects are promised shortly. Much of this research, including the present study, relies heavily on the availability of modern facsimile editions of medieval MSS. See, for example, the recent range of excellent facsimiles produced by the Scolar Press. These include The Thornton MS (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91), introd. D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (1975, revised repr. 1978).

5.   References here are to Halliwell's introduction in the Thornton Romances, Ogden's introduction in her edition of the Liber de Diversis Medicinis, EETS, O.S., 207 (1938), Keiser's comments recorded by Owen in his, "The Collation and Descent of the Thornton MS," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 6 (1975), pp. 218-25; Keiser's, "A Note on the Descent of the Thornton MS," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 6 (1976), pp. 346-8, and his "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 : Life and Milieu of the Scribe," Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), pp. 158-79. Professor Keiser has also recently published, "More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton," Studies in Bibliography, 36 (1983), pp. 112-119. This study elaborates on some of the earlier

points made in his "Life and Milieu" article.

6.   For a brief discussion of Comber see Keiser's "Note on the Descent of the Thornton Manuscript." See also C.E. Whiting's, The Autobiography and Letters of Thomas Comber, Surtees Society 156 (1946). In 1692, when the last male heir in the Thornton family died, the two coheiresses and their husbands (one of whom was Comber) split the Thornton estates between them. Comber took East Newton, his mother-in-law, Alice Thornton, continued to live there until her death in 1705. This information is derived from A.E.B. Owen's "Collation and Descent of the Thornton MS," p.225, N. 20.

7.   This now survives as an unnumbered page at the end of Jackson's edition (Surtees Society, 62, 1875).

8.   For Keiser's reservations regarding the accuracy of the Comber pedigree see his, "Life and Milieu," pp. 159 ff. Despite the information provided by the pedigree some doubt must inevitably remain about Thornton's age, the number of sons he had and their names, and the date on which Thornton himself died.

9.   For Owen's comments see the "Collation and Handwriting" section of the Scolar Facsimile of the Lincoln Thornton MS, p.XV.

10.   See Hanna's comments in the introduction to his edition, the Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn (1974), and Owen's "Collation and Descent of the Thornton MS." For the original comments see F. Madden's Syr Gawayne (1839), introduction, p.1.

11.   A systematic search of local records of the North Riding, and a drive to gather all evidence about all Robert Thorntons in the first half of the fifteenth century has already been suggested by A.S.G. Edwards in his review article "The 'Whole Book' : Medieval MSS in Facsimile," Review, 2 (1980), pp. 19-29. Edwards' article also rightly queries the assumptions that have been made in the past regarding Thornton's status as a gentleman "amateur" scribe.

12.   For a different, but not entirely incompatible interpretation see Dr. A.I. Doyle's recent comments on Thornton's MSS in his study of the MSS containing later ME alliterative verse, in ME Alliterative Poetry and its Literary Background, ed. David Lawton (1982), pp. 88-100, esp. p. 95.

13.   Frostt's name was first noted by Mrs. Karen Stern in her "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany : A New Description of British Museum Additional MS 31042," Scriptorium, 30 (1976), p. 209. Mrs Stern also follows the original suggestion of M.Y. Offord that the John Nettleton in the London Thornton MS should probably be identified as the book collector from Hutton Cranswick. See also M.Y. Offord's comments in her edition of the Parlement of the Three Ages, EETS, O.S., 246 (1959), p.xii.

14.   For full references see Stern, "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," pp. 207-8.

15.   For the Nettleton family of Hutton Cranswick and their association with Henry Savile see Watson's The MSS of Henry Savile of Banke (1969), esp. pp. 7-9.

16.   See Aveling's, "The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790," _Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Lit. and Hist. section_, 10 (1963), pp. 191-306, esp. pp. 252, 300. This study is also noted by Watson, p. 8, N.4.

17.   For full references see Ogdgen, p. xiii. Aveling's study of _The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790_ (1966) also makes some mention of the incidence of recusancy in Stonegrave parish, and the recusant tendencies of the Thornton family, until Mrs. Alice Thornton and Comber, "made the family and parish a model of High Church devotion" (p. 358).

18.   For evidence that some post-Reformation English readers had a taste for much earlier English and Latin devotional works see, for example, Helen C. White's "Some Continuing Traditions in English Devotional Literature," _PMLA_, 57 (1942), pp. 966-80, and her _Tudor Books of Private Devotion_ (1951). Fr. Aveling's work also provides much evidence to suggest that the medieval prayer books of the gentry also fitted in easily with the circumstances of Catholic family life in post-Reformation England. Therefore it is easy to see how it was possibly something stronger than sentimental attachment that made the Thornton family continue to treasure some of the Latin and English devotional items in the Lincoln MS.

19.   This information was first noted by S.J. Herrtage in the introduction to the _English Charlemagne Romances II : The Sege off Melayne and the Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne_, EETS, E.S., 35 (1880), p. viii. In a private communication the British Library has been unable to provide me with any further information regarding the purchase of the MS.

20.   For Herrtage's comments on the "different hands" in Thornton's MS see _English Charlemagne Romances II_, p. vii-viii and note also similar comments by L.F. Casson in the introduction to his edition of _Sir Degrevant_, EETS, O.S., 221 (1949), p. ix. For Stern's general analysis of the probable reasons for variations in Thornton's script see her, "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," pp. 201-4. Note also comments by Doyle in his recent brief discussion of Thornton's MSS (N. 12 above). I am also grateful to Mr Parkes for expressing his views on Thornton's script in a private communication.

21.   For a detailed analysis of the script on f. 94v in the London MS see Karen Hodder (Stern), "Two Unpublished ME Carol-Fragments," _Archiv_, 205 (1969), pp. 378 - 83. The birthrecord and pen trials on f.49v may in fact have been written by Thornton (cf Keiser, "Life and Milieu," p. 159, N. 4) but, because of the experimental nature of the script, it is difficult to be sure. Thanks are due to Mr Parkes for confirming this point for me and also for suggesting that the other material on ff. 50r - 52r in the Lincoln MS has probably been added by a sixteenth century hand. It is a point of some interest that the ink in which some of this later material has been added to Thornton's collection has dried to the same distinctive colour as the roughly drawn sketches of knights on horseback which now survive on f. 52v.

22.   See his _English Cursive Book Hands 1250 - 1500_ (1969), pp. xiv-xvi.

23.   In the future it may even be possible that a trained palaeographer could chart changes in Thornton's script by close analysis of the texts which we can assume that he copied at different early and late points in his

career.

24.   For Horstmann's comments see his texts of Thornton's items in his
Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Hampole, vol. 1 (1895), pp. 184-240,
261-337, 363-411.   For Stern's comments see her, "The London 'Thornton'
Miscellany," pp. 33-37.   Stern concludes that Thornton was probably
"... readier to tamper with his copy when faced with a manifestly imperfect
exemplar, but that given an exemplar of good appearance, he tended to
leave well alone, his approach generally being conservative" (p. 36).
However even this tentative suggestion may be open to some revision in the
future.   •

25.   However for possible signs of medieval scribes acting as "editors"
as they copied ME romances see, among others, the recent comments by Philippa
Hardman in "A Mediaeval 'Library In Parvo,'" Medium Aevum, 47 (1978),
pp. 262-73, esp. pp. 267-72, and by Frances McSparran and Pamela Robinson
in their introduction to the Scolar facsimile of Cambridge University
Library MS Ff. 2. 38 (1979), pp. xii, xvii.   Note also the reservations
expressed by Maldwyn Mills in his recent review of this facsimile,
 Medium Aevum, 51 (1982), pp. 246-50.

26.   For David Lawton's continuing work on Thornton's copy of the Siege of
Jerusalem see his recent controversial comments in his introduction to
ME Alliterative Poetry and its Literary Background (1982), esp. pp.6 and 13.
Mary Hamel's recent work on the Thornton copy of the alliterative Morte
(setting forth "Thornton's basically conservative approach") has just been
published.   See her, "Scribal Self-Correction in the Thornton Morte
Arthure," Studies in Bibliography 36 (1983), pp. 119-137.

27.   My brief discussion here has benefitted from a recent informal
discussion with Professor McSparran during which many of the points
mentioned here were raised.

28.   For McIntosh's well known comments see, "The Textual Transmission
of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," English and Medieval Studies Presented
to J.R.R. Tolkien, ed. N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (1962), pp. 231 - 40, esp.
p. 231.   My discussion here relies heavily on some of the necessary
qualifications that McIntosh himself discusses in this article.

CHAPTER I

THE SCRIBE AND HIS MANUSCRIPT: THORNTON AND

THE LINCOLN THORNTON MISCELLANY

The Lincoln Thornton MS has always been considered Thornton's

main achievement as a late medieval book producer. Although both

Thornton MSS are now well known to modern scholars, it is the Lincoln

MS, with its larger, more varied, and more "organized" collection of

Latin and English items in prose and verse, that is commonly referred

to as "the Thornton MS."   It is the Lincoln MS that has been made

generally accessible (as The Thornton Manuscript) in a modern facsimile

edition. Indeed it is to the Lincoln MS that most scholars have

turned when they have wished to characterize Thornton's scribal efforts

as his attempt to provide his readers with a library of entertaining

and instructive reading material...This chapter will assess the extent

to which the remaining, and at times very limited, physical and

textual evidence can be used to reconstruct the methods by which Thornton

assembled this eclectic MS miscellany.[1]   Although the positive gains

here regarding Thornton's own activities are often quite limited, the

discussion itself does draw attention to some of the many complex ways

in which some Latin and English texts circulated in the later middle

ages.   In addition, and for our purposes more importantly, the evidence

regarding Thornton's scribal behaviour in the Lincoln MS can be

supplemented with evidence regarding his compiling activities in the

London MS, to provide us with a more complete picture of a single

late medieval book producer at work.

The physical condition of the Lincoln MS is the obvious starting

point for the present discussion. This illustrates well the serious

problems faced by the modern scholar who attempts to retrieve the original

physical make-up of a composite medieval MS that seems to have been produced unsystematically. Mr. A.E.B. Owen examined the Lincoln MS in 1974, when it had been dismantled for rebinding, and prior to this date the MS had been too tightly bound to collate. Owen used a mixture of physical and textual evidence to suggest his collation, and, with one minor exception, it has been generally accepted.[2] His collation now reads: A^{24} (wants i - iv, xxiii; ff. 1-19); B^{24} (wants i; ff. 20 - 42); C^{18} (wants xi - xviii cancelled; ff. 43 - 52); D^{16} (ff. 53 - 68); E^{18} (ff. 69 - 86); F^{16} (ff. 87 - 102); G^{22} (wants i, xxii; ff. 103 - 122); H^{22} (xii is a stub; ff. 123 - 143); I^{22} (wants v, xviii; ff. 144 - 163); K^{16} (wants xvi; ff. 164- 178); L^{20} (ff. 179 - 198); M^{24} (ff. 199 - 222); N^{18} (wants i, xvi - xviii; ff. 223 - 236); O^{18} (wants i; ff. 237 - 253); P^{30} (wants i, x - xii cancelled; ff. 254 - 279); $Q^{?36 \text{ or } 40}$ (? wants i - ii, xxxviii - xl; ff. 280 - 314); $R^{?7 +}$ (fragments; ff. 315 - 321).

When the fragmentary Lincoln MS was unbound it was found to have had a very irregular make-up. Nevertheless the cores of nearly every quire (with the exception of C and I) were found to be intact. Therefore the greatest problems Owen faced were, first of all, deciding on the length of the various lacunae, and secondly deciding to which of two adjacent quires a detached leaf belonged. Now however, by reviewing some of the evidence Owen used, and the difficulties he faced, we can not only suggest some minor corrections to his collation, but we can also gain a valuable initial impression of Thornton's working methods.

We would normally expect that aids such as the presence of catchwords would assist in the collation of any medieval book. In the Lincoln Thornton MS these often, but not always, appear on the verso of the last leaf in a gathering. Their normal function in a medieval MS was of course to indicate the final order in which the

completed unbound gatherings should be assembled. However a glance

at the Lincoln MS reveals a complicating factor. Thornton seems to

have used catchword devices inconsistently, and not always for the one

purpose. Nevertheless, according to Owen's collation, catchwords do

appear, as we should expect, on the last leaves of gatherings A - F,

I, and O. The last leaves of G, K, and N are missing, but they may

once have contained catchwords. However there are no catchwords at

the end of Owen's gatherings H, M, and P. Consequently, on those

occasions, where a catchword fails to appear on the last leaf of a

gathering, we have no real assurance that the leaves in question were

the final leaves of Thornton's original quires. We have to bring other

evidence to bear in order to produce a likely collation. This collation

is only likely because it does not contradict the remaining available

physical and textual evidence.

     Thornton's seemingly inconsistent use of catchwords on the last

leaves of some of his gatherings is matched by his unusual, and very

puzzling, use of similar devices elsewhere. These devices survive

on both the recto and verso sides of many leaves in gatherings A - C,

N - O, and (less frequently) in L, M, P and Q. In addition an isolated

"catchword" survives on f.60v in gathering D. Obviously it is impossible

to draw any firm conclusions here about the functions that these devices

may once have performed. The infrequent appearance of these devices

in the Lincoln MS (and their non-appearance in the London MS) might even

suggest that we should simply dismiss these marks as a meaningless

scribal idiosyncrasy. Nevertheless the survival of these seemingly

impractical "catchwords" may be the only real indication we now have

that Thornton frequently copied his items onto sheets of paper <u>before</u>

that paper had been folded in half to form the bifolia that now make up

his gatherings.[3]

The wider implications of this assumption are certainly worth closer consideration. For example in the case of gathering D a catchword not only appears on the final leaf of the gathering (f. 68v), but one also appears on the last verso leaf in the first half of the same gathering (f.60v). Obviously once the catchword had been added on f.68v, and the gathering itself had been signed, the "catchword" on the central bifolium of D no longer served any useful function. However, prior to this, Thornton's completed sheets of written paper may have remained unfolded for a short time. Under these circumstances Thornton may have mistakenly assumed that the top sheet in his unfolded pile formed the outer (and not the central) bifolium in his completed quire and so added the catchword in the wrong place. Thornton's "catchword" on f.60v has never been cancelled. However eventually gathering D was folded correctly, and the appropriate catchword inserted on f. 68v. This was obviously also done before the gathering was signed and set in its present position in Thornton's collection.

Elsewhere in the Lincoln MS the "catchwords" that are scattered through gatherings A - C, N - O, L, M, P and Q can hardly all be classified as similar mistakes by Thornton. Moreover it is hard to believe that these devices simply owe their existence to Thornton's overanxiety to ensure that his written sheets should not become disarranged before they were signed and folded to form gatherings. For example, unlike quire and leaf signatures, Thornton's "catchwords" were not simply added in the first half of the quires in question, and they have also been added on both recto and verso sides of some of his leaves.[4] Therefore, inevitably, we must consider the likelihood that these devices are unrelated to the more orthodox catchwords in the Lincoln MS or to the original physical make-up of Thornton's gatherings. Instead these puzzling "catchwords" may have been intended to give

Thornton some kind of practical assistance at an even earlier stage

in his book producing activities, perhaps as he copied some of his

material from his exemplars onto unfolded sheets.[5]

The survival of the remains of an orderly sequence of quire and

leaf signatures in the Lincoln MS now seems the most reliable guide to

the physical make-up of Thornton's book. Ideally, in a folio arrangement,

this common medieval system of numeration, indicates not only the order

in which the bifolia should be arranged in each gathering, but also the

position of the gathering in the assembled sequence. The signatures

are normally added in the lower right hand corner of the recto side of

the leaves in the first half of the gathering. Since this automatically

predetermines the order of the leaves in the second half of the gathering,

there was no need for the signatures to be continued throughout the whole

gathering. Unfortunately however the normal positioning of these

signatures in paper gatherings generally leaves them susceptible to

the binder's knife, or also of course to natural decay.

In the case of the Lincoln MS, decay has resulted in the total

loss of many signatures, and the partial loss of others. Those which

do survive however, indicate that, as is usual in medieval book production,

it was when Thornton's gatherings were assembled in their present

sequence that the signatures were added. The gatherings were signed

in alphabetical order (a - q) and the bifolia ordered in each of these

gatherings using Roman numerals.[6] This is of course a minor point

if we assume that we are simply dealing with a blank book into which

Thornton successively copied his material. It is of some importance

however, if we suspect that we are dealing with one of two obviously

composite MS miscellanies which have been compiled by the same scribe

over a lengthy period of time. It implies that a final "editorial"

decision as to what should be contained in each book, how it should be

arranged, and perhaps even what should be excluded, need only have been made by the medieval compiler who finally assembled two books from the pile of gatherings that had accumulated around him. As we shall see in the following chapers, that compiler was probably guided generally by Thornton's own wishes and requirements as a book producer, and this makes it attractive to assume that it was probably Thornton himself who eventually signed his own gatherings in the Lincoln MS.

A.E.B. Owen naturally relied heavily on the accuracy of the remaining signatures in gatherings C, E and O, in order to establish fixed points in the MS from which to calculate the original size of both these and adjacent gatherings. For example, when the MS was dismantled, Owen found that gathering C, the final leaves of B, and the opening leaves of D were all singleton leaves. Sufficient fragments of signatures remain on ff. 43, 44, 45, 47 and 48 to indicate that these leaves certainly belong to the first half of a c quire, and Owen then calculated back from the surviving signatures in E to show the logical extent of both D and E. By this process of elimination C can be shown to consist of ff. 43 - 52, and there is no reason to doubt this.

Owen then attempted to establish that ff. 51 and 52 originally formed a central bifolium in the gathering. He did this by matching stain patterns and by noting a roughly drawn red line continued across the top of both leaves. However his evidence here is hardly convincing. The roughly drawn red line on ff. 51 and 52 is clearly not a frame ruling, and so is likely to have been drawn after the gathering had been formed, possibly even at the same time as a later hand added the items on ff.50r - 52r. Similarly the "matching" of stain patterns is of uncertain value, simply because the stain itself is just as likely to have occurred when the gathering was finally assembled, some of the leaves removed, and the catchword and signatures added. Indeed, despite the deterioration

-23-

of f.52r, it is still possible to detect a mark in the extreme right

hand corner of the page which looks suspiciously like the remains of

a signature, and certainly survives where we would expect to find one.

Finally, if ff.51 and 52 did once form a bifolium, then they are the

only surviving example of an unwatermarked bifolium in the Lincoln MS.[7]

In view of these scraps of physical evidence, and in the

absence of any convincing evidence to the contrary, the most likely

conclusion here seems to be that the leaves which were originally

conjoint with ff.51 and 52 are now missing from this particularly

fragmentary quire. I suggest that, like gathering L, gathering C

originally consisted of ten bifolia. Half of the gathering has now

gone, but, as Owen says, we can be reasonably certain that these

missing leaves were cancelled blanks. This is because there is no

obvious textual loss to the MS at this point, and because the

catchword on f.52v for f.53r has been added in Thornton's hand. The

most likely collation for the gathering is now C^{20} (wants xi - xx,

cancelled).[8]

Owen's tentative description of gatherings M and N must also

remain open to considerable doubt. Here Owen opts for a collation

which shows that a single leaf is now missing at the beginning of

N (before f.223) and that three leaves are now missing at the end

of the quire (following f.236). A fourth missing leaf following f.236

would seem to have been the first leaf of gathering O. In addition

Owen assumes that all the original leaves in gathering M have survived,

and that f.222 is the last leaf of the quire. However, the physical

and textual evidence presently available, while not conclusive, would

certainly suggest that this particularly fragmentary section of Thornton's

book is even more fragmentary, and is certainly more troublesome, than

Owen has allowed.

When the MS was dismantled Owen found that nine bifolia in M were still intact (ff. 202 - 219). However the surviving signatures of ff. 199 and 201 show that ff. 199 - 201 once formed the opening leaves in the gathering. At the other end of M Owen found a sequence of six singleton leaves (ff. 220 - 225) and the core of a new quire (ff. 226 - 235). He assumed that the first three singletons (ff. 220 - 222) formed the leaves that were originally conjoint with ff. 199 - 201. However, although f. 222 is certainly in poor enough condition to be considered the battered outer leaf of a gathering, f. 222r is in noticeably worse condition than f. 222v. On f. 222r the side margins are particularly badly stained and have obviously lain exposed for some considerable period of time. Considerably less staining disfigures the margins of f. 222v, although Owen assumes that it is the outer side of the final leaf in M.

In addition a space slightly larger than the frame ruling on f. 222r would appear to have been protected from the wear and tear which has affected the outer edges of both sides of the leaf. This would suggest that, for a time, f. 222r lay exposed with a weight of some kind (possibly even a small book) lying on top of it. What is particularly surprising, and revealing, is that similar staining has not affected f. 221v. Therefore we are encouraged to assume that the abuse suffered by f.222 probably occurred before this leaf was assembled beside f.221 in Thornton's collection. Inevitably some doubt must remain here, and I discuss below the possibility that f. 222 is perhaps a displaced singleton leaf which was eventually inserted rather haphazardly into Thornton's collection. However, it certainly seems best to assume that f. 222 does not belong to gathering M. Instead the last leaf of M, which was perhaps a cancelled blank, now seems to have gone missing. The most likely collation here is M^{24} (wants xxiv).

In his discussion of the possible extent of textual lacunae in N, Owen suggested that at least one leaf was missing following f. 222. This would have contained the remaining lines of a short composite lyric which ends abruptly on f. 222v, and the introduction to Thornton's copy of Mixed Life which commences abruptly on f. 223r. However both these texts survive in other copies. Although it is certainly not possible to assess the exact extent of the textual lacuna here, examination of these other extant copies suggests that at least two leaves, and not one, are now missing following f. 222.

Reference to Index 3730 and 229 shows that two other copies of the fragmentary composite lyric on f. 222 have also survived. The present context of this lyric in both these other MSS will form an important part of the discussion later in this chapter. However, for the moment, we can use the survival of these more complete copies to suggest that Thornton's fragment probably lacks twenty lines.[9] Using Thornton's presentation of his text on ff. 222r - 222v as a rough guide, this would suggest that Thornton could have copied these missing lines onto just under half of one side of a missing leaf.

Thornton's copy of Hilton's Mixed Life presents rather greater difficulties. The text commences on f. 223r in mid-sentence and the problem here involves deciding how much of this ME prose tract Thornton originally copied. Mixed Life was edited by Horstmann in 1895 and he knew of eight MS copies and three early prints.[10] However Dr. A.I. Doyle has since identified another nine MS copies. In his thesis (p. 195ff.) he describes how an early version, and an authentic alternative version of Mixed Life (with a revised introduction, conclusion and some additional material) both circulated in the later middle ages. In addition portions of Mixed Life also survive elsewhere as either extracts or fragments. These obviously merit much closer

examination than they have hitherto received, and Hilton's text badly needs editing. Moreover the fact that Mixed Life survives in a variety of different textual states means that we can hardly be certain that Thornton's copy was as complete as, for example, the text in the Vernon MS (Bodley MS Eng poet. A.1.) that Horstmann prints alongside the Thornton text in his Early Yorkshire Writers. Nevertheless both the Vernon text and Thornton's copy seem to have been derived from the same early version of Hilton's text which consisted of thirty chapter sections. Although the Thornton copy does not contain the chapter divisions which survive in other extant copies, his fragmentary text commences abruptly at a point corresponding to the opening lines of chapter six in the Vernon copy. Since both are derived from the same early version, it seems reasonable to use the Vernon text to tentatively calculate the number of lines that may be missing from the Thornton fragment.

Thornton generally managed to copy the equivalent of 36 - 38 lines of Horstmann's printed text on each surviving page in his MS (ff. 223r - 229r). If he had also originally copied the eight-line prologue and the text of the first five chapters as it survives in the Vernon copy, he would have needed to copy the equivalent of 115 lines of Horstmann's text. By my reckoning this would have occupied just about three pages, or 1½ leaves in the Lincoln MS.[11] Consequently the textual evidence in other surviving copies of both the fragmentary religious lyric on f. 222v, and Mixed Life which opens abruptly on f. 223r, would suggest that the textual lacuna here may be greater than Owen suspected. There are of course various possibilities, and whole items may even be missing from the MS at this point. However if, for the moment, we assume the minimum loss suggested by the available textual evidence, then it is more likely that two leaves, and not one,

are missing following f. 222.

The <u>lacuna</u> at the other end of gathering N, following f. 236v,
is probably also very extensive. In his discussion Owen assumes the
loss of three leaves from the end of N, one of which he suggests was
conjoint with a missing leaf following f. 222, and the other two
with ff. 223 and 224 which are now singletons. To these hypothesized
losses we might now add one other missing leaf, originally conjoint
with a second missing leaf before f. 223, making a total of at least
four lost leaves from Thornton's original gathering N. In addition
however a range of other, mainly textual evidence, suggests that
the <u>lacuna</u> following f. 236 is likely to have been even greater than
this very tentative preliminary estimate.

Thornton's copy of an anonymous ME prose treatise on prayer
ends as a frament on f. 236v, but, fortunately, three other copies
of the tract survive (in Liverpool University MS Rylands F. 4. 10, Bodley
MS e. mus. 35, and British Library MS Royal 18. A. x). Hortsmann
printed the Thornton copy of the tract, and knew that it was a fragment,
but, because he did not know of any other more complete copy, he
simply assumed the loss of one or more leaves at this point in
Thornton's MS.[12] Furthermore the three other extant copies of the
tract have never been printed or discussed. Now however reference
to the undamaged text of this tract in MS Rylands F.4.10 (which is
a copy that seems textually similar to the Thornton fragment) suggests
that less than half of the original tract now survives in Thornton's
copy.

On average Thornton managed to copy the equivalent of 37 lines
of Horstmann's printed text onto each surviving page in his MS. As
a rough guide we can also say that the scribe of MS Rylands F. 4.10
regularly managed to copy an amount of text corresponding to 30 - 35

lines of Horstmann's text on each of his pages (ff. 42v - 51v).

The Thornton text breaks off at a point corresponding to the 22nd

line on f. 46r in the Rylands copy, and the Rylands scribe consistently

copied 37 lines of text on each page. By my calculations this means

that, if Thornton's copy of this tract was once as complete as the

Rylands text, then as many as five folios containing the remainder

of the tract may be missing following f.236.

An already complex situation is made even more complex because

the next surviving item in Thornton's collection is also fragmentary.

This is another ME prose tract on prayer which opens abruptly on

the first surviving signed leaf of gathering O (f. 237). The surviving

signatures in O suggest the collation O^{18}, and Owen rightly argues

that the first leaf of the quire (before f. 237) is now missing. Since

the surviving fragment on f. 237r begins at a point where the

narrative is dealing with the third thing it is necessary to know

about prayer, we are clearly justified in assuming that the opening

part of this discussion was once contained on at least one missing leaf

before f. 237 in O.

Reference to the text in the other extant copies of this material

suggests that, at some stage in its history, this second ME prose

tract on prayer in Thornton's collection was itself taken from its

usual context in a much larger ME prose compilation now known as Gratia Dei

(G.D.). Moreover, in Thornton's collection another substantial portion,

derived from this same compilation, immediately follows this first

extract on ff. 240r - 250v. Interestingly both these portions

seem to have been copied from the first part of Gratia Dei (G.D.),

but I discuss below the ways in which other passages from this

compilation also survive in various disarranged, excerpted or incomplete

forms in all their surviving MS copies. Nevertheless only two other

MSS now contain the same portion of G.D. which is preserved in

Thornton's copy.   These are British Library MS Arundel 507 (printed

by Horstmann along with the Thornton text, but this text seems to be

a radically abbreviated copy of the original compilation),

and Huntington Library MS HM 148 (a carelessly copied text that is

textually closer to the Thornton copy, and has been used by Mary Luke

Arntz as the base text for part of her unpublished edition of the

G.D. compilation).[13]

The text in both these copies suggests that the G.D. material

in Thornton's collection has certainly suffered some disarrangement.

Professor George Keiser has recently even suggested that Thornton

actually edited his own complete copy of the G.D. compilation so that

a prose extract dealing with prayer could appear side by side another,

independent tract on prayer which Thornton had already copied for his

own collection. While I have some reservations about Keiser's

account of Thornton's editorial interest in G.D., and discuss these

at length below, the disarrangement of G.D. material in Thornton's MS

is helpful insofar as it can suggest a minimum estimate of the textual

lacuna affecting Thornton's fragmentary and incomplete copy.   Thus,

as the material from G.D. now stands in Thornton's copy, it is obvious

that Thornton copied all the G.D. material up to the point where the

compilation deals with the six things to know about prayer. This fills

ff. 240r - 250v. The fragmentary G.D. passage on ff. 237r - 240r (which is

the first surviving extract in Thornton's collection) then begins with

the third thing about prayer.

The radically condensed text in MS Arundel 507 (published by

Horstmann) is plainly an unsatisfactory guide to the amount of text

which is probably missing from Thornton's account of the first three

things on prayer. However the text of MS HM 148 in Arntz's reconstructed

edition of G.D. is more helpful. Where possible Arntz used the

Thornton copy as her base text. When that ended, or was fragmentary,

she turned to MS HM 148. Reference to her edition suggests that

Thornton was copying on average the equivalent of about 40 - 45 lines

of her edited text. However occasionally he could copy the equivalent

of as much as 67 lines (on.f. 246v), or as little as 36 lines (on f.238v)

of Arntz's text.[14] This means that, while Thornton's copy seems to

lack the equivalent of about 100 lines of the text Arntz takes from

MS HM 148, this could conceivably have filled either one crowded folio,

or almost two folios in Thornton's original copy. In addition, given

the freedom with which scribes seem to have treated this particular

ME compilation, Thornton exemplar could easily have contained a considerably

greater amount of G.D. material than the 100 lines we have so far

assumed are missing.

For the moment however we can safely argue that Thornton

would have needed at least one additional leaf before f. 237 in O on

which to copy the opening lines of his first surviving G.D. portion.

In addition at least five missing leaves were probably needed for the

missing material from the tract on prayer which ends on f. 236v in N.

At least two of these leaves were probably conjoint with ff. 223 and

224 at the beginning of the quire. However the question of whether

f. 222 ever formed the first outer leaf of N remains open to some doubt.

Even if f. 222 did once belong to quire N, I discuss below the possibility

that not only this leaf, but also N itself, has been subject to some

serious disarrangement. Inevitably a considerable element of uncertainty

must still remain. Nevertheless quire N does seem to have been larger

than Owen allows. I tentatively suggest the following collation:

N ?222 (wants i ?, ii - iii, xviii - xxii).

Throughout our discussion of the original physical make-up

of the Lincoln MS there has never been any reason to seriously doubt

the accuracy of the medieval numeration that survives in Thornton's

book. However the difficulties Owen experienced when he examined

quire Q, and the conclusions he drew here, certainly merit further

consideration.   Here Owen's proposed collation calls into doubt the

accuracy of a second early system of numeration in this gathering.

When Owen examined the MS he found that Q consisted of thirty

five leaves (ff. 280 - 314), and that ff. 297 - 298 formed the

central bifolium of this large gathering which contains Thornton's copy

of the Liber de Diversis Medicinis.   F. 280 was seen to be a singleton

leaf, but, since the Liber ends abruptly on f. 314v, Owen's collation

properly indicates that f. 280 was probably once conjoint with a leaf,

now missing, following f. 314.   The remaining leaves consist of seventeen

bifolia, making Q the largest quire in Thornton's book. Quite

understandably then Owen was reluctant to suggest an even larger quire.

However the second half of Q has the remnants of an early foliation in which

f. 309r (i.e. the thirtieth surviving leaf in Q) is numbered "xxxij,"

and where f. 314r (i.e. the thirty fifth surviving leaf) is numbered

"xxxvij."   Roman numerals also survive on ff. 310r, 311r, 312r

and 313r, but here the remaining numerals are too indistinct to decipher

fully.   Nevertheless this sequence of numbers plainly suggests that,

at some point prior to f. 309, a further two leaves may be missing

from Q.   Since Owen would have found any other singletons in the

quire, we can also assume that, if the Roman numeration is correct,

these missing leaves are most likely to have originally formed a

single bifolium.

In his discussion Owen minimizes the importance of the Roman

numeration as reliable physical evidence.   He argues, albeit tentatively,

that this early foliation is probably erroneous, particularly since

the _Liber_ commences seemingly intact on f. 280r, and the preceding

item ends with space to spare on f. 279v.   Primarily because there

seems to be no textual _lacuna_ at the beginning of Q, Owen's collation

diagram reads $Q^{?36}$. His description of Q in the "Collation and Handwriting"

section of the ςcbular facsimile mirrors this seeming discrepancy

between the physical and textual evidence in the Lincoln MS.   It

reads, Q^{36} or ^{40} (? wants i - ii, xxxviii - xl).

Fortunately closer examination of the text in Q helps to

re-establish our confidence in the Roman numeration. In the MS a

prescription to get rid of worms ends with half a line to spare on f. 295v.

The recipe which follows commences abruptly in mid-sentence.[15] We

can assume then that one leaf may be missing from Q between ff. 295 -

296. Moreover, since we suspect that a complete bifolium may be missing

from Q, the conjugate of this missing leaf should also be missing (i.e.

the leaf that originally followed f. 299).   There is no immediately

obvious textual loss here, but careful examination of ff. 299v and

300r, in the light of the presentation of the _Liber_ in Thornton's copy,

certainly suggests a probable _lacuna_ after f. 299v.

In general the individual prescriptions in the _Liber_ have

been classified and presented according to the ailments with which they

deal, and according to the part of the body affected. The reader's

search for a suitable remedy is aided both by the general headings

in the text, and also by the running titles that are sometimes added

in the head margins of this medical compilation.   Once the cures for

a particular ailment have been identified, marginal notations clearly

distinguish individual prescriptions. The prescriptions on f. 299v

concern nose bleeds. However the first prescription on f. 300r has

nothing to do with nose bleeds.   Instead it offers a cure for boils.

It is followed by similar prescriptions, all suggesting cures for

swellings, boils and the like in the arms, legs and feet. Without

warning, and quite uncharacteristically, there is an abrupt shift from

one set of closely related prescriptions on f. 299v, to another group

of different ones on f. 300r. We must suspect that our original

impressions are correct and that a missing leaf following f. 299v

probably contained the necessary marginal notations which would have

indicated this transition. The collation for Q should therefore now

read Q^{38} (wants xvii, xxii, and xxxviii).

The existence in Q of two distinct systems of early

numeration is something that has previously gone unnoticed. However

on ff. 295r and 296r (i.e. in the first half of Q) the remains of two

quire and leaf signatures are still visible. Unfortunately on

both occasions only the letter q remains legible. Nevertheless these

fragments are sufficient indication that, in Q, as in the rest of the

Lincoln MS, the signatures could only have been added when gatherings

A - Q were assembled in their present order. The same general

statement cannot be made about the remaining fragments of the Roman

numeration in the second half of Q. These fragments, unique to Q,

appear to reflect an early attempt to foliate Thornton's copy of the

Liber independently of the other items in the Lincoln MS. Moreover,

seen in combination with other minor details, the existence of these

unique fragments in Q seem an excellent preliminary indication

that some of Thornton's gatherings (and of course some of the items

contained in them) may well have had a far more varied and uncertain

history than their present context in Thornton's collection might

suggest.

The most immediately obvious distinguishing feature here is

the extraordinary size of Q. This gathering is the largest single

identifiable gathering in either of Thornton's MSS, and, to some

extent at least, its size appears to be related to the length of the medical item it contains.[16] By contrast however whenever Thornton had a lengthy item to copy elsewhere in his collection, he copied it into several similarly sized gatherings rather than into one large one. Thus we get the sense that, when Thornton copied the Liber, he was aware that his text formed a single and distinctive entity. Regardless of its larger context in the Lincoln MS, quire Q seems to have been "tailor-made" specifically for the purpose of containing a single medical compilation.

Additionally we should note that quire Q is the only quire in either of Thornton's MSS, and the Liber the only lengthy item, where no red ink has been used in either the decoration or the presentation of the text. Elsewhere in Thornton's MSS, in common with many other late medieval MSS, red ink often appears, but it appears intermittently among his items. Occasionally, and particularly in the prose items in the Lincoln MS, Thornton actually uses red ink to point out headings, or to draw attention to important details of punctuation.[17] Therefore it is perhaps surprising that Thornton's copy of the Liber has escaped this attention when there would have been certain obvious practical advantages for the medieval reader if Thornton had treated this medical compilation similarly to his other lengthy items.

There are at least two possible explanations for this curious omission. Firstly Thornton may not have considered that his medical text needed or merited the same kind of visual presentation which he provided for the other items in his collection. Secondly however, when Thornton originally copied the Liber, he may also have copied it at some remove from his other items. At this time he may not even have envisaged that the gathering containing his medical item would eventually be grafted onto his collection or that it would be the only unrubricated

gathering in that collection. This decision need only have been taken when all the gatherings in the Lincoln MS were eventually signed and assembled in their present order. Therefore, as its MS title suggests, Thornton's copy of the Liber in gathering Q may form a "book within a book" in his larger miscellany. This item certainly seems to have been copied separately, and may even for a time have been read apart from, the other items in Thornton's collection.

At this point in our necessarily lengthy discussion of the difficulties of establishing the original physical make-up of the Lincoln MS, we might also note other irregularities in Thornton's gatherings. For example it is particularly intriguing that the blank pages in what must once have been blank or partly-filled gatherings sometimes seem to have been susceptible to Thornton's changing personal needs. Thus, on at least three occasions in gatherings C, K, and P, Owen's examination of the unbound MS revealed losses which could not be detected from the available textual evidence. In C and K these losses involved the cancellation of the final, possibly blank, leaves in a quire. To these we might now add the missing final leaf in gathering M which was also probably blank. In addition, both C and K (and also possibly M) are the final gatherings of what appear to be self-contained MS units in Thornton's book (see below). We might perhaps assume therefore that these cancellations occurred when Thornton assembled these units into the final sequence in which they now appear in his collection.

In P, however, the situation is different. Unbinding revealed the presence of three stubs between ff. 261 - 262, but there is no textual loss. Therefore this physical lacuna seems to have been caused because the three leaves were removed from the gathering while only the first half of the gathering was filled with written material.

Subsequently Thornton seems to have added additional material into what was <u>already</u> a fragmentary gathering.[18]

Seemingly arbitrary cancellations of blank leaves are of course the most difficult to detect, but this is precisely the kind of activity we should expect to find in MSS which have been produced gradually and over a lengthy period of time. Generally speaking however we can hardly automatically assume that this scribal habit has anything to do with the "amateur" status of the scribe who copied the books in question. Elsewhere the cancellation of blank leaves at the end of self-contained MS units is quite common practice in medieval book production, and the very existence of these blanks may often be said to be a consequence of fascicular, rather than amateur, book compiling methods. Briefly this entailed the independent production of a series of "booklets" or fascicles which were later bound together into a single compilation.[19] In some medieval books we can even assume that the existence of blank leaves at the end of these self-contained MS units, or the addition of short "filler" items (so called because they fill up the remaining available space) is a tell-tale sign of this type of book production. Moreoever it is easy to speculate how, in an atmosphere of organized group book production, any blank leaves in a MS could have been removed for aesthetic reasons when the book was finally assembled prior to binding. These blanks could have been simply discarded as waste paper, or else used up at some stage in the binding process. Understandably, when we are dealing with any type of collaborative MS production, we do not have to assume that blank leaves removed from the end of gatherings were actually used for another purpose. However, when we are dealing, as in the case of the Lincoln MS, with a book that was the product of a single scribe and book compiler, then our expectations should perhaps be very different.

In the first place we should expect Thornton to have had a

practical use for the paper he removed, since not all the blanks in

his MS have been deliberately and systematically "cancelled."

In C for example, Thornton seems to have removed some blank leaves

at the end of his gathering, but not others. Additionally we have already

seen how, in gathering P, Thornton appears to have actually copied

his texts into a gathering which was already fragmentary. Again

we can assume that Thornton actually had a use for the paper he removed

so haphazardly from this gathering. The uncertain length of the various

lacunae in Thornton's MS might even suggest that this kind of activity

was a consistent scribal habit which we can not always detect. Despite

this uncertainty however, we can at least admit the possibility that

Thornton used the one supply of paper   for not only the copying of

literary texts, but also for any other more mundane written transactions

he may have had to make.

The remaining evidence tends to confirm that Thornton would

have had many opportunities to use paper for a variety of purposes.

Professor George Keiser's recent historical research has identified

Thornton's involvement in the growing late medieval bureaucracy, first

of all as an executor of Richard Pickeryng's will in 1441; secondly

as a witness to several property transations in 1436, 1443, 1449

and 1468, and thirdly, and most importantly, as one of six men commissioned

to levy and collect taxes for the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1453.[20]

Thornton's status as a fifteenth century civil servant and "man of property"

hardly made him an exceptional fifteenth century historical figure,

but it does indicate that his obvious ability to read and write was

not confined to his purely literary preoccupations. Thornton may not

have been as prolific a correspondent as some members of the contemporary

Paston family seem to have been, but letter writing (whether for day-to-

day business matters, or to maintain social contacts with his family and friends) is one of the many obvious scribal pursuits for which Thornton may have required a limited amount of paper. This may well have been derived from the same stocks of paper that he used for copying items for his collection. Indeed, once we recognize this possibility, we can certainly make an obvious, but nevertheless very important distinction between the uniform and systematic way in which a single batch of paper could be used up in organized medieval book production, and the numerous ways in which an individual book compiler like Thornton could have used his own, possibly limited, stock of paper.

Despite the many problems caused by Thornton's inconsistent use of paper, the composite nature of the Lincoln MS is quite apparent. Once the physical structure of Thornton's book is related to its contents, Thornton's collection of material in the MS can be broken down into three main sections. These are the Thornton "romances" which fill most of gatherings A - K; Thornton's miscellany of religious and devotional items, which survive mainly in gatherings L - P; and Thornton's medical material, which consists mainly of his copy of the <u>Liber</u> in gatherings Q - R.[?].

The tri-partite shape of the Lincoln MS is well known and has already evoked some critical comment about the manner in which Thornton probably gathered together or "shaped" the material he was copying. The most recent comments on Thornton's activities as a compiler have come from Professor George Keiser's examination of the range of extant testamentary evidence which reveals information about book ownership and readership in late medieval Yorkshire. Keiser's work here has confirmed that many religious items similar to those which Thornton copied in gatherings L - P (and some romance items as well) can be shown to have been in Yorkshire around the time when

Thornton was copying his texts.[21]   Despite the inevitable generalizations

imposed upon him by the nature of the available documentary evidence,

Keiser makes strong claims for what he sees as the very clear-sighted

manner in which Thornton compiled his collection.   Due mainly to the

present structured appearance of the Lincoln MS, he argues that, "when

Thornton began work for this book, he did so with a plan of

organization that indicated complete confidence in his ability to

acquire other materials, both narrative and devotional for his

volume" ("Life and Milien," p.179) .   Closer examination of the

physical and textual evidence in both of Thornton's books can, I

believe, permit us to retrieve an even more precise, if somewhat

incomplete, description of Thornton's practical, and often haphazard

compiling activities.

     We have already discussed some of the earlier stages in the

history of Thornton's gatherings before they were eventually assembled

and bound together to form the Lincoln MS.   When we now examine the

internal structure of the "romance" section of this MS, we can continue

this discussion by reconstructing at least some of the earlier production

stages through which Thornton's items had to pass before they settled

in their present MS context.   For example, the present opening item

in the Lincoln MS, but not necessarily the first item that Thornton

copied, is his copy of the ME prose 'Life of Alexander.   This acephalous

and fragmentary item now survives only in Thornton's copy, and Keiser

suggests that Thornton probably copied this romance biography of one

of the Nine Worthy as a companion piece for the alliterative Morte

Arthure.   This was after he had completed the Lincoln miscellany, and

as he was starting work on the smaller London miscellany.[22]

     From purely literary evidence this speculation certainly

sounds plausible.   Thornton may have been aware of the well known concept

of the Nine Worthy since the _Morte Arthure_ itself contains a vision

of the Nine (ll. 3206 - 455). Moreover, in the London Thornton MS,

Thornton's copy of the _Parlement of the Thre Ages_ also contains a

lengthy description of the Nine Worthy (ll. 300 - 583).[23] Indeed it

may even be significant that two other romance narratives, dealing

with episodes involving figures in the court of Charlemagne, another

Worthy, also survive in the London MS.[24] However the physical evidence

in Thornton's books provides us with important indications that we

must balance our impressions of what may be Thornton's general literary

interests here with an awareness of the practical exigencies which his

methods of book compiling imply. In particular the MS evidence in

C certainly qualifies quite seriously any initial impressions we might

have of a sophisticated and carefully discriminating literary

intelligence at work here.

When we discuss the probable relationship between Thornton's

copy of the prose _Alexander_ and the alliterative _Morte_, we should take

some account of the way in which Thornton used the intervening leaves

which separate the two romances in the MS. Thornton finished copying

the Alexander item on f. 49r in gathering C, and his Arthurian item begins

on f. 53r in D. Following f. 52 we have seen how ten of the intervening

leaves in C were removed before the modern foliation was added. Thornton

eventually added a catchword on f. 52. However, equally importantly,

Thornton also left other, originally blank leaves at the end of C.

Some of this blank space was eventually occupied by filler

items. These include pen trials and a birth record on f. 49v which

were possibly written by Thornton himself, and show someone trying out

their secretary script. Other pen trials follow on ff. 49v, 51r and

52r. The remaining fillers in C consist of a series of prognostications

on the amount of thunder in the months (ff. 50r - 50v), and a ME text

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entitled Lamentacia peccatoris (ff. 51v - 52r). In some MSS this latter item acts as a prologue to the Adulterous Falmouth Squire (Index 172), but in at least one other medieval MS collection, another copy of Lamentacio peccatoris also seems to have been copied as a short filler.[25] Moreover a further complicating factor here is that the filler material on ff. 50r - 52r in the Lincoln MS seems to have been copied in a sixteenth century hand.[26]

Inevitably we have to draw certain conclusions from the present state of quire C. Firstly, although Thornton's Alexander item may have been physically appended to an existing collection of romances, it is clear that the final juxtaposition of two romances dealing with two of the Nine Worthy was achieved indirectly and in a most rudimentary way. At some stage Thornton himself even seems to have added pen trials on one of the blank leaves that originally remained at the end of his "Alexander" unit (gatherings A - C). Furthermore, if Thornton had really wanted to complete the juxtaposition himself, then surely he would have removed all, and not just some, of the blank leaves which remained in C immediately after he had copied the prose Alexander? F.49v could then have carried the catchword as the last leaf in C. This folio, and not f.52v, might then have been filled with the roughly drawn sketches of knights in armour that presently adorn the last surviving leaf in C.[27] Instead the blank leaves at the end of C seem to have been removed as Thornton's gatherings lay unbound, and perhaps before they were finally assembled in their present order. Thornton probably cancelled the blank leaves in his partly-filled gathering as he required them for some other purpose. At a later date he added the catchword, and, by this time he had probably also experimented with his secretary script on f. 49v. At a much later date the blank leaves remaining in C were partly filled up with little

regard to the fact that the very existence of these leaves, and the

filler items on them, interrupts what the modern reader might otherwise

suspect is a deliberately created thematic grouping. So, although

we cannot, for the moment, retrieve the exact chronology in which

Thornton copied his Alexander item and the remainder of his "romance"

unit, we have in gathering C a good indication of the haphazard way

in which some items were eventually added to Thornton's existing

collection.

Gatherings D - P form the central core of the Lincoln MS.

The two main units in this core are headed by the alliterative Morte

Arthure and the Privety of the Passion.   In his important and well

known article, "The textual transmission of the alliterative Morte

Arthure," Professor Angus McIntosh has concluded that both these texts

form a linguistically distinct grouping in the Lincoln MS.[28]

By making a distinction between some of the dialect layers in these

items, McIntosh argues that Thornton's source for both texts was

probably the work of a single scribe. Consequently if, as seems

likely, Thornton copied these texts at the same time, he would appear

to have copied the Morte in gatherings D, E, and F, and then he must have

turned to a new quire (L) in order to copy the Privety.   If these were

indeed the first texts which Thornton copied for his collection, then

this would suggest that Thornton did begin work with a "plan of

organization," or at least with a sense of the eventual tri-partite

shape of his completed miscellany.   However an even closer examination

of the MS evidence can qualify quite seriously our use of a term like

"plan of organization."

Thornton's practice in gatherings D, E, F and then L merely

suggests that, at the time when the one exemplar was available to

him, he copied the alliterative Morte in one set of gatherings and the

Previty into another, independent gathering. Thus, when he completed

his copy of the alliterative item, ff, 99r - 102v in F originally remained

blank. If we bear in mind the existence of Thornton's "Alexander"

unit, then this "Arthurian" unit is the second occasion where we have

noticed that Thornton tended to copy some of his lengthy texts onto

originally independent sets of gatherings. Possibly this tendency might

even be associated with Thornton's evident interest in romance narratives

dealing with the Nine Worthy; however, at the moment, we can only

assume that Thornton's reason for copying the shorter Privety text

onto the opening leaves of a new gathering was because at this point

he was uncertain how he was eventually going to arrange his material.

Moreover he obviously did not want to lose the opportunity of obtaining

a copy of this important devotional item while the exemplar he was

using was still available. Presumably this was at a fairly early

stage in Thornton's book compiling activities since, by copying the

Privety onto another independent gathering, Thornton had the advantage

of not actually committing himself to any specific plan of organization.

The order in which he would eventually have to group these texts

remained optional for as long as he continued to copy other items

into other independent gatherings.

So we can now identify two smaller MS units within Thornton's

collection of romances: an "Alexander" unit where the final leaves

in the final gathering (C) were originally blank; and an "Arthurian"

unit where the final leaves in the final gathering (F) were also

originally blank. Nevertheless, if we take the existence of these

units as an indication that Thornton once toyed with the idea of

copying a premeditated sequence of romance biographies on the Nine

Worthy theme, then that scheme (if it ever existed) was obviously

thwarted by the way in which Thornton received his other exemplars.

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We might expect, for example, that Thornton's Charlemagne items would have eventually accompanied Thornton's Arthurian and Alexander items when his collection was finally assembled. But this presupposes that Thornton retained total editorial control over his items by always copying them into these self-contained MS units. This does not seem to have been the case. Instead Thornton's Charlemagne texts ended up in the London MS and, at some stage in his compiling activities, the blank leaves following the alliterative _Morte_ in gathering F were filled with Thornton's copy of _Octavian_.

It is certainly of some consolation to the modern reader that the _incipit_ for _Octavian_ indicates that Thornton was probably generally aware that he was grouping romance narratives together in this part of his collection. This _incipit_ reads, "Here Bygynnes the Romance off Octovyane." Equally however we can hardly argue for any more sophisticated literary motive behind the present juxtaposition of material in gathering F. This gathering, and Thornton's first "Arthurian" unit (gatherings D - F), may simply have contained the most appropriate or convenient available blank space when Thornton obtained his _Octavian_ exemplar and commenced copying it. By that stage he may even have made a conscious decision to stop copying items into independent units, and to start filling up some of the spaces which still remained in the piles of gatherings which had already accumulated around him. The important point here, however, is that there was probably a time lapse of some kind between the time when Thornton copied the alliterative _Morte_, and the time when he returned to F and added the first lines of _Octavian_.

That time lapse is perhaps indicated by the sudden change in the way in which each of the items in F is presented. On f. 98v the nineteen remaining lines of the _Morte_ are copied in single columns

onto a writing space which had been carefully ruled for a text to

be copied in single columns. However, when Thornton came to copy the

shorter lines of Octavian, he took the trouble to adjust the ruling

on his page so as to allow this new text to be copied in double

columns. He did this in the simplest and most practical manner

possible. The writing frames on all the remaining blank leaves in F

(ff. 98v - 102v) originally seem to have been ruled for a text to be

copied in single columns. This was presumably before the sheets which

make up the gathering were folded to form bifolia. However, when

Thornton commenced copying Octavian in double columns, he merely drew

an additional pair of parallel lines down the centre of his existing

ruled writing space. This transformed the limited remaining blank

space on ff. 98v - 102v into pages that were ruled for a text to be

added in double columns. The practical result of this is that the

newly created double columns on these folios are slightly too narrow

to comfortably accommodate the opening lines of Thornton's copy

of Octavian. However, when Thornton came to rule his unfolded sheets

in gathering G (ff. 103 - 122), he was careful to adjust his frame

rulings so that the double columns were wide enough to comfortably

accommodate not only Octavian, but also the items which now follow

this text in gathering G.

Thornton's presentation of Octavian, and most of the remaining

items in his "romance" unit using this double column format is hardly

unusual. Indeed in most cases we can assume that this practical,

and economical, method of layout was something that he inherited from

his exemplars. Octavian is completed on f. 109r, using less than

half of gathering G. It is followed by Sir Ysumbras (ff. 109r - 114v),

and the Erl of Toulous (ff. 114v - 122v). Like Octavian the incipits

for these items provide some justification for assuming that Thornton

himself understood the appropriateness of grouping these tail-rhyme

texts together as "romances."   However we can hardly be certain

that this terminology was Thornton's own. We must suspect that it may

also be something which he found in an earlier romance exemplar.[29]

Intriguingly, in the only other extant copy of the Northern

version of Octavian (in Cambridge Univeristy Library MS Ff. 2. 38),

the romance survives in the company of the Erl of Toulous, which

is followed directly in the MS by Sir Eglamour, another copy of which

survives later in Thornton's collection.   A Southern version of

Octavian (which is possibly a product of a later stage in the

transmission of this story in the vernacular) also now survives uniquely

in British Library MS Cotton Caligula A. 2.   Here it is set in a

MS collection which, like Thornton's MSS, contains copies of Sir

Eglamour, The Siege of Jerusalem, and Sir Ysumbras. Copies of Sir

Ysumbras and the Erl of Toulous also survive in the late-fifteenth

century MS collection compiled by a scribe who names himself as Rate

(Bodley MS Ashmole 61).

Presumably these particular texts, and perhaps other similar

items, were available to a variety of scribes, possibly in combination

with other, less obviously related material.   However our information

about the practical compiling methods used by the compilers who

originally gathered ME romances together remains far from complete.

Therefore we are hardly in a position to accurately estimate the real

nature of Thornton's compiling activities here.   Moreover the tendency

for texts like Octavian, Sir Ysumbras and the Erl of Toulous to be

found together suggests that Thornton may also have found these items

in a single source.   The items in this exemplar, and their presentation,

may well have encouraged Thornton to attempt to assemble what now

appears as a "romance" unit in his own collection.   The idea of a

"romance" unit then may have been the product of a later stage in

Thornton's compiling activities, when he had already copied a number

of items onto a series of unbound gatherings, and could afford to begin

thinking about how he should organize these together.

As modern readers of the Lincoln MS we have perhaps a greater

degree of difficulty in accounting for the inclusion of the next

item, the Vita Sancti Christofori, in this sequence of "Thornton

romances." Thornton's lengthy incipit for this text does not

specifically refer to this ME saint's life as a "romance," but instead

it emphasizes the rewards to be gained by reading this text in an

appropriately pious manner. The incipit reads:

> (Her)e bygynnes þᵉ lyffe of þᵉ of (sic)
> Story of (S)aynte christofre : to þᵉ heryng
> or þᵉ (red)yng of þᵉ whilke storye langes
> (gr)ete mede & it be done with deuocioun.

Nevertheless the text which then follows does deal with the secular

adventures of the saint as a ferryman. It is possible that, if other

romance narratives were few and far between, Thornton himself may

have considered the edifying life of St. Christopher as particularly

appropriate material for inclusion in his expanding sequence of romance

style narratives.[30] However, if this was the case, then he was

obviously not as interested in adding (or was not able to add) a saint's

life dealing with the adventures of St John the Evangelist to the

"romance" section of the Lincoln MS. His copy of a ME item entitled

Of Sayne Iohn þᵉ euangelist seems to be an equally attractive narrative,

yet it now survives on ff. 231r - 233v in the middle of the religious

items in gatherings L - P. Because of this obvious inconsistency

in Thornton's compiling methods, we must therefore face the possibility

that, when Thornton commenced copying the Vita Sancti Christofori

on the last few blank pages in gathering G, he may have been just as

interested in filling up the remaining space in his gathering as

appropriately as he could, as he was in exercising a degree of medieval "literary discrimination."

The _Vita Sancti Christofori_ is completed in gathering H, and is followed by two more orthodox ME romances, written in tail-rhyme stanzas. These are _Sir Degrevant_ and _Sir Eglamour_. Thus the items in the Lincoln MS from _Octavian_ to _Eglamour_ now form a continuous sequence of six items which have all been copied in double columns and appear quite "settled" in their present MS context. Here the purely physical evidence in Thornton's book provides us with no reliable indication of whether Thornton merely copied all these items from a single "romance" exemplar, or, as we might suspect, from a variety of different sources. Thornton's importance as a literary compiler may have been minimal, especially if we assume that clusters of romances occasionally circulated independently of other items, perhaps even in booklet form. Fortunately however the actual MS evidence in the remainder of Thornton's "romance" unit is much more helpful in indicating Thornton's personal role in the compilation of his texts.

To the modern reader at least the juxtaposition of the remaining items in gatherings I and K of Thornton's "romance" unit is puzzling. Thornton completed his copy of _Sir Eglamour_ in the opening five folios of I, and this text is followed by _De Miraculo Beate Marie_ (ff. 147r - 148r), _Lyarde_ (ff. 148r - 149r), and _Thomas of Erceldoune_ (ff. 149v - 153v). F. 153 is a fragment, but the last fifteen lines and _explicit_ of _Thomas of Erceldoune_ do survive in the second column of f. 153v. We can assume that the remainder of the column, that is two thirds of the second column, were left blank. However it is these items in I which also cause problems for the literary critic looking for evidence of a discriminating intelligence at work in Thornton's organization of his romance sequence. We are forced to question Thornton's motives when we realize that he has placed

a text telling about a miracle of the Virgin, a text ostensibly about

an old grey horse, and a text containing a series of political

prophecies in what we have up to now considered a "romance" unit.

Of course one of the most obvious reasons for this peculiar

combination of material may have been that there is no other context

in the MS which would have been any more appropriate for these items.

Thomas of Erceldoune's prophecies in particular seem to share, and

perhaps even to borrow directly from the vocabulary, themes and

preoccupations of other ME romances.[31] We certainly have to stretch

the literary evidence even further if we are to make a case for De

Miraculo being another of these unorthodox "Thornton romances."

Nevertheless this particular Marian text does tell of the conversion

of a wicked knight, and it does tell this knightly tale in a similar

twelve-line stanza form to that used by some of Thornton's other romance

items. In this sense we can probably accommodate De Miraculo within

a marginally acceptable definition of a "Thornton romance."[32] It

is stretching our impressions of Thornton's literary sensibilities

a little too far however to present a similar justification for his

inclusion of Lyarde in this sequence.

Lyarde is quite simply the most obscene, and to the intelligent

and pious late medieval reader, must have seemed the most controversial item

that Thornton copied in his entire collection.[33] The poem delights

in wordplay and the latest editor of this ME text even suggests that

the title of the poem is a deliberate and ingeniously imperfect echo

of the word "Goliard." This satirical anti-fraternal poem contains no

romance features whatsoever, but instead castigates the friars for

their lechery. When dealing with Lyarde we are in fact a world

removed from the ME romance. Moreover it is hard to see any element

of deliberate device in the positioning of this item among Thornton's

romances.   We should ask ourselves where Thornton could have obtained

such material in the first place, and then, having presumably read

the text, why he proceeded to copy it for his collection.   We can in

fact begin to find answers to some of these questions by reference to

the MS evidence in the Lincoln MS.

In this context the presentation of Lyarde is very important.

It is our first major indication of the problems that Thornton had

to face when he imposed his double column format too rigorously on

the items he was copying. Whereas the layout of De Miraculo is little

different from that of the preceding item, Thornton had to crush the

opening, metrically longer lines of Lyarde into the remaining space on

f. 148r. The result is that every line of text badly overruns the

frame ruling that Thornton had originally drawn for this page. On

f. 148v the situation gets even worse. Thornton persisted in copying

Lyarde in double columns, even though this means that the long lines

of this text often merge on the page. Eventually, and much to the reader's

relief, Thornton abandoned the ruling which he had previously prepared

for f. 149r; he forgot any ideas he had about imposing a double column

format on this text; and he commenced copying the remainder of Lyarde

in single columns. The result is, as Thornton obviously intended,

a less scrappy and confused presentation of his text, but this also

means a break in the double column format of all Thornton's items since

Octavian. Therefore visually, as well as stylistically and thematically,

Lyarde does not fit very well into its present context in Thornton's

collection. Thornton's attempts to make it fit might even suggest

that he was changing the layout of Lyarde in his exemplar in order

to preserve a degree of consistency in the presentation of his "romances."

The fact that Thornton then abandoned this layout is of course also an

indication that, when this type of consistency was impractical,

Thornton was always ready to change his mind at short notice. It was however probably with a sense of relief that Thornton found that the item following Lyarde, Thomas of Erceldoune, was much more readily adaptable to its new context in his collection.

The changes in the presentation of the remaining romance items in the Lincoln MS suggest that they too have certain important distinguishing features. The Awentyrs of Arthure (ff. 154r - 161r), written in a complex thirteen-line stanza form, is the first item in Thornton's romance sequence since the alliterative Morte which Thornton has copied using a single column format.[34] The incipit for this item gives us no indication that Thornton knew he was copying another item in an existing sequence of "romances" at this point. It simply reads, "Here Bygynnes The Awentyrs off Arthure At the Terne Wathelyn." Interestingly however the simple explicit on f. 161r shows signs of having been expanded at a later date. Originally Thornton simply wrote, Explicit   Explicit in the same black ink as the main text. But at a later date someone (probably Thornton himself) returned to this folio and used a different ink to add the word Liber to each explicit, so that the formal ending of the Awentyrs now reads, Explicit Liber Explicit Liber.

It is of course not impossible that the word Liber here simply refers to the Awentyrs itself. Nevertheless Thornton does not use this term to describe any of his other romance items, and the Awentyrs is, after all, only one of a series of short texts in Thornton's completed "romance" unit. Consequently it seems likely that Thornton probably intended the term Liber to refer more generally to the "book" of romances which he had gradually compiled in these opening gatherings in the Lincoln MS. At one stage this book of romances may well have ended with the Awentyrs.

The _Awentyrs_ is now followed immediately on f. 161r by a

final romance item in the Thornton sequence. Thornton's _incipit_ reads,

"Here Bygynnes The Romance off _Sir Perecyuell_ (sic) of Gales," so, when

Thornton described this item as a romance, he was also probably aware

that he was expanding his existing book of romances to include yet

another tail-rhyme item about one of Arthur's Knights. However

Thornton need not necessarily have known that he was going to add

Sir Perceval to his collection when he completed the _explicit_ for the

previous item, especially if we assume that Thornton had copied the

Awentyrs at a much earlier stage and from an entirely different

exemplar. This assumption (which seems vital to an understanding of

Thornton's compiling activities in this section of his collection)

is certainly encouraged by other scraps of evidence in Thornton's MS.

Despite some slight changes of detail, Thornton used a generally

similar double column format for _Sir Perceval_ as he used for copying

all the other tail-rhyme romances in his collection. However the

resultant change of format from single to double columns on f. 161r

is also quite striking. The _Awentyrs_ is, in a sense, both visually and

stylistically isolated from the surrounding items in Thornton's MS.

Admittedly this visual isolation is, by itself, an insignificant

detail. Again Thornton probably inherited the single column format

for this text from his exemplar. Nevertheless the present appearance

of f. 161r assumes some greater importance when we remember that the

only other occasion where we have noted a similar change of layout

occurring in Thornton's romance collection was on f. 98v. There, of

course the change marked the end of the alliterative _Morte_, and

the beginning of _Octavian_. So we should bear in mind that the

juxtaposition of such stylistically different romances as the _Awentyrs_

and _Sir Perceval_ may indeed reflect the change in Thornton's exemplar

which we suspect took place at this point.   Moreover, when we

look more closely at the items in gathering I as a whole, we are once

again made very aware of the probable time lapse between the point

when Thornton originally copied some of the items into his gatherings,

and the later date when he returned to these partly-filled gatherings

and added additional items in the remaining blank spaces.

    We have already noted that Thornton copied some of his material

onto originaly independent gatherings.   We might therefore expect, if

it were possible, that the Awentyrs might also have been copied onto

an originally independent gathering.   Like the "Alexander" unit, and

like the other "Arthurian" unit, this gathering may have only been

absorbed into Thornton's larger collection at a later date.   Using

this as a working hypothesis then we can actually reconstruct the

chronology in which Thornton appears to have copied the items in I

(see fig. 1).   In stage 1 Thornton copied his text of the Awentyrs

onto ff. 154r - 161r.   I suggest that these were originally the

opening nine folios of I and, if this was the case, it meant that

Thornton was left with just over half of the gathering remaining

blank.   The gathering stayed that way until eventually Thornton needed

extra paper on which to complete his copy of Sir Eglamour.   Presumably

faced with a shortage of paper, and with more than half of I remaining

blank, and the other half already containing a romance, Thornton simply

had to refold his paper (Stage 2) so that ff. 153-154 no longer formed

the outer bifolium of the gathering, but instead became the central

bifolium.   Thornton then copied the remainder of Sir Eglamour into I

(Stage 3) and, at an even later stage, used the limited space available

on ff. 147r - 153v to copy De Miraculo beate Marie, Lyarde, and finally

Thomas of Erceldoune.   Similarly at some time Thornton filled the

blanks on ff. 161r - 163v with the opening few folios of Sir Perceval

STAGE 1

STAGE 2
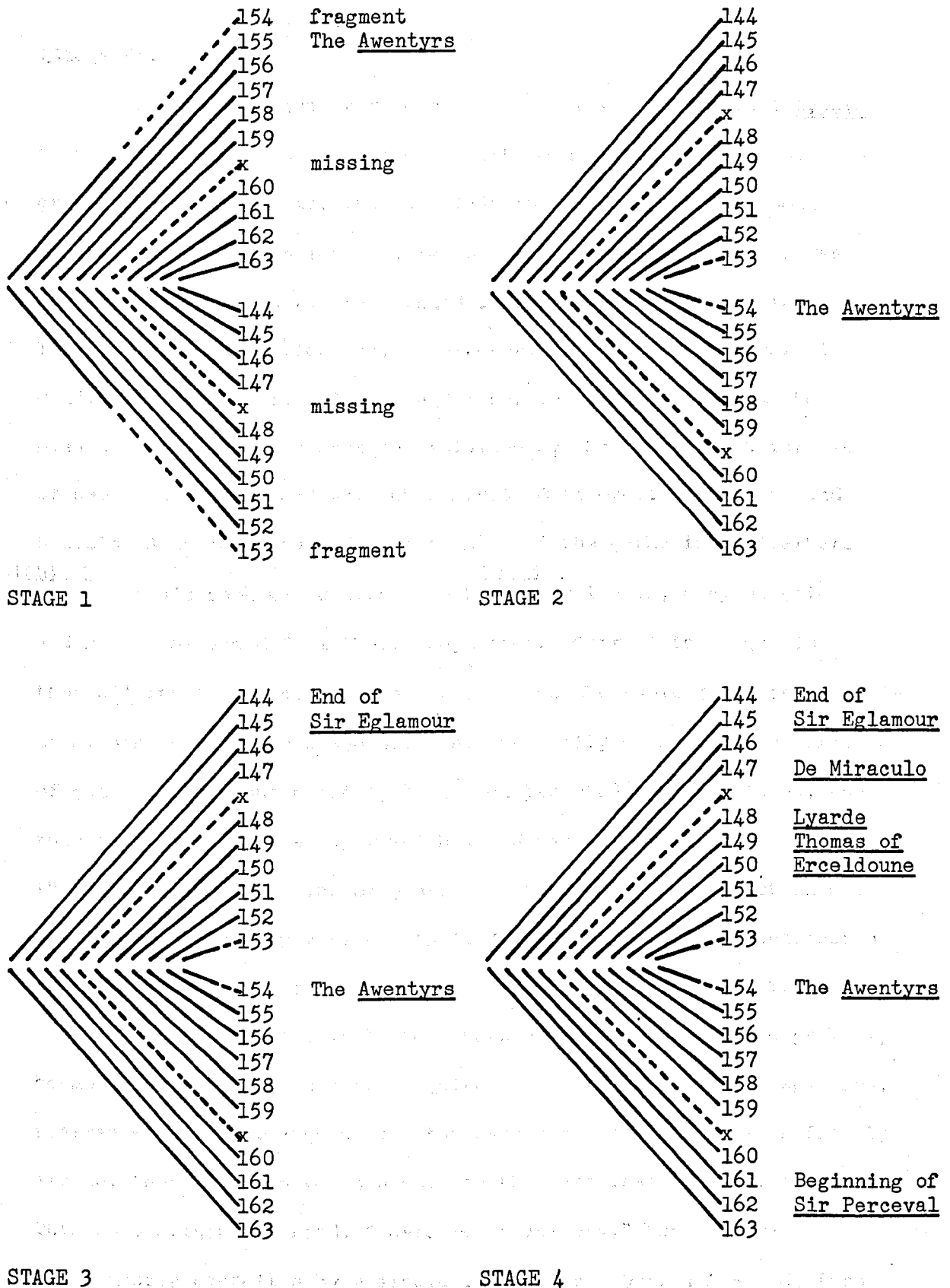
STAGE 3

STAGE 4

Fig. 1.   Thornton's compiling activities in gathering I.

(Stage 4).

Some supplementary MS evidence confirms the plausibility of this reconstruction of Thornton's unorthodox compiling methods. The grubby appearance of ff. 153v and 154r is certainly grubby enough to suggest that these leaves were for a time the worn outer leaves of a gathering which was rearranged as well as incorporated into Thornton's larger collection. Moreover, if the present physical condition of I is significant, and I belive that it is, then the present state of I can best be explained by Thornton's peculiar use of paper in that gathering. When A.E.B. Owen examined the unbound Lincoln MS he found that damage to most of the gatherings elsewhere in Thornton's book was confined to the outer leaves, many of which had become detached from their conjugates. Quire I is unique in that all its leaves had become detached and the whole quire is now made up of singletons (see Stage 4). This unusually complete deterioration of gathering I might possibly have been prompted by the folding, and then refolding, of the paper which would have had to take place for Thornton to rearrange the original gathering. Thornton's action may have weakened the paper along its folds, and perhaps this contributed to the present, particularly fragmentary state of gathering I.[35]

Regardless of this latter speculation however, it was probably because the order of Thornton's quires was subject to some adaptation, rearrangement and change before the gatherings themselves were finally signed, that Thornton added a note on the last leaf of I (f. 163v). This note originally read, " here is ix quayers," but this was subsequently cancelled by a single ink stroke. Quires A - I do form nine quires, so presumably I was for a time the last quire in Thornton's book of romances; the prose Alexander was the first romance, and the Awentyrs was the last. Ff. 161v - 163v were originally blank. It

was only then, when gatherings A - I had been assembled in their present order, that Thornton came back to his book of romances and added Sir Perceval as an additional item. Sir Perceval fills the remainder of I and most of K, so Thornton then had ten "romance quires." His earlier note on f. 163v was no longer valid, and he cancelled it. By this stage gathering K was the last gathering in Thornton's "romance" unit, and ff. 176v - 178v remained blank.

Thornton probably added Sir Perceval to the Lincoln MS at a late stage in his compiling activities, but it was probably at an even later stage that he then added the collection of short Latin and English devotional items which now survive at the end of gathering K. Moreover he seems to have added these items to his collection with no regard for the fact that the main items in gatherings A - K are "romances." Therefore, even at this late stage in the production of his book, we can still say that Thornton was obviously more interested in using up the remaining blank spaces in some of his gatherings, than he was in maintaining any clear distinction between "religious" and "romance" texts.

Thornton's presentation of the devotional filler items at the end of K was obviously also closely linked to the amount of space which remained in his gathering. The last lines of Sir Perceval fill most of the first column on f. 176r, and the first two filler items are then crowded into a second column on this page. However Thornton did not draw a central margin on f. 176r for this second column of text, and the result is a rather untidy and uneven presentation, where the lines of text in the second column tend to veer towards the centre of the page. Despite Thornton's occasional efforts to correct this tendency, it is hard to escape the impression that, at this stage in his scribal activities he was no longer all that

concerned with maintaining the double column writing format which he had earlier used for <u>Sir Perceval</u>.

On ff. 176v - 178v Thornton completely abandoned this double column writing format and commenced copying his short Latin and English items in single columns of continuous prose. Here Thornton may have been constrained by the limited amount of space available to him, but, nevertheless, he did make some considerable effort to present these items as clearly as he could. Moreover, although all of Thornton's texts on ff. 176r - 178v have obviously been crowded onto the page, he still attempted to distinguish between them by leaving brief one or two line blank spaces. On nine occasions he also added short <u>incipits</u> or headings in these spaces to identify individual items. In seven of these short texts he even took the trouble to reserve additional spaces so that coloured capitals might be added later. However here, unlike every other occasion in gatherings A - K, the intended coloured capitals have never been added.

Thornton's highly unusual failure to add these coloured capitals is probably related to the very late production stage at which the items themselves were added to quire K. Elsewhere in Thornton's MSS the only other place where coloured capitals have been planned for, but have never been added, is also in the Lincoln MS (on ff. 277v - 278r in quire P). Here, at the end of his "religious" unit, Thornton filled most of the limited remaining space in quire P with another cluster of short devotional items in Latin and English which he obviously also copied at a similarly late stage in the production of the Lincoln miscellany. This tends to confirm for us that, at one point in his book compiling activities, Thornton himself had grouped gatherings A - K and L - P into the order in which they now

appear.   At a later time he then returned to these assembled gatherings in order to add even more items wherever space remained available.

The cluster of items at the end of K opens with a series of five short texts which can all be classified as "prayer charms." Thornton himself described the first of these texts as "a charme for þ^e tethe werke," and, in the instructions which accompany the pair of closely related ME items on f. 176r, the reader is encouraged to, "say þe charme thris ... and ay thris at a charemynge."   The texts themselves are short prayers which, as well as requesting Divine aid, also remind the supplicant of the pains which Christ suffered. Presumably then it was by constant remembrance of Christ's agony that pious readers who are suffering from tooth-ache were meant to obtain some relief.

These two ME items are followed on f. 176v by a brief Latin prayer which Thornton again describes as a charm. This implores the help of two martyr-saints whose teeth were extracted for love of Christ.[36] In turn this is followed by another Latin prayer charm which Thornton's heading describes as, Epistola Sancti Saluatoris. Interestingly this item purports to be a letter from Pope Leo which promises the bearer protection from the dangers of sudden death by fire or water, or from other types of evil which he might encounter in his day to day activities. The Latin prayer which accompanies this brief explanation consists of a very simple repetitive formula based on the phrase Crux Christi. Presumably then, by the repeated invocation of Christ's name as this easily memorized prayer is recited, a properly penitent person might safeguard themselves from real or imagined dangers.[37]

The fifth prayer charm in this sequence has no heading, but the lengthy vernacular prologue which accompanies the Latin text

in Thornton's copy makes clear the efficacy to be obtained by repeating this prayer properly. If a pregnant woman recites the prayer over water before drinking it, then she shall be quickly and safely delivered of her child; if a priest sings a mass to Our Lady over this prayer, and the supplicant repeats the prayer itself, then he will find favour with kings or princes, travel safely over the seas, be safe in battle, and be free from the threat of poisoning and robbery. Finally Pope Innocent has granted 300 days pardon to all those who say this prayer devoutly.

Indulgenced prayer charms of this nature were obviously intended to be recited frequently, and undoubtedly many similar prayers were either quickly memorized, or else carried round on scraps of paper until they were read to pieces.[38] Interestingly however the Latin prayer which is the fifth prayer charm in the Thornton sequence actually presupposes that its readers will have some knowledge of (and will themselves recite) the psalms Deus in nomine tuo (Vulgate Psalm 53); Deus misereatur (Vulgate Psalm 66); De profundis (Vulgate Psalm 129); and Voce mea (Vulgate Psalm 141).[39] By the later middle ages, of course, we can assume that most devout readers would have known these particular psalms mainly because of their appearence in Latin and English Horae. Moreover there is an abundance of evidence to suggest that medieval prayer books were increasingly being owned and used for private devotional purposes by many devout laymen from the middle strata of society. It was presumably for this type of audience then that this particular prayer charm was originally intended, and it was possibly even in some privately owned prayer book source that Thornton found this prayer sequence and copied it for his collection.[40]

The remaining prayers in gathering K consist of a ME prayer

to the five joys and five sorrows of the Virgin, a Latin prayer which

the reader is instructed to repeat after he has again said Voce Mea

(Vulgate Psalm 141); five Latin prayers to the worship of Christ's five

wounds; the opening lines of a ME prayer asking for the seven gifts

of the Holy Ghost; a series of three short Latin prayers gathered under

the title, "A Colett to Owre Lady Saynt Marye;" a Latin prayer entitled,

Oracio in Modo Collecte pro amico; and a short prayer sequence entitled

Antiphona Sancti Leonardi cum collecta.   All of these prayers are

items which, by the fifteenth century, we might also reasonably expect

to find in lay hands. For example devotional texts dealing with the joys

and sorrows of the Virgin, or with the five wounds of Christ, were central

to the religious experience of most devout laymen. Although, strictly

speaking, these devotions never actually formed part of the main offices

which invariably appear in medieval Horae, we frequently find prayers

to the joys and sorrows of the Virgin, or to the wounds of Christ

inserted into many medieval prayer books.[41]

A careful search of the multitude of surviving Horae MSS

might well reveal that other copies of the occasional prayers and collects

which have now been gathered together at the end of gathering K, were

actually being used elsewhere for private devotional purposes.

However, even without this evidence, it is likely that someone like

Thornton, who by this late stage had already obtained a wide range of

written material from various other sources, would also have had access

to a privately owned prayer book. Indeed, in this context we might

even note that Thornton appears to have copied devotional material in

gathering K which might also be considered as accretions to the

unvarying offices in Latin and English Horae. Although we can hardly

stress this point, this may be an intriguing indication that Thornton

already owned a prayer book with its own collection of devotions, and

that, consequently, he could afford not to copy all the items in any

other prayer book exemplar to which he might gain access. For this

reason we are also encouraged to examine the prayers which Thornton

did eventually add to his collection for signs that, at this late

stage in his compiling activities, Thornton was showing a degree of

selectivity in the items which he chose to copy at the end of

gathering K.

The last item in gathering K is made up of prayers to St. Leonard

and to Eustache which, at some stage in their history, were probably

derived from a Church Breviary.[42] Of course individual prayers to

favourite saints are exactly the kind of personal devotions which we

frequently find in medieval Horae, and, by the fifteenth century, St.

Leonard was certainly well enough known throughout Northern England

for some pious readers to want to preserve prayers dedicated to him among

their other private devotions. Thus we do not necessarily have to

assume that Thornton himself derived these particular prayers directly

from a Church service book such as a Breviary.   He may instead have

found them in an intermediary source, possibly even side by side   . .

other prayers dedicated to various other saints. In addition however a

prayer to St. Leonard is exactly the kind of devotion to which we might

expect that Thornton would have been especially attracted. In the early years

of the fifteenth century the Thornton family tomb was established in

Stonegrave Church, a few miles from East Newton, and the tomb itself

is situated near an altar which, since at least the fourteenth century,

has been dedicated to St. Leonard.[43] For this reason it is attractive

to assume that St. Leonard was a particularly favourite saint of the

Thornton family and that a prayer to St. Leonard would have held   . .

some special interest for Thornton himself as he read through his exemplar.

Thornton copied his prayer to St. Leonard onto the very

limited amount of space still available on f. 178v. However the
only reason why it is now followed by a prayer to St. Eustache is perhaps
because sufficient space still remained on this rather crowded page for
Thornton to add just a few more lines of text to his collection.
Indeed the only reason why space remains for either Thornton's prayer to
St. Leonard or his prayer to St. Eustache is because, earlier on the
same page, Thornton seems to have abandoned the task of copying a prayer
item he describes as, Oracio in Inglys. This prayer asks Christ to
grant the reader the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, but, having
rehearsed the first gift of understanding, Thornton's copy then ends
abruptly.

In its original version the prayer probably did go on to
enumerate the other six gifts. If it was this fuller version which
was contained in Thornton's exemplar, then the most obvious motive
Thornton would have had for abandoning his copy of the prayer after only
a few lines was because, having started to copy this text, he realized
that there were other, more attractive items in the exemplar before
him. In addition, among the Rolle-related material in the first
gathering of his "religious" unit (gathering L), Thornton had probably
already copied a ME text which his heading now describes as, de septem
donis spirtus sancti. This text clearly enumerated the seven gifts of the
Holy Ghost for Thornton's readers. Moreover Thornton's copy of St.
Edmund's Mirror later in gathering L also provides Thornton's readers
with yet another detailed exposition of the same seven gifts. Later
in this chapter we shall see how this type of repetition or duplication
of devotional material did not seem to trouble Thornton as he copied
the items in gatherings L - N. However, if time or space was at a
premium at the later stage when he eventually added filler material
at the end of gathering K, then it is easy to see how he might have

been encouraged to abandon a prayer to the seven gifts and to pass on
to what seemed to be more suitable devotional material with which
he might fill the remaining space in his "romance" unit.

We have of course no guarantee that Thornton copied all the
filler items at the end of both his "romance" unit and his "religious"
unit from a single exemplar. However the short Latin devotional items
on ff. 277v - 279r in gathering P were also copied at a similarly late
stage in the production of Thornton's book, and they also seem to have
been derived from a prayer book source of some kind. Therefore, before
analysing in detail the complex of different levels of compiling
activities which undoubtedly lies behind the collection of items in
Thornton's "religious" unit, it seems appropriate first of all, to
examine the filler material with which Thornton completed the second
section of his tri-partite collection.

The sequence of Latin items on ff. 277v - 279r opens with two
closely related Marian prayer sequences. The first of these consists
of a hymn to the seven joys of the Virgin, followed by an antiphon,
and then by a prayer. These have all been gathered under the heading,
Ista oracio que sequitur est de vij gaudia beate Marie virginis per
sanctum Thoman et Martirem Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum edita. Another
version of the same sequence can also be found in the published Horae
Eboracenses, and it was doubtless in some such medieval prayer book
source that Thornton found this item, and also possibly his ascribed
heading. Moreover the next Latin item is another combination of a Marian
hymn, antiphon and prayer which Thornton describes as, "Anoþer salutacioun
till oure lady of hir five Ioyes." Both the hymn and the accompanying
prayer (but not the antiphon) can also be found in the Horae Eboracenses
where they are set side by side a version of the preceding Latin item
in Thornton's collection. Therefore, on this occasion at least, we can

assume that Thornton inherited this devotional sequence directly from his source.

Thornton's pair of closely related Marian items are immediately followed on f. 278r by a series of other short Latin prayers and responses which have been grouped under the headings, "Ane antyme to þe ffadir of heuen w^t a collett;" Anoþer :\Antym of þe passyoun of Criste Ihesu," and "A colecte of grete perdon vnto Crist Ihesu." Some of the prayers and responses which make up these items can also be identified in the Horae Eboracenses, so, here again, it seems most likely that Thornton inherited this obviously related batch of material from a similar sequence in his exemplar. However there also remain some intriguing indications that Thornton may have "edited" some of this material as he copied it.

A possible example of Thornton's editorial work in action appears to be the last line of his "collect of great pardon." This reads, Salve sancta facies nostri redemptoris cum tota oracione & versu & colecta & c. Thornton's wording here suggests that, for some reason, he may have chosen not to copy in full either the hymn beginning, Salve Sancta facies, or the prayers and responses which originally accompanied it in his source. Elsewhere this hymn is part of the office of the Vernicle or Holy Face.[44] Moreover reference to the collection of devotions in an early-fifteenth century York Psalter (Trinity College Cambridge MS O.3.10) suggests that Thornton originally found this hymn, and his truncated collect of great pardon, as part of a devotional sequence which also included the remaining Latin items in quire P.

The set of devotions on ff. 7r - 14r in Trinity College MS O.3.10 have all been printed as Appendix III in the Horae Eboracenses. They include the office of the Vernicle beginning, Salve sancta facies

(ff. 11v - 12r), followed by a hymn to the wounded Side of Christ

beginning, Salve plaga lateris (f. 12v), and finally by lines

enumerating the instruments or "arms" of Christ's Passion beginning,

Crucem coronam spineam (ff. 13r - 13v).[45]   All three items in this

sequence are accompanied by illustrations and descriptive rubrics

which promise protection for the reader who peruses them and repeats the

prayers devoutly.   Interestingly one of these rubrics is actually a

longer version of Thornton's rather garbled collect of great pardon.

In Trinity College MS O.3.10 this text accompanies the picture of St.

Veronica displaying the impression of the Holy Face. This is immediately

followed by a full text of Salve sancta facies. Moreover, although

Thornton only preserves the opening line of Salve Sancta facies in

the remaining space on f. 278r in P, the two devotions which follow on

ff. 278v - 279r in Thornton's collection also follow, but in the

reverse order, the more complete copy of the hymn in Trinity College

MS O.3.10.   In Thornton's collection however these items are not

accompanied by any form of illustration, and Thornton does not preserve

the rubrics which indicate that these items probably once formed part

of an indulgenced prayer sequence in his source.

Finally we might add that a version of the Latin prayer which

completes Thornton's sequence of Latin items on f. 279r survives in

Trinity College MS O.3.10 as part of the similar cluster of devotional

items in that MS. A copy of the same prayer also survives among the

prayers to be said before the crucifix in the published Horae Eboracenses.

This provides us with a useful reminder that, despite the present

rather drab appearance of all these devotional texts in gathering P,

they were presumably copied so that pious readers could actually recite

these prayers as part of their own private devotions. Indeed the

marginalia in the head margin of f. 278v reads, Thornton misereatur mei dei

miserere mei deus. This might even suggest that the task of copying

these items was also some kind of personal devotional exercise.

The present survival of devotional items at the end of

gatherings K and L is clearly another useful indication that the

manner in which Thornton gathered material for his collection was

sometimes quite haphazard, and always subject to revision and change.

Often it would seem that Thornton's compiling actions were much less

discriminating and more practically motivated than we might initially

suppose. Sometimes we might even suspect that the eventual "shape"

of his collection was itself determined partly by the manner in which

clusters of items were presented to Thornton in his sources, and partly

by the restricting conditions in which he worked. Nevertheless, if

we are to characterize gatherings A - K in the Lincoln MS as a

"romance" unit, then the term "religious" unit certainly seems the most

appropriate one with which to describe the varied collection of Latin

and English items which now survive on ff. 179r - 279v in gatherings

L - P.

The number and range of items in prose and verse in Thornton's

"religious" unit is presumably a good indication of the different types

of religious and devotional material to which Thornton had access at

the time when he was copying the material itself. However here, as

elsewhere in his MSS, any attempt to assess the extent of Thornton's

personal responsibility for the selection and arrangement of his

material is complicated by two further considerations. Firstly a complex

of different types of "editorial" or compiling activities had probably

already affected many of the items before Thornton obtained his copies.

Secondly, regardless of Thornton's own compiling interests and activities,

he was also probably limited by the restricted and uncertain availability

of appropriate material for his use. Therefore, although Thornton's
"religious" unit does consist of clusters of often clearly related
material assembled together in five large gatherings, there is
unfortunately only a very limited amount of evidence in the Lincoln
MS itself which might help us to identify Thornton's actions here as
scribe and book-producer.

This rather unsatisfactory state of affairs becomes even
less satisfactory when we examine the present physical state of the
Lincoln MS itself. Here the collation of gatherings M, N and O is based
on minimum estimates of extensive physical lacunae, but these estimates
do not rule out the possibility of even greater physical and textual
losses to Thornton's collection at certain key points. Nevertheless,
despite this uncertainty, the items in Thornton's "religious" unit can be
grouped, for the purposes of our discussion at least, into three smaller
textual units. These are the items in gatherings L - M; the items in
gathering N, and the items in gatherings O - P.

The items in gatherings L - M provide Thornton's readers with an
assortment of meditative and expository material in verse and prose.
The main items in these gatherings consist of a copy of the pseudo-
Bonaventuran Privety of the Passion (which Thornton's explicit ascribes
to Bonaventura); a sequence of twelve Rolle and Rolle-related short items
(most of which Thornton actually ascribes to Rolle); and a copy of a ME
translation of the Speculum Ecclesie by St.Edmund (which Thornton
ascribes to St Edmund). Other short items are scattered variously around
these main prose items. These include two short ME expositions ascribed
to Nassyngton and Gaytryge respectively; two short unascribed prose tracts
(one of which is Hilton's Of Angels' song, and the other of which is a tract
on the Pater Noster); and a number of short unascribed meditative lyrics
in Latin and English (some of which are often associated with Rolle's

mystical writings). This varied miscellany of material is then
followed by the items in gathering N. This gathering is fragmentary
at either end, but it contains a defective and unascribed copy of
Hilton's Mixed Life; an unascribed extract from Book one of Hilton's
Scale of Perfection; an unascribed verse biography of St John the Evangelist
in ME; and an unascribed ME prose treatise on prayer which ends
abruptly on the last surviving leaf in N. Finally the items in gatherings
O - P include two disarranged and unascribed passages from a lengthy
ME prose compilation now known as Gratia Dei (G.D.); an unascribed
ME prose text describing the nightmarish visions of Purgatory experienced
by a woman in 1422; unascribed copies of Vulgate Psalm 50 (Miserere mei
deus) and the Latin hymn Veni Creator; an ascribed copy of an abbreviated
Latin Psalter associated with St Jerome and accompanying Latin devotions;
an unascribed copy of the ME Abbey of the Holy Ghost; and a short
unascribed passage from the ME poem, the Prick of Conscience (P.C.).
Thornton then used the remaining space in P to copy the sequence of short
devotional filler items we discussed above, a copy of the ME poem
Erthe owte of erthe, and a single medical prescription.[46] These
were probably all added to Thornton's collection some time after all the
other items in gatherings A - Q had been assembled in their present
order.

        The sub-division of the main items in Thornton's "religious"
unit into these three smaller groupings is helpful insofar as it
simplifies the task of describing the items themselves, but, this
does not necessarily indicate that these groupings accurately reflect
three entirely separate stages in Thornton's gradual assembly of
material in gatherings L - P. Instead we need to identify and examine
various clusters of related items within these gatherings, and use a
variety of physical and textual evidence from other related MSS, before

we can begin to assess the likely extent of Thornton's own compiling activities and interests.

The items in gatherings L - M provide us with a convenient starting point for this necessarily lengthy discussion. These items are headed by the Privety of the Passion, and it is now generally accepted that Thornton obtained this prose text from the same Lincolnshire source as the one from which he obtained his copy of the alliterative Morte Arthure.[47] Earlier in this chapter we took this as a sign of Thornton's evident preference for copying some of his items into separate gatherings. This was at a stage in his book compiling activities when the items could be arranged as required, and when the eventual shape of his collection could remain open to some change as other items became available. Thus gathering L only really became the first quire in a "religious" unit when Thornton returned to his partly-filled gathering and added a number of other religious items in the remaining space in L, and in a second gathering, M.

Of course the frequency with which, elsewhere in his collection, Thornton seems to have returned to partly-filled gatherings to add extra material, means that the short items in gatherings L - M could have been added at a number of different later stages as suitable items eventually became available. However, despite the varied assortment of material in these gatherings, the actual number of exemplars which Thornton used here may well have been quite limited. In particular the bulk of the remaining space in L is now occupied by a cluster of twelve short items, ten of which Thornton ascribes to Rolle. Given the present stage of our knowledge about the availability and circulation of Rolle's writings in the later middle ages, it would appear most likely that Thornton simply copied this material from a sequence of Rolle and Rolle-related material which had already been gathered together for

him in one of his exemplars.

Thornton's collection of Rolle material is of course well
known to scholars, and his ascription of certain items in his collection
to Richard are generally held to have great authority by Hope Emily
Allen in her monumental study of the writings of the Yorkshire hermit.[48]
Undoubtedly part of her confidence in Thornton's ascriptions is based
on the historical evidence which suggests that Thornton, "was born and
spent his life near Rolle's birth place, and he belonged to the class
who supplied the hermit's patrons" (Allen, Writings, pp. 36 - 7).
However the undoubted truth of this statement may be misleading.
Reference to the textual reputation of the material which Thornton
ascribes to Rolle certainly suggests that we must qualify any suggestion
that Thornton was a Yorkshire book compiler who had some privileged
access to Rolle's authentic writings, with an awareness of the undoubted
complex of compiling activity which preceded the creation of the Thornton
"Rolle" sequence. Thus, when we re-examine Allen's own detailed
descriptions of the items of which copies now survive on ff. 192r - 196v
in the Lincoln MS, it becomes apparent that, at some earlier stage in
their transmission, these texts have been deliberately compiled together
from diverse sources in order to form a new, but probably not completely
authentic, Rolle sequence.

The later editorial work which Rolle's authentic writings
frequently had to endure is well illustrated by the first item which
Thornton ascribes to Rolle. This ME text is entitled, "Of the vertus
of the haly name of Ihu," and is sub-titled, Richardus herimita super
versiculo Oleum effusum nomen tuum in cantico & c. In her general discussion
(Writings,pp. 62ff.) Allen describes how Rolle's Oleum effusum nomen tuum
originally formed the fourth section of his Latin Comment on the Canticles,
and it is the narrative part of this same fourth section which is quoted

in the Office of St Richard Hermit as being from an autograph compilation
found after Richard's death. Elsewhere however, the Oleum effusum
passage (sometimes called Encomium Nominis Jesu in early English prints)
is also one of the most frequently excerpted passages from all Rolle's
writings. Therefore the appearance of a ME translation of this Rolle
text in Thornton's collection of Rolle items is itself hardly unusual.

        While the excerption of this fourth section from its original
context in the Canticles may have been the work of Rolle himself, the
real reason for the continuing popularity of Latin and English versions
would appear to be because the Latin Oleum effusum contains Rolle's most
eloquent expression of praise for the Holy Name. As Allen ably demonstrates
this is one of the hallmarks of Rolle's works and, at a time when the
cult of the Holy Name of Jesus was springing up all over Europe, it is
easy to see how many imitators and followers were encouraged to ransack
Rolle's writings for material worthy of duplication, translation and
imitation.   Consequently it is no surprise that at least three different
English versions of Rolle's Oleum effusum may have been in circulation in
the later fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. A text similar to
the Thornton copy survives in British Library MS Harley 1022, and part of
a similar version is also extant in British Library MS Stowe 38.
However a variant text (which Allen thinks may have been derived from a
different original) is extant in Trinity College Dublin MS 155. Finally,
in the Poor Caitiff (a ME compilation made up from a tissue of borrowings
from other ME items, some of which can also be traced back to other Rolle
works), the Oleum effusum passage survives in a different disguise.[49]
This time it is a variant translation which omits the opening lines
of the Latin original. Thus, although Rolle's authorship of the Canticles
can hardly be in serious doubt, we must agree with Allen that Rolle
was hardly responsible for what she calls the "abridged and awkward"

ME versions of the _Oleum effusum_ passage which have survived.

Seen in this light Thornton's ascription of his copy of one of these _Oleum effusum_ versions to Rolle seems simply an indication that this text was derived from an original Rolle text. It can hardly be taken as an accurate indication that the ME text was personally translated by Rolle himself. Thornton need not necessarily have known this of course, since his authenticating ascription was probably something which also appeared in some form in his exemplar.

The Thornton copy of the _Oleum effusum_ translation is immediately followed on f. 193v by another biographical Rolle passage. This is described rather incompletely in Thornton's copy as, "Narracio - A tale þat Richerde hermet... ." Another copy of this ME text is also extant in British Library MS Harley 1022 where (as in most other surviving Latin and English versions) it is conflated with the earlier _Oleum effusum_ passage. However in the _Office of Richard Hermit_ (lectio vii[a]) a Latin version of the same narrative also survives, this time independently of any other material from Rolle's _Canticles._ Consequently we might assume that the fourth section of Rolle's _Canticles_ was not only excerpted from Rolle's larger work, but was also sometimes subdivided so that it could circulate as two separable items. It was obviously also as two separate but closely related Rolle items that this material was originally added to the Thornton Rolle sequence.

The next item in Thornton's sequence is a short Latin prayer which Allen was hesitant to ascribe to Rolle, even though she suggested that it may prove to be an excerpt from one of Rolle's Latin works. However Allen's tentative speculation, and her reluctance to dismiss this "short and colourless prayer" from the Rolle canon (her description, _Writings_, p. 324) was mainly due to her acceptance of the authenticity of Thornton's ascription. This reads: "A prayere þat Richerd

hermet made þt es beried at hampulle."

Allen also noted that another, anonymous copy of this same Latin prayer occurs in Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 155. In this MS the prayer immediately precedes a copy of the _Speculum Peccatoris_, which in turn is followed by an unascribed copy of Rolle's _Emendatio_. Here this short and gloomy Latin prayer, written in a time of persecution, finds an appropriate resting place beside a Latin work which has been variously ascribed to a large number of patristic writers (including of course Rolle). However, elsewhere in her study, Allen concludes that: "(the _Speculum Peccatoris_) is a severely ascetic work entirely without mysticism, dwelling on the gloomy side of religion to the total exclusion of the joy ... The attachment of Rolle's name to the piece doubtless means no more than that it often occurs with his works." (_Writings_, p. 354). The same general statement holds true for the short Latin prayer which Thornton ascribes to Rolle. We would seem to have here another example of a "Rolle" item which was perhaps not written by Rolle, but which was associated with him because it tended to circulate with other authentic Rolle works.

The next item in gathering L is certainly not by Rolle either, but this time Thornton himself obviously realized this. His heading reads, _Ympnus quem composuit sanctus ambrosyus & est valde bonus_ and the Latin text which follows is a copy of the seventh or eighth century Ascension hymn, _Ihesu nostra redemptio._[50] Thornton's ascription may make this item seem like an intruder in a sequence of items otherwise ascribed to Rolle. However the text itself is a hymn of praise to Christ. Its inclusion in this sequence certainly associates Rolle's name, and his own particular brand of mysticism, with an eminently respectable text, and with the name of one of the safest patristic writers upon whom a text could be fathered. Although Thornton himself

might even have been responsible for inserting this seemingly

extraneous item in his Rolle sequence, there is nothing to indicate

this in his MS. It seems just as likely that this expansion had already

taken place in an earlier exemplar.

Interestingly the next three items would also appear to

demonstrate the activities of someone who was clearly anxious to

associate Rolle's work with material which at some earlier stage has

been derived from three very reputable Latin authorities. These are

named as the works of a "holy man Cesarius," "Arestotle," and

"Heraclides þe clerke" respectively, and on each of these three occasions,

the association of Rolle's name with these authors was probably inspired

by Rolle's genuine interest in these mens' writings. However, at

some later stage in their history, these three ME texts would also

appear to have been hand-picked by a later compiler as appropriate

exemplary material for a Rolle-related sequence.

The first of these three items is headed De in perfecta

contricione in Thornton's collection. This item consists of two short

ME prose narratives, the first of which is an exemplum of imperfect

contrition, and the second of which is an exemplum of true contrition.

In Thornton's copy the first narrative opens with a coloured capital

and the second is separated from the first by another, similar capital,

thereby indicating to Thornton's readers the bi-partite structure of this

particular item. Moreover this impression is reinforced by the

nature of the source from which this composite item was originally

derived. Thornton's copy claims that Richard found both these

exempla in the work of Cesarius, and Horstmann has correctly identified

this as a reference to the extremely lengthy Dialogus Miraculorum

compiled by the Cistercian Caesarius Heisterbac.[51] The Dialogus

is composed of well over 700 short chapters, sub-divided into twelve

distinctiones, and both these Rolle exemplary items have been derived from entirely different sections of this massive Latin compilation. At some stage in their history, therefore, these items have been translated into English and welded together to: form a single item dealing with two different types of contrition.

Interestingly a Latin version of the exemplum on imperfect contrition also survives in Rolle's Judica Me Deus (Judica B3) and this was presumably how Rolle's name came to be associated with Caesarius in the first place. However the Judica itself also seems to have been compiled from a tissue of borrowings. Allen (Writings, pp. 93 ff.) describes how Rolle's Latin compilation is made up of four tracts (Judica A, Judica B1, Judica B2 and Judica B3). Judica B3 is itself a composite text which opens with a sermon on the Last Judgement. Like other sections of the Judica this material has been taken practically verbatim from a section of an extremely popular manual for English parish clergy called the Pars Oculi. This borrowing certainly helps to make this early Rolle text authoritative since it retains many of the references to patristic writers found in the Pars. However this section of the Judica is then followed by three exempla (all dealing with God's Judgement) which are not derived from the Pars, but which are loosely appended to the sermon. It is the first of these exempla which is the Caesarius tale of imperfect contrition that also survives in an English version in the Thornton Rolle sequence.

Allen describes how Judica B3 was often excerpted from Rolle's larger work, or sometimes the surviving texts of the Judica omit some of the appended exempla, or expand this compilation by inserting additional exempla. Therefore, although the second Caesarius tale of true contrition does not survive in extant copies of the Judica,

Allen speculates that it may once have done so. Even if this cannot

be demonstrated conclusively, the narrative itself certainly seems

to have gained its reputation among followers of Rolle through being

associated with other material which was appended to an authentic

Rolle work. Indeed this assumption about the established reputation

of this short ME narrative would seem to explain why another copy

of the Caesarius tale of true contrition is found (this time anonymously)

on f. 45v in Bodley MS Ashmole 751. This MS collection opens with

a collection of extracts from Rolle's Latin works, including two

lengthy ascribed quotations from _Judica_ A, and it also contains a copy

of _Judica_ B3 on ff. 31v - 34r.

When we add together our present information about the material

from Caesarius which Thornton ascribes to Rolle, we should seem to

have here another Rolle item which has been in a sense, artificially

created. This has probably been done by extracting a portion of an

earlier Latin borrowing from its larger context in Rolle's _Judica_ .

This was then translated into English and conflated with an English

translation of another related Latin borrowing, which may also have been

derived from an expanded copy of the _Judica_. The resulting composite

item was labelled a Rolle text. Of course Rolle may have been personally

responsible for some or all of these various editorial activities,

but, given the evident desire throughout the middle ages to extract and

translate portions of items which were generally associated with the

Yorkshire hermit, this is by no means certain. Moreover Allen's

main reason for suspecting Richard's involvement in this compiling

activity ("Robert Thornton's authority is not lightly to be set aside

in the case of his ascriptions to Rolle" (_Writings_, p. 403)) now seems not

entirely convincing.

The next short item in the Thornton sequence is a ME version

of material which has been borrowed from Aristotle. The ME text

actually retains references to Aristotle which are repeated in the

marginalia on f. 194v in Thornton's copy; however the heading also

ascribes this particular item to Rolle. This reads, <u>Moralia Richardi</u>

<u>hermite de natura apis Vnde quasi apis argumentosa</u>, Allen describes

how another unascribed copy of this ME text is extant in Durham, Cosin

Library MS 5.1.12 among a collection of mainly Latin items which have

been compiled together from various sources. She also notes that a

short Latin version of the same didactic material is found in British

Library MS Harley 268. However there is no other Rolle material in

either of these MSS, and the relationship between the Latin and English

versions of this text remain unclear.

Although this particular Rolle-related item in Thornton's

collection may yet prove to be a ME translation of a Latin original,

the text itself certainly seems characteristic of Rolle's own

"aggressive reforming zeal" (Allen, <u>Writings</u>, p. 270). The ME writer

uses the material on the nature of the bee which he has borrowed at

first or second hand from Aristotle, to warn his readers of the false

security offered by those that, "may noghte flye to lufe and

contemplacyone of god, þay are so chargede wyth othyre affeccyons

and othire vanytes." In this respect of course we might also add

that this attack on idleness and complacency in the spiritual life

makes the text seem a particularly appropriate companion piece for

the exemplary material on perfect and imperfect contrition which now

precedes it in Thornton's collection. Doubtless this point was not

lost on the compiler who originally gathered together this Rolle-related

material.

The next short ME item also seems "tailor-made" for its present

context in the Thornton sequence. Thornton's heading for this item reads,

De Vita cuiusdam puelle incluse proptter amorem Christi, and the narrative

which follows deals with the life of a female recluse who, for ten

years, chose to exclude herself from human company because of her

desire to love Christ as perfectly as possible. The opening lines

indicate that this material was originally used by "heraclides þe

clerk," but the final lines add that "Richard herymyte reherces þis tale

in Ensampill." Moreover, although Thornton's is the only surviving copy,

Allen not implausibly suggests that, in an earlier version, this short

narrative was perhaps appended to Rolle's _Judica_ as an extra exemplary

tale. This would certainly account for the way in which Rolle's name

originally came to be associated with the text, but it can hardly offer

us any guarantee that Rolle himself need necessarily have been

responsible for the ME version in Thornton's collection.

The following two items in Thornton's collection are both

short extracts which have obviously been derived at some earlier stage

from much longer Latin works.   The first of these short Latin items is

simply headed _Richardus herymyta_ and opens, _Meliora sunt ubera tua_

vino.   Allen has described how a similar text occurs in the original

Latin which lies behind Rolle's _Comment on the Canticles_ (Cant. i.I).

As we noted above this particular Rolle item was a favourite among

later medieval compilers who frequently excerpted and reworked

Rolle's original.   Moreover it was obviously the association of Rolle's

name with the _Canticles_ themselves which explains the attraction of the

Meliora sunt ubera tua vino to the compiler who originally ascribed

this passage to Richard.

The second Latin extract shows exactly the same compiling

principle in action. Thornton's heading reads, _Item inferius idem_

Richardus and Allen has identified the accompanying text as part of

Rolle's _Liber de Amore Dei Contra Amatores Mundi_ (_Writings_, pp. 203

ff, 403). In this lengthy Latin work Rolle explicitly, and quite self-consciously, analyses the main elements of his mysticism.[52] Indeed it was presumably because the Contra Amatores Mundi contains so many characteristic expressions of his own mystical thought that portions of the original Latin text were frequently excerpted and adapted for use elsewhere by later medieval editors. Allen describes how extracts from this Rolle work were sometimes included in larger and artificially created compilations which circulated under Rolle's name. A similar compiling instinct would also appear to account for the present inclusion of a short extract from Rolle's text in the Thornton sequence.

The remaining texts which Thornton ascribes to Rolle can hardly be described as characteristic expressions of Rolle's mysticism, but they do seem to demonstrate Richard's interest in material which was intended for the direct instruction of his devout readers. The first of these three texts consists of a straightforward exposition of the Ten Commandments which Thornton's heading describes as, "A nota-bill Tretys off the ten comandementys Drawen by Richerde the hermyte off hampull." Allen suggests that this particular item may once have circulated with Rolle's English Psalter, but she admits that it is doubtful whether Rolle was personally responsible for this arrangement. Her reasons for saying this are because the only other surviving copy of this expository item has been appended to an early Northern copy of Rolle's English Psalter in Bodley MS Hatton I2, and Allen herself characterized this copy of the Psalter as one which has been "considerably expanded after a colourless fashion" (Writings, p. 277). However this information, coupled with her accurate description of the exposition of the Ten Commandments as a text which, "gives passing reference to the more conventional of Rolle's favourite sentiments,"

suggests that the question of Rolle's authorship of this ME text
is by no means settled.

Part of the attraction of the next item to the original compiler
of the Thornton Rolle sequence must surely have been that the text
could be read as an appropriate companion piece to the previous
expository item. Thornton's heading reads, Item idem de septem donis
spiritus sancti also of the gyftes of the haly gaste, and Allen notes
how reference? to the seven gifts occur elsewhere in Rolle's writings.
In particular (Writings, p. 274) she points to general similarities
between this text, Rolle's English Psalter, and his Commentary on the
Pater Noster. However here, as in the previous item, there is obviously
a clear lack of convincing textual evidence which might enable us to
make any real distinction between an authentic Rolle item, and a text
which, at some stage, has been fathered on him by a later imitator;
or enthusiastic follower.

Although the authenticity of this text can hardly be established
with any certainty, we can at least be sure that this particular item
in the Thornton sequence also attracted the attention of at least
two other medieval compilers. A copy of the Seven Gifts survives
as an interpolated eleventh chapter in the ascribed copy of Rolle's
Form of Living in Cambridge University Library MS D d. 5. 64. Further-
more, in British Library MS Arundel 507, a third copy, this time unascribed
and presented as a self-contained text, also survives between an
abridged portion of the ME prose compilation Gratia Dei (G.D.),
and an abridged and unascribed extract from chapter twelve of the Form.
MS Arundel 507 also contains other abridged extracts from the Form,
and the fact that the Seven Gifts is so obviously associated with this
particular Rolle text in two of its three surviving copies might even
suggest that the Thornton copy was also originally derived from an

expanded copy of Rolle's _Form_. However, even without this assumption,
it seems likely that, before Thornton copied it, the _Seven Gifts_ owed
its survival, and possibly even its reputation as a Rolle text, to
the various editorial interests and activities of later compilers of
Rolle related material.

The _Seven Gifts_ is followed by another short item in ME prose
which Thornton's heading describes as, _Item idem de dilectacione in
deo also of þ^e same delyte and ȝernyng of gode_. Allen admits that
the mystical expression in this text (_Desyre and Delyt_) is not so
explicit as usual, but, here again, she has found general points of
resemblance between this text and Rolle's _English Psalter_. _Desyre and
Delyt_ encourages its readers to lay aside earthly pleasure and to
take delight instead in a life of contemplation devoted to love of
God through Christ. Interestingly the reader is also exhorted to
look beyond this short prose scrap and to think on, "gastely thynges,
als in medytacyone and orysouns, and lukynge in holy bukes."
Therefore, although this short prose item may be a self-contained text,
it also fits quite naturally into the larger sequence of mystical and
expository writings which Thornton ascribes to Rolle.

The original compiler of the Thornton Rolle sequence was
not the only medieval compiler who was encouraged to include _Desyre and
Delyt_ in a collection of Rolle-related material.   A second variant
copy survives in Longleat MS 29 where it forms the fourth item in a
sequence of material generally ascribed to Rolle.   This sequence is
given the heading, _Tractatus Richardi heremite and margaretam de
Kyrkby Reclusam de Vita contemplativa_, and commences with a copy of
Rolle's _Form_, followed by his _Ego Dormio_, and _Commandment_, and then
Desyre and Delyt. This is followed by a second short prose scrap
(_Gastly gladnesse_) and a collection of lyrics under the title _Cantalene_

amoris dei. Moreover these items may be written in a non-Northern dialect in Longleat MS 29, but, like the items in the Thornton Rolle sequence, they were probably originally derived from material in an earlier source which had been assembled either during or shortly after Rolle's life time. Therefore, on the one hand, an item like _Desyre and Delyt_ may indeed have had an excellent and close Northern ancestory which would tend to support the theory of Rolle's authorship. But, on the other hand, the assembly of different sequences of Rolle material is something which was obviously encouraged as much by Rolle's followers and imitators as by Richard himself.

Once we have diminished Thornton's importance as the original compiler of his Rolle sequence, we are encouraged to look elsewhere, to an intermediary source through which items were filtered to Thornton as Rolle items. Of course we are also talking here of a whole range of earlier editorial activities which probably took place over a number of years, but which obviously included the imitation, translation, adaptation and rearrangement of Rolle's authentic writings as well as their recopying. In addition these various activities all suggest a degree of interest in Rolle's work that we might sometimes be tempted to associate with Richard himself, but which certainly presupposes the ready availability of a whole range of longer works from which extracts could be culled. Clearly then this is a far more sophisticated editorial attitude to Rolle texts than we can suppose that later readers like Thornton could afford to take to material which was, probably only available infrequently and for limited and uncertain periods of time. Moreover, in discussing the Thornton Rolle sequence, it is hard to overlook the important role which some scribes and compilers associated with various late medieval religious houses seem to have played in the preservation and circulation of mystical and expository

writings.

The limited nature of the evidence presently available concerning Thornton's life and social milieu hardly permits us to be any more precise than this. However Allen has already discussed some of the evidence which suggest the continuing clerical interest in Rolle's writings, and the availability of a range of Rolle's works (sometimes in multiple copies) in the libraries of certain late medieval religious houses. More recently her tentative conclusion about the probable extent of clerical involvement in the transmission of Rolle's works have been updated by the excellent and continuing work of a number of scholars.[53] Therefore it seems most appropriate to associate the types of compiling activities which originally contributed to the creation of the Thornton Rolle sequence with the actions of clerical compilers working in an environment where we can assume that other compilations and sequences of religious and devotional material were also being prepared. Eventually later readers like Thornton obtained copies of these prepared sequences which they copied for their private collections.

This tentative reconstruction of the activities of at least one earlier clerical compiler does not of course exclude the possibility that Thornton himself may also have exercised a limited degree of editorial discretion as he copied his Rolle material. For example Allen has already drawn attention to Thornton's infrequent use of the sign "&c" at the end of some of his Rolle items. This encourages her to assume that Thornton may sometimes have decided not to copy all the items which he found in his exemplar. Of course, since the source for Thornton's Rolle items has not survived, it is impossible to either prove or disprove this suggestion. However Thornton's use of a phrase which suggests that he was abbreviating his copy may often be little more than a meaningless scribal idiosyncrasy, or else a minor indication

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that he was ignoring quite lengthy colophons or _explicits_ which

appeared in his source at these points. Occasionally Thornton may

even have omitted some more substantial portion of his main text,

especially if he was particularly anxious to move on to the next

item in his exemplar while it remained available for his use.

However, even if this is the case, there is little evidence here to

support the theory that Thornton was being particularly discriminating

or selective as he copied this sequence of Rolle-related items for his

collection.

Another possibly more interesting (and certainly more colourful)

feature of Thornton's presentation of his Rolle material is that he has

used red ink to write most of his _incipits_ and headings, his longer

explicits, several Latin phrases in his vernacular items, and even some

of his marginalia. Of course this is an unimportant detail if we assume

that Thornton was faithfully copying the layout and visual presentation

of his source at this point. Moreover Thornton's Rolle exemplar

probably had to be near at hand when he added the rubricated Latin

phrases to the main text of some of these items. However, elsewhere in

his MSS, Thornton also seems to have returned to his gatherings at various

different later stages after his main text had been copied, in order

to complete the rubrication and decoration of some of his items.

Therefore it is probable that the rubrication of Thornton's Rolle sequence

took place shortly afterwards, but separately from, the main task

of copying these items from his exemplar.

If we make a distinction between the material which Thornton

copied in black ink and the additional details he added in red, then

the second hand nature of Thornton's Rolle ascriptions becomes even

more apparent. For example there are only three cases where references

to Rolle have been added in the same black ink as Thornton's main

text. All three of these ascriptions occur as integral parts of the main narrative and on these occasions, Thornton was merely reproducing references to Richard which he found in his source. However we can hardly be quite so sure that the references to Richard which appear in Thornton's rubricated headings also occured in exactly the same form in Thornton's source. When Thornton originally copied these items from his exemplar his inherited sequence may well have formed a very loosely structured and mainly anonymous collection to which Thornton returned to add his own headings and other decorative features. Some of this rubricated material was obviously carefully added in the spaces which Thornton had earlier reserved for it. Nevertheless we might also note that most of Thornton's headings have simply been inserted in the very brief one line spaces which originally distinguished one item from the next. It is certainly possible that the details in these rubricated headings (like the details in the marginalia which Thornton added in red ink on ff. 192v, 193r, 194v, and 196v), were added in a rather impromptu or casual manner, perhaps as some kind of editorial after-thought. This is not to say that Thornton necessarily invented his Rolle ascriptions, but it does suggest that he may have trimmed or altered the incipits and headings in his source to meet his own practical requirements.[54]

The care with which Thornton added rubricated headings and incipits to the items in his Rolle sequence is by itself a minor detail, but it again draws attention to the way in which Thornton's Rolle ascriptions are several stages removed from any autograph copies of Richard's writings. Because of this we are encouraged to examine other items in gatherings L - M for signs that the source from which Thornton obtained his Rolle sequence might also have contained other items which Thornton was also inheriting at second hand for his

collection. , Unfortunately however there is frustratingly little

evidence in the Lincoln MS itself to help us here. Nevertheless our

discussion of the remaining items in gatherings L - M can be guided

by the fact that, throughout the history of the transmission of Rolle

material, there are few cases where Rolle items can be shown to have

circulated with ME romances.[55]   By contrast there are many examples

where Rolle material and other meditative and devotional items

circulated in MSS which are comparable in range and content to Thornton's

"religious" unit. A tentative analysis of the textual reputation of

the other items in this section of Thornton's collection might not

help us to decide whether Thornton made any serious attempt to distinguish

between "religious" and "romance" items, but it certainly does suggest

that he had an appetite for all the meditative and expository material

to which he managed to gain access.

Thornton's Rolle sequence presently occupies ff. 192r - 196v

in gathering L. It is followed on ff. 197r - 209v by a ME prose

item which part of Thornton's lengthy rubricated incipit describes as,

"The Myrrour of Seynt Edmonde þe Ersebechop of Canterberye."

This is a vernacular translation of St Edmund's Speculum Ecclesie which

was probably originally written in Latin.[56] Vernacular translations and

adaptations of the Speculum survive in at least twenty different MSS,

accompanied by a wide range of other devotional material. So Thornton

could easily have found his copy of St Edmund's Mirror in a number of

different sources where the text was already part of a larger collection.

At this stage in his compiling activities then, part of the work of

adding the Mirror to other religious material may already have been

undertaken by an earlier scribe compiler. Thornton was possibly

simply perpetuating, rather than creating, the sequence of material

which now survives in his collection.

Thornton's collection is not the only surviving MS where English versions of the _Speculum_ circulated in close association with Rolle material. For example in Cambridge University Library MS Ii. 6. 40 an extract from St Edmund's text, possibly derived from an existing ME translation, has been presented as, "a devout meditacioun of Richardus Hampol." The reason for this ascription is probably due to the fact that this excerpted passage is immediately preceded in the MS by an ascribed copy of Rolle's _Commandment_. In addition ⸱ Longleat MS 32 preserves a similar _Mirror_ extract as "a tretice of contemplacion""and, in this collection, this text is sandwiched between Rolle's _Commandment_, and an English version of his _Emendatio_. Furthermore in the famous Vernon and Simeon MSS (Bodley MS Eng Poet. A. 1, and British Library MS Additional 22283 respectively), and in Bodley ME e. mus. 232, Cambridge University Library MS Ii. 6. 43, and Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125, vernacular translations of St Edmund's _Speculum_ survive in MS collections which also contain some of Rolle's most characteristic writings.

It is not hard to explain the evident appeal of St Edmund's text to compilers who were also interested in gathering together Rolle-related material. Horstmann, for example, talks of the _Speculum_ as being, "the great store house from which R. Rolle derived some of his favourite subjects and ideas" (_Yorks, Writers_, I, p. 29). Allen, while she rightly objects to Horstmann's claim that Rolle was also the original English translator of the _Speculum_, admits that Rolle would have found this prose treatise attractive. She argues that the translation found in Thornton's copy is broadly imitative of Rolle's own writing style (_Writings_, p.363). Therefore it is entirely probable that Thornton may have found his copy of the _Mirror_ in the same source in which he also found his Rolle sequence.

There are various unusual textual features actually in Thornton's copy of the _Mirror_ which may support this speculation, and which certainly

suggest that Thornton also inherited this text at second hand. For example, although the translation in Thornton's copy is generally addressed to a "dere frend" who is once described as being unlettered, the narrator also refers to both himself and his audience as being "vs folk of religioun." On another occasion he again characterizes his audience as being in religious orders and he encourages them to "do at thyne offece in þe qweire." By the last section of the translation his imagined audience has twice become "Dere syster and frende." A.I. Doyle has already noted the rather inappropriate feminine forms in Thornton's copy, and has suggested that these references are some indication that, by Thornton's time, copies of the Mirror had passed from their original owners (in this case possibly sisters of religion) to become, "a ready made answer to the appetites of the newly enlarged spiritually conscious public" (thesis, p. 48). However there are even further signs that, by the time Thornton added this copy of the Mirror to his collection, it already had other expository material appended to it.

One of the characteristic features of many vernacular teaching texts like St Edmund's Mirror is that they cover the whole range of subjects deemed necessary for elementary religious instruction. As the text of the Mirror now stands in most of its surviving ME versions the reader can systematically work his way through short expositions of the Seven Sins, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Virtues, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, the Four Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Works of Mercy, and the Seven Prayers of the Pater Noster. However, in the Thornton copy, the exposition of the Pater Noster which is usually associated with the Mirror has been preceded in the narrative by another, very similar, exposition of the same prayer. This has no counterpart in any other surviving copy of the Mirror and seems to be an entirely superfluous accretion to the main text.

The survival of this insertion in Thornton's copy is particularly

intriguing when we consider the narrative comments on the <u>Pater Noster</u> in

the <u>Mirror</u> itself. As part of the brief introduction to his own very

clear exposition of the <u>Pater Noster</u>, the <u>Mirror</u> narrator urges his

unlearned friend to set the prayer Christ taught his disciples above

the proliferation of vernacular devotional material to which his audience

might have access. He warns that, "a hundrethe thousande er dyssayuede

with multyplicacione of wordes and of Orysouns," and he complains that,

"þay do gret schame and gret vnreuerence till Ihesu goddes sone þat takes

þame till wordis ry(m)and and curius, and leues þ^e prayere þat he vs

kennede." Moreover, when the narrator has completed his own brief

exposition of the <u>Pater Noster</u>, he explicitly advises against any attempt

to go beyond the Latin text of this prayer in private meditative devotions.

He cautions:

> And now, my dere frende, vndirstande noghte þat þou
> sall say þi <u>Pater Noster</u> with mouthe als I hafe it here
> wretyne be-fore þe, bot say all-anely þe nakede lettir
> with þi mouthe, and thynke in þi herte of this þat I hafe
> said here, of ilke a worde by it-selfe; and rekk noghte
> þof þou ne multiply many <u>Pater Nosters</u>; ffor it es
> better to say a <u>Pater Noster</u> with gude deuocyone þane a
> thousande withowttene deuocyone.

The narrator's assumption that the expository material assembled

in the <u>Mirror</u> was a self-sufficient programme of religious instruction,

and his cautious reluctance to endorse certain other types of teaching

material are the conventional utterances we might expect to hear in an

age of religious conservatism and controversy. However they also read

rather ironically in the expanded Thornton copy of the <u>Mirror</u>. Moreover

these comments certainly did not deter a whole generation of scribes and

compilers who readily recopied the different English renderings of the

<u>Mirror</u> and added them to much larger collections. In addition selections

from this old, but obviously respected teaching text, were sometimes set

beside other, originally quite separate short ME expository items, to

form new didactic sequences. In particular, despite the original narrator's

evident distrust of the medium, versified translations of two different

Mirror extracts even became self-contained ME poems in their own right.

Copies of both these items now survive alongside prose renderings of the

Mirror in the huge Vernon and Simeon MS collections.[57]   Therefore even

before Thornton had obtained his expanded copy of the _Mirror_, the

processes of adapting this compendium of devotional material to meet the

various tastes and requirements of an expanding audience were already well

advanced.[58]

It is quite possible that an earlier reader of Thornton's copy

of the _Mirror_ inserted the additional material on the _Pater Noster_ into

the main text simply because of the urge to "multiply many _Pater Nosters_"

which the _Mirror_ narrator seems to have recognized, but refused to recommend

to his intended audience.   However we might also note that it is mainly

in this short prose interpolation that Allen detected the traces of rhythm

and alliteration which make Thornton's copy of the _Mirror_ seem so similar

to Rolle's most characteristic English prose writings.   Moreover it is

particularly intriguing that Thornton's expanded copy of the _Mirror_ is

also followed on ff. 209v - 211r by yet another ME prose exposition of

the _Pater Noster_. Here again we find the traces of rhythm and alliteration

which scholars tend to associate with Rolle's works. But this short

self-contained tract survives anonymously in Thornton's collection,

and until the multitude of other ME expositions of the _Pater Noster_ are

identified and examined, there seems little point in attempting to establish

the provenance of either this short tract, or the shorter interpolation

in the Thornton copy of the _Mirror_.[59] Nevertheless, despite the limited

state of our knowledge about these texts, it would seem that the present

curious duplication of material dealing with the _Pater Noster_ is due to

the work of at least one medieval compiler. This person, like so many

of his contemporaries, was obviously actively interested in expanding

the collection of teaching material which he had already found gathered

together in the Mirror itself.

The extent of Thornton's personal involvement in these compiling

activities in obviously open to some conjecture. By the time he copied

the Mirror, the Rolle-like expansion of St Edmund's text may have

already taken place and the text may already have been set side by side

other Rolle-related material. However the interpolation now reads

quite awkwardly in Thornton's copy, and it has clearly not been entirely

successfully integrated into the narrative fabric of the Mirror.

Therefore at an earlier stage in the history of this expanded copy, it

is possible that the short interpolation itself was physically inserted

on a separate piece of paper at a point where a pious reader might find a

second exposition of the Pater Noster most useful for his or her private

devotions. In turn a later scribe (who was perhaps Thornton) may have

added this extraneous material as part of the main text, and at what

seemed to him to be the nearest appropriate place in his copy.

The attraction of St Edmund's Speculum as a "great storehouse of

prayer and ejaculations to be said when awaking, retiring to rest, if

awake at night, etc." (Comper, p. 158) is also well demonstrated by at

least two of the four short lyric items which precede the Thornton Rolle

sequence on ff. 191v - 192r in gathering L.[60] These are the verse texts

beginning "Almyghty god in trinite," which is a ME paraphrase in four

rhyming couplets of the short Latin prayer, Gracias tibi ago; and

"Lorde god alweldande," which is a ME paraphrase in ten rhyming couplets

of the Latin morning prayer, In Manus tuas. Both ME lyrics survive

side by side in Thornton's collection, but the prayers on which these

paraphrases are based also survive side by side in St Edmund's Speculum,

and in its various translated versions. For example in the Thornton copy

of the <u>Mirror</u>, the reader is not only provided with the original Latin texts of these prayers, but he is also given serviceable vernacular prose translations of the same texts. These are to be recited in an appropriately contrite manner and then the reader is assured:

> My dere frend, if þou half þis manere,
> þan sall þou hafe verray knaweynge of
> thi-selfe ... And this maner of consedarasyone
> es callede medytacyone."

Presumably it was also to encourage meditative practices among their intended audience that these same prayers were eventually versified and presented as short self-contained ME lyrics.

Copies of both these <u>Mirror</u>-related lyrics also survive apart from the <u>Mirror</u> in British Library MS Egerton 3245 (the Gurney MS), and in Princeton University MS 21.[61] In both MSS these verse prayers are copied as a single composite item, but on both occasions these copies have also been set into two larger lyric sequences. Although these sequences share no other items they have both been variously compiled from vernacular material which was itself originally derived from earlier mystical and liturgical sources. Moreover the items in both sequences would seem to have been gathered together with the general intention of providing personally compiled collections of devotional material for private readers. We might therefore assume that, before Thornton obtained them, his copies of these <u>Mirror</u>-related lyrics had also been written and gathered together as part of another lyric sequence.

Thornton's two <u>Mirror</u>-related lyrics are immediately preceded in his collection by the lyric beginning, "Lord gode Ihū cryste godd almyghty." This a prayer of thanksgiving to Christ which now survives only in Thornton's collection. Moreover, although this lyric was not written as a direct paraphrase of any portion of St Edmund's teaching text, it shares with the <u>Speculum</u> the same consciousness of the weakness and corruption of the human body, and the same awareness that, "all

þese wretchidnes now has þe delyuerede Iheus þi spouse, and delyuers

þe ylke day mare and mare."   It was this general similarity, and the

infrequent verbal reminiscences of the Speculum in the poem, which

encouraged Horstmann to claim that this short ME lyric is probably another

example of a Rolle poem which was originally inspired by the Speculum

(York.. Writers, I, p. 363).   However by the later middle ages the

Speculum had been plundered many times by different medieval writers, and

so the literary affiliations of this poem are probably only useful as

a general guide to the type of source in which Thornton is likely to have

found this item.   The most we can say about this lyric is that it seems

to owe its present survival to the efforts of someone who was evidently

anxious to gather together material for a lyric sequence which also

included Mirror-related items.

The short item which now follows Thornton's cluster of Mirror-

related verse texts has also had an interesting textual history.   This

text is another prayer of thanksgiving to Christ, beginning, "Ihu that

diede on the rude for þe lufe of Me."   Although the text is now

presented as a single item in Thornton's copy, it is made up of one

mono-rhyming quatrain, followed by one eight-line stanza rhyming ababcbcb.

The opening four lines of this composite lyric also survive in the Vernon

MS as the second part of a short item entitled, "A preyer to þe fiue

woundes" (Index, 1684).   The remaining eight lines of the Thornton lyric

now survive only in Thornton's copy, but they too may once have

circulated independently, or may also have been embedded elsewhere in other

devotional verse.   There is now of course no way of knowing whether

Thornton himself played any significant part in the arrangement of the

two verse scraps which presently make up this item in his short lyric

sequence.

The cluster of four short lyrics in gathering h is preceded

by a ME text which, like St Edmund's _Mirror_, seems to be the product of another clerical attempt to provide appropriate teaching material in the vernacular. This is a verse tract on the Trinity which Thornton's heading ascribes to William Nassyngton. The only other extant copy of this text survives as a fragment in British Library MS Additional 33995, where it is called the _Bande of Louynge_ and where it is accompanied by the _Speculum Vitae_ (_Index_ 245); _Stimulus consciencie Minor_ (_Index_ 244); and the _Prick of Conscience_ (_P.C._, _Index_ 3428). A.I. Doyle has suggested that the MS was prepared for an ecclesiastical community, and more recently it has even been claimed that all four of these items have, "as strong a claim to be regarded as in origin the work of one man as do those of MS Cotton Nero A.X." (p.331).[62] This claim has yet to be substantiated, but it is certainly clear that Nassyngton's literary reputation in the middle ages meant that, on two occasions at least, his name was associated with the _Speculum Vitae_ (an eminently respectable and extremely lengthy verse exposition which is sometimes found alongside Rolle items in its surviving copies). Therefore, while there is now no way of knowing for certain whether Thornton inherited Nassyngton's tract on the Trinity from the same source in which he found some of the other items in gatherings L - M, it is no surprise that a poem ascribed to him should appear in the company of lyric prayers to the Trinity, Rolle items and various other expository items.

Interestingly the _incipit_ and main text of Nassyngton's tract on f. 189r is written in a very similar dark ink to that of the _explicit_ which ascribes Thornton's copy of the _Privety_ to Bonaventura on the same page. However the main text of Thornton's copy of the _Privety_ is written in a noticeably lighter ink than this _explicit_. Taken in isolation this is an unimportant detail. But we have already assumed that, for a time, the _Privety_ was the only item in gathering L. Thornton's ascription of

this item to Bonaventura would therefore seem to belong to a later stage
in his scribal activities, when he returned to his half-filled gathering
and added the item by Nassyngton to his collection.   This minor point
would support our earlier assumption that Thornton added the headings
and ascriptions to his Rolle items some time after he had copied the items
themselves.   However we might also note that it was in a similar dark
ink, and almost certainly at the same stage as he was copying
Nassyngton's tract, that Thornton also copied yet another Rolle extract.
This is the three line scrap of ME verse, which is now "sandwiched"
between Thornton's explicit for the Privety and his incipit for Nassyngton's
tract.

These three lines of verse on f. 189r now read like a brief
expression of devotion to Christ's name.   Although in its present form
this short scrap survives uniquely in the Lincoln MS, Allen has described
how, at some earlier stage in its history, these lines have been taken
from the paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 61 in Rolle's English Psalter.[63]
Of course this short scrap is entirely characteristic of not only the
sentiments expressed so enthusiastically by Richard, but also of the
feelings of love-longing which were part of the personal experience of
other devout men and women in the later middle ages.   Therefore Thornton
could perhaps have copied the lines from memory.   Alternatively however
these easily memorized lines may once have survived as a marginal scrawl
in the exemplar in which Thornton originally found Nassyngton's tract.
This exemplar may have contained other, more substantial Rolle passages
as well.

The remaining items in gathering M can be said to demonstrate
the rather haphazard manner in which some Rolle-related items are
associated with other older, and eminently respectable meditative and
expository texts in Thornton's collection.   However here again, it

is impossible to distinguish Thornton's own efforts to gather together
this material from the practical efforts of other, earlier compilers.
Nevertheless it is intriguing to note that the ME prose tract on the
Pater Noster which accompanies Thornton's expanded copy of the Mirror,
is now followed on f. 211r - 213v by a second cluster of short lyrics
which may also have been originally compiled together to aid the personal
devotions of its readers.

The first item in this sequence begins, "Ihesu criste saynte
marye sonne." Although this lyric now survives uniquely in Thornton's
collection, Horstmann, Patterson, Comper, Allen and Woolf have variously
drawn attention to lines in the text which seem to have been inspired
by lines of verse in Rolle's Ego Dormio.[64] For Horstmann this put
Rolle's authorship of this poem "beyond doubt." However Patterson
argued that almost every line of the lyric shows the general influence of a
range of mystical writings, and that the lyric need not have been written
by Rolle. Furthermore he claimed that the text was probably originally
created by conflating a purely penitential lyric with a song of love
longing. Comper agreed with Patterson that the lyric is a tissue of
borrowings, but she tentatively suggested that the bi-partite nature of
the lyric reflects Rolle's own preoccupation with the Passion and the
Holy Name in his Ego Dormio lyrics. Allen then pointed out that the
stanzas which can be shown to borrow directly from Rolle are found in
the second half of the poem (stanzas 9 - 12, 17, 18, 19). Here Rolle's
characteristic tendency towards irregular rhymes and metrical variation
in his Ego Dormio lyrics has been "corrected" or regularized. Comper
used this as evidence of Rolle's developing style, but Allen plausibly
argues that this type of formal regularity is quite uncharacteristic
of Rolle's writing, and that it is more likely that the poem is the work
of one of Rolle's followers. Rosemary Woolf tends to agree with Allen

that the Rolle lines in the lyric are simply weakened borrowings, but she argues vigorously for the integrity of the lyric. She sees the text as the product of an "educated aspirant to contemplation" and she suggests that most of the vernacular poems on the Holy Name belong most properly to a learned, contemplative milieu.

Interestingly the scholarly nature and origin of some ME mystical lyrics is also well illustrated by the item which follows this Rolle related lyric in Thornton's collection. This begins, "Fadir and Son and haly gaste." In his edition of this text Patterson describes how many ideas in the lyric, and especially the many epithets for the Virgin used by the poet, are thoroughly liturgical. In particular he points to the direct influence of the Magnificat on the poem and finds echoes (direct or indirect) of other Latin hymns, prayers and antiphons (ME Penitential Lyric, pp. 174-5). In view of this, the present combination of these two poems in Thornton's collection is hardly surprising. Moreover the only other extant copies of this lyric survive in two MSS which seem to have had direct links with the same learned socio-literary milieu in which we can assume that the lyric itself was originally composed. These MSS are the Vernon MS, and the British Library MS Additional 37787.

The intriguing network of close relationships between the Vernon MS, the Simeon MS and MS Additional 37787 has already attracted the attention of both N.S. Baugh and A.I. Doyle.[65] MS Additional 37787 was copied by John Northwood in Bordesleigh Abbey which was a Cistercian house, and it is now generally assumed that both the Vernon and Simeon MSS were copied in a Cistercian house, possibly in North Worcestershire. Moreover fourteen of the twentythree English items in Northwood's tri-lingual collection also survive in the Vernon MS (and in the Simeon MS where that collection is not fragmentary). Ten

of these shared ME items form a consecutive sequence of prayers and confessions in the Vernon MS, but both Baugh and Doyle argue that the exemplar from which these ten items were copied also contained the other four items (including "Fadir and Son and haly gaste") which are now variously dispersed in the Vernon MS. Presumably in this earlier exemplar the fourteen items shared by the Vernon MS and MS Additional 37787 formed their own collection of prayers and confessions in verse and prose which had already been set in some kind of order. In turn additional items were probably added to this existing sequence as other scribes, including the Vernon and Simeon scribes, used this collection as an exemplar. Doyle has even described how the Vernon Scribes seems to have split up their material so that the shorter poems in their inherited sequence could appear in the company of other short poems in the second part of the Vernon collection, the longer ones were set in the third part, and a prose confession was placed in part four (p.334). As a result of these editorial activities the Vernon text of "Fadir and Son and haly gaste" now survives as the second item in a lengthy sequence of twenty seven prayers, meditations, hymns, and short Biblical paraphrases.

In his discussion of the resources needed to produce the Vernon and Simeon MSS, Doyle also describes some of the practical difficulties which must have been faced by the compilers of these huge and early collections of vernacular material. He points out that the main books which most of these clerical book producers probably had in stock were standard church service books and manuals in Latin. Many of the vernacular items were probably either specially commissioned or else obtained from a second hand source. Consequently it is easy to see how part of the response of these clerical compiling teams might have been to create their own vernacular items using the existing sources at hand. This

might even explain how and why texts like "Fadir and Son and haly gaste" originally came to be written. Moreover it might also explain why the Thornton copy of this item now forms part of a bi-lingual sequence of meditative items, most of which are related in some way to other prayers and devotions often found in the service books of the medieval church.

Thornton's copy of "Fadir and Son and haly gaste" is now followed by a short penitential prayer to Christ. This is written in a form of rhythmical ME prose which was probably influenced by one of the many surviving Latin prayers of a similar nature. Moreover this item is then followed by a cluster of short Latin prayers which are arranged under the headings, <u>a meditacione of þe ffyue woundes of oure lorde Ihu criste w^t a prayere in þe Same</u>, and <u>a medytacion of the crosse of Criste wt a prayere</u>. Prayers devoted to the Five Wounds, or to the Exaltation of the Cross, are among the most obvious manifestations of medieval piety.[66] By the later middle ages the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and the cult of devotion to the Five Wounds were well established in public worship. A Mass of the Five Wounds even vied for popularity with other Masses of the Passion, just as multitudes of other texts influenced by these devotions appear variously as hymns, antiphons and prayers in the Breviaries, Missals and <u>Horae</u> of the Church. It was doubtless from some such source that Thornton's copies of the two composite Latin meditations and their accompanying prayers were originally derived.

At the late stage in his book producing activities, when he filled the remaining space in gatherings K and P, Thornton himself also had access to similar devotions which he probably derived from a prayer book source. Therefore it is always possible that, as he was copying his vernacular religious items in gatherings L - M, Thornton went to some trouble to find appropriate Latin items which would also help to arouse a meditative awareness in his readers. Unfortunately, however, there are

no clear indications in his MS that Thornton may have played this part. Nevertheless it is surely some small indication of Thornton's personal response to the task of copying this material that, on f. 213r, he followed his sequence of Latin prayers with four lines of pious ejaculations into which he has incorporated his own name. Three of these lines may also have appeared in some form in Thornton's source, but the fourth line is a characteristic "Thornton" colophon which we also find elsewhere in his collection. Thornton may well have copied these stray lines with the express purpose of making the Latin meditative material which he had inherited from his source more obviously his own.

The cluster of Latin prayers in gathering M is followed by three items whose main shared feature would appear to be that they can all be associated with Rolle-related material in other surviving copies as well as in Thornton's. The first of these items is a text beginning, "when adam dalfe and Eue Spane Go Spire if þu may spede," which Thornton copied on ff. 213r - 213v. Only one other copy of this text has survived (in Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 5. 64), but, despite its survival there as part of a sequence of lyrics which are all generally ascribed to Rolle, there is little other evidence to support Rolle's authorship. "When adam dalfe" is certainly a skillful literary creation, made up of commonplaces of ascetic theology, but, in its exposition of traditional death themes it seems entirely untypical of the writing interests of Rolle or his school. However, as part of her discussion of the Rolle related lyric sequence in MS Dd. 5. 64, Rosemary Woolf aptly comments that, "a compiler, strongly influenced by the common meditative tradition, might well have felt that the lack of a poem on death in a collection of Rolle's work was a blemish impossible to accept" (The English Religious Lyric, p. 381). A similar interest in the theme of death might well explain the attraction of "when adam dalfe"

to the original compiler of the items which Thornton copied at the
end of gathering M.

"When adam dalfe" ends on f. 213v with a formal explicit.
It is followed immediately by a six-line prayer for mercy. This short
ME prayer now survives uniquely in Thornton's MS, but, in a devout age,
these lines and countless similar prayers were probably never far from
the lips of many different men and women. Nevertheless, in its present
context, this short prayer scrap certainly reads like an appropriately
devout concluding colophon to "when adam dalfe" and, as such, it compares
well to the sequence of pious exclamations which Thornton also copied
on the previous page. There is now of course no way of telling whether
Thornton copied the short prayer on f. 213v from memory, or whether
it was actually contained in the exemplar in front of him.

The varied reputation of the next item in gathering M also makes
it difficult to decide on the probable nature of Thornton's source
for it. This is a ME text which Thornton copied as prose, and which
part of his lengthy incipit describes as, "a sermon þat Dan Iohn
Gaytryge Made." Gaytryge was a Benedictine monk of St. Mary's abbey in
York and this "sermon" is his 1357 expanded translation of the earlier
Latin catechism of Archbishop Thoresby of York. Copies of both
Thoresby's Latin text and the Gaytryge translation are included in
the Archbishop's register at York, and this probably granted the ME
item the status of an officially recognized teaching text. Nevertheless
the respectability of this item clearly did not ensure its textual
integrity. In his comprehensive analysis of the surviving copies of
Gaytryge's sermon, A.I. Doyle has described how the text was not only
frequently recopied (sometimes as free unrhymed verse and sometimes as
prose), but it was also variously abridged, expanded and occasionally
small portions were even extracted from it and presented as separate

ME items in larger collections.[67]

Some (but not all) of this editorial meddling was undoubtedly the work of Lollard sympathizers, and, in 1405, Gaytryge's translation was even forced into strenuous service by the Lollard Purvey in his tract in defence of English Bibles. Intriguingly Purvey's reference to Thoresby and Gaytryge describes how the Archbishop sent Gaytryge's text, "in smale pagynes to the comyn puple."[68] However, despite this claim, Doyle has shown that almost all the surviving copies of Gaytryge's sermon were originally owned and used by the clergy. In particular he notes the continued monastic interest in the text and the survival of this teaching item in clerically compiled collections intended for private reading. Moreover Purvey's sense of the reputation of Gaytryge's text was obviously coloured by his determination to draw attention to respectable vernacular material which resembled, however vaguely, popularized biblical translations. Therefore it is fascinating that, in his tract, Purvey's rather intriguing reference to the independent circulation of Gaytryge's sermon is itself accompanied by repeated references to Richard Rolle's vernacular translation of the Psalter.

The Lollard Purvey's ready association of Rolle and Gaytryge here is neither unnatural nor unprecedented. For example he shares his interest in the writings of these men with the Durham monk who preserved an early and abridged version of Gaytryge's sermon in a varied tri-lingual collection of religious items in British Library MS Arundel 507. This collection also includes part of the Incendium Amoris, an abridged version of the Ego Dormio, and several abridged chapters of the Form. Similarly the combination of Gaytryge's sermon and Rolle's works obviously also interested William Spenser, an abbot of Rievaulx, for whom the collection of Latin and English items concerning sacerdotal duties in Oxford MS Corpus 195 was compiled. It also appealed to the

clerical compiler of the Latin and English items in British Library

MS Harley 1022, and to the original compiler and later scribes who

copied the sequence of extracts from Gaytryge's sermon and Rolle's

Form which now survive in both Bodley MS Rawlinson C.285, and

Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 5. 40.   Therefore it remains

possible that Thornton originally obtained his copy of Gaytryge's

sermon from a booklet exemplar like one of those referred to by

Purvey. Equally however, in view of the survival of collections of

clerically compiled reading material of which Gaytryge's sermon forms

such a small part, it seems just as likely that it was in some such

source that Thornton originally found his copy.

Elsewhere in his collection Thornton, like so many scribes,

writers and compilers before him, seems to have made no attempt to

distinguish items which teach the fundamentals of the Christian faith

from short mystical tracts and meditative prayers. Therefore it is

hardly surprising that the Thornton copy of Gaytryge's sermon is followed

on ff. 219r - v by a lyric ("Ihesu thi swetnes") which, in its praise

of the Holy Name, expresses sentiments of love longing which we might

now associate with Rolle's most characteristic writings. However this

poem also shows traces of the influence of the twelfth century hymn,

Iesu Dulcis Memoria, and, in turn, this well known Latin hymn was undoubtedly

known and used by many medieval writers as both a poetic inspiration

and as an aid to devotion.[69] Moreover reference to the Index shows

that eighteen different copies of "Ihesu thi swetnes" have survived in

various abridged, expanded and excerpted states. Therefore, by the

time Thornton obtained his copy, the lyric had not only been frequently

recopied, but it had also attracted the attention of earlier scribes,

editors and compilers.

It is, naturally, impossible to draw any firm conclusions

about the earlier history of the Thornton copy of "Ihesu thi swetnes."
Nevertheless it is intriguing that, in two of its surviving copies,
this lyric has been set into larger lyric sequences with other ME
lyrics, copies of which are also now scattered variously in gatherings
L - M of Thornton's collection. For example, in the Vernon MS, a
copy of "Ihesu thi swetnes" is the twenty first item in the sequence
which also includes a copy of "Fadir and Son and haly gaste" under the
title, An orisun of þe Trinite. The latter item is the second item
in the Vernon sequence, but another copy is now set among the cluster of
Latin and English meditative prayers on ff. 211r - 213r in gathering
M of Thornton's collection. Moreover the fourth item in the Vernon
sequence, headed A preyer to þe fiue wounds (Index 1684), has also
absorbed the first part of the composite prayer of thanksgiving to
Christ which follows Thornton's sequence of Mirror-related lyrics on
f. 192r in gathering L.

The survival of another copy of "Ihesu thi swetnes" in
British Library MS Egerton 3245 (the Gurney MS) also suggests another
possible link between the lyric items in gathering L and the lyrics in
gathering M in Thornton's collection. In the Gurney MS a copy of
"Ihesu thi swetnes" (described as, anoþir meditaciun þat tretiþ how
mannis entenciun schuld be to loue God and serue wiþ deuocioun)
survives as the seventh item in a series of fourteen religious lyrics. Ten
of the other vernacular translations of liturgical hymns and prayers
which make up the Gurney sequence are unique copies, but one of the
remaining three items also survives in Thornton's collection. In the
Gurney MS this item is described as, a souereyn orysoun to seye to þe
Holy Trinite wiþ deuociun, but the item is in fact a conflated copy of
the two ME prayer paraphrases which were originally based on the two
morning prayers in St Edmund's Speculum. In Thornton's collection copies

of those items form part of the cluster of lyrics which follow Nassyngton's tract on the Trinity in gathering L.

Throughout their history these various ME lyrics obviously attracted the attentions of different medieval compilers. Therefore it is easy to see how Thornton could have inherited all these short items from someone else's collection. Moreover, if, for the moment, we ignore the intervening items, the ME lyrics and short Latin prayers in gathering M would seem to share much in common with the lyrics on ff. 191v - 192r in gathering L. While the sequence in L consists of a series of short meditative lyrics on the Trinity, culminating in a prayer of love-longing to Christ, the lyric material in M consists of ME lyrics expressing devotion to Christ's name, or to the Trinity, and Latin meditative hymns and prayers to Christ and the cross. Moreover, not only the Mirror-related prayers in L, but also the Latin and English lyrics in M, seem to have been variously derived from earlier storehouses of Latin prayers and hymns. These have then been gathered together to encourage the same types of personal devotional practices which a text like St Edmund's Mirror, for example, was also meant to encourage.

We might also note however that the person who was responsible for the present arrangement of these items in gatherings L and M was not interested in presenting these short texts as part of a continuous lyric sequence. Instead the lyrics in L and the main cluster of lyrics in M are separated by the Thornton Rolle sequence (which has itself been compiled from diverse sources), the expanded copy of St Edmund's Mirror, and the accompanying ME prose exposition of the Pater Noster. Moreover "Ihesu thi swetnes" survives apart from the other short lyrics in M, and is preceded by a copy of Gaytryge's sermon. Therefore, if the different types of practical compiling activities which produced this loosely assembled assembly of material are to be related,

they should be seen as the efforts of someone who was gathering

together meditative and expository items in prose and verse into a

compendious, but not completely organized sequence.

The circumstances in which this varied collection of religious

items grew to its present size is, of course, open to speculation.

We might assume, for example, that the collection grew gradually, and

perhaps haphazardly, as suitable material became available. Possibly

some items were even physically inserted into an existing batch of material,

thereby disrupting an existing sequence of texts in order to expand

the collection itself. This would certainly explain how Thornton's

copy of the Mirror was originally expanded, and how it eventually

came to have a third ME exposition of the Pater Noster appended to it.

Moreover Thornton's expanded copy of the Mirror is not only guilty of

duplicating Pater Noster material, but it also provides his readers

with additional expository coverage of the Ten Commandments and of the

seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. These topics are also of course dealt

with by two of the short items in the preceding sequence of Rolle-

related material. Later in gathering M, Gaytryge's sermon, like St

Edmund's Mirror provides the reader with yet another account of the six

things necessary for the proper instruction of the laity. Therefore,

although Thornton may not have been completely responsible for the

original arrangement of this material, he certainly showed little sense

of discrimination or selectivity in the manner in which he eventually

copied these items for his own collection.

The present arrangement of religious material in gatherings L - M

probably reflects several different types of editorial activities and

interests. These range from the skillful use of borrowed material by

writer-compilers, to the more practical attempts of later scribe-compilers

(including perhaps Thornton) who were mainly interested in preserving

as much material as possible beside other clusters of material in their private collections.. However it is frustrating that Thornton has not left any obvious indications in his MS which might help us to estimate the role that he originally played in the assembly of this material. Fortunately, however, when we now examine the relationship between the remaining items in gathering M, and the items in gathering N, we can begin to see that the only role that Thornton is likely to have played here was in the disarrangement (rather than in the careful rearrangement) of the material he found in his sources.

"Ihesu thi swetnes" is followed in gathering M by an unascribed copy of Hilton's Of Angel's Song (ff. 219v - 221v). However, sandwiched between this item and the unascribed and fragmentary copy of Hilton's Mixed Life which begins gathering N, is a copy of another Rolle-related lyric. This item begins, "þi Ioye be ilke a dele," but most recent scholars have treated the Thornton copy as a composite of two seemingly self-contained meditative lyrics (the second of which begins "Al vanitese forsake"). Both lyrics deal with the vanity of the world and with the joy of loving Christ, and Allen has even found traces of borrowings from Rolle in both sections of the text (Writings, pp. 300 - 301). These suggest to her that the text was written by Rolle for one of his followers. In her more cautious account (English Religious Lyric, p. 169), Rosemary Woolf describes these lyrics as texts which contain echoes of characteristic Rolle passages, but which are among the least interesting of the "hortatory love songs" produced by the Rolle mystical school. Nevertheless, despite her reservations about the success of this material, it was the obvious attraction of this material as Rolle related items that encouraged two different medieval compilers to incorporate other copies of this item into much larger collections of Rolle items.

A copy of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele" and "Al vanitese forsake" is presented as a single text in Longleat MS 29. In this collection the lyric is the fourth item in a sequence of short lyrics that have been assembled under the heading, Cantalene amoris dei. Moreover, although Thornton's collection does not include copies of any of the other lyrics in this sequence, it does preserve the only other surviving copy of the short prose scrap Desyre and Delyt. In Longleat MS 29 a copy of this text survives side by side another short prose scrap (Gastly Gladnesse) which, in turn, precedes the Cantalene amoris dei sequence. As we noted earlier in this chapter, all these items form part of a much larger collection of material generally ascribed to Rolle in this important religious miscellany.

Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 5. 64 is the only other surviving MS containing "þi Ioye be ilke a dele," and "Al vanitese forsake." This is also the only extant copy in which these items are not copied as a single item. Instead, in MS Dd. 5. 64, "Al vanytese forsake" forms the twelfth item in a sequence of thirteen items assembled under the general heading, Cantus compassionis Christi & consolacionis eterni. The thirteenth item in this sequence is a short alliterating prose scrap (Gastly Gladnesse) which is followed by the colophon., Expliciunt cantica diuini amoris secundum Richardum Hampole. Then the scribe has copied "þi Ioye be ilke a dele" as a fourteenth item. However, at the end of his copy, the scribe has also written, "Al vanites forsake if þou hys lufe wil fele & c ut supra," thereby revealing his anxiety to associate "þi Ioye be ilke a dele" with its usual companion text. Therefore the scrupulous care with which the scribe has indicated this to his readers gives us good grounds for assuming that, for some unknown reason, this copy of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele" has also become detached from its original place in

an existing Rolle sequence.

It is interesting that copies of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele,"
"Al vanitese forsake," and Gastly Gladnesse survive in such close
proximity to each other in both these MSS.   Moreover the Cantalene
amoris dei sequence in Longleat MS 29 also contains copies of the
seventh, ninth, and tenth items in the cantus compassionis Christi
sequence in MS Dd.5. 64 (Index 200, 1715, 2007). These may survive
in various disarranged or revised forms in both MSS, but the survival
of these shared texts does suggest that material for both these Rolle
lyric collections may have been derived from a much earlier common source.
In addition, the present disarrangement of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele,"
and "Al vanitese forsake" in MS Dd. 5. 64.might well provide us with
a useful precedent for the type of disarrangement which seems to have
generally affected some of Thornton's short religious lyrics. More
particularly the present rather puzzling physical condition of f.222
in Thornton's MS (which contains his copy of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele"
and "Al vanitese forsake" as a single fragmentary item) would support
the theory that Thornton's copy had already had a varied and uncertain
history before it was inserted at this point in his collection.

Earlier in this chapter we noted that the physical condition of
f.222r suggests that it once formed the stained outer side of a leaf
which is unlikely to have ever belonged to gathering M. Furthermore,
textual evidence in the other surviving copies of Thornton's fragmentary
lyric suggests that the leaf which originally followed f. 222 probably
also contained the remaining twenty lines necessary to make "Al
vanitese forsake" complete. If we seek to minimize the physical loss
to the MS we might assume that this leaf also contained the opening lines
of the fragmentary copy of Hilton's Mixed Life. This now follows on
f.223r in gathering N. The textual evidence in the closest surviving

copy of Hilton's text would then suggest that yet another leaf is missing from Thornton's MS between ff. 222 and 223. However, if f. 222 originally formed the outer leaf of gathering N, this leads us into an unlikely situation where the first outer leaf of N has survived as a singleton, but where the second and third leaves in the original gathering are now lost. Because of this, it is worthwhile considering the possibility that f. 222 is now a stray singleton leaf of some kind.

The original circumstances which led to the positioning of "þi Ioye be ilke a dele" and "Al vanitese forsake" between two unascribed Hilton items in Thornton's collection remain unclear. Extensive physical and textual lacunae have affected both ends of gathering N, and we now have no certain way of determining how many leaves are missing or how much material these missing leaves contained. The text on f. 222 might represent the last remaining fragment of a batch of Rolle-related items which have otherwise been completely lost, or which Thornton may even have partly recopied from a fragment and preserved elsewhere in his collection. Alternatively f. 222, and the leaf which originally followed it, may once have formed a stray bifolium which Thornton either displaced or overlooked as he was copying other related material for his collection. Nevertheless, regardless of how we seek to explain the present order of items in this particularly fragmentary part of Thornton's MS, any actions which Thornton may have taken here as scribe and compiler would seem to show very little literary selectivity. Instead they would seem to have been motivated by his desire to amass and preserve as much material as possible for his collection.

Thornton's collection of prose tracts by Hilton consists of copies of Of Angels' Song (gathering M); Mixed Life, and an extract from Book One of the Scale of Perfection (gathering N). All three

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texts may now survive without ascription or heading in Thornton's MS,

but this may well be because, unlike his Rolle sequence, Thornton never

took the trouble to return to his Hilton items in order to add

rubricated and ascribed headings. However Thornton's copies still provide

his readers with some of Hilton's most characteristic writings. For

example Hilton's cautiously practical approach to contemplative

matters (in contrast to Rolle's earlier brand of religious enthusiasm)

is well illustrated by Of Angels' Song.[70] Helen Gardner has even suggested

that Hilton wrote this tract as an answer to a friend whose puzzled

study of Rolle led him to enquire how angels' song could be heard in man's

soul.   But the tract itself makes no mention of Rolle, and P.J.C. Field

has recently suggested that it was written for the more general

purpose of warning against the deceptions to be encountered in the

spiritual life.

Horstmann was generally disappointed by Of Angels' Song which

he felt lacked Rolle's "poetry, heart (and) inspiration."   However

this feeling was plainly not shared by some medieval compilers. The

practical results of their various efforts means that, in three of its

six surviving MS copies, Of Angels' Song survives in collections which also

include Rolle items. Moreover, in five of its six copies, Of Angels' Song

survives alongside copies of Hilton's Scale. Thornton's copy, and the

one in Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 5. 40, also form part of

collections which contain copies of Hilton's Mixed Life. Therefore,

despite the insertion of the composite lyric "Ihesu thi swetnes" on

f.222, the Hilton items in gatherings M and N do seem to form a sequence

of closely related short prose tracts which had probably already been

gathered together as a sequence in one of Thornton's exemplars.

The combination of material from Hilton's Mixed Life and from

his Scale of Perfection is something which Thornton's collection shares

with eight of the sixteen MS copies of Mixed Life which A.I. Doyle

identifies and discusses in his thesis (pp. 197ff).   In at least four

of these copies, and in the 1494 de Worde printed text, Mixed Life has

even been appended to the Scale.   However Hilton seems to have written

Mixed Life as a short and self-contained tract.[71.]   Originally this was

perhaps intended for a specific individual who wished to know about

the contemplative life, but whose wordly obligations prevented him

from following it completely..   Nevertheless the surviving copies would

also suggest that Mixed Life was owned and read by a wide audience which

included both men and women in religious orders and also lay folk.

It is easy to see how this tract could have had a direct

appeal to Thornton. His fragmentary copy may itself have been constantly

re-read by later readers, perhaps even before the gatherings in his MS

had been finally assembled in their present order.[72]   However Doyle

has also noted that the Thornton copy of Mixed Life seems to have

been prepared for a "dere Syster."   This reference to a female reader,

coupled with the references to a "Dere syster and frende" in Thornton's

expanded copy of the Mirror, are further slight indications that many

of the religious items which Thornton copied in gatherings L - N had

already circulated among other readers. Both these items may once have

been obtained by Thornton from someone else's collection.

Copies of Book one of Hilton's Scale would also seem to have

had an obvious attraction for female readers. All recent scholars

accept that Hilton wrote Books one and two of the Scale at different

stages in his life, and that Book one is the earlier work. The ninety

three chapters which make up this book are addressed to a female recluse

and seem the work of a spiritual director who is anxious to compile a

book of practical advice for a beginner in the spiritual life. However

the Thornton extract from Book one consists of the last sentence of

chapter 43 and all of chapter 44. As the text now stands in his

collection, it seems a short, anonymous prose tract which is complete

in itself.

The uncertain but varied textual history of Hilton's Scale

has not only provided considerable problems for the modern editor seeking a

stable base text, but it also makes the previous history of the

Thornton extract seem all the more intriguing. For example, in an

introductory essay on the textual history of Book one of the Scale,

Helen Gardner suggested four sub-groupings into which the surviving

copies she had examined could conveniently be placed.[73]   The

two points of difference which determined Gardner's sub-groupings are,

firstly, a series of additions and insertions in some copies which

Evelyn Underhill had earlier described as "Christo-centric:" and,

secondly, the omission or presence in some copies of a long passage

in chapter 44 which deals with the Holy Name of Jesus. The category

into which Gardner then placed each MS depended on whether it

contained one or other of these features, both features, or neither.

Gardner's tentative findings were intended to lay the ground

for her own edition of Book one, but this was never completed. Since

1936 additional copies of the Scale have come to light and the recent

work of Professor A.J. Bliss and S.S. Hussey on a much needed edition,

has revised many of Gardner's tentative conclusions.[74]   In his

unpublished work Bliss has discovered that there are two substantial

added passages in Book one of the Scale. These are the "Holy Name"

passage from chapter 44, and the "Charity" passage from the end of

chapter 70. In twenty two MSS the Holy Name passage forms an integral

part of chapter 44; in one MS a scribe has inserted the passage on an

added leaf; fourteen MSS do not contain the passage; and one MS is

defective at this point. Bliss also identified nineteen MSS where the

Charity passage forms an integral part of chapter 70; two MSS where it is inserted on an extra leaf; fifteen MSS which do not contain the passage; and two MSS which are defective. Furthermore he suggests that the presence or absence of these passages in the surviving MSS are no indicators of the five textual sub-groups into which he has classified forty one of the forty five extant copies. Bliss argues that both these passages circulated as independent and self-contained texts which were sometimes inserted in, or appended to the Scale as scribes who copied their already contaminated copies of Hilton's text were able to obtain them.

The bulk of the Thornton Scale extract consists of the passage on the Holy Name which was often added to other copies of the Scale. Here the writer (who was probably Hilton himself) attempts to soothe the imagined fears of a puzzled reader who has read elsewhere about the Calor, canor et dulcor associated with mystical devotion to the Holy Name of Christ, but who has yet to experience these phenomena physically. The Hilton writer's response is to correct his reader's misguided expectations. He advances a cautious meta-phorical interpretation of the Holy Name which, if accepted, will avoid the pitfalls faced by an over-literal interpretation and dependence on the practical benefits to be obtained from this devotion. Some scholars have interpreted this passage as one of several where Hilton attacks Rolle's teaching, but it seems likely that, as an expository writer, Hilton was actually making some considerable effort in this passage to accommodate Rolle's ideas into his own teaching programme. It is only superficially surprising therefore that Hilton's moderation and Rolle's enthusiasm should have attracted the same late medieval audience of which Thornton and his readers formed a small part.

The Thornton extract from the Scale also includes material

which is found in those copies which lack the Holy Name passage.

This suggests that the passage was originally derived from a more complete

version of Book one. Therefore it is always possible that this

particularly unstable portion of Hilton's text may itself have attracted

the attention of a later editor who was anxious to free Hilton's cautious

discussion of the Holy Name from its usual context. In this context

we might also note that, in Thornton's copy, the Scale extract opens

with the words, "Wit thou wele dere ffrende..." which closely match

the edited opening of the Thornton copy of Of Angels' Song ("Dere ffrende,

wit þou wele...").[75] Once again therefore we can assume that a whole

complex of earlier editorial activities lie behind the items in

Thornton's "religious" unit in which Thornton himself need not

necessarily have played any part.

In view of the unsettled history of the Holy Name passage,

it is interesting that the anonymous Thornton copy is the only known

Scale extract where the Holy Name passage survives as the main portion

of a short, seemingly self-contained cautionary tract. Moreover the unique

survival of the Thornton extract is particularly surprising since

Hilton's works quickly became a favourite quarry for later compilers who

freely edited and extracted passages from his writings for use

elsewhere.[76] We might expect therefore that the Holy Name passage

would have been an obvious choice for the potential Hilton editor.

However it was not, and this means that we can perhaps assume that more

practical considerations (such as the relatively heavy rate of attrition

among Hilton MSS) played a part in determining that this particular

passage from the Scale was preserved for future use. For example, in an

earlier life, the Thornton extract may well have been little more than

a stray singleton leaf which had accidentally become detached from a copy

of the Scale. This would have been a particularly useful leaf to have

on hand if a Hilton scribe wished to check other copies of the <u>Scale</u>
to see if they too contained the Holy Name passage. Eventually, and with
the minimum of editorial effort, the surviving text could even have been
presented as a new Hilton item.

The sense that some of the items in Thornton's collection
have been detached from their original context would also seem the best
way to account for the present positioning of the item which begins
the second half of gathering N. This text comments on f. 231r and
is entitled <u>Of Sayne Iohn þe euangelist</u>. Although this item now survives
uniquely in Thornton's MS, it is obviously an attempt to write a
popularized verse life of St John in the vernacular. In the middle ages
St John's name was sometimes associated with the origin of the devotion
to the Five Wounds of Christ, and this may well have encouraged the
original writer to attempt a life of this saint. However the text now
seems oddly out of place in a collection which contains a "romance"
unit as well as a "religious" unit. To the modern reader at least,
Thornton's copy of <u>Sayne Iohn þe euangelist</u> would seem to belong
most appropriately with an item like the <u>Vita Sancti Christofori</u>,
which Thornton inserted among his other romances in quire I. It
certainly has nothing obvious in common, and bears little resemblance to
either the Hilton tracts which now precede it, or the fragmentary prose
tract on prayer which now follows it on the remaining leaves of gathering
N.

The relationship between the Hilton items at the beginning
of quire N and the ME prose tract at the end of the gathering is also an
interesting one. The last surviving item in N may deal with the
efficacy of prayer, but it is also written in a style which shows no
traces of Hilton's moderation or reasoned logic. Instead this tract
reads throughout like the work of someone who has been thoroughly

immersed in Rolle's teachings, and who fully endorses Rolle's own

enthusiasm for the heat, sweetness and song sometimes encountered

in the spiritual life. Nevertheless, despite its obvious differences

from the Hilton items in gathering N, one of the three other surviving

copies of this short tract on prayer is also preserved alongside material

associated with Hilton in Liverpool University MS Rylands F. 4. 10.

This would appear to demonstrate once again the untiring interest of

many medieval compilers in both Hilton and Rolle-related material.

In MS Rylands F. 4.10 a copy of the short Rolle-related

tract on prayer has been set beside another ME prose treatise which offers

practical advice to a young contemplative on how to prepare himself

for prayer. A later reader has rather optimistically entitled this

tract, A Treatise of Love or reverente affection by Walter Hilton

as is supposed, but this ascription is almost certainly due to the fact

that the Treatise of Love is itself followed by a copy of Book one of the

Scale. Moreover, in his recent work on the exceptionally complex history

of the Scale, A.J. Bliss has found sufficient textual evidence in the

Thornton extract from the Scale to class it in the same textual grouping

as the copy in MS Rylands F.4.10. This grouping (Z) contains seventeen

copies of the Scale, and is one of four groups in which Bliss can

recover the original readings of an earlier contaminated text common to

all the members of the group (the hyparchetype). Intriguingly the copy

of the Scale in MS Rylands F.4.10 is also one of only five members of

group Z which contains the Holy Name passage which forms the bulk of

the Thornton extract.

Obviously these shared textual features are worthy of closer

examination in the future, and it would be helpful to know more about the

previous textual history of the anonymous short tract on prayer which is

also common to both MSS. However, given the present state of our knowledge

about these items, it certainly seems reasonable to suppose that

Thornton inherited both his Hilton items and his tract on prayer from

a single exemplar.. If this is the case then the fact that his copy

of Sayne Iohn þe euangelist has now been rather illogically sandwiched

between these items may also reflect the order of items which he found

in his exemplar. On the other hand, the present positioning of

Sayne Iohn þe euangelist, at the beginning of the second half of a

gathering, might even suggest that, like quire I, this particularly

fragmentary quire has been subject to some rearrangement before it was

finally incorporated into Thornton's collection. Unfortunately there

is little further physical evidence available to confirm this suspicion.

However the order in which the items now appear in N need not necessarily

reflect the order in which Thornton originally copied them, or indeed the

order in which they might once have appeared in his source.[77]

Moreover, regardless of the extent of Thornton's practical compiling

activities, the present order of items in N can hardly encourage us to

have much regard for either his confidence as a book producer or his

discrimination as a reader.

Thornton's tract on prayer ends abruptly on f. 236v in N,

and material derived from the Northern prose compilation Gratia Dei (G.D.)

commences abruptly on f. 237r in O. Undoubtedly however any attempt

to establish the relationship between the items in these gatherings

is complicated by both the fragmentary nature of the gatherings themselves,

and also because, as we noted briefly above, Gratia Dei (G.D.) seems

to have been a particularly unstable ME text.

The textual integrity of G.D. has always been an important

scholarly issue. As long ago as 1894 Horstmann edited the G.D.

material in British Library MS Arundel 507 and in Thornton's collection;

but, because of the disarranged nature of the portions of surviving text

in these copies, he was content to edit this material as a series of related but separate items. He characterized the most important of these as De gracia and Our Daily Work. However in an early review of Horstmann's edition, M. Konrath used textual cross references to argue strongly for the original unity of this material as part of a single ME work. In 1927 H.E. Allen also noted how Huntington Library MS HM 148 (the Ingilby MS) contains copies of the material edited by Horstmann, plus the text he edits as a Meditation on the Passion; and of three Arrows on Doomsday, under the general heading of the "Holy Book Gratia Dei." Although she recognized the heavy dependence of sections of this material on a range of existing ME items (including Ancrene Riwle, the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, and St Edmund's Mirror) Allen was prepared to grant "the Holy Book Gratia Dei" an identity of its own as an integral ME text.[78]

Allen's conclusions have since been supported by Sr Mary Luke Arntz who, in her 1961 doctoral thesis, re-examined the whole question of the unity of G.D. On the basis of structural cross references and shared verbal and stylistic similarities between the extant portions of G.D. material in its three main surviving copies, Arntz concluded that no single surviving copy actually preserves the ME compilation in its original form. However, when the G.D. material which all three MSS have in common is closely compared, then it is possible to reconstruct a text which resembles the shape and scope of the original treatise. This is one where a ME writer-compiler has relied on borrowed material, but where he has also shown, "a masterful use of categories and repetitions, a clever accommodation of original style to that of borrowed material, and a careful sub-ordination of the borrowings to an original plan by means of rearrangement and neat transition" (p. xciii).

Arntz makes no further attempt to consider the implications

of the disarranged and variously incomplete copies of G.D. material which now survive in MS Arundel 507, the Ingilby MS and Thornton's copy. Recently however, in 1981, the problem of the unity of G.D. has again been taken up, this time by Professor George R. Keiser. In his work Keiser argues even more strongly then Arntz for the structural coherence of G.D.. He characterizes the original treatise as a closely knit text consisting of an introduction (which considers the nature and relationship of free will and grace), followed by a rule for life sub-divided into three parts. These sub-sections deal with the requirement that a devout man should use his time properly, that he should do good as time and place permit, and that he should recognize the value of exemplary conduct. Moreover Keiser also argues that the differing textual states of G.D. in its three main MSS should be directly related to the differing responses of the individual scribes who actually produced these copies.

The G.D. material in MS Arundel 507 admirably demonstrates the extent to which, despite the original writer-compiler's efforts, later scribes had little or no sense of the unity of G.D. as a single religious treatise. MS Arundel 507 is the only extant MS to preserve material from the introduction and from all three parts of the original treatise. But in this MS, the material is preserved in a radically shortened form. Moreover both Arntz and Keiser also note that this copy has been meaningfully abridged by someone who has omitted most of the vernacular translations of the Latin quotations in the treatise, and who has deleted or summarized much of the vernacular commentary. This editorial work means that only about 60% of the original treatise actually remains. Keiser aptly makes the point that, since MS Arundel 507 seems to have been produced and read in a monastic community, the skeleton text in this copy was surely sufficient for readers who had

a better education and more experience in prayer and meditation than the original writer-compiler assumes for his intended audience.

The G.D. material in MS Arundel 507 has not only been drastically abridged, but it has also been dispersed among the other items in this religious miscellany. As the MS collection now stands an abbreviated copy of the original introduction, dealing with grace and free will, is presented on ff. 41v - 43r as a separate item, set apart from the main body of the treatise. Arntz and Keiser have both described how this particular portion of the introductory section of G.D. borrowed heavily from, and was indeed shaped by, the opening portion of another ME tract, A Ladder of Foure Ronges.[79] However neither scholar notices that, in MS Arundel 507, a monastic compiler also seems to have recognized the self-contained nature of this borrowing, and has personally dismantled the introductory section of G.D. which the earlier writer-compiler had so painstakingly assembled. Indeed it seems no accident that the self-contained nature of this G.D. extract (which Horstmann edited as de Gratia) is also assured because the later monastic scribe compiler has ended his copy just before the original writer compiler sets forth his organizational plan for the tripartite structure of the main treatise. These lines contain the textual cross references which have played such a crucial part in establishing the original unity of G.D. Their non-appearance in the de Gratia extract in MS Arundel 507 effectively frees this passage from the bulk of the treatise which survives much later in the MS (on ff. 54v - 66r).

At first sight the unity of the main batch of G.D. material in MS Arundel 507 seems much more secure. This cluster of material was originally edited by Horstmann as Our Daily Work and opens with the lines which originally seem to have linked the introduction to the three main sections of G.D. In this copy therefore the short passage may have

become detached from the section on Grace and free will, but it still
acts as a short prologue to the abbreviated material which follows.
Intriguingly however, on f. 48r in MS Arundel 507, a second, slightly
expanded version of the same short linking passage has also been
copied as a separate short prose scrap. The reasons for this curious
duplication of G.D. material in MS Arundel 507 is unclear. However it may
well be that the later compiler was encouraged to lift this short
passage out of its original context simply because it reads exactly
like a pithy summary of the sayings of respected patristic writers on,
the three things necessary for those who want to lead a properly
devout life.

At the same time as a monastic compiler was excerpting this
short but important passage, his attention was probably also caught
by another self-contained passage in the original compilation. This
is the text which survives as another separate item on f. 48r in the MS,
this time under the heading, Meditacio de passione Ihesu Christi.
Horstmann also edits this text as a separate ME item (Meditation on the
Passion; and of three arrows on doomsday). However reference to the
"Holy Book Gratia Dei" in the Ingilby MS (the only extant copy where
this passage appears as an integral part of G.D.) suggests that the
Meditation on the Passion was perhaps once added to G.D. as a loosely
appended addition to the main compilation. Therefore, despite the
efforts of an earlier writer-compiler, a later compiler also seems to
have recognized the self-contained nature of this G.D. extract, and
presented it as another separate item in his collection.

The editorial activities which resulted in the rearrangement of
G.D. material in MS Arundel 507 may also have been encouraged by the
way in which some of this material was presented to the potential
editor. For example if a G.D. exemplar had been punctuated in such

a way that it was obvious to the later reader where the original compiler had inserted borrowings from other works, then the later compiler who was so inclined could have needed little further encouragement to "dip" into G.D. and retrieve from it material which had originally been embedded in the treatise. Therefore the presence of headings or marginalia in G.D. exemplars may conceivably have prevented some passages in this vernacular compilation from ever having been totally absorbed into the main fabric of the treatise. This explanation would certainly seem to fit with the present state of our knowledge concerning the textual history of the Meditation of the Passion in its various surviving copies.

In MS Arundel 507 the scribe describes this text as Meditacio de passione Ihesu Christi. Moreover in the Ingilby MS the material corresponding to this passage is introduced by the words "Meditacioune of Cristes passione" (Arntz, p. 85/1). Although this line has now been absorbed into the main text of the Ingilby copy, it is likely that the line itself originally formed a heading of some kind in the exemplar behind this copy. Interestingly Bodley MS Rawlinson C 285 also preserves a copy of the Meditations of the Passion which has no heading, but which is obviously closely related to the texts in MS Arundel 507 and the Ingilby MS. MS Rawlinson C 285 contains no other material from G.D., but instead the Meditations is accompanied in this MS by a fragmentary copy of Book one of Hilton's Scale; a disarranged copy of chapters 70, 91 and 83 from the Scale; an extract from the Prick of Conscience (P.C.); extracts from Rolle's Form; an extract from Gaytryge's sermon; and a copy of Book two of the Scale. Therefore, because the other items in this MS form such an extensive collection of extracts from longer ME works, it is probable that the original compiler of this collection had access to a fuller version of G.D. from which he too extracted the Meditations of the Passion.

Most of the items in MS Rawlinson C 285 (including the

Meditations of the Passion, but excluding Book two of the Scale)

also survive as part of the collection of devotional items in

Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 5. 40. This MS also contains a copy

of Hilton's Of Angels' Song which probably also once followed the frag-

mentary main text of Book one of the Scale in MS Rawlinson C 285.[80]

In this way then we can see how, once passages were extracted from longer

works like Gaytryge's sermon, Rolle's Form, Hilton's Scale, the Prick

of Conscience, or G.D., they could take on a new identity as separate

items. Later scribes could then recopy (and perhaps even rearrange)

this material in their own collections without recognizing the original

sources from which most of the short items in their source were originally

derived.

The monastic compiler who seems to have intelligently abbreviated

and rearranged portions of G.D. in MS Arundel 507 also incorporated

this material into a larger, seemingly privately compiled collection of

other devout reading material. This includes a copy of Gaytryge's

sermon; disarranged and fragmentary extracts from Rolle's Form (including

the spurious chapter dealing with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost

which is also found in Thornton's collection); and an extract from Rolle's

Incendium Amoris. In addition the introductory portion of G.D.

(de Gratia) is preceded in this collection by another extract from the

Form, and by an abridged and fragmentary copy of Rolle's Ego Dormio.

Therefore in this MS collection a series of dismembered and abbreviated

portions of G.D. are loosely joined to a series of dismembered and

abbreviated extracts from other lengthy ME works. There is little sense

here that the original coherence or unity of G.D. (or of any of the other

items) controlled the choice or organization of this material.

The copy of G.D. in the Ingilby MS seems to be the work of

a careless scribe who frequently misread or misunderstood his original

text, and who often seems to have accidentally omitted material from his

copy. This is particularly ironical since the Ingilby MS is also the

only surviving copy that presents its G.D. material in the order in which

the writer compiler of the treatise originally arranged it. This

copy preserves the introductory section of the compilation, followed

by the first part of the tri-partite rule, and all but a small portion

of the second part. This material is presented in a continuous sequence

and under the general heading, "Holy Book Gratia Dei." However the

Ingilby copy halts near the bottom of the first column of text on

f.22v, thereby omitting the remaining lines of the second part of the

rule, and all of the third part. Since there is no obvious physical

lacuna here, we must assume that, for some reason, the Ingilby scribe

halted his copy at this point.

Interestingly Keiser notes in his description of the Ingilby

MS that this copy of G.D. seems to have once formed a separate MS unit,

and there remains the possibility that similar self-contained units may

once have circulated as booklet exemplars until they eventually fell

to pieces through frequent use. It may well be that the reason why

the Ingilby copy is now incomplete is because it was itself copied

from a fragmentary booklet exemplar. However Keiser has also found

evidence to associate the Ingilby MS with Mount Grace, and he suggests

that this careless copy may have been the work of a layman or secular

cleric visiting the Carthusian Charterhouse there. If this is the

case then the scribe who copied this incomplete text possibly found

himself with a lengthy treatise to transcribe, but with only temporary

access to his G.D. exemplar. Possibly then the errors and omissions

in this unfinished copy may be the inevitable result of one scribe's

attempt to copy as much material as he possibly could in the limited time

in which his G.D. source remained available to him.

In view of the deficiencies of the G.D. material in both MS
Arundel 507 and the Ingilby MS, it is hardly surprising that, where
possible, Arntz preferred the Thornton text of G.D. as the base text
for her edition. However, as we noted earlier in this chapter,
even in Thornton's copy the modern reader is faced with G.D. material which
is not only fragmentary and seemingly incomplete, but which has also
become disarranged. This material now consists of two main portions
of the original treatise. The first begins abruptly on f. 237r and ends
as a seemingly self-contained item on f. 240r. It forms an extract which
has been taken from the second part of the main rule. It is followed
on ff. 240r - 250v by a copy of the introductory section, the first part
of the main rule, and the beginning of the second part. However the text,
breaks off at the point where the earlier extract would logically
have followed in the original compilation, and where it does actually
follow in both MS Arundel 507 and the Ingilby MS. Moreover the
Thornton G.D. material in this second extract is not copied continuously,
but is now presented as a series of related short passages gathered under
the headings, De gracia dei (ff. 240r - 242r); Whate grace dose
when he vesettis mannes saule (ff. 242r - 247v); and Off thre maners
ocupations (ff. 247v - 250v).

In his analysis of the Thornton copy, Keiser assumes that
Thornton had access to the G.D. treatise in its original order, and that
he lifted his first G.D. extract on prayer out of its usual context. This
was because he intended to present it as an opening item in gathering O
which would follow and complement the Rolle-related tract on prayer
which now survives as the last item in gathering N. Furthermore he
interprets the incomplete nature of the G.D. material in Thornton's
collection as the direct result of Thornton's own decision to abandon

his G.D. exemplar.   Keiser sees this as a conscious act of literary

selectivity by an active man of the world who had already accumulated a

hefty collection of devotional writings.   Because this collection

included a copy of Hilton's Mixed Life, Thornton probably felt that

there was no need to copy in full a treatise like G.D. which advocated

such a rigorous life of prayer and contemplation.

This account of Thornton's possible editorial interest in

G.D. certainly holds some attractions, especially if we assume that,

by the time Thornton copied this material, he had already copied the

items in gatherings L - N.   Thornton's seemingly uncharacteristic

"confidence" and discrimination as a literary compiler in gathering O

would then seem to be that of someone who could now afford to dismantle

a prose compilation which repeated material which was similar to that

which he had already copied earlier.   In this sense then it certainly

seems appropriate to compare the disarranged G.D. material in Thornton's

copy to the dismantled copy in MS Arundel 507.   Nevertheless, elsewhere

in his MS, Thornton does not seem to have been worried about other

unnecessarily repetitious items.   The possibility therefore remains that

Thornton's treatment of his G.D. material was occasioned as much by the

practical conditions in which he was working, as by his own whims or

needs as a literary compiler.

There are a number of equally likely possibilities here.   In

the first place the conditions in which Thornton obtained and copied

material for his collection probably varied considerably.   On some

occasions Thornton may have had the time and inclination to arrange,

or disarrange, his material, while on others he may simply have copied

batches of material in the order which he inherited from his exemplars.

Moreover although Keiser does not explore this possibility, Thornton

may have had little sense of the integrity of the G.D. material in front

of him, because it was presented to him in his source as a sequence

of short items rather than as a single unified treatise. Indeed, since

much of Thornton's devotional material seems to have passed through

several earlier hands, it is even possible that some of the textual

peculiarities which now seem unique to Thornton's copy may also have

existed in his source. These possibilities certainly do not make

the task of discussing the relationship between the ME tract on prayer in

N and the G.D. material in O any easier. Moreover this relationship

becomes even less certain when we examine once again the present

fragmentary state of gathering N.

Thornton's Rolle-related tract on prayer ends abruptly on f. 236v,

while his first portion of G.D. (dealing with the six things that one needs

to know about prayer) opens abruptly on f. 237r. However, earlier in

this chapter our tentative estimate of the extensive physical lacuna

in the MS at this point suggested that at least five leaves are now

missing from the end of gathering N, and that at least one leaf is also

missing from the beginning of O. Of course these are minimum estimates

of the serious physical damage that Thornton's collection has undoubtedly

suffered. They do not preclude the possibility that some missing leaves

may also have contained other written material which might considerably

alter our impression of Thornton's "editorial" interests in G.D.. For

example the tendency of other medieval scribes to extract the Meditations

on the Passion from G.D. might suggest that Thornton, or some earlier

compiler, was also particularly attracted by this section and copied it

as another disarranged but self-contained short item. This could also

have been added at the end of gathering N, thereby disrupting the

sequence of two tracts on prayer which is now formed by the juxtaposition

of two fragmentary gatherings.

We also have no guarantee that Thornton's exemplar actually

contained all the material we now associate with the G.D. compilation.

Instead, like his own copy and all the other surviving copies of this

treatise, his exemplar could have been either disarranged and

fragmentary, or else otherwise incomplete. In addition the careless

nature of the unfinished copy in the Ingilby MS has already suggested

that the Ingilby scribe had only a limited period of access to his

G.D. exemplar.[81] The same point might now be made about Thornton's

rather more careful, but also more incomplete copy of the same treatise.

For example, faced with a lengthy prose compilation and only limited

access to it, Thornton may well have been forced to resort to some means of

limiting his scribal task. Unlike the Ingilby scribe he may have done

this by selectively reducing the amount of G.D. material he attempted

to copy. Possibly he also copied this material in a different order

to the one in which it originally appeared in his exemplar. Therefore

while we might very well assume that Thornton could have tampered

with his G.D. material, his actions need not necessarily indicate his

deliberate or discriminating preference for either one particular type of

religious literature, or for the work of a single author.[82]

Our sense that Thornton's appetite for devotional literature was

fuelled, but not satisfied, by the collection of meditative and

expository items in gatherings L - N certainly explains why Thornton

originally copied any G.D. material. Moreover, once he had copied

this text, he continued to expand his collection until he had filled

the remaining space in gathering O (ff. 250v - 253v) and all of gathering

P (ff. 254r - 279v) with a variety of other Latin and English items.

Interestingly some of these items also show clear signs of having been

carefully compiled together in order to encourage appropriate devout

practices and attitudes among their intended late medieval readers.

Ff. 250v - 258r in gatherings O and P are filled by a ME

prose text which Thornton's heading describes as, A Reuelacyon Schewed
to ane holy woman now one late tyme. This item describes a series
of grotesque visions of purgatory experienced by an anonymous female
recluse in 1422, but it concentrates in particular on the sufferings
of one Margaret who, in her lifetime, was a sister of religion.
The narrative would have had an obvious appeal for an audience of female
religious, and A.I. Doyle has already used the topical references to
named priests and monks in the Reuelacyon to suggest the clerical origin
of the text itself (thesis, p. 81ff.). In particular he notes the
reference to John London (C. 1389 - 1429), the famous recluse of
Westminster who assisted in the establishment of Syon Abbey. This
reference encourages Doyle to associate the Reuelacyon with a metropolitan
contemplative community. It was presumably in some such setting that the
text was not only written, but also possibly enjoyed for a time. In
addition however the survival of Thornton's copy suggests that the
Reuelacyon eventually passed from its metropolitan origins. Its
subsequent availability to a North Yorkshire scribe may well be because of
a continuing clerical interest and involvement in the circulation of this
item.

The sensationalized nightmare visions of purgatorial suffering
in the Reuelacyon may have given the text a certain grotesque appeal
among early readers. But this narrative was written with an eye to
teaching as well as to entertaining. By the end of the Reuelacyon
the female narrator has described to her confessor how a series of
masses, prayers and supplications have succeeded in obtaining heavenly bliss
for the tortured soul of Margaret. However it is Margaret herself who
instructs that relief from her pains and sufferings will only come when;
five close friends (who she names) have each devotedly and repeatedly
recited Vulgate Psalm 50 (Miserere mei deus) and the hymn Veni Creator.

When questioned further by the narrator Margaret helpfully defines the great benefits also to be obtained by anyone who recites these Latin texts in an appropriately devout manner. She advises,

> what mane or woman þat vses to say
> þis psalme with this ympne aboune-said
> Veni creator spiritus, & if he be in
> dowte of syne or dispeyre of feythe or
> of þe mercy of god, he sall thurgh þe
> myghte of god hafe trewe knaweyng of his
> defawtes, & thurgh þe mercy of god be
> delyuerde of þat temptacyone as for þat tyme.
> And also if a mane or a womane be tempede
> in any of the seuene dedly synnes als in
> thyfte, manslaughter, schlaunderynge, bakbyttyng,
> or in any cursede syne of lechorye, late hym
> saye with a gud herte thies wordis miserere
> Mei deus & c & þis ympne alle-owte Veni
> Creator spiritus, and þase wikkede sperites
> þat trauells hym to þat temptacioune sall
> be avoydide at þat tyme   (Yorkshire Writers, I, p.385)

Obviously then one of the chief didactic interests of the author of

the Reuelacyon was to establish the importance of the Miserere Mei deus

and the Veni Creator in the minds of his audience. By 1422 these were

obviously Latin items which could not only be used by priests and

confessors to help save the souls of those who suffered in purgatory,

but they might also be used by any devout man or woman in their private

meditations or in periods of crisis in their own lives.

In view of the didactic emphasis in this ME item it is

particularly appropriate that Thornton's copy of the Reuelacyon

is followed on f. 258r in gathering P by a Latin text of Misere mei deus

(Vulgate psalm 50). Predictably this item is then followed on f. 258v

by a Latin text of the Veni Creator. Both items obviously now owe their

survival in Thornton's collection to the fact that, at some stage

in their history, they have been carefully selected as suitable material

with which to follow the Reuelacyon. However here, as elsewhere in

gatherings L - P, it is much easier to establish possible reasons why

certain items have been gathered together, than it is to distinguish

Thornton's own compiling efforts from those of earlier compilers.

Unfortunately the situation does not become any clearer when we examine the two other surviving copies of the Reuelacyon in Longleat MS 29 and in Bodley MS th. c. 58. For example the passages where Margaret discusses the efficacy of reciting the Miserere and the Veni Creator are not only highlighted in the Thornton copy by appropriate marginal notes, but similar marginalia also appear at corresponding places in the other two copies. Therefore, despite the fact that Thornton's copy is the only surviving one where the Latin psalm and hymn now follow this ME text, we can say that most readers were probably actively encouraged to associate these particular Latin texts with the Reuelacyon. Moreover the Reuelacyon is now the last item in Longleat MS 29, but this extensive collection of religious items also includes a copy of the Latin Veni Creator earlier in the MS. This may not have been added from the same source as the Reuelacyon, but presumably the existence of the Veni Creator could have been noted by readers of this copy of the Reuelacyon. Bodley MS th. c. 58 is the only MS copy in which neither the Latin hymn nor the psalm survive, but unfortunately, this copy of the Reuelacyon ends abruptly. Since there is an extensive physical lacuna in this particularly fragmentary MS at this point, there is now no sure way of knowing if this MS ever contained copies of one or other, or both, the Latin items which are now appended to the Thornton copy.

Even if we assume that it was a much later compiler who was originally responsible for the inclusion of the Miserere and the Veni Creator alongside the Reuelacyon, it is still possible that this is the work of an earlier teacher or reader rather than Thornton himself. Copies of both Latin items were often used in public worship, and can also be found in most breviaries, and Horae. The Miserere was even

intended to be recited daily by the devout and, by the time the

Reuelacyon was written, this particular psalm had probably been committed

to memory by most clerical writers, devout sisters of religion, and

even by many devout laymen. Therefore it is entirely possible that

Thornton found his own copies of the Latin psalm and hymn, and created

the sequence of English and Latin items in gathering P for himself.[83]

However, since the same texts were probably just as well known to other

devout scribes, the real problem here seems to be one of deciding

whether Thornton is likely to have been the first person to think of

appending these Latin items to the Reuelacyon in his copy.

Thornton's copy of his Veni Creator is followed on ff.258v -

270v by a lengthy Latin compilation of prayers and devotions which

Thornton's heading describes as Sayne Ierome Spaltyre (sic). This

item fills the bulk of the remaining space in gathering P, and its present

survival here once again suggests the all pervasive influence of the

prayer books of the medieval church on the religious items in Thornton's

collection.   The introductory lines of the Thornton copy describe how

Jerome was inspired to write a compilation of extracts from the psalms

for those devout people who were unable to say the entire Psalter

daily.   Indeed it was probably because St Jerome's text could be

so easily used as a compendium of essential devotional material that,

in its various forms, it became one of the most regular constituents of

medieval Horae.[84]   The different Latin and English versions which now

survive were presumably specially intended for those pious lay folk who

could read, and who wanted material which would help them to lead as

devout a life as their personal circumstances would permit.   Therefore

the present survival of St Jerome's Psalter in Thornton's collection,

beside his copy of the Reuelacyon, Vulgate Psalm 50 and Veni Creator,

seems entirely appropriate.

The Thornton copy of St Jerome's Psalter has also been expanded by a range of other short Latin prayers and devotions. At some time most of these (like St Jerome's Psalter itself) have probably been derived either directly or indirectly from Church service books. It is of course difficult to identify the precise source or sources for most of these borrowings, but Miss P.R. Robinson has noted that St Everild is among the female saints in the litany of saints on ff. 264r - 264v. Intriguingly this saint is now known only from the appearance of her office in the York Breviary.[85] Therefore there remains the distinct possibility that the entire sequence of Latin devotional items which has been appended to the Reuelacyon (a Southern text) was originally added for a Northern audience and by Northern hands. We might also reasonably suspect that the editorial work behind this sequence is related to the attempts which were being made to feed the growing demands for edifying reading material among a literate audience which included Thornton's intended readers. However Thornton's main contribution seems to have been that he copied (as best he could) an existing sequence of Latin and English items for his own private collection.[86]

The next item in gathering P is a copy of a ME text which Thornton's heading describes as, Religio sancti spiritus Religio Munda, but which is now generally known as the Abbey of the Holy Ghost. Interestingly the original author of this allegorical prose treatise can generally be said to have shared Jerome's concern for those people who are unable to devote themselves completely to a life of prayer. However, unlike St Jerome's Psalter, the Abbey does not consist of a compendium of prayers and devotions which might provide the busy reader with a shortened set of daily devotions. Instead this ME tract has been translated from a French treatise on piety which had itself been expanded

from an early-fourteenth century French sermon. However, while it
has been argued that the French treatise had a particular appeal for
female readers, the ME translated version seems to have been intended
to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. The whole purpose of its
allegory is to invite those devout people who, for a variety of reasons
are unable to live a fully cloistered life, to establish a carefully
ordered "Abbey of the Holy Ghost" within themselves. In this sense
both English and French versions of the _Abbey_ can be seen as literary products
of clerical attempts to popularize the meditative practices associated
with the contemplative life.[87]

It is surely some indication of the success of the ME _Abbey_
that copies now survive in twentyfour MSS and in five early prints.
Moreover, in all the MS copies, the _Abbey_ forms part of larger collections
of religious and didactic items very similar in scope to the items in
gatherings L - P in Thornton's collection. In seventeen MSS the _Abbey_
is included in collections which also contain expository items that
were originally written to teach their readers the fundamental tenets
of the Christian faith; in twelve MSS it is accompanied by ME items
which were written to popularize the lives of the saints or the miracles
of the Virgin, and in thirteen MSS it survives alongside writings in
English or Latin which are associated with either Hilton or Rolle (seven
MSS) or with one of the early Church Fathers (six MSS). Therefore,
although it is unprecedented to find a copy of the _Abbey_ in a collection
which also includes a "romance" unit, it seems entirely natural that
Thornton's copy now forms part of a compendious collection of devotional
material.[88]

The Thornton copy of the _Abbey_ ends with space to spare on f.276r,
and the remaining space on ff. 276v - 279v in gathering P is now occupied
by a series of short items. Of course Thornton could have added the

items at the end of this gathering on a number of different occasions, as material became available. Nevertheless we have already assumed that the cluster of short Latin items on ff. 277v - 279r form a batch of material which Thornton copied from a single prayer book source. This was at a late stage when he had already completed the rubrication and decoration of gatherings L - P. However, before Thornton copied this cluster of Latin prayers, and before he had completed the decorative work in P, the last item in this gathering was probably his copy of an extract from the Prick of Conscience (P.C.).

Thornton's P.C. extract presently occupies ff. 276v - 277r and provides his readers with an account of the sufferings humanity must endure because man is born in sin. Despite the fact that this seemingly self-contained item opens with a four line decorative capital, the Thornton extract commences with neither incipit nor heading, and ends without any form of explicit. In addition Thornton copied the text in double columns on f. 276v, but, on f. 277r, his copy ends in the first column on the page. The space where a second column of text could have been added is now partly taken up with pen trials. Interestingly all these features give Thornton's readers the distinct impression that this passage has simply been abandoned.[89] Moreover the information presently available about the ways in which copies of the P.C. circulated in the later middle ages would certainly support the theory that Thornton copied this extract as an anonymous and incomplete didactic passage because of the manner in which the text was presented to him in his source.

In its fullest form the P.C. consisted of over 9,500 lines written in rhyming couplets and arranged as a prologue and seven books.[90] However, in their recent useful descriptive guide to MSS containing this ME poem, Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh have described how the

full text of the P.C. circulated in two main versions. These are an

original Northern version (surviving in 97 complete, incomplete or

fragmentary copies) and a thoroughly revised and shortened Southern

version (surviving in 18 copies). Both versions circulated widely in a

bewildering variety of abridged, expanded and contaminated forms which

are currently being identified by a number of scholars. But McIntosh

and Lewis tentatively suggest four textual sub-groups for the original

Northern version and two major sub-groups for the Southern version.

Furthermore to these 115 MSS can be added two MSS which contain a much

abbreviated and altered ME version entitled Speculum Huius Vite,

and 8 MSS (including Thornton's) which contain self-contained extracts

from the P.C. itself. All of these extracts seem to have been derived

from the original Northern version of the poem. Although most remain

unclassified, McIntosh and Lewis follow Derrick Britton's recent

suggestion that the Thornton extract is most closely related to P.C.

MSS belonging to the fourth textual sub-group of the main version.[91]

    The Thornton P.C. passage now consists of just 114 lines derived

from near the beginning of book one (corresponding to 11. 438 - 551 of

the Morris edition of the poem).   No other surviving MS actually

preserves these lines as an extract but this, by itself, can hardly

be taken as an indication that Thornton was personally responsible for

extracting this material from a more complete copy of the poem.

In addition there is nothing in the Thornton copy to suggest the scope

of the original poem. Therefore Thornton may even have copied this

passage without being aware of its original identity as part of the

P.C. .

    In this context it is particularly interesting that as many

as 80 of the 115 surviving P.C. copies listed as belonging to either

the main version or the Southern version are now defective because the

MSS containing these copies have suffered some kind of physical damage.[92]

Understandably these lacunae are often (but by no means always) confined to the outer leaves of the MSS themselves, and therefore have affected the opening or closing lines of the poem itself. However the Thornton extract is also derived from near the beginning of the P.C.. Lewis and McIntosh list a total of twenty one defective copies where either all or part of the lines corresponding to the text in the Thornton passage are also missing. Interestingly these fragmentary copies include the MS from group four of the main version to which the text of the Thornton extract seems to be most closely related (Trinity College Dublin MS 157). Furthermore, on five occasions, the surviving fragments of the P.C. consist of only one or two leaves, in each case containing less than 200 lines of text. Therefore the survival of these fragments against all the odds raises the possibility that other brief fragments may once have existed independently of the main text of the P.C. . At an earlier stage in its history the Thornton P.C. extract may even have been a stray leaf which had become detached from its parent MS as that copy was passed from reader to reader.

The present neglected appearance of Thornton's text would certainly suggest that Thornton's P.C. exemplar was little more than an incomplete fragment. Moreover for a time Thornton's copy of this P.C. extract seems to have remained the last item in gathering P. During that time the items in the gathering (including the P.C. passage) were rubricated and decorated. It was only when gatherings L - P (and also perhaps A - K) had been gathered together that Thornton returned to P to add additional material on the last few remaining leaves. Therefore the unfinished and abandoned state of Thornton's P.C. extract may be due to the fact that, until a very late stage in his book compiling activities, Thornton set this incomplete gathering aside and

continued copying his material into other, small self-contained MS

units.   Throughout this chapter this would seem to have emerged as

an important feature of Thornton's early scribal practice.   However, in

order to continue this discussion of the manner in which Thornton worked

to gather material for his collection, we must first examine the London

Thornton MS for other signs of the book producer at work.   Fortunately,

sufficient physical and textual evidence remains here for us to build up

an even clearer picture of Thornton's rather unorthodox, but normally

very practically motivated, working methods.

1.   Most of the MS evidence I discuss in this chapter can be conveniently checked in the Scolar facsimile edition, (second revised Ed. repr. 1978). For a detailed description of the contents of the Lincoln Thornton MS see Appendix 1. For a summary of scholarly interest in the MS see also the Introduction above.

2.   In the first edition of the Scolar facsimile Owen assumed that quire i was complete. However Professor George Keiser then pointed out textual _lacunae_ following ff.147 and 159. This correction was eventually incorporated into the second revised edition of the facsimile. See also Owen's, "The Collation and Descent of the Thornton Manuscript," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 6 (1975), pp. 218-25.

3.   My discussion here has obviously been directed by previous general studies of medieval scribal practice. See, for example, Graham Pollard, "Notes on the Size of the Sheet," The Library, 4th series, 22 (1942), pp. 105 - 137; G.S. Ivy, "The Bibliography of the Manuscript Book," in The English Library before 1700, ed. Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright (1958), pp. 32 - 65; and A.I. Doyle, "Further Observations on Durham Cathedral MS A.IV. 34," Codicologica, 1 (1972), pp. 35 - 47. Obviously various individual MSS will need to be carefully examined before we can talk with any certainty about the ways in which different medieval scribes variously set about the task of preparing their paper and copying items from their exemplars. However after a brief check, I have been unable to locate any other folio volumes where devices similar to Thornton's informal "catchwords" still survive.   I am also grateful to Dr. Ian Doyle for a brief discussion of Thornton's catchwords at the recent York Conference on medieval MSS (July, 1983). This has helped to clarify some of the ideas expressed in this section of the chapter.

4.   In his discussion of the early printed book Philip Gaskell has noted that, "It became usual in the mid-sixteenth century to complete each page with the first word of the following page set as a catchword at the end of the direction line. The practice was intended to help the compositor to get the pages in the right order for printing" (A New Introduction to Bibliography, 1972, p. 53). However it is hard to explain why a medieval scribe like Thornton, who was working with a folio arrangement, should want to attempt something similar.

5.   It is also worth noting that Thornton's unorthodox "catchwords" now survive in some (but not all) of his prose items. Inevitably, any explanation of their original function would seem to depend on the assumption that Thornton was not always copying his material in sense order, or page for page, or even line for line with the text in his sources. The practical advantages of copying items out of sense order in a folio arrangement seem minimal, but it was presumably particularly difficult for a scribe who copied material in this manner to find his place in a prose item before continuing his copy. The Thornton devices may well have been Thornton's own attempt to reduce this practical difficulty to a minimum by providing himself with the phrase at which his interrupted text should recommence when he turned over his sheet and continued his copy.

6.   In order to distinguish between Thornton's MSS, I have used lower case letters to denote the quires in the London Thornton MS and upper case letters for the quires in the Lincoln Thornton MS. The medieval

signatures were themselves originally added in lower case letters.

7.   Since all the leaves in the London Thornton MS have now been
guarded, it is of course impossible to be sure that there were no
unwatermarked bifolia in Thornton's other book.   I discuss this problem
more fully in chapter II.

8.   It would of course be desirable to check the evidence of the chain
indentations in the paper in the Lincoln MS, but it has not proved
possible to complete this rather lengthy process in the limited time
available and with the resources at Lincoln.   However this work is
going to be completed by Dr. R.J. Lyall and myself as part of our
continuing research on the paper in Thornton's MSS.   In each case in
this chapter where I suggest a correction to Owen's collation, Lyall
has checked the chain indentations and has confirmed that my corrections
do not contravene the useful limitations imposed by this evidence.   For
a detailed analysis of the value of the evidence of chain indentations
as a guide to the original make-up of a medieval MS see the lengthy
discussion in the following chapter.

9.   Hope Emily Allen edited both sections of the text as two separate
poems.   See her English Writings of Richard Rolle (1931), pp. 49 - 51
and 52 - 53.   For full discussion of the extant copies of this text
see below.

10.   See his Yorkshire Writers : Richard Rolle of Hampole and His
Followers, 2 vols (1895 - 96), II, pp. 264-92.   The following discussion
obviously relies heavily on Horstmann's monumental work on mystical
material that has otherwise remained unedited.   Similarly, throughout
this chapter, I have also relied heavily on the wealth of detailed
information provided by Dr A.I. Doyle's unpublished Ph.D. thesis ("A
Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English
in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration
of the Part of the Clergy Therein."   Cambridge University, 1953).
Without the aid of this material the task of describing and analysing
the items in Thornton's "religious" unit would have been immeasurably more
difficult.

11.   There is some variation in Thornton's writing habits which means
that he could copy the equivalent of as much as 41 lines (on f. 224v)
or as little as 32 lines (on f. 228r) of Horstmann's published text.
But this undeniable inconsistency would not appear to seriously affect
the general conclusions tentatively drawn here.

12.   See Horstmann's text and comments in Early Yorkshire Writers, I,
pp. 295 - 300.   In his Addenda to this volume (p. 443) Horstmann noted
the survival of the fragmentary copy in MS Royal 18. A. X.   My information
on the other surviving copies is derived from Peter S. Jolliffe's handy
(but not always entirely accurate) Checklist of ME Prose Writings of
Spiritual Guidance (1974).   Thanks are also due to Mr. M.R. Perkin,
Curator of Special Collections, for making MS Rylands F. 4. 10 so
promptly available to me.   I have not yet had the opportunity to examine
Bodley MS e, mus. 35.

13.   For Horstmann's published text of G.D. see Early Yorkshire
Writers, I, pp. 112 - 121, 132 - 156 (MS Arundel 507), and 300 - 321
(Thornton copy).   For Arntz's reconstructed edition of G.D. see her
unpublished Ph.D. thesis ("þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei : An Edition with
Commentary," Fordham University 1961).   My attention was first drawn
to this thesis by Professor Keiser's article, "þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei,"
Viator, 12 (1981), pp. 289 - 317, esp. N. 9.   For a fuller discussion
of the differing textual states in which G.D. now survives see my
discussion later in this chapter.

14.   Thornton's practice on f. 246v is not repeated elsewhere in his
copy of G.D.. On every other occasion Thornton copies the equivalent of
between 36 and 51 lines of Arntz's text per page.   Nevertheless the degree
of variation in Thornton's writing habits is still significant and our
doubts about the amount of space Thornton would have required to copy
the missing 100 lines still seem valid.

15.   For the only edition of the Liber presently available see M.S.
Ogden's, The Liber de Diversis Medicinis, EETS, O.S., 207 (1938).
Ogden noted the textual lacuna on p. 39 and N.. Professor George R.
Keiser is currently preparing a full textual collation of at least ten
hitherto unnoticed MS copies of the Liber.   See his "MS Rawlinson A.
393 : Another Findern Manuscript," Transactions of the Cambridge
Bibliographical Society, 7 (1980), pp. 445 - 7.   In a private communication
Professor Keiser informs me that he too has noted the missing bifolium
in Thornton's copy.

16.   A complicating factor for my discussion here is the existence
of several MS fragments now numbered ff.315 - 21 in the Lincoln MS.
Owen concluded that these scraps, which seem to form part of the Liber,
or an associated medical text, are the remains of a final quire (R)
of indefinite size.   Keiser's forthcoming textual collation should
clarify the issue by determining just how much of the Liber is likely
to be missing from the end of Thornton's copy.   If, for the moment, we
assume a minimum textual loss then at least two explanations seem equally
likely.   Firstly several, although perhaps not all, of the fragments may
be the remnants of the bifolium and singleton leaf which appear to be
missing from Q.   Additionally, although Thornton appears to have
constructed Q with some regard to the length of the exemplar he was using,
he may have either miscalculated the amount of paper he needed, or else
he may have supplemented his main exemplar with additional material and
so required a small number of extra leaves for his originally "tailor
made" gathering.

17.   Further details about the decorative features in Thornton's
MSS (including his use of red ink as a rubricating device) will be
discussed in Chapter IV.

18.   See also the final chapter for a discussion of the possibility
that gathering P is also a composite quire, into which Thornton eventually
inserted a second batch of paper so as to supplement a much smaller
half-filled gathering.

19.   In Chapter III I discuss several different examples of late
medieval MS collections which have been produced in this manner.   See
also the general description of this common method of medieval book
production in A. Brussendorff's The Chaucer Tradition (1925), esp. p.
179 ff.   For a detailed description of the self-contained MS units which

go to make up other obviously composite MSS see Pamela R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet', A self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," Codicologica 3 (1980), pp. 46 - 69.

20. See his "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 : Life and Milieu of the Scribe," Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), pp. 158 - 79, esp. 160 - 164 and notes.

21. Keiser's identification of some of the texts mentioned in the wills he cites is sometimes open to question. However Keiser's work on the life and social milieu in which Thornton lived is continuing and a second article, developing some of the ideas he put forward in his earlier study, has just been published. See his, "More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton," Studies in Bibliography, 36 (1983), pp. 112 - 119.

22. He writes, "The Prose Alexander with which the manuscript now begins, was not, I believe, the first work Thornton copied for his book. Indeed, I suggest that it was probably the last work copied and that it was copied after Thornton had, according to his original plan, completed his compilation of this book and had started work on B.L. Additional MS 31042. The Alexander interested Thornton but did not have a place in the Additional MS which seems to have begun as a Spiritual History. It would, however, serve nicely as a companion piece to the Morte Arthure" ("Life and Milieu," p.177).

23. Line references are to E. Brock, ed., Morte Arthure, EETS, O.S. 8 (new edn 1871, repr. 1904); and M.Y. Offord, ed., The Parlement of the Thre Ages, EETS, O.S. 246 (1959).

24. These are the Sege of Melayne (ff. 66v - 79v), and the Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuel of Spayne (ff. 82r - 94r). The context in which both these items now survive is fully discussed in the following chapter.

25. Reference to the Index shows that Lamentacio peccatoris also survives in two other late medieval miscellanies. These are Bodley MS Ashmole 61, and National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19. 3. 1. Both these MSS are composite. It is in MS Advocates 19. 3. 1 that Lamentacio peccatoris seems to have been added as a filler item at the end of the eighth independent unit (quire 10). See further Phillipa Hardman, "A Mediaeval 'Library In Parvo'," Medium Aevum 47 (1978), pp. 262-73. For a preliminary discussion of the composite nature of MS Ashmole 61 see R.K.G. Ginn, "A Critical Edition of the Two Texts of Sir Cleges" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1967). The contents of both these MSS are described in detail in Gisela Guddat-Figge's useful, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing ME Romances (1976).

26. In a private communication Mr Malcolm B. Parkes of Keble College Oxford informs me that, "the additions on ff. 50r - 52r are in a 'post-Thornton' hand which must be of S. xvi in.." He has also suggested to me that the pen-trial on f.49v seems to him to show Thornton trying out his secretary script. I am extremely grateful to Mr Parkes for his help in this matter and for his thorough and immediate reply to my queries.

27. These roughly drawn sketches were possibly, although not certainly, inspired by the neighbouring Arthurian item. However for a full discussion of their present appearance in Thornton's MS see Chapter IV below.

28. The article can be found in *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (1962), pp. 231 - 40. A similarity of dialects does not of course authomatically mean that two texts must have come from a single exemplar. It may also suggest that Thornton had continued access to a series of items because of his repeated contacts with a single scribe. For further discussion of this point see my comments in the Introduction above.

29. Miss P.R. Robinson has already suggested that Thornton may have copied *Octavian*, *Sir Isumbras*, and the *Erl of Toulous* from a single booklet exemplar. See her contribution to the recent Scolar Press facsimile edition of *Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 2. 38*, introd by Frances McSparran and P.R. Robinson (1979), p. xvi. MS Ff. 2.38 is of course interesting in its own right as an example of another, "organized" late medieval miscellany.

30. For a more optimistic discussion of the present MS context of this saint's life among Thornton's romances see James Owen Daly, "The World and the Next : Social and Religious Ideologies in the Romances of the Thornton Manuscript" (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Oregon, 1977). Using a mainly literary-critical approach Daly argues that all Thornton's romances, but in particular the *Vita Sancti Christofori*, articulate a pious lay ideology where spiritual and religious significance is found not only in the chivalric way of life, but also in more mundane secular activities. More generally Derek Pearsall and John Burrow, among others, have of course argued that the ME saint's life and the ME romance often share similar stylistic and thematic features. See, for example, Pearsall's comments on "romance style" in his *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (1977) or Burrow's recent comments in his *Medieval Writers and Their Work* (1982).

31. In this context see further J.A.H. Murray's comments in his edition, *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, EETS, O.S. 61 (1875), and also E.B. Lyle's, "*The Turk and Gawain* as a source of *Thomas of Erceldoune*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 6 (1970), pp. 98 - 102.

32. In a forthcoming study of the Thornton fragment of *De Miraculo Beate Marie* I plan to show that this text was originally more controversial than its present, rather innocuous context in his MS might suggest. For the text of *De Miraculo* see C. Horstmann, ed., *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (1881), pp. 503-4.

33. For the text of *Lyarde* see T. Wright and J.O. Halliwell, eds, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II (1843), pp. 280-2. This particular ME text has suffered considerable neglect. However in his *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (1971), p. 245, John Scattergood gives some brief indication of the anti-fraternal literary traditions to which *Lyarde* properly belongs. *Lyarde* has recently been re-edited and discussed by Jason Reakes in his, "*Lyarde* and Goliard," *N.M.*, 83 (1982), pp.34-41.

34. For text see Ralph Hanna III, ed., *The Awentyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn* (1974). Hanna's introduction contains a discussion of the many and complex stylistic and textual problems raised by the surviving texts of the *Awentyrs*. For an analysis of the important literary affiliations of the *Awentyrs* with other poetry written in the thirteen line stanza see Thorlac Turville Petre's, "'Summer Sunday', 'De Tribus Regibus Mortuis' and 'The Awntyrs off Arthurs,' Three Poems in the Thirteen-line stanza," *R.E.S.*, N.S., 25 (1974), pp. 1 - 14.

35.   This explanation would presuppose a period of time when gathering I had been folded in reverse. This was of course before the gathering itself was eventually signed, and possibly while Thornton's copy of the Awentyrs was being read apart from his main collection.

36.   I have been unable to find any other surviving copies of these particular "medical prayer charms." However the task of locating and identifying other extant copies of this type of material will doubtless be made much easier as work on the proposed Index of ME Prose continues. For a brief discussion of "Some Problems in Indexing ME Recipes," see Henry Hargreave's recent contribution to Middle English Prose : Essays on Bibliographical Problems, ed. A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall (1981), pp. 91 - 113.

37.   Another reference to Pope Leo's letter is given in National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19. 3. 1. where a vernacular prayer on f. 96v promises similar safety to the bearer of the accompanying text. See further Phillipa Hardman's "A Mediaeval 'Library In Parvo'" (note 25 above). For an intriguing account of the origin of Leo's letter, and of its magical qualities as a talisman see further, W.R. Halliday, "A Note Upon the Sunday Epistle and the Letter of Pope Leo," Speculum, 2 (1927), pp.73-8.

38.   I know of no satisfactory account of indulgenced prayers of this nature. However see Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic : Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- · and seventeenth- ·· Century England, (1971), esp. pp. 27 - 332.

39.   All references are to Horstmann's published text of Thornton's Latin items in his Early Yorkshire Writers, I, Appendix I, pp. 375 - 411. It is particularly interesting that, in the longest of these prayer charms (item 5,pp. 376-7), Thornton has personalized his copy by inserting his Christian name at the appropriate points in his copy. For other evidence of Thornton's proprietorial attitude towards the texts he was copying see below and also chapter IV.

40.   My discussion of later medieval Horae and related prayer material is based on Canon Wordsworth's introduction in Horae Eboracenses, Surtees Society, 132 (1920); Henry Littlehales' account of English prymers in, The Prymer or Prayerbook of the Lay People in the Middle Ages, 2 vols, EETS, O.S. 105, 109 (1895 - 1897);   E. Hoskins' discussion in his Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis (1901), E. Bishop's, "On the Origin of the Prymer," Liturgica Historica (1918), pp. 211 - 37, and Helen C. White, The Tudor Books of Private Devotion (1951). Frances McSparran's introduction to Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 2. 38 (N. 29) discusses how many items in this MS are vernacular items that are also often found in English Horae.

41.   In this context see A. Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévotes du Moyen Age (1932), esp. p. 510 ff; R. Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Late Medieval England (1970), esp. pp. 97 - 103. See also T.F. Simmons ed., The Lay Folk's Mass Book EETS, O.S. 71 (1879) and the series of detailed studies by Rossell Hope Robbins. The most important of these include "Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse," Modern Philology, 36 (1939), pp. 337-50, and "Private Prayers in Middle English Verse," Studies in Philology, 36 (1939), pp. 466- 75.

42.   In the description of these items in Appendix 1 I have tried, where possible, to identify the individual Latin items in Thornton's collection

in Wordsworth's <u>Horae Eboracenses</u> and in S.W. Lawley, ed., <u>Breviarium</u>
<u>Secundum Usum Ecclesie Eboracensis</u>, Surtees Society, 2 vols, 71, 75
(1879, 1882). This was at the original suggestion of Miss P.R. Robinson.
I am extremely grateful for the help she gave me in this matter.

43.   I am grateful to Mr George E. Morris for his kindness in providing
me with access to a series of unpublished notes about the history of
Stonegrave parish church.   It was from Mr Morris that my information about
St Leonard's chapel and the original positioning of the Thornton family tomb
(dating from 1418) was originally derived.   The tomb was moved during
the 1862 restoration of the Church (when it was reported that, "the
North Aisle was raised by the vaults in it nearly to a level with the tops
of the pews in the body of the church, and that steps led up from the nave
to this platform which renders the North aisle an unsightly appendage").
The sustained interest of the Thornton family in Stonegrave, the Thornton
tomb and St Leonard's altar seems confirmed by scattered references in
their wills.   For example one William Thorneton of York, gent, Will
proved 17 March 1488/9, requested to be buried in St Cuthbert's church
York, but he also left   6s 6d for, "þe reparacion of the yle in
Steyngrave kyrk."   Interestingly he also left "my newe Messe buke to the
Maner of Newton in Rydale to serve in Seynt Peter Chapell to the Worlde end"
(ref. Borthwick Institute, Prof. Reg. 5, f. 353r).   A later William
Thorneton, will proved 22 Aug. 1545, left 2s for the high altar at Stonegrave.
Anokther Robert Thornton of East Newtown, will proved 24 April 1572, states
his wish..., "and my body to be buryed wythin my parishe church of
Stanegrave at thende of St Leonerde alter, nyghe wheras my Father, and
other my ancesters do lye and ar buryed" (ref: Borthwick Institute,
Prob. Reg. 19B, f. 493r).   As late as 1615 a certain William Thorneton,
will proved 30 June 1617, was requesting, "to be buried within the Church
of Stanegrave as nere unto the place where my ancestors have bene
formerlie buried as with convenience may be" (ref. Borthwick Institute,
Prob. Reg. 34B, ff. 572v - 573v).   Clearly then Robert Thornton's
earlier interest in a prayer to St Leonard as he was completing his
late medieval collections of reading material is quite understandable.
His choice of a prayer to this particular saint could well be a very
minor, but intriguing example of the late medieval gentry's
"proprietary attitude towards the places in which they were buried"
(M.G.A. Vale, <u>Piety, Charity and Literacy Among the Yorkshire Gentry</u>
<u>1370 - 1480</u> (1976), p. 10).   I am most grateful to Dr David M. Smith
of the Borthwick Institute for helping me to check the references
cited in this note.

44.   See F.J. Mone, ed., <u>Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters</u>, 1 (1853),
pp. 155 - 58.

45.   For the undoubted interest in texts outlining the instruments of
Christ's Passion among late medieval English audiences see in particular,
R.H. Robbins, "The 'Arma Christi' Rolls," <u>M.L.R.</u>, 34 (1939), pp. 415-21.
See also Rosemary Woolf, <u>The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages</u>
(1968), esp. pp. 207 ff.   My work on the Latin Material shared by
Thornton's collection and Trinity College MS O.3.10 is continuing.
For MS O.3.10 see the brief description in M.R. James, <u>The Western Manuscripts</u>
<u>in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge</u>, III (1902), pp.192-4.

46. For the range of different MS copies, and the varying textual states, in which <u>Erthe owte of erthe</u> has survived see <u>Index</u> 703, 705, 3939, 3940, and 3985. It is also worth noting that Thornton probably added the stray medical prescription on f. 279v ("ffor the Scyatica") after he had appended the <u>Liber de Diversis Medicinis</u> to his collection.

47. As McIntosh stripped away the dialect layers in both texts, he did make one important distinction between them. Although Thornton's copies of these texts seem to have been the work of a single scribe (S), his exemplar for the alliterative <u>Morte</u> (M1), unlike his exemplar for the <u>Privety</u> (B1), was a dialectally mixed text (p.234). S himself may have copied M1 and B1 from two different sources and this permits the possibility that Thornton also simply inherited both items from two separable MS units belonging to his Lincolnshire source. The general failure of the <u>Privety</u> and of various other prose renderings of the <u>Meditationes Vitae Christi</u> (<u>M.V.C.</u>) to survive alongside ME romances in their extant copies would seem to support this speculation. For a comprehensive listing of almost 100 MSS in which prose renderings of the <u>M.V.C.</u> survive see further Elizabeth Salter, "The Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's <u>Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ</u> and Related Texts," in <u>Middle English Prose : Essays on Bibliographical Problems</u>, pp. 115 - 127 (N. 36 above).

48. Hope Emily Allen, <u>Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle</u>, (1927). See also her <u>English Writings of Richard Rolle</u> (N. 9 above).

49. For the borrowings in the <u>Poor Caitiff</u> see Hope Emily Allen, "Some Fourteenth-Century Borrowings from <u>Ancrene Riwle</u>," <u>M.L.R.</u>, 18 (1923), pp.1-8; Mary Teresa Brady, "The <u>Pore Caitif</u> : An Introductory Study," <u>Traditio</u>, 10 (1954), pp. 529-48; and Michael G. Sargent, "A Source of the <u>Poor Caitiff</u> Tract 'Of Man's Will,'" <u>Medieval Studies</u>, 41 (1979), pp. 535-9. Sargent's study deals particularly with the <u>Poor Caitiff's</u> borrowing from the <u>Oleum effusum</u> passage.

50. For a brief history of the Latin hymn see John Julian, <u>A Dictionary of Hymnology</u> (1892), pp. 592-3.

51. For the text see the edition by Joseph Strange (1851, republished 1966).

52. See Paul F. Theiner, ed., The <u>Contra Amatores Mundi</u> (1968).

53. Obviously our knowledge of the influence of certain late medieval religious houses on the dissemination of the works of Rolle and other mystical writers will continue to grow as more MSS are examined, their provenance established, and the compilations of material they contain identified edited and discussed. Interest in this area of research is growing, but for a range of important recent studies that discuss clerical involvement in Rolle's work see Dr. Doyle's thesis, Anne Hudson, "A Chapter from Walter Hilton in two ME compilations," <u>Neophilologus</u>, 52 (1968), pp. 16 - 21, Peter Jolliffe, "Two ME Tracts on the Contemplative Life," <u>Medieval Studies</u>, 37 (1975), pp. 85 - 121, Michael Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings," <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, 27 (1976), pp.225 - 40, James Hogg, "Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian North Middle English Religious Miscellany MS B.L. Add. 3074," <u>Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday</u>, V.I. (1980), pp. 241-84.

54. A further possible example of this editorial practice can be found in the London Thornton MS.. See the following chapter's discussion of Thornton's presentation of Ypokrephum.

55. This can be easily enough determined by comparing the index of MSS Allen consulted (Writings, pp. 563-567) in her work on Rolle, with the MSS used by Gisela Guddat-Figge in her work on the ME romances (Guddat-Figge, Catalogue, pp. 311-316). Apart from the Lincoln Thornton MS, the only other MSS consulted by both scholars are the Vernon and Simeon MSS (sister volumes where Rolle's Commandment, The Form, and Ego Dormio survive in the same collections as King Robert of Sicily (Index 2780) and the King of Tars (Index 1108)); Trinity College Dublin MS 432 (a composite miscellany where a version of the Emendatio Vitae accompanies King Robert of Sicily); and Cambridge University Library MS Ii. 4. 9 (where the Form shares company with the ubiquitous King Robert of Sicily).

56. The Speculum Ecclesie was originally the Speculum Religiosorum. See Helen P. Forshaw, ed., Edmund of Abingdon's Speculum Religiosorum and Speculum Ecclesie (1973). See also her, "New light on the Speculum Ecclesie of St Edmund of Abingdon," Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littèraire du Moyen Age, 38 (1971), pp. 7-33, and her St Edmund's Speculum: A Classic of Victorine Spirituality," Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littèraire du Moyen Age, 39 (1972), pp. 7-40. Note also Alan Wilshere, "The Latin Primacy of St Edmund's Mirror of the Church," M.L.R., 71 (1976), pp. 500 - 12. All references are to the text published by Horstmann in his Yorkshire Writers, 1, pp. 219-61. My discussion of the MSS containing St Edmund's Mirror also relies heavily on the material discussed by Dr. Doyle in his thesis.

57. These versified renderings of St Edmund's text have been discussed by Professor Norman Blake in his, "The Form of Living in Prose and Poetry," Archiv, 211 (1974), pp. 300-8. Blake makes the general point that as Rolle's Form and St Edmund's Mirror were versified for a wider audience, they tended to lose some of the features that made these items mystical as well as expository texts. For St Edmund's Mirror as a mystical text see Helen Forshaw's articles referred to in N.56.

58. Interestingly the Lincoln Thornton MS is one of only four surviving MSS in which versions of the Speculum survive in the company of ME romances. The other MSS are the Vernon and Simeon MSS, where two pious "romances" were presumably added as moral exempla (see above N.55). The only other extant MS in this category is Cambridge University MS Ff. 2. 38. Here the portion of St Edmund's text dealing with the seven Sacraments survives as a short ME extract in the middle of a cluster of material which seems to have been originally compiled together with an eye to fulfilling the requirements regarding the elementary religious instruction of laymen as laid down by Archbishop Pecham in 1281 and echoed by Thoresby in 1357. However Frances McSparran and Pamela Robinson have also already noted that the final "shape" of MS Ff. 2. 38 was something which evolved as the scribe copied his material from exemplars where a good part of the work of compiling the material together had already been done for him by an earlier compiler. In particular most of the first fifteen items in MS Ff. 2. 38 (including the cluster of items of which the Mirror extract forms a part) also survive in the collection of religious items in Cambridge, Magdalen College, MS Pepys 1548. For the romances in MS Ff. 2. 38 and further information on this interesting MS see further N. 29 and the discussion above.

59.   In this context see the recent comments on Thornton's copy of this... particular item by R.H. Robbins in his opening remarks in, <u>Middle English Prose : Essays on Bibliographical</u> Problems pp. 3 - 21, esp. pp. 7-8 and N.21.   For a useful preliminary discussion of the significance of <u>Pater Noster</u> commentaries see Florent Gerard Aarts, <u>The Pater Noster of Richard Ermvte, A Late ME Exposition of the Lord's Prayer</u> (1967).

60.   The quotation here is taken from Frances M. Comper, <u>The Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle</u> (1928).

61.   See also R.H. Robbins, "The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics," <u>PMLA</u>, 54 (1939), pp. 369-90.

62.   See Derek Britton, "Unnoticed Fragments of the <u>Prick of Conscience</u>," <u>N.M.</u>, 80 (1979), pp. 327-334.   For the <u>Speculum Vitae</u> see also Hope Emily Allen, "The <u>Speculum Vitae</u>: Addendum," <u>PMLA</u>, 32 (1917), pp. 133-62.

63.   Allen, <u>Writings</u>, p. 403.   Allen also notes that a Latin text of the same tag derived from Rolle's <u>Incendium</u> also survives in British Library MS Additional 37049 (<u>Writings</u>, pp. 310-11).   For Rolle's paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 61 see H.R. Bramely, ed., <u>The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles</u> (1884), p. 100, or Allen's <u>English Writings</u>, p. 16.

64.   See Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u>, 1, pp. 364-5, Frank A. Patterson, <u>The ME Penitential Lyric</u> (1911), pp. 131-4, 190, Comper, <u>Life and Lyrics of Richard Rolle</u>, p. 235, Allen, <u>Writings</u>, p. 302, Rosemary Woolf, <u>The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages</u> (1968), p. 177.

65.   See N.S. Baugh, ed., <u>A Worcestershire Miscellany, Compiled by John Northwood, C.1400.   Edited from British Museum MS Add. 37787</u> (1956), and A.I. Doyle, "The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," in <u>Chaucer and ME Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins</u>, ed. B. Rowland (1974), pp. 328-41.

66.   For some sense of the importance and frequency with which these daily devotional additions to the Divine Office survive see Edmund Bishop, <u>Liturgica Historica</u>, pp. 224-6, A. Wilmart, "Prières Médiévales pour l'adoration de la crois," <u>Ephemerides Liturgicae</u>, 46 (1932), pp. 22-65, "L'office du crucifix contre l'angoisse," <u>Ephemerides Liturgicae</u> 46 (1932), pp. 421-34, <u>Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen age latin</u>, esp. pp. 138-46, 518.   Note also the general discussion of the cross as a meditative object and of the Five Wounds of Christ in Rosemary Woolf, <u>The English Religious Lyric</u>, and Douglas Gray, <u>Themes and Images in the Middle English Religious Lyric</u>, (1972).   See also Gray's, "The Five Wounds of our Lord," <u>Nand Q, N.S.</u>, 208 (1963), pp. 50-51, 82-9, 127-34, 163-68.   For further details on the survival of these and similar extra liturgical devotions in medieval prayer books see also the studies listed in NS 40, 41 above.

67.   For Gaytryge's translation and Thoresby's Latin see T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, eds. <u>The Lay Folks' Catechism</u>, EETS, O.S., 118 (1901).   Note also Doyle's discussion (thesis p. 30 ff.)   and the brief remarks by N.F. Blake, ed., <u>ME Religious Prose</u> (1972), p. 73. Professor Blake edits Thornton's copy of the text.

68.   For Purvey's determination see the text edited by Margaret Deanesly in her, The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions (1920), Appendix II, pp.437-45.

69.   For a brief account of the influence of Iesu dulcis Memoria on the Rolle mystical school see Woolf, The English Religious Lyric, esp. pp. 159, 173-4, 360.   For a fascinating general study of the influence of twelth century devotionalism on the later middle ages see Giles Constable, "The Popularity of Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages," Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (1971), pp. 3-28.

70.   For a critical edition and useful introduction to this tract see Toshiyuki Takamiya, ed., "Walter Hilton's Of Angels' Song edited from The British Museum MS Additional 27592," in Studies in English Literature (English number, 1977), pp. 3-31.   I am most grateful to Professor Takamiya for providing me with a reprint of his edition. For Helen Gardner's comments on Of Angels' Song see her. "Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England," Essays and Studies, 22 (1936), pp.103-26.   P.J.C. Field's comments were made in a review of Takamiya's edition in Fourteenth Century English Mystics Newsletter, 5 (1979), pp. 36 - 38.

71.   For a general survey of Mixed Life see Doyle's unpublished thesis. Note also S.S. Hussey's interesting, "Langland, Hilton and the Three Lives," R.E.S., N.S.. 7 (1956), pp. 132-50.

72.   Some such explanation might well account for the present particularly fragmentary state of quire N. See above for details.

73.   See her,"The Text of The Scale of Perfection." Medium Aevum, 5 (1936), pp. 11-30.

74.   Most of my information on the text of Hilton's Scale is derived from personal correspondence with Professor Bliss.   I also owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Professor Bliss for promptly placing at my disposal a copy of the detailed submission he made to the Council of EETS.   This work revises some of the conclusions tentatively drawn by Rosemary Birts in her "An Edition of Chaps. 38 to 52 of Hilton's Scale of Perfection, Book I," (M.Litt. Thesis, Oxford, 1951).   I must also acknowledge here Professor Takamiya's kindness in sending me a copy of his, "A Hilton MS Once in the Possession of Luttrell Wynne," Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 7 (1975), pp. 171-91.   A full account of the enormously complex textual history of Book I of the Scale will of course be published by Bliss in his forth-coming EETS edition.   S.S. Hussey is currently preparing a critical edition of Book II. See his, "The Text of The Scale of Perfection, Book II," N.M., 65 (1964), pp. 75-92.

75.   Professor Takamiya notes in his edition (p.6) that all the extant versions except the Thornton copy bear an introductory cautionary remark at the beginning of Of Angels' Song.   In most copies the narrator notes that his dear brother requests help in distinguishing between the true song of good angels and the feigned music of the evil one.   Interestingly he then admits. "Bot sothly I can noght telle þe for syker þe sothnes of þis mater. Neuer-þe-latter sumwhat als me thynk shal I shew þe in a schort word. Wit þou wele...". Thornton's copy begins, "Dere ffrende,

Wit þou well...." It is of course attractive to speculate that the
Thornton copy may have been carefully edited at some stage so as not
to confuse its intended later readers. For parallel texts of the
introductory section of Of Angels' Song in all its extant copies see
pp. 29 - 31 of Takamiya's edition.

76.   See for example the studies referred to in N.53 above. One of
the most active medieval editors of Hilton's works was of course James
Grenehalgh. Dr. Doyle sees Grenehalgh's activities as "the result
of an exceptional collocation of texts and comparative study of them,
owing to the peculiar contemplative enthusiasm and literary facilities
of (these) religious houses" thesis, p. 263). For a detailed account of
Grenehalgh's editorial work see also Michael Sargent's unpublished
thesis, "James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic. (University of Toronto, 1979).

77.   One reason why Thornton may have rearranged quire N was so that
he could keep his Hilton items side by side in his collection. This
presupposes that Thornton had already filled the remaining space in
gathering M with his copy of Of Angels' Song before he then turned to
a gathering which contained Sayne Iohn in order to insert Mixed Life, his
Scale extract, and his tract on prayer. The following chapter will
discuss Thornton's (equally unsuccessful) attempts to fill the remaining
space in half filled gatherings, and to keep his cluster of items by
Lydgate as close to each other as possible in his collection.

78.   For Horstmann see Early Yorkshire Writers, I, pp. 112-121, 132-156,
300-321. Konrath's review can be found in Archiv, 96 (1896), pp. 378-
83, and Allen's comments in Writings, pp. 286-7. However for the main and
and more recent studies of G.D. see N.13 above. In his Check-list of ME
Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance, P.S. Jolliffe also notes a two
leaf fragment from the introductory section of G.D. in National Library
of Scotland MS 6126.

79.   For an edition of A Ladder of Foure Ronges see Phyllis Hodgson,
Deonise Hid Diunite, EETS, O.S., 231 (1955). Note too Hodgson's,
"A Ladder of Foure Ronges by the Whiche Men Mowe Well Clyme to Heaven :
A study of the Prose Style of a ME Translation," M.L.R., 44 (1949),
pp.466-75.

80.   See H.L. Gardner, "The Text of the Scale of Perfection," p.18.

81.   Interestingly Keiser argues from historical evidence that the
Carthusian Charterhouse at Mount Grace was either the direct or indirect
source of not only the G.D. material in the Ingilby MS, but the Thornton
copy as well. See "þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei,"esp. pp. 308-10. Professor
Keiser's work in this area is continuing.

82.   My discussion here should obviously be compared to my account of
Thornton's treatment of the Cursor Mundi. Here there seems to be clearer
evidence that Thornton tampered with a particularly unstable (and one
suspects old-fashioned and out-moded) section of this venerable ME
verse compilation. See further chapter III below.

83.   Interestingly an alliterating verse paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50
also survives in the London Thornton MS. For a brief potted history of
the reputation of this psalm in late medieval England see the discussions
of Thornton's alliterating text in the following chapter.

84.   For discussions of the Psalter of St Jerome as one of the accessory texts in many medieval _Horae_ see the references in N.40 above. For vernacular translations of different versions of the abbreviated psalter see _Manual_ 2, IV (15), p.387

85.   See _Butler's Lives of the Saints_, ed. Fr. H. Thurston and D. Attwater (1956), III, p.55. I am grateful to Miss Robinson for providing me with this reference.

86.   Horstmann's comments on Thornton's faulty Latin would appear to support this tentative conclusion. See _Yorkshire Writers_, I, pp. 392 - 408.

87.   A critical edition of the ME _Abbey_ is currently being prepared by D. Peter Consacro. However see also his unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "A Critical Edition of _The Abbey of The Holy Ghost_ From All Known Extant English Manuscripts with Introduction, Notes and Glossary" (Fordham, 1971). Note also the comments on the _Abbey_ by Hope Emily Allen, _Writings_, 335-43; Kathleen Chesney, "Notes On Some Treatises of Devotion Intended for Margaret of York (MS Douce 365)," _Medium Aevum_, 20 (1951), pp. 11-39, and Professor Consacro's, "The Author of the _Abbey of the Holy Ghost_ : A Popularizer of the Mixed Life," _Fourteenth Century English Mystics Newsletter_, 2/4 (1976), pp. 15-20.

88.   Obviously much work remains to be done before we can talk with any confidence about the circumstances in which the _Abbey_ was translated into English, and circulated among its earliest audience. However it is interesting that only five extant copies of the _Abbey_ are prepared in collections which also contain ME romances. These are the Thornton copy and the copies in the Vernon and Simeon MSS (also contains _King Robert of Sicily_ and the _King of Tars_), Cambridge University Library MS Ii, 4. 9 (also contains _King Robert of Sicily_), and British Library MS Additional 36983 (contains _Titus and Vespasian_). In most of these collections we can assume that the romances were probably included as moral _exempla_ by their original compilers.

89.   The present rather neglected appearance of ff. 276v - 277r should of course be compared to the similarly shabby state of ff. 49v - 52v in gathering C.   For the gradual and rather haphazard manner in which material was added to these folios see the discussion above.

90.   My discussion here relies heavily on Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, _A Descriptive Guide To The Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience_ (1982).   This indispensible scholarly aid contains a useful and full bibliography. For the standard edition see Richard Morris, ed., _The Prick of Conscience_ (1863, repr. 1973).

91.   See Britton's "Unnoticed Fragments of the _Prick of Conscience_," p. 334, N. 18 (full reference in N. 62 above). For a discussion of the P.C. extract in British Library MS Additional 36983 see chapter III below. Note also the discussion earlier in this chapter of the contexts in which P.C. passages survive in Bodley MS Rawlinson C 285 and Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 5. 40.

92.   In addition Lewis and McIntosh note many cases where, at some stage, medieval scribes seem to have had access to multiple copies of the P.C.   The result is that many contaminated P.C. texts survive where scribes have conflated portions of the poem from different textual

traditions. At least some of this editorial patchwork was presumably
due to the attempts of medieval scribes to make good lacunae, or textual
deficiencies in their original copies of the P.C.. An interesting example
of this type of conflated text is London, Sion College, MS Arc. L. 40.
2/E. 25. Until l. 2850 this text seems to have been derived from a copy
of the main version which McIntosh and Lewis classify as group I.
However following l. 2850, the text seems to belong to the group IV textual
tradition. The interesting feature here is that the ancestor
of this group IV text and the group IV text in Trinity College Dublin
MS 157, was probably also the ancestor of the Thornton extract. See
further the comments in the Lewis/McIntosh Descriptive Guide, pp.52-3,
82-3 and 152-3. Note also Derek Britton's forthcoming, "The Textual
History of Robert Thornton's Extract from the Prick of Conscience."

THE SCRIBE AND HIS MANUSCRIPT: ANOTHER APPROACH TO THE
COLLATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE LONDON THORNTON MS

The literary-critical reputation of the London Thornton MS is

already well established. Besides containing copies of ME romances such

as the alliterative Siege of Jerusalem and the tail-rhyme Sege of Melayne,

the miscellany contains several of John Lydgate's didactic poems, an

interesting fragment of the Cursor Mundi (C.M.), copies of two alliterative

texts which have been seen as an important early part of the so-called

"alliterative revival," an unpublished alliterating paraphrase of

Vulgate Psalm 50, written in the same twelve-line stanza form as

Pearl, and several other short religious items.[1] All the items in

the London MS are in verse and none of them are shared by the Lincoln

MS. When Thornton's smaller miscellany is seen in these terms, it is

certainly no less interesting than its larger sister volume. It appears

instead to be an important and eclectic collection worthy of considerably

closer analysis than it has hitherto received. Moreover, although

useful comments have been made about the MS in the past, these have

rarely attempted to link Thornton's achievement in this volume with

his achievement in the Lincoln MS.[2] Part of the reason for this

relative neglect of the London MS is possibly because scholars' comments

have always lacked the authority of a convincing physical collation for

Thornton's other book. Consequently the first section of this chapter

will be a review of the limited evidence now remaining in the London MS

which suggests how Thornton's MS was physically assembled. The second

section of the chapter will begin to use this evidence to present a

clearer picture of Thornton's compiling activities.

In 1976 in her article, "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany,"

Mrs. Karen Stern did offer a partial collation of the first 57 folios of the

London MS as part of her general description of the book.[3] However, she had to conclude that, "it seems that the total collation of the manuscript is impossible without further information" (p.31). In the light of the recent history of Thornton's book this comment is hardly surprising.

The London MS now consists of iii + 178 + iv leaves. It is a folio arrangement, with the main part of the book consisting of 178 singleton paper leaves. On either end of the paper MS are vellum flyleaves which have been taken from a fifteenth century Breviary. The exact relationship between these fly leaves and the rest of Thornton's MS is unclear, but it is possible that the vellum leaves were originally added to protect Thornton's unbound gatherings once he had assembled the items in his collection in their present order.[4] This theory seems attractive since, in marked contrast to the Lincoln MS, there is no documentary evidence available to suggest that the London MS was ever actually preserved in a medieval binding. Therefore it may well be that Thornton's gatherings in this MS were first bound together some considerable time after they were originally copied.[5] We might also therefore assume that Thornton's unbound gatherings were possibly subject to a degree of rearrangement, and perhaps even disarrangement, between the time when he originally commenced filling them, and the time when they were eventually bound together.

The present binding of the London MS dates from 1972. Unhappily no record was kept of the condition of the volume when it was dismantled for its rebinding. Prior to 1972 however, the MS was considered too tightly bound to collate. This surprising and unfortunate state of affairs stands in marked contrast to the circumstances which resulted in A.E.B. Owen's attendance during the rebinding of the Lincoln MS in 1974. However, prior to 1972, Mrs. Stern did examine the London MS

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in its nineteenth century binding, and she noted then that several

of its leaves had already been pasted onto paper stubs. These were ff.

3, 8, 9, 32, 74, 76, 119, 125, 126, 134, 168, 179, 180, 181.[6] The MS

had obviously suffered particularly severe damage at these points which

nineteenth century repairs to the book had made good, and this

information provides us with another point of contact with the Lincoln

MS. When the larger MS was unbound, Owen found that damage to the folios

had occurred mainly at the beginnings or endings of Thornton's gatherings,

even when the text contained on these folios ran over from the preceding

gathering onto the next (Scolar Facsimile, p.viii). It is reasonable

to suppose then that generally similar damage would have faced the

nineteenth century repairers of the London MS. By 1972 however, all

the folios of the MS must have been in such an advanced state of

deterioration, that despite the earlier repairs, it was deemed advisable

for their preservation to mount each folio separately. This guarding

process, while it has preserved the MS intact, has made the task of

collation all the more difficult.

It is also unfortunate that, to add to our difficulties, the

London MS should have been cropped so drastically during its history.

Whereas the folios of the Lincoln MS measure on average 291 x 210mm

and show some signs of decay, but no signs of trimming, the folios of the

London MS now measure on average 275 x 200mm. The cropping of the MS

has been so severe that on ff.98-101 we have now lost several letters

from words in Thornton's main text. More generally the heads and

sides of the ruled margins have been trimmed, particularly severely on

most leaves, but particularly where Thornton copied his items in double

columns (see for example ff. 33r-50r, 125r-168v). This trimming

was completed without loss to the main text, but the result is that

the items in the London MS, and especially the items which were copied

in double columns, now have a far more cramped and a relatively less attractive appearance than the items in the Lincoln MS. In both MSS Thornton actually used similar single and double column writing spaces for his items, but now, regardless of Thornton's original intentions, the London MS looks like an inferior production.[7]

It is interesting to note here that the trimming must have occurred after John Nettleton entered his name in Thornton's book since the phrase, "John Nettletons Boke" in the head margin of f.49r has itself been slightly shorn away. The cropping has also slightly affected the first of the lyric fragments on f.94v which were also added by a later, and probably sixteenth century hand. Other marginalia copied by a later hand in the bottom margin of f.139v has also been seriously damaged. Interestingly this folio also contains Nettleton's name. Since Nettleton has been satisfactorally identified as a sixteenth century collector of MSS, then the condition of these folios would suggest that the MS was trimmed to its present size long after it had passed out of Thornton's hands, and also some time after it had passed out of Nettleton's.[8] It may well be that this trimming merely reflects a fairly modern desire to "tidy up" a ragged volume.

The most serious effects of the trimming is that it has probably removed much of the important evidence upon which a collation of the London MS could be based. This would include a sequence of quire and leaf signatures, and also possibly, but not certainly, some additional catchwords to the ones which have survived. In the Lincoln MS catchwords and signatures appear frequently. As we discussed in the previous chapter Owen used them to establish fixed points in gatherings C, E and O from which to calculate the original size of these and adjacent gatherings. By contrast however, only three catchwords and no legible signatures survive in the London MSS (the catchwords

appear on ff.8, 32, and 73). However I have noticed certain marks
in the bottom margins of ff. 15r, 16r, 17r, 18r, 19r and 20r which
look like the remains of ascenders, and these may well be tiny
remnants of signatures which escaped the binder's knife. These few
illegible fragments then, are the nearest indication which the London MS
can offer in its present state by way of quire and leaf signatures.

In 1979 in "The London Thornton Manuscript: A New Collation,".
Sarah M. Horrall makes the first full scale attempt to provide a
collation for Thornton's book.[9] Her proposed collation reads:
$a^{10?}$ (ff.3 - 8, wants i - iv); b^{24} (ff.9 - 32); c^{22} (ff.33 - 53, wants
xxii); d^{20} (ff.54 - 73); $e^{?}$ (ff.74 - 81, with leaves missing following
ff.77 and 79); $f^{?}$ (ff.82 - 97, with a leaf missing after f.96);
$g^{?}$ (ff.98 - 101); $h^{?}$ (ff.102 - 110); $j^{?}$ (ff.113 - 119, with at least
two leaves lost before f.113); $k^{?}$ (ff.120 - 124); l^{22} (ff.125 - 143,
wants xx - xxii, and with f.144 added as an extra singleton leaf);
m^{24} (ff.145 - 168); $n^{18?}$ (ff.168 - 181, wants xiv - xviii).

Horrall bases this unusual collation on her own account of the
pattern which the watermarks seem to form in the London MS, in
conjunction with her own revised estimate of the nature and extent
of possible physical lacunae in Thornton's book.[10] However, despite
the fact that Horrall suggests several major emendations to Stern's
account and partial collation of the MS, her own emendations and
collation are frequently open to question. Horrall herself seems
to admit this possibility, but she argues for the acceptance of her
collation on the grounds that it is the most plausible one which the
available evidence will support. There are, however, some grounds
for revising Horrall's claim.

A major problem in Horrall's collation is her account of
ff.74 - 124. She argues that, unlike the rest of the watermarked folios

in the London MS, the watermarked folios here form no readily

discernible pattern. Because of this Horrall describes these folios

as forming six "sections." However her use of this term is

ambiguous and contradictory. At times she implies, but she does not

fully develop the implication, that her preference for the term

"section" instead of the term "gathering," is because these "sections"

must have originally contained singleton leaves. Her own collation

for these folios however, does not specify whether we are actually

dealing with "sections" originally composed solely of singleton

leaves; or "sections" composed originally of some singleton leaves

and some bifolia; or, finally; "sections" composed originally of

bifolia, some of whose blank conjugates have either been lost, or else

were deliberately removed for some reason by Thornton himself.

Horrall's brief discussion and her resultant collation, while it at

times implies one or more of these three possibilities, never actually

resolves the questions raised by the terminology she uses. Instead

she attempts to establish an unlikely precedent for her collation of

ff.74 - 124 in the London MS by reference to Thornton's gatherings in

the Lincoln MS. She speculates, that, "like gatherings C and P in the

Lincoln Thornton manuscript, the gatherings between fol. 74 and fol.124

may have been made up of several single leaves whose conjugates

were cancelled." However, her comparison here ignores the infrequency

with which Thornton does actually seem to have cancelled leaves in

the much larger Lincoln MS. Since Horrall offers no convincing

evidence to suggest why Thornton should suddenly commence copying

17 of the 25 items in his miscellany on ff.74 - 124 into six "sections,"

and since she herself does not further define the term "sections," we

must treat her collation as unproven.

Before tackling the complex problem of collating ff.74 - 124,

we should examine more closely the general principles upon which

any collation of the London MS must be based. It is helpful at this

point to re-examine the much more satisfactory principles upon

which Horrall bases her collation for her gatherings a - d and l - n.

With some modifications, these quires give us a good indication

of what we can expect in the difficult middle section of Thornton's

book.

From the outset Horrall relies on the physical evidence of

catchwords and watermarks as a good guide to the logical extent of

Thornton's gatherings. Whereas Stern also notes the usefulness of

catchwords as devices which were usually added as a guide to the ordering

of quires, her tentative collation of the first 51 folios ignores the

positioning of these devices in Thornton's MS. This is surprising

because the catchwords which remain in the London MS not only appear

on the last leaf of definite runs of watermarked paper, but their

appearance also coincides with the pre-1972 repairs which were carried

out on what were presumably at one time the outer leaves of damaged

gatherings. Thus, in contrast to many of the puzzling catchphrases

in the Lincoln MS which appear on both recto and verso sides of many

of Thornton's leaves, there is no good reason to doubt the specific

original function of the three catchwords in the London MS.[11] On this

occasion at least the infrequency with which these scraps of physical

evidence appear in the London MS is itself a reliable preliminary

indication that ff. 8v, 32v, and 73v were originally the final outer

leaves of gatherings in the London MS.

Watermark evidence also provides a good general guide to the

collation of the London MS. Interestingly Owen did not use this

evidence, even as supporting evidence for his collation. This was

because the cores of most of the gatherings in the Lincoln MS were

clearly visible when the unbound MS lay before him. In this chapter,

however, we can use Thornton's practical use of paper in the Lincoln

MS to help us to make a few general comments about his stocks of

paper. This will help us in an initial assessment of the value of

watermarks as an aid to collation in the London MS.[12]

Both Thornton's MSS are folio arrangements with the chain-lines

running vertically on each page and the watermarked leaves all having

the watermark itself located in the centre of the half-sheet.

In the Lincoln MS, despite the variety of watermark types which can

be identified in Thornton's paper, his gatherings all seem to have

originally been composed exclusively of watermarked bifolia. However

Stern suggested that some of Thornton's paper in the London MS, and

particularly the poorer quality paper, may originally have formed

unwatermarked bifolia. Consequently she felt that the scholar who

attempts to match each of the leaves with its original conjugate is

faced with such a wide range of options that the task is hopeless.

Fortunately Stern's assumption was based on her failure to identify folios

with watermark F in the MS.[13] Her mistake itself is entirely understandable

since the watermarks appear on dirty and occasionally badly damaged

paper which we might even suspect is poor quality. However, regardless

of the quality of the paper, it is rare to find unwatermarked sheets

of fifteenth century paper.[14] This fact, coupled with the apparent

absence of unwatermarked bifolia in the Lincoln MS, serves to make

Stern's reservations about using watermark evidence in the collation

of the London MS an unnecessary complicating factor which Horrall under-

standably disregarded.

The other major problem which we face here is the problem of

estimating the nature and extent of possible physical lacunae in this

obviously fragmentary MS. Both Stern and Horrall attempt to do this

and interestingly their accounts differ considerably. Since neither
scholar gives an entirely satisfactory account, we need to closely re-examine
both the criteria they use for establishing lacunae, and the actual
evidence in Thornton's MS itself which suggests where lacunae may have
occurred.

Stern argues for the loss of at least one leaf, (but probably
as many as 17) before f.3. She also argues for possible lacunae
of varying extent following ff.9 (at least one leaf); 32 (at least
9 leaves); 53 (one leaf); 54 (one leaf); 75 (one leaf); 79 (uncertain
but probably one leaf); 96 (two leaves); 97 (one leaf); 102 (one
leaf); 110 (two leaves); 143 (three leaves); and finally 181(at least
one leaf but possibly more). Horrall argues for far. fewer missing
leaves. She suggests that at least four leaves, but probably more,
are missing from the first gathering before f.3 and that the MS lacks
one leaf after ff.53, 77, 79, 96, and 102; two leaves after f.110
and three leaves after f.143. Finally, she suggests that as many as
five leaves may be missing following f.181.

In deciding where leaves may be missing from Thornton's MS we
must accept that, in the majority of cases, conclusions reached can
only be tentative. We can however, be sure that, as both scholars agree,
at least two leaves must be missing after f.110 since the MS contains
two unnumbered stubs at this point. Elsewhere, both Stern and Horrall
rely heavily on other MS copies of Thornton texts in modern editions,
and references to these copies in the Index to estimate both the
positioning and also the extent of physical lacunae. Given the present
physical condition of the MS this seems a perfectly reasonable approach
to the problem. Thus both scholars conclude, and there is no physical
evidence in Thornton's MS to contradict their conclusions, that the MS
lacks one leaf after f.53 (probably containing 86 lines of the Siege

of Jerusalem); and three leaves after f.143 (probably containing 504 lines of the romance of Richard).[15]

Sometimes and of course unintentionally the information contained in modern scholarly aids can be deceptive. Horrall demonstrates this point quite clearly when she argues convincingly that no leaf is missing following f.75. Stern was using Herrtage's edition of the Sege of Melayne, and Herrtage believed quite plausibly that there was a narrative break following l. 1365 in his text. Although this Charlemagne romance is extant only in Thornton's MS, all scholars have accepted Herrtage's account. However, as Horrall points out, Herrtage was using his own system of foliation which ignored the fly-leaves. This means that the break which Herrtage described as occurring after f.75 actually occurs in Thornton's MS after f.77, according to the present modern system of foliation.[16] In the difficult middle section on Thornton's book however modern bibliographical aids are even more unhelpful. It is important to note here that, of the 10 leaves which Horrall sees as missing in the main part of Thornton's MS, six affect ff.74 - 124. Her account of the physical lacunae in Thornton's MS involves estimating textual lacunae in Thornton's copies of ME items which are now extant only in his collection. In the light of this problem a revision of the criteria we should use in estimating where leaves may be missing from Thornton's MS seems justified.

Both scholars, but Horrall in particular, have preoccupied themselves with identifying textual losses to Thornton's MS. Again this is understandable given the present, obviously fragmentary state of the MS. However, as Stern points out, it is quite conceivable that we will never be able to estimate the true extent of textual lacunae simply because whole items may now be lost from Thornton's collection without trace. It is of course frustrating to have to admit this

possibility, and Horrall rejects it without further discussion. Presumably arguing for minimal losses to the MS, she suggests that missing leaves, "must be decided from the evidence of other copies of the same text, as physical evidence of missing leaves is confined to two unnumbered stubs between fols. 110-111." Her approach is not infallible. A.E.B. Owen found, when he was present at the unbinding of Thornton's other MS, that, on at least four different occasions, leaves were missing from the Lincoln MS for which textual evidence alone could not account.[17] The same problem is likely to occur in the London MS, but all opportunities for actually seeing the problem physically demonstrated by dismantling the MS are now of course irretrievably lost. Nevertheless the criteria we use for accounting for physical lacunae in the London MS must be based as closely as possible upon the criteria Owen used in establishing a collation for the Lincoln MS. Thus bearing in mind Owen's pragmatic recommendation that ultimately hypotheses of losses to Thornton's MS should never be greater than the minimum required by both physical and textual evidence, we can reduce the practical disadvantages we face to a minimum. By using, where possible, the example of Thornton's unorthodox scribal activity in the Lincoln MS to establish a precedent for similar activity in Thornton's other book, I hope to show that we can offer a realistic, if at times imprecise, account of the probable physical lacunae in the London MS.

We have already indicated that the most difficult lacunae of all to detect will be those for which no textual evidence remains. However, at times it is still possible to establish the likelihood of these lacunae from the physical evidence itself. A good example of this is provided by a closer examination of Horrall's suggestion that f.144 was originally a singleton leaf which Thornton added to quire 1. This interpretation is quite possible but, since Thornton's

gatherings are normally made up of bifolia, it seems imperative here,
before Horrall's account is accepted, that we make some attempt to
account for the whereabouts of the leaf which was originally conjoint
with f.144.

Horrall argues that ff.125 - 143 originally formed a gathering
of 11 bifolia containing paper with watermark I (Horrall's H). The
final three leaves of this gathering originally contained part of the
text of the romance of Richard and these have now gone missing.
Ff.145 - 168 seem to form another gathering of 12 bifolia consisting
of paper with watermark J (Horrall's J also) which seems to be intact.
However, we are left with the problem of f.144, and it quickly becomes
apparent that Horrall's account has opted for the most obvious, but
in the long run the least likely of two possible descriptions of this
leaf.

Thornton's copy of the romance of Richard occupies ff.125r -
163v, and thus appears to have been copied continuously into these two
gatherings. Given this situation it is highly unlikely that, half-way
through the task of copying this text, Thornton would have quite
arbitrarily decided to add just one singleton leaf. If he did do this
then this is an entirely unprecedented type of scribal behaviour.
Moreover, if f.144 is a singleton leaf which Thornton added to the previous
gathering, then it is unusual (and under most circumstances it would
seem impossible) that it should actually have survived intact when the
three final leaves in the gathering have themselves gone missing.
There is of course the possibility that Thornton was himself trying to
bolster up an already fragmentary quire by adding singletons to repair
the actual damage, but there is little other evidence here to support
this speculation. In any case this explanation leads us into an even
greater difficulty because we then have to assume that, in turn, most of

these postulated singletons have themselves gone missing without trace.
The remaining evidence in Thornton's MS does however support an
alternative simpler and far more likely explanation.

F.144 appears to form the first leaf of Horrall's gathering
m (which Horrall has assumed to be intact simply because the texts
contained on this gathering appear to be intact). Thus, in m,
Thornton completed his copy of <u>Richard</u>, and in the space remaining in
his partly filled gathering he added a second item, <u>The Romance of the</u>
<u>Childhode of Ihesu Criste þat Clerkes callys Ipokrephum</u>. Ipokrephum
is completed with space to spare on f.168v. It is now followed on
f.169r by the <u>Parlement of the thre Ages</u> which begins intact. However,
a strong case can be made for saying that, whenever Thornton originally
completed his copy of <u>Ipokrephum</u>, he was left with a final blank leaf
in his gathering following f.168. That leaf was probably conjoint with
f.144, and it was probably removed by Thornton at some stage before
Thornton added this "romance" unit to the London MS. Reference to the
Lincoln MS supports this hypothetical reconstruction of Thornton's
actions. There, in gatherings C, K, and also possibly in M, Thornton
appears to have cancelled the final, and probably blank leaves in his
original quires. Thus, by postulating a physical <u>lacuna</u> here which
cannot be detected on textual evidence we can amend Horrall's collation
to read: l^{22} (wants xx - xxii); m^{26} (wants xxvi).

Horrall's gathering n poses a slightly different problem. Here
again textual evidence in isolation is insufficient to help us reconstruct
the original state of this quire in Thornton's book. The text involved
is <u>Wynnere and Wastoure</u> which is now extant only in Thornton's MS and
ends abruptly on f.181v. Most recent critics of this interesting
alliterative item have followed Gollancz's original suggestion that
not much of this poem is likely to be lost.[18] However, Horrall, arguing

this time from the physical evidence of watermark patterns, suggests
that five leaves are missing at the end of Wynnere and Wastoure. She
cautiously describes the final gathering in the MS as one which
probably consisted originally of 9 bifolia, but without attempting
to reconcile the apparent discrepancy here between the textual evidence
and the more important physical evidence in Thornton's MS.

At this stage in our discussion we should keep an open mind about
the range of possible explanations which might account for this puzzling
discrepancy but reference to Thornton's scribal practice in both MSS
does suggest one possible explanation for this unusual state of affairs.
Thus Thornton appears to have originally copied Wynnere and Wastoure
into a gathering which already contained the Parlement.[19] However,
when he had actually completed this task, it appears likely from the
physical evidence that there were still several blank folios in the
gathering. These could either have been cancelled by Thornton, or
they may have been filled with items which are now completely missing
from Thornton's collection. However, if we are arguing for a minimal
textual loss here then we must, for the moment, assume the former
explanation. Only one leaf, containing the remaining lines of
Wynnere and Wastoure actually appears to have dropped out accidentally
from Thornton's collection. We must assume that Thornton himself
deliberately removed the other leaves which are now missing. Reference
to Thornton's actual presentation of Wynnere and Wastoure in the MS
however suggests an interesting modification to this hypothetical
reconstruction of Thornton's compiling activities in this gathering.

In the previous chapter we have seen how Thornton obviously
preferred to copy verse items with long metrical lines using a single
column format. This obvious preference suggest why, in both MSS, Thornton's
alliterative items are generally copied in single columns. Thus it is

no surprise that all of the Parlement and most of Wynnere and Wastoure are copied according to this same predictable format. However, on f.181r Thornton suddenly commenced copying the long lines of Wynnere and Wastoure in double columns. This action significantly alters the visual appearance of the text in his collection. The lines are crushed together, despite Thornton's obvious attempts to distinguish between them and present a legible copy. This sudden deterioration in Thornton's presentation then would suggest that the space which remained in the gathering, and in which he had to copy Wynnere and Wastoure, was actually far more limited than we have so far assumed. If we still argue for a minimum textual loss at this point then it seems likely that we have evidence on f.181 that Thornton copied Wynnere and Wastoure into a gathering which was already fragmentary. Fortunately the Lincoln MS provides us with a useful precedent for this kind of unorthodox scribal activity. In gathering P of Thornton's larger MS, Owen found three stubs following f.261 which were not detectable until the MS was unbound. Since there is no break in the text between ff. 261 and 262 we can see quite clearly that on this occasion in the Lincoln MS, Thornton added his material to a gathering which was already defective. It is wisest for the moment to assume that Thornton did something similar when he added his copy of Wynnere and Wastoure to his collection.[20]

At the other end of the London MS Horrall argues for an opening gathering of at least five bifolia but, on this occasion, she admits the likelihood that it was probably much larger. The text involved here is Thornton's copy of the Cursor Mundi (C.M.). Although both Stern and Horrall postulate a textual loss at the beginning of this item, neither attempt to assess the actual extent of this loss, or therefore the full implications of the loss itself. Stern merely describes how Thornton's text begins in medias res, and in her partial collation suggests that

what she sees as the opening quire in Thornton's book (ff3 - 9) lacks

from one to 17 leaves. More convincingly Horrall argues, on the basis

of watermark evidence, and because of the presence of catchwords on

ff.8v and 32v, that ff.9 - 32 form a gathering of 12 bifolia.

Consequently ff.3 - 8 must form the remnants of what was originally the

preceding quire. Both scholars are reluctant to assess the number of

leaves, or indeed possibly the number of gatherings, which have now

gone from the beginning of the London MS.

Any attempt to estimate the extent of the obvious textual

lacunae at the beginning of Thornton's C.M. is complicated by the fact

that Thornton's copy of this opening item is itself an extract. The

modern critical reputation of the C.M. is as a poem which gives a

chronologically based narrative of world history from the Creation to

the Day of Judgement. Indeed the scope of this historical poem may

have been what originally attracted book compilers like Thornton to

add this poem to their collections. Thornton's fragmentary copy however,

now contains only New Testament history. It begins abruptly with part

of the poem's description of the early life of the Virgin, followed

by the account of the conception and birth of Christ, His childhood,

education and His early ministry. This corresponds closely to ll 10630 -

14936 of the standard modern edition.[21] However, Thornton's copy then

omits entirely the story of Christ's Passion (ll. 14937 - 17110), and

concludes with a short discourse between the crucified Christ and man

(ll. 17111 - 17270). A colophon on f. 32v indicates that Thornton's

copy of the C.M. is complete, and that a work about the Passion is about

to follow.

Appropriately the item which does follow in the London MS is the

Northern Passion (N.P.). Because of this colophon, and because of the thematic

sequence in Thornton's literary collection, Horrall wisely rejects Stern's

unnecessary worry that there may be a serious textual <u>lacuna</u> following

f.32. This in itself is an important departure from Horrall's own

criteria for establishing <u>lacunae</u> in Thornton's MS. But we should,

for the moment, concentrate on how the fact that Thornton's <u>C.M.</u> is an

extract may affect our estimation of the number of leaves which are missing

from the beginning of his opening item. If Thornton's extract actually

omits the climax and ending of the <u>C.M.</u>, then it is at least conceivable

that his text also omitted much, if not all, of the Old Testament history

which is contained in 11.271 - 9228 of the printed edition. As a

preliminary then we should consider the likelihood that the textual

loss at the beginning of Thornton's MS might possibly be restricted

to the missing portion of the poem dealing with the birth and early life

of the Virgin (11. 9229 - 10629). By this reckoning only about 1,400

lines may be missing from Thornton's opening item. Since Thornton

normally managed to copy about 140- 150 lines of text on each leaf of

the <u>C.M.</u> which has survived, this would mean that these missing lines

could have been accommodated comfortably on 9 or 10 missing leaves. This

would make the opening gathering in the London MS at least a^{16} and it

would mean we could assume a physical loss here which is actually less

than that required by the textual evidence of other copies of the text.

It would also mean that the opening gathering in the London MS was

considerably smaller than the following gathering containing the remainder

of Thornton's <u>C.M.</u> extract. This seems to me to make a collation

based on this assumption quite improbable.

There are however, two other objections to this estimate of a

minimum physical loss to a. The first concerns the general literary

reputation of the <u>C.M.</u> in the middle ages as indicated by the surviving

MSS of this lengthy text. This will be described and discussed in

detail in the following chapter, but, for the moment we should note

that, throughout the history of the textual transmission of the C.M. there

is absolutely no evidence in any of the other extant MSS, that the opening

section of the C.M. was subject to such drastic treatment. Although

Thornton's copy of the poem is not the only one where a scribe has

interfered with the Passion section, and the final section of the

poem, there are always demonstrably sound literary or practical

reasons why such scribal meddling has taken place. Of course Thornton

may have been acting entirely on his own initiative if he decided not

to copy the first 9000 lines of the poem but this seems uncharacteristic

especially since this early section of the C.M. actually gives the poem

its encyclopoedic, historical dimension. This in itself seems to have

been responsible for the C.M.'s reputation and survival during the

150 years before Thornton copied it.

The second objection to the theory that Thornton's copy of

the C.M. began with an account of the childhood of the Virgin is the

fact that, if this was the case, the very identity of the poem as

the "Cursor Mundi" would have been obscured from Thornton's readers.

The opening lines of the poem justify the poem's recognised medieval

title:

> Coursur of þe werld men au it call,
> For all mast it ouer-rines all.
> Take we vr biginyng þan
> Of him þat all þis werld bigan (Göttingen text, ll 267-70).

Clearly then a scribe-compiler who deliberately restricted the scope

of this poem so that it dealt only with New Testament events could never

justifiably continue to call his text "Cursor Mundi." However, as the

introductory chapter discussed, there is some evidence to suggest

that the London Thornton MS was once described in Henry Savile's

libri manuscripit as, Tractatus qui dicitur Cursor Mundi (anglice

the Cursur of world) <u>secundum cursum sacrae paginae</u> . If the identification

of the London MS in Savile's collection is correct, this implies that,

during the time when John Nettleton, and then Savile owned the book,

Thornton's MS actually contained the opening section of the <u>C.M.</u>.

We may in fact be dealing with a very substantial textual loss here.

If Thornton's MS originally contained the opening lines of the <u>C.M.</u>

then, by my reckoning, these lines would probably have filled about

70 - 75 leaves of text copied in double columns. When we add these

hypothesized losses to the leaves which are now numbered ff 1 - 8, we

appear to be dealing with the almost total loss of three large and possibly

unevenly sized gatherings at the beginning of the London MS. This

type of extensive loss is exactly the type of hazard which we can assume

some medieval MSS have had to face during their history, especially if

they remained unbound for a considerable period after they were first

copied.[22] When we now examine ff. 74 - 124 more closely, it is interesting

to note that the most satisfactory explanation which we can offer to

account for the particularly fragmentary state of the middle section

of Thornton's book is also that the gatherings which originally made up

this part of Thornton's collection must have lain around unbound for a

considerable length of time.

Horrall and Stern both agree that a single leaf is probably

missing following f.79. Both suggest that this contained the end of

the <u>Sege of Melayne</u> and the opening stanze of a Marian lyric, sometimes

known as <u>O florum flos, O flos pulcherime</u>.[23] However there are several

problems here which illustrate well important and often neglected

aspects of the production and dissemination of many late medieval

vernacular items. Consequently, although a <u>minimum</u> physical loss of

one leaf after f.79 is indicated, we need to re-examine Thornton's MS

very carefully before deciding what that missing leaf probably contained.

Unfortunately _Melayne_ is known only from the fragmentary Thornton

copy. Although it is now generally accepted that the romance was

originally derived from a lost French source, neither Herrtage, the poem's

first editor, nor later scholars have actually succeeded in taking their

discussion of the origin of this particular Charlemagne romance much

further. Critics of the poem have not even been able to identify a

possible analogue for the narrative among the extensive collections

of other European treatments of the Charlemagne legend.[24] Consequently

any assumptions we might wish to make here about the extent of the obvious

textual _lacunae_ following ff.77 and 79 are not based on textual evidence

at all, but rather on a mixture of both highly subjective literary-

critical interpretation and also a general reluctance to admit that much

of this romance could possibly be missing. Herrtage for example was

convinced that _Melayne_ was originally composed as some kind of introduction

to _Sir Otuel_ and pointed out that _Otuel_ follows _Melayne_ closely (but not

consecutively) in Thornton's MS. He therefore argued that one leaf was

missing, and optimistically assumed that the text on the missing leaf would

support his critical speculation. He writes, "the connection would very

probably have been shown much more clearly had not the end of the

poem been unluckily lost" (p.x). Maldwyn Mills, _Melayne's_ most recent

editor, does not accept Herrtage's speculation, and offers a different

account of what the hypothesized missing leaf should contain. He writes, "we

can of course do not more than speculate as to how _Melayne_ finished,

but the total victory of the French can hardly have been deferred for

much longer." [25]

There is no textual evidence to actually quantify either critic's

literary speculation. For example, if the weight of MS evidence elsewhere

in Thornton's book suggests that the satisfactory collation of ff.74- 124

depends on a greater loss than either Stern or Horrall have assumed at

this point, then we can equally reasonably suggest that two leaves and not one are missing following f.79. For the moment however we should restrict ourselves to estimating a minimal textual loss. Because Thornton managed to copy about 58 - 60 lines of text onto each surviving page containing Melayne, this would mean that a hypothetical lost leaf would probably have contained somewhere in the region of 115 - 120 lines of text or just under 10 of the twelve-line stanzas in which the romance is written.

Our estimate of the number of lines missing from Melayne is of course complicated still further by the fact that textual evidence in the only other known copy of O florum flos suggests that Thornton's copy of this vernacular Marian lyric lacks its first stanza. Stern (with some reservations) and Horrall both suggest therefore that Thornton originally copied the last lines of Melayne and the opening lines of O florum flos onto the one leaf following f.79 which has now gone missing. However the physical evidence of Thornton's presentation of the Marian lyric, and the possible implications of a curiously mistaken entry in the Supplement to the Index, indicates that this assumption does not necessarily follow.

Reference to the Index itself shows that a copy of O florum flos is extant on f.366v in British Library MS Harley 3869. It is purely upon the obvious textual similarity of this item to the Thornton item that the speculation concerning a missing stanza has been based. The Harley text remains unpublished but its opening stanza reads:

> Myght wisdom goodnesse of the Trinite
> Mi naked sowle inspire with influence,
> The grace of that indyuidid unite
> Where tresour is of eterne sapience
> Forgyn my mouthe with the tongue of eloquence
> For to discryue my souereyn ladi fre
> This is my teem to hire excellence[26]
> O florum flos, O flos pulcherime.

The present opening stanza in Thornton's copy, which corresponds closely
to the second stanza in the Harley item, is also a self-contained
authorial prayer. But this time it is directed to the audience.
It reads:

> With humble hert I praye iche creature,
> Lord and Lady, Knyghte and othere Ferialle,
> To here þe grace þe which I thynke depure,
> And prey for grace to me in specyalle
> Scho be nott wrothe I hir my lady calle
> Wiche es þe spowse of Godde full of petee,
> Moder and Mayden, to hir synge I schall,
> O florum flos, O flos pu(l)cherime

Thus, in the Harley MS, the narrator's request for grace from the
Trinity is extended in the second stanza to include a request to his
readers that they too pray for his success in this hymn of praise.
In both MSS this stanza is followed by another stanza where the poet
utters yet another prayer for grace, but this time to Mary. The
remaining sixteen stanzas of the lyric then contain a lengthy and quite
mechanical anatomical eulogy bestowing blessings systematically on
various parts of Mary's body. It is clear that these opening stanzas
are meant to act as a prologue to the main descriptive task which the
poet has set himself. What is open to some doubt however, is whether
Thornton's exemplar (and therefore Thornton's own copy of the text)
ever actually contained a version of the opening stanza in MS Harley
3869.

The copy in MS Harley 3869 illustrates once again the vicissitudes which
accompanied the copying of many late medieval texts, and of course the
ME lyrics in particular. The first line of the fifth stanza of the
Harley text commences with the words: "Blessed be thyn..." and, in the

Thornton copy, this stanza is followed by a series of 11 stanzas all using

for their opening line the same phrase. It was probably because of the

frequency of the repetition of the "Blessed be thyn... " formula that

the Harley scribe moved from copying the fifth stanza, which blesses

Mary's hair, to a sixth stanza which blesses her shoulders, thereby

inadvertently omitting 8 stanzas which deal with Mary's forehead, her

brows, her nose, her eyes, her cheeks, her ears, her mouth, and her neck.

However, having completed his transcription of the lyric, the Harley

scribe obviously noted his inadvertent omission, presumably as he was

checking his completed copy against the copy in his exemplar. In his

text where the omission took place, he added a note which warns the

reader that the text is fragmentary. This reads: "vacat Blessid be

thy faire forhed &..... .   The scribe then carefully copied the

eight missing stanzas in the space which remained after he had copied the

main text. This follows his formal explicit for the Marian text. However,

again to help the reader, the scribe's eventual transcription of the

missing 8 stanzas is preceded by a further note:

> illud quod vacat Ad signum prius ponitum iam
>
> mei . 6 . Ad talem signum + et sic incipit.

However, in the Harley MS, we might well have found ourselves dealing

with a more careless, or less scrupulous scribe, who did not notice (or

who did not want to draw attention to) his original mistake. Consequently

we would have been left with a copy of O florum flos which had an obvious

textual lacuna but no sign of an actual physical lacuna. This state of

affairs seems close to the situation which confronts us in Thornton's

copy of the same text.

Thornton's copy of O florum flos shows no obvious signs of

being a fragment. Indeed H.N. MacCracken printed the lyric as a complete

poem because, on the one hand, Thornton's text seemed complete, and on

the other hand MacCracken obviously did not know of the existence of

a fuller version of the lyric in the Harley MS. Thornton copied his text

continuously in single columns of short lines, and, although he does not

provide an _incipit_ for this Marian item, he obviously took some care

with his rubrication. On ff. 80r and 81v (i.e. on the first and last

pages on which _O florum flos_ appears) the first word in the opening

line of each stanza has been highlighted with touches of red. Moreover,

and for our purposes more importantly, as Thornton transcribed the

poem, he also indicated the beginnings of 21 of the 22 stanzas which at

present make up his version of the lyric. He did this by placing

paraph signs (π) as stanza indicators in the side margins of his page.

Ordinarily this information would simply be another insignificant detail

of perfectly normal careful scribal behaviour. However it assumes

considerable significance when we realise that the only stanza in

Thornton's copy of _O florum flos_ which has no stanza indicator is the

present opening stanza of Thornton's lyric.

The implications of Thornton's omission are vital to any assessment

of the proposed textual _lacuna_ in this copy of the lyric. Elsewhere

in his copy Thornton was obviously carefully adding these stanza

indicators to his poem, and this attention to detail even extends to the

only other occasion when the first line of Thornton's stanza coincided

with the first line of text on the page itself (f.80v). Since the stanza

beginning "With humble hert:..." is the only stanza without a paraph

sign, we can argue that Thornton's omission is quite deliberate.

Obviously there was no real need for him to add a stanza indicator to

what he considered to be the opening stanza of his lyric item, so it

is most likely that Thornton's copy of _O florum flos_ is as complete now

as it was when he originally copied it from his exemplar.

We should note here that the supposedly "missing" first stanza

of this lyric item is the subject of an erroneous, but puzzling entry

in the Supplement (Sup.2168). This entry suggests that at some stage in

the history of its transmission, the present opening stanza of the

Harley copy of O florum flos existed independently of the lyric itself,

and formed the first stanza of a carol to the Trinity extant only in

Cambridge University Library MS Additional 7350 (Sup. 3328.5).

This is exactly the type of "editorial" activity we might expect to

have affected a text like O florum flos, and so the Supplement entry

itself is no surprise. It is only when we examine the Cambridge MS

itself that the accuracy of the Supplement is called into question.

   The Cambridge MS is actually a paper bifolium, now cut horizontally

across the middle. It contains four English carols now known as the

"Bradshaw carols." All these items have been edited by R.H. Robbins and

none of them contain any lines resembling the opening stanza of the

Harley copy of O florum flos. My own examination of the MS has also

been unable to throw any light on the nature of or the source of the

Supplement's strange error.[27] Disappointing as this may be, the mistake

itself is suggestive, and may well prove to be a printing error in the

Supplement. Our original premise about Thornton's lyric must, however,

be allowed to stand. Consequently, in the following discussion, it is

as well to bear in mind that the leaf or leaves which appear to be missing

from the Thornton MS following f.79 probably contained only the missing

lines which would have completed Thornton's copy of Melayne. O florum

flos can be considered complete as it now stands on ff.80r - 81v.

   The problems which the state of the texts on ff.96 - 97 present

are much simpler to resolve. In Thornton's collection Lydgate's

Verses on the Kings of England ends on f.96v in the middle of a stanza,

and his Dietary commences abruptly on f.97r. Both these texts are

extant in many MSS, and reference to the Index, Supplement, and Manual

suggests that both Lydgate, and the scribes who afterwards copied his didactic texts, occasionally updated, revised and expanded both texts.[28] However, in the London MS, there is no evidence to suggest that Thornton's copies of these texts were anything other than the unexpanded versions. Consequently it seems most likely (and both Stern and Horrall agree) that, following f.96v, we should expect about 6½ stanzas (45 lines) of Verses on the Kings of England to be contained on a missing folio. In addition Horrall rightly points out that just over two stanzas (17 lines) of Thornton's copy of the Dietary also appear to be missing. Since this would be exactly the right number of lines to fill up the remainder of the hypothesized missing leaf (and since we are arguing for a minimal textual loss where possible) there is no need to assume a greater physical loss.

The case for a textual lacuna following f.97v is much more problematic and the extent of the possible physical loss to Thornton's MS is much harder to ascertain. Stern argues for the loss of a single leaf after f.97, but Horrall rejects this suggestion because she feels that the last item on f.97v seems complete in itself. If we take the remaining textual evidence in isolation then undoubtedly Horrall's reservations about assuming a lacuna here seem well-founded. The text involved is This werlde es tournede up so downne which is extant only in Thornton's MS. It now consists of only four lines:

> To thynke it es a wondir thynge
> Of this werldis mutabilytee
> I ame matede in my mosynge
> Of the variaunce the whilke þat I now see

These lines do seem to make complete sense in themselves, but by contrast, the present MS context of the lines themselves suggest that any impression that we are reading a complete poem here is probably mistaken.

On f.97v Thornton completed his copy of Lydgate's Dietary as the last of a sequence of three didactic items which were all originally written by Lydgate. The Dietary is immediately followed by three short Latin proverbs which can all be identified in Walther, and which were all culled from much longer Latin texts at an earlier stage in their history.[29] On the remaining space on f. 97v, Thornton then commenced copying This werlde es tournede. However, before copying the four remaining lines of this item, Thornton was careful to add a fairly lengthy incipit for his new item. This occupies two lines in his MS and reads:

A gud schorte Songe of this dete

This Werlde es tournede up so downne .

This heading fills over a third of the actual space presently occupied by the entire item in Thornton's MS. If we maintain that Thornton's copy is as complete now as when he originally copied it, then the amount of space occupied by the incipit in proportion to the rest of the poem seems inordinate and unprecedented in Thornton's presentation of other short items in his collection. In addition however, Thornton also took the trouble to indicate that he intended this text to begin with a coloured capital extending for four lines. This has since been added in the four line space which Thornton reserved for the capital as he originally transcribed his copy of this item. If this text is complete in itself, then this is the only occasion in both Thornton's MSS where he has actually treated such a short item in such an elaborate way. It is highly unlikely that Thornton would have been encouraged to do this if the text originally consisted of just four lines. It is more likely that the text on f.97v is a four line fragment.

When we bring these minor scraps of MS evidence to bear on the four lines of text which remain in the MS, we can see that this brief

expression of a common theme in medieval literature bears a marked

resemblance, and is particularly suited to the style, interests,

vocabulary and possibly even the versification of some of Lydgate's

own didactic verse.[30]   Given the text's present context among Lydgate

items; this similarity is hardly surprising. Although This werlde es

tournede may not actually be by Lydgate, the weight of evidence actually

in Thornton's MS gives us good grounds for assuming that this

Thornton item presently consists of the opening lines of the introductory

stanza of a longer poem. However, even if we accept this interpretation

of the available evidence it is of course impossible to speculate further

about the actual extent of the textual lacuna following f. 97.

Thornton's heading indicates that he considered his text to be "a gud

schorte Song," and the term "short" might suggest that the remainder

of the poem could hardly have consisted of more than one or two stanzas.

Nevertheless the relatively arbitrary way Thornton used the word "short"

in describing his copy of Wynnere and Wastoure as a "god schorte refreyte"

means that the term itself is no guarantee that Thornton's copy of This

werlde es tournede is only a few more lines long. Consequently,

following f.97, we are again faced with a situation where the positioning

of a textual lacuna can be identified, but its actual extent cannot

be established with any certainty.

    A similar problem, and the likelihood that whole items may now be

lost without trace from Thornton's collection, also creates considerable

difficulties on ff.102 - 103. On f. 102v Thornton's copy of an alliterating

paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50 ends abruptly, and, on f. 103r, Lydgate's

Virtues of the Mass appears to be acephalous.[31] Both Stern and Horrall

assume that this is a straightforward textual lacuna which can be

accounted for by assuming that a single leaf is missing following f. 102.

Both argue that this leaf probably contained just enough room for

Thornton to have copied the remainder of the Psalm paraphrase, and the beginning of his Lydgate item on the Mass. Close examination of Thornton's presentation of his items in the MS itself however reveals that this is far from the case.

Thornton's paraphrase was originally written in the same 12-line alliterating stanza form as Pearl.[32] The poem now survives only in Thornton's MS, but because it is an expansion of a well known Psalm, we can safely assume that a missing leaf following f. 102 would probably have contained the eight stanzas and eleven lines which are needed to complete this vernacular paraphrase of the 20 verse psalm.[33] Using Thornton's consistent method of presentation as a general guide, we can also estimate how much space would have originally remained on the leaf once Thornton had copied this item.

Thornton copied the twelve alliterating lines of each stanza in the poem onto six lines on his page, thereby grouping the metrical lines of the poem in pairs, and giving the false impression to the editors of the Index that this poem is written in six-line stanzas. However Thornton was careful to distinguish each of the metrical lines from its pair on his page by punctuating his text with a form of the punctus elevatus (:).[34] In addition each stanza in the paraphrase is preceded by the Latin phrase which the following stanza will expand. Thus Thornton required a 7-line single column space on his page to copy out each stanza. Seen in these terms, Thornton's copy is a well punctuated text presented legibly, but in the most economical manner possible. It shows every sign of Thornton's normally consistent approach towards the task of copying a single text using a single format.

On f. 102r Thornton managed to copy five complete stanzas and the first eight lines of a sixth (40 MS lines in all). On f.102v he copied the remaining four lines of the sixth stanza, five complete

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stanzas, and the first line of a twelfth stanza (39 MS lines). On the recto of the missing leaf, Thornton probably only had room for another 40 MS lines, or the remaining lines of a twelfth stanza and a further five stanzas. On the verso of the missing leaf Thornton could then have copied the last three stanzas, or 21 MS lines. If he had added an _explicit_, then this would have reduced the remaining space still further, but, for the moment we can assume that about half the verso probably remained blank when Thornton had completed his copy of the alliterative item.

Both Stern and Horrall rely on MacCracken's edition and the _Index_ for their estimate that the opening 57 lines are missing from Lydgate's _Virtues of the Mass_. However on ff. 103r - 110v Thornton consistently manages to copy only 38 - 40 lines of Lydgate's text onto each folio side. Despite certain important changes in Thornton's presentation of this text (which means that the number of lines fluctuates slightly) Thornton never managed to copy more than 42 lines of this item on any one page. So, even if Thornton had used an entire verso side of a hypothesized missing leaf, he would still not have had sufficient space on which to copy another 57 lines of Lydgate's poem. Consequently we have to revise both Stern's and Horrall's estimates. On the textual evidence of the fullest MS version of Lydgate's _Virtues of the Mass_, there appears to be far too many lines missing from Thornton's copy of the text to fit comfortably onto one missing leaf. On the other hand, and using the same textual evidence, there appears to be too few to conveniently fit into two.

Once we have identified this difficulty then we are faced with two possibilities. On the one hand whole items may be missing from Thornton's MS without trace at this point and so from a purely textual point of view, the physical loss here is incalculable. Closer examination

of Thornton's copy of the Lydgate text however complicates matters. It suggests that Thornton's exemplar may not necessarily have contained the fullest version of this ME text. Because of our lack of assurance about the textual integrity of Lydgate's poem therefore, we should, at this stage in our discussion, admit the possibility that Thornton perhaps copied a shorter copy of the Virtues of the Mass than the one which MacCracken prints in the standard modern edition of the poem.

The modern reader's immediate reaction to Thornton's copy of the Virtues of the Mass is to doubt whether he is actually reading a single poem. This probably explains why two nineteenth century descriptions of the London MS by Herrtage (1880), and by the British Museum (1882), misleadingly list the different sections of Lydgate's text as separate items.[35] Thornton's text opens with no heading, and what appears to be a heading occurs, not on f. 103r, but on f. 104r. In addition, on f. 103r - v, Thornton copied his text in single columns, normally in eight-line units with a one-line space between each unit. On f.104r however, Thornton starts copying his text in continuous single columns. Moreover the "unity" of Thornton's text is further put into question by the sudden appearance on f.104r of a sequence of decorative capitals, extending for three lines and normally coloured alternately in green and red ink. This sequence continues through the remainder of Virtues of the Mass and right through the next item, Thornton's unique and acephalous copy of the story of the Three Kings of Cologne.[36] Finally, throughout the Virtues of the Mass, Thornton's Latin marginalia systematically identifies for his readers the part of the Mass with which each portion of Lydgate's text progressively deals.

These sudden changes and apparent inconsistencies in Thornton's presentation of this item are of course in marked contrast to the regularity we noticed in Thornton's layout and presentation of the

previous item. With the Lydgate text Thornton appears to have cared

little whether his readers felt they were reading one text or several.

Indeed this apparent carelessness is probably something which Thornton

was simply inheriting from his exemplar. Consequently it is extremely

doubtful that Thornton himself was ever encouraged to value the integrity

of Lydgate's item as a single poem. If he ever thought about his text

"editorially," then he probably considered this poem to be a sequence

of closely related "units" rather than a single integral poem.

Reference to the history of the transmission of Lydgate's text

suggests that Thornton's possible attitude to the task of copying the

Virtues of the Mass is certainly not unusual. It may even be said to

be close to Lydgate's own attitude towards the original act of compiling

material for a didactic poem about the Mass. Thus, in his book on

Lydgate, Derek Pearsall talks about the medieval "joinery work" which created

the Virtues of the Mass.[37] He describes how the poem ends with a polite

envoy (ll. 657 - 664 in McCraken), but that, as it stands in two MSS, it

also includes two other pieces, "An exortacioun to Prestys when they shall

sey theyr masse," and "on kissing at Verbum Caro Factum est." These

are loosely linked to Lydgate's poem at beginning and end. Other signs

of conflation which Pearsall notes are the translation of Psalm 42,

Judica me deus (inserted at ll.89 - 144) and the "prayer to the

sacrement" (added as ll. 321 - 92). Pearsall therefore concludes that

Lydgate saw his task in creating this poem as one of systematically

assembling poetic units in a logical order. However, we should perhaps

also consider the possibility that, although Lydgate did create the

poem we now know as the Virtues of the Mass by a technique best described

as undistinguished joinery work, the joinery work itself is also partly

the result of Lydgate returning to the text for which he was originally

commissioned by the Countess of Suffolk, and substantially revising it

for more general circulation among a wider fifteenth century audience
of which Thornton formed a part.

In MacCracken's edition Lydgate's text begins with a 48-line
prologue instructing the reader in the proper manner and attitude
to be observed and the benefits to be obtained from attending Mass.
This is addressed to "ye folkys all" which suggests a far wider
audience than the Countess herself. Similarly, it is hard to believe
that Lydgate would have needed to admonish his distinguished patron
about her behaviour at Mass. This is however precisely what he does
when he instructs his readers in rather an elementary way to,

> kepe yow from noyse and Ianglyng importune
> The howse of god ys ordeynyd for prayere (11. 33-4).[38]

The elementary and general nature of most of this introductory section
in Lydgate's poem indicates that it is intended more appropriately
for a wider audience, and not simply for a specific individual,
especially if we consider that that individual was probably a "fairly
advanced pupil" (Pearsall, p. 259). The didactic tone here seems in
fact similar to the tone in which Lydgate addresses readers of his
Dietary:

> Suffre no surfetis in thyn hous at nyht
> War of rer soper + of gret excesse
> Of noddyng hedis + of candil liht
> Off slouthe on morwe + slombryng ydilnesse (137 - 40).

Judging from the number of surviving MSS of the Dietary Lydgate appears
to have judged the requirements of his audience exactly. The Dietary, in
its various revised forms appears to have been one of the most widely
known and most frequently copied of all Lydgate's texts. It is attractive
to assume then that the similar didactic tone which Lydgate adopts in the
prologue to the Virtues of the Mass is a sign that that text went through
several production stages as its intended audience increased in size, and

as the literary reputation of the poem spread.

If Thornton's copy of the Virtues of the Mass is any indication of
the nature of his source exemplar, then it is apparent that Lydgate's
poem was presented to him in a manner which would have made it
attractive to a potential editor to actually undo part of Lydgate's
joinery work, and to select from the range of poetic sections placed
before him whichever units of Lydgate's poem pleased him most. When
we re-examine Thornton's copy bearing this possibility in mind, then
it becomes clear that Thornton's interest in Lydgate's poem may not
perhaps bear as close a comparison to MacCracken's interest in the poem
as Horrall and Stern seem to think.   Whereas MacCracken was anxious
to present the most complete, and therefore, to him, the "best" copy
of the Virtues of the Mass, Thornton's copy of the poem appears to
concentrate on the content of each unit of poetry, treating at least
two units of the poem (11.58 - 144; 145-664) as separate thematic
entities.   Thus Thornton's text opens at precisely the same point as
Lydgate turned from his prefatory comments on the proper attitude to be
observed at Mass and begins to consider the importance of Psalm 42. In
its present state Thornton's text omits Lydgate's opening directive:

> Sey furst thys Psalme, with looke erect in heuyn (1.57).

This means that the first stanza of Thornton's copy consists of only
seven lines.[39] In MacCracken's edition, however, this line acts as a
transitional line which links the general introductory section of the
poem to the first part of Lydgate's systematic account of the various
elements in the Mass itself. The line itself then appears as an integral
part of the poem. However, as Thornton's text now stands, the first
four stanzas on f. 103r themselves act as the prefatory matter with which
Lydgate's actual translation of Psalm 42 is introduced. In Thornton's
copy the beginning of the translation is in turn indicated, not only by

Thornton's one line spacing between stanzas, but also by a coloured
capital extending for three lines. In addition the beginning of the
translation coincides exactly with the Latin marginalia:

Hunc librum qui dicauit Lydgat Cristus nominavit.

It is a measure of the importance which Thornton attached
to the translation of the psalm itself within Lydgate's poem that these
lines, naming Lydgate as author, were copied at this point in his copy.
Indeed the lines themselves do act as a heading of sorts for this
portion of the Virtues of the Mass, but, at the same time Thornton's
consistency in separating his single columns of text into shorter stanza
units maintains the reader's impression here that he is reading a single
item.

Thornton's copy of the Lydgate translation of Psalm 42 ends on
f. 104r where, as we have seen, this section of Lydgate's text is
separated from the remainder of Thornton's copy by the only spaced
heading in Thornton's item. Another coloured capital, again extending for
three lines, then draws the reader's attention to the first line of
the following section, giving the reader the impression that this is a
new item in Thornton's book. As Lydgate's poem now stands in Thornton's
collection then a fragmentary alliterating paraphrase of Psalm 5Q ends
abruptly on f. 102v, and is followed immediately by a copy of the
Virtues of the Mass which commences with a consideration of Psalm 42
ascribed to Lydgate. It might well be argued that this thematically
satisfying close juxtaposition of two stylistically dissimilar items in
Thornton's book is quite deliberate. More importantly for our present
purposes however, Thornton's presentation of this item, and the history
of the transmission of Lydgate's text, give us no assurance whatsoever about
the nature of the obvious textual lacuna between ff.102 - 103 in Thornton's
MS. Consequently.the only way in which we can establish the actual

extent of the physical lacuna here is by matching each watermarked

half-sheet with its most likely unwatermarked conjugate.

Finally there is a distinct possibility, which neither Stern nor

Horrall recognized, that at least one leaf is missing following f.124.

The reason why this has remained unnoticed is because the evidence

which suggests a lacuna here has little to do with textual evidence.

On ff.123v - 124v Thornton copied a text which he calls A songe how

þat mercy passeth all thynge. Copies of the same item are also extant

in both the Vernon and Simeon MSS (Bodley MS Eng. poet. A.1 and British

Library MS Additional 22283 respectively). Reference to these copies

show that, textually, Thornton's item appears complete.[40] Thornton's

copy of the short text on mercy is followed on f.125r by the romance

of Richard which also appears to be intact. However a physical lacuna

is in fact suggested by an important change in Thornton's presentation

of his text on f.124v.

Since f.121r Thornton had been copying the short metrical lines

of his items in double columns; however, on f.124v, he obviously had to

crush the final twelve-line stanza of Mercy passeth all thynge into the

bottom margin of his page. Thornton's space here was so limited that he

had to start writing two metrical lines to every single MS line, thereby

squeezing the final stanza into six MS lines crowded into his margin.

Curiously Thornton was also careful to end his text with two explicits.

However excessive wear and tear on f.124 has meant that part of the

explicit written closest to the bottom edge of the page has now crumbled away.

Our initial impression here must be that on f.124v Thornton had

used up the remaining space which he had reserved for this text. He

may have reached the end of a gathering and, rather than start a new

gathering with the twelve lines of his text which he still had to copy,

he crushed the stanza into the bottom margin. However this explanation

of Thornton's actions in copying this final stanza is complicated by the fact that Thornton used an entirely different type of ink here from that which he used for copying the rest of the poem. Moreover, elsewhere on ff.120r - 124v, Thornton appears to have copied four thematically related texts on the subject of mercy, at one sitting, and using the one type of ink. The fact then that the final stanza of the fourth song is written in a recognizably similar hand, but in a completely different ink, seems even more unusual and significant. It suggests that, at some time after Thornton had originally completed his copy of the items on ff. 120 - 124, he had to return to f. 124v, and had to add the final stanza in the bottom margin.

There is nothing to suggest that this final stanza (now extant in three MS copies) is anything other than an original and integral part of the poem. We might however, assume that Thornton's original exemplar was defective, and simply did not contain this stanza. However this would imply that, at a later date, Thornton obtained a second exemplar containing the fuller text of the poem and that, on checking it, he realized his original omission and made good his copy. This speculation is highly improbable and unnecessary. It is more reasonable to assume that Thornton originally copied the remaining stanza of the poem onto another folio which is now missing, but which originally followed f. 124v. Some time afterwards Thornton returned to this folio and found that its condition had already deteriorated so badly that he decided to recopy the final stanza of the poem into the most suitable remaining space on f. 124v. Presumably his action here was prompted by his desire to preserve intact his copy of the poem, but of course any further items on this hypothesized missing leaf may well have already gone missing. Alternatively Thornton may even have recopied these items elsewhere in his collection.[41] If we accept the likelihood

of this hypothetical situation then here is another example in the London

MS where at least one folio (and possibly even more) has gone missing

almost without trace.

There remains the possibility on ff. 74 - 124 that many further

leaves may be missing without trace from Thornton's original quires.

Since many of these leaves may even have been blanks, it seems pointless

at this stage to speculate as to the positioning or the extent of any

further physical lacunae in the London MS. Consequently, although

we must always bear the possibility of further lacunae in mind, we can

offer the following preliminary general account of where lacunae appear

to have occurred in the middle section of Thornton's book.   Following

f.77 one or more leaves may be missing, since the narrative of Melayne

is interrupted at this point. Similarly, following f. 79, the end of

this item must also be considered missing. However, we should not

immediately assume that the missing leaf or leaves here also contained a

stanza of O florum flos which now begins on f. 80r.   One leaf appears

to be missing after f. 96, and this probably contained the end of

Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England, and the opening lines of his

Dietary. Few clues remain to suggest how many leaves are missing following

the first four lines of This werlde es tournede on f. 97v, but Thornton's

presentation of this item does suggest that it is incomplete. Although

we cannot automatically assume that it contained the opening lines of

Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass, at least one missing leaf following f.102

probably contained the end of Thornton's copy of the Paraphrase of Psalm 51.

The two missing leaves indicated by the stubs following f.110 probably

contained the opening lines of the Three Kings of Cologne. Finally at

least one missing leaf, following f.124, appears to have caused Thornton

to "patch up" his text on f.124v.   Despite the inevitable vagueness of

this general account we are now in a position to identify the most

likely places where physical and textual _lacunae_ occur in the London

MS. If we now use the evidence actually in Thornton's paper itself

we can in fact build upon this scanty information and establish some

"fixed" points in the middle section of Thornton's MS.

Ff.74 - 124 contain a wide range of different types of watermarked

paper all of which are described in detail in Appendix 2. Watermark F

(Horrall's E) appears on ff. 74, 77, 78, 79; it then reappears on ff.

95, 97, 99, 101, 102; and it is found again on ff.121 and 124. Watermark

G (Horrall's F) occurs less frequently; it is found on ff. 80, 82,

84, 86, 88 and 90. Finally watermark H (Horrall's G) appears on ff.104,

105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 116, 118 and 119. Fortunately Thornton's paper

here also contains two obvious and smaller batches of watermarked half-

sheets comprised of paper with watermarks G and H. In both cases the

existence of a sequence of watermarked leaves, plus the need in a folio

arrangement to match this sequence with a similar sequence of unwater-

marked conjugates immediately imposes a helpful restriction on the number

of ways in which we can collate these leaves. In turn we can impose

an even more precise restriction on our collation for these folios

if we recognize the importance of the chain-indentations in all

medieval paper as an aid to establishing the original conjugacy of

Thornton's leaves.

In 1954, in his article, "Chain indentations in Paper as evidence",

Allan Stevenson demonstrated well how an understanding of the methods

by which medieval paper was produced can provide useful, but at first

sight seemingly insignificant evidence for the analytical bibliographer.[42]

In this pioneering article Stevenson discusses how an obvious and

omnipresent characteristic of hand-made paper is the indentations

left by the paper mould. The most obvious and best known of these

indentations is of course the watermark design itself, but other marks also

always appear on laid paper, and these too can be considered watermarks. These marks are the ribs, made by the fine laid wires, and the troughs or grooves made by the chain wires in the original mould. Whereas chainlines are of course visible from both sides of the sheet of paper, chain indentations occur only on the side of the page which was nearest to the actual mould on which the paper was manufactured. Therefore, once we have identified on which side of the page these indentations appears, we are in a position to distinguish between what Stevenson calls the "right" side (mould side) and the "wrong" side (rough or felt side) of the paper.

Although these indentations appear on all medieval paper as a result of the original manufacturing process, it is often extremely difficult for the eye to distinguish immediately between the mould and felt sides of the paper. Sometimes the distinctions may be obscured by the thinness of the paper, or by the use of light chainwires in the original mould. Stevenson also suggests that in some mills the paper seems to have been deliberately smoothed and polished before being dispatched. We might also add here that general wear and tear, especially on the outer leaves of unbound paper gatherings, and the exposure of the paper to excessive damp for lengthy periods can also make the task of identifying the mould side in medieval paper much more difficult and sometimes impossible. However, while all these factors do cause some problems in the London MS, the general thickness of Thornton's paper means that, on most of the leaves, the chain wires have left quite noticeable indentations. These are often easier to spot in the margins of the page since here the presence of ink does not obscure the contours remaining in the paper. On most occasions however, the troughs can best be identified using the method recommended by Stevenson. When the leaf in question is held below the undiffused light of a reading lamp, and the chain lines

on the mould side of the paper are held parallel to the eyes, with the reading light tilted at an angle, then a slight shadow marks the indentations in Thornton's paper.

In his work Stevenson used chain indentations as an aid to settling problems of conjugacy caused by cancels and other sorts of page substitution in certain early printed books, and mainly in quarto and octavo formats. However since Stevenson's work, and due chiefly to a suggestion by Theo Gerardy, an exact system of describing medieval paper with regard to the mould and felt sides has been formulated.[43] Gerardy's nomenclature distinguishes between paper which is Abgewandt (A) and Zugewandt (Z). This distinction can be explained as follows: A sheet of paper is placed on a flat surface so that the watermark is right way up and on the left-hand side of the sheet. If the mould side of the paper is then visible it is described as Zugewandt, and the wire of the watermark design must have been originally sewn to the right side of the paper mould. If the mould side is facing downwards, and the felt side is visible, then it is described as Abgewandt, and the watermark shape was originally sewn to the left side of the paper mould. By making this preliminary distinction then we are often able to distinguish between pages which apparently contain one type of watermark, but which were actually manufactured on twin moulds containing twin watermark shapes.

In the recent important work of scholars like Stephen Spector and R.J. Lyall, Gerardy's approach has also been seen to have hitherto unexplored and unsuspected importance for the symmetry principle of collation.[44] In a folio arrangement like the London Thornton MS, not only did each watermarked half-sheet originally have a corresponding unwatermarked half-sheet in the other half of the gathering, but an A half-sheet must also have had a corresponding Z half-sheet. In the case of a

watermark X, then, it is physically impossible for the correspondence to be anything other than either XA : -Z, or XZ : -A. Sometimes, however, the watermarked bifolia may have become inverted before they were used and this inversion will of course be apparent in the watermarked half-sheet only (X▼; X⅀). Because we have no way of telling whether the unwatermarked half-sheet is itself inverted, the correspondences will appear to be X ▼: -A and X⅀ : -Z. Thus, for example, if an unwatermarked half-sheet (-A) appears in the first half of a gathering composed entirely of bifolia with watermark X, then, if we use Gerardy's nomenclature, its watermarked conjugate leaf must be either XZ or X▼. Given the fragmentary state of the London Thornton MS, the value of this symmetry principle of collation is obvious. However before we return to the middle section of the MS, we can demonstrate the technique in action by applying it to the gatherings earlier in Thornton's book which Horrall has already satisfactorily identified.

In gathering d for example catchwords on ff. 8 and 32 and the pattern of watermarked and unwatermarked leaves all suggest the collation d^{24}. Now this collation can be confirmed by observing the chain indentations in the paper itself. Thornton's original gathering can then be described as shown in fig. 1. So ff. 9 - 32 were originally a completely regular gathering of 12 bifolia, comprised solely of paper with watermark A. Although it proved impossible to tell on which side of f.20 the mould side occurs, logically it must be a Z since f. 20 and f.21 originally formed a central bifolium, and f. 21 is a watermarked half-sheet appearing as AĀ.

Similarly the indentations in the next gathering (e) show that it was a gathering of 11 bifolia comprised solely of paper with watermark B. The final leaf of the gathering is now missing following f.53. This leaf may have contained a catchword which would have confirmed the

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
9	A	Z
10	-	Z
11	A	Z
12	A	Z
13	A	Z
14	A	Z
15	-	Z
16	A	Z
17	A	Z
18	-	Z
19	-	Z
20	-	?
21	A	A
22	A	A
23	A	A
24	-	Z
25	-	A
26	A	A
27	-	A
28	-	A
29	-	Z
30	-	Z
31	A	A
32	-	A

Fig. 1.   Gathering d.

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
33	-	Z
34	B	Z
35	-	Z
36	B	Z
37	-	Z
38	B	A
39	-	Z
40	-	A
41	B	Z
42	B	A
43	-	Z
44	B	A
45	-	A
46	-	Z
47	B	A
48	B	Z
49	-	A
50	B	A
51	-	A
52	B	A
53	-	Z
missing	?	?

Fig. 2.   Gathering e.

collation but, regardless of this loss, Thornton's original gathering can now be described as indicated in fig. 2.

In the next gathering (f) the situation is more complicated. Thornton's original gathering includes three different types of watermarked paper and it is not always possible to tell the mould side of each half-sheet. Nevertheless f can still be described as shown in fig.3. The catchword on f.73 indicates the logical extent of the quire and, once this pattern has been retrieved from Thornton's paper here, we can assume that f. 54 can only be -A; f. 55 can only be -Z and f. 56 can only be -A. We can also confirm what the physical examination of Thornton's paper can only make us suspect, neamely that f. 58 is -A; f.68 is -Z and f. 70 is -Z.

Having used these early gatherings in the London MS as demonstrations of the value of chain indentations as physical evidence, we can now turn to more problematic sections of Thornton's book. Thus, for example, when this approach is applied to the last very fragmentary gathering in the MS (Horrall's n) then the physical lacuna here appears to have been far greater than Horrall supposed. If we rely solely on the evidence of watermarks and chain indentations, and assume a folio arrangement, the evidence suggests a minimum loss of 11 leaves. The final gathering in the MS can be represented as shown in fig. 4. Horrall's collation for these folios assumed that ff. 177 and 178 formed the central bifolium of the original gathering. The indentations in Thornton's paper now show this collation to be physically impossible. If we accept the present arrangement of Thornton's leaves, the only pair which could ever possibly have formed a central bifolium are ff.180 - 181. F.181 is of course the last remaining leaf in the MS.[45]

When we now return to the problems caused by ff. 74 - 124 in Thornton's MS we are faced with a similar type of problem to the problem

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
54	-	?
55	-	?
56	-	?
57	C	A
58	-	A?
59	C	A
60	C	A
61	D	Z
62	D	A
63	D	∀
64	-	A
65	-	Z
66	-	A
67	-	Z
68	-	Z?
69	C	∀
70	-	Z?
71	C	∀
72	C	A
73	E	Z

Fig. 3.   Gathering f.

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
169	-	?
170	J	A
171	J	Z
172	-	A
173	J	Z
174	J	Z
175	-	?
176	-	A?
177	-	Z
178	J	Z
179	J	Z
180	J	Z
181	-	A

}(Eleven leaves cancelled?)

Fig. 4.   Horrall's gathering n.

in Horrall's gathering n. Here any attempt to establish the conjugacy

of Thornton's leaves is complicated by the likelihood that, prior to

the recent rebinding of the MS, the gatherings were probably more

fragmentary than the evidence of textual *lacunae* would at first suggest.

On these folios therefore the evidence of chain indentations in the

paper can be used as valuable supporting evidence to confirm any partial

collation which we might suggest. Regardless of all other factors

however, a minimum requirement of our collation must be that it should

not contradict the poles of symmetry which we can establish from the

physical presence of the contours in Thornton's paper. Once this quite

negative restriction is applied, then the core of at least one of

Thornton's gatherings becomes immediately apparent.

In the paper which contains watermark H a pole of symmetry can be

established by assuming that f. 110 and the un-numbered leaf which

originally followed it (which is now indicated in the MS by a surviving

stub) originally formed the central bifolium of a gathering. This

hypothesis is supported not only by the chain indentations, but also by the

continuous sequence of watermarked leaves on ff. 104 - 108, and the need

to match this sequence with a similar series of unwatermarked leaves.

We can extend this gathering without much difficulty to include ff.103

and 116. However as the diagram in fig. 5 demonstrates, there is then

more watermark H paper at the end of this reconstructed core than there

is at the beginning.

In the diagram I have included ff. 98 - 102 and ff. 120 - 124

for comparison with what I see as the reconstructed core of the gathering.

This shows how the remaining physical evidence in the MS supports the

hypothesis that the core of Thornton's quire was composed solely of paper

manufactured on a pair of moulds containing watermark H.   Originally

this paper formed a minimum of 11 bifolia of which at least 17 leaves

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
98	-	Z
99	F	Ɐ
100	-	?
101	F	Z
102	F	Z

Uncertain physical lacuna

103	-	?
104	H	A
105	H	A
106	H	Z
107	H	A
108	H	Z
109	-	?
110	H	Ƨ
stub	?	?
stub	?	?
111	-	?
112	-	Z?
113	-	A
114	-	Z
115	-	?
116	H	Z
117	-	A
118	H	Z
119	H	A
120	-	?

121	F	A
122	-	A
123	-	A
124	F	A

? Uncertain physical lacuna

Fig. 5.   The core of gathering h.

and two stubs now remain. The evident physical loss before f.103 has to be accounted for either by assuming that Thornton originally copied the item which now begins on this folio (the Virtues of the Mass) onto a gathering which was already fragmentary, or else by assuming that several other items (also perhaps by Lydgate), have now disappeared completely from Thornton's collection (in addition perhaps to the opening lines of the Virtues of the Mass). This latter assumption of course presupposes a considerable textual loss before f.103 of at least three, but probably four leaves. Despite our natural reticence to concede the fact, the likelihood that such a loss could have taken place is hardly in serious doubt. We should remember that Thornton's original quires probably lay around unbound for a considerable period, and so his gatherings were always particularly susceptible to damage. In addition, since the middle section of the MS already seems to be in a particularly damaged state, and since there is a considerable difficulty in assessing the extent of the obvious textual lacuna between ff.102 and 103, we should accept the loss of three or possibly four leaves here primarily on the basis of the physical evidence in Thornton's paper.

If ff.103 - 119 offer us our first fixed point in the central section of Thornton's MS, there is some additional physical evidence to suggest that we can extend the limits of this fragmentary core to include f.120 as another half-sheet which was manufactured on a watermark H mould. Thus, when f.120 is examined carefully under a strong light, the sequence of chain lines made by the chain wires and the marks of the ribs made by the fine laid wires of the original mould are clearly visible. These provide us with important features which help us to distinguish the type of mould which was used in the manufacture of the paper. These seemingly insignificant contours in the paper, which are themselves watermarks in f.120, seem identical to similar marks in

paper with watermark H.   Fortunately, and by complete contrast, these same marks on f. 120, and on all paper manufactured on the watermark H moulds, show a marked difference from the contours left by the ribs and chain lines on ff. 121 - 124.   On these latter folios, for example, the chain lines have been made by much heavier chain wires, and consequently the indentations themselves are much more pronounced than the fainter marks made by the much finer chain wires in watermark H moulds. Additionally f. 120 itself appears to be similar in weight and texture to the watermark H paper in ff. 103 - 119. Equally it seems heavier, has a whiter appearance and has an entirely different and rougher texture than the thinner greyish paper in ff. 121- 124.   Of course we should naturally expect some variation in the quality of hand-made paper, and so the various distinctions we have been drawing between watermark H paper and watermark F paper (when taken individually) may not appear to be very significant.   However when we now refer to the characteristics of all watermark F paper elsewhere in both Thornton's MSS, the unusually distinctive characteristics of the paper which comprises ff. 121 - 124 (but not f. 120) become much more significant.

Reference to watermark F half-sheets in the London MS and watermark F bifolia in the Lincoln MS show that, although the greyish colour and texture of this paper is subject to some limited variation, the paper is always quite distinctive because of its prominent chain lines. Indeed, seen in this larger context, if seems impossible, that paper with such faint chain lines as the paper comprising f. 120 could actually have been manfucatured on a watermark F mould. Equally we can say with similar certainty that the quite distinctive paper of ff. 121 - 124, with its prominent chain lines, is most likely to have been manufactured on F moulds. This is of course consistent with the fact that watermark F actually appears on ff. 121 and 124. Logically the

original conjugates for ff. 122 and 123 must also have contained watermark F. However, using the same criteria, f. 120 with its different colour, texture and much fainter chain lines, would seem to be an unwatermarked half-sheet which was originally manufactured on a watermark H mould. In common with the leaves which were originally conjoint with ff. 117 - 119, f. 120's conjugate would also appear to have gone missing before f.103.[46]

Later in this chapter I shall attempt to establish a likely reason why the leaves preceding f.103 were especially vulnerable in Thornton's unbound collection of gatherings. However if the original core of one of these gatherings did consist exclusively of paper with one watermark design (H), we are encouraged to examine more closely the isolated batch of paper containing G. Despite a greater degree of difficulty and uncertainty here we can still detect the core of a second gathering in the middle section of Thornton's MS.

The major problem in dealing with watermark G paper is the considerable difficulty experienced in identifying the mould side of the unwatermarked half-sheets. As the diagram in fig. 6 indicates, it actually proved impossible to distinguish between the two sides of the paper on f.89, and on f. 87 there is some considerable doubt about the identification.[4] This difficulty arises because the moulds on which this paper has been manufactured contained very fine chain wires which left particularly faint traces in the paper itself. Fortunately, however, this difficulty can also be used to our advantage. Although it would be practically impossible to distinguish between an unwatermarked half-sheet manufactured on a G mould, and an unwatermarked half-sheet manufactured on a H mould, it is very easy to distinguish batches of G or H mould paper from paper manufactured on a F mould. This is because of the heavier and more distinctive impressions of the chain wires in the F mould paper.

Therefore, as a preliminary, we can at least say that it is unlikely

that f.91, with its very faint impressions of fine chain lines, could

have been manufactured on an F mould. It is most likely that this

unwatermarked singleton leaf was originally manufactured on a G mould,

and that its original conjoint leaf contained the watermark G shape.

Therefore regardless of how we collate the batch of paper on ff. 80 - 91,

it is likely that they originally formed a run of G mould paper which

can be distinguished from the F mould paper elsewhere in the middle

section of Thornton's MS.

Here however the certainty ends. Nevertheless, if we reject as

unprecedented the possibility that ff. 80 - 91 originally consisted of

singleton leaves, and assume a folio arrangement, then only a limited

number of alternatives are open to us. For example, since f. 91 is

an unwatermarked Z sheet, its original conjugate could not possibly have

been f.80 (G∀). Originally it must have been either a G⩽ or a GA

sheet. Similarly the original conjugate for f.80 must have been an

unwatermarked A sheet. This means that f.80 could only have been conjoint

with either f.85 (-A), f.89 (-?), or with a leaf that is now missing

without trace. This helpful restriction limits the most likely collation

of these folios to the possibility represented by the diagram in Fig.6.

Despite the pattern which the watermark designs in G paper seem

to form, the evidence provided by the chain indentations shows that

it is most likely that we have now lost some of the leaves that once

formed part of the core of gathering g. As Fig. 6 shows, ff. 81 - 84

and 87 - 90 probably once formed a sequence of four bifolia, but the

leaves that were once conjoint with ff. 80, 85, 86, and 91 have now

gone missing. Since there is no evidence of any textual loss here

these leaves were probably removed while the core of gathering g remained

blank. Alternatively some or all of ff. 85, 86, and 91 may also have

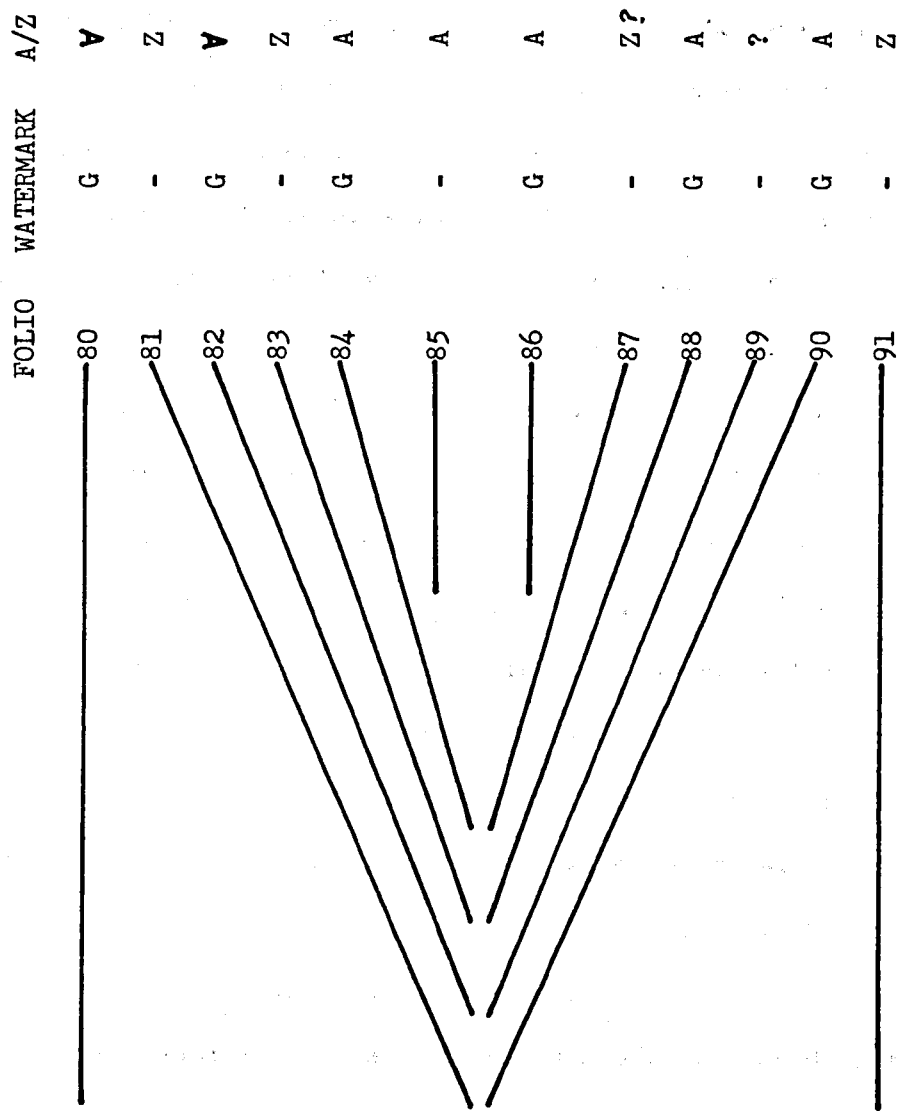| FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
80	G	A
81	-	Z
82	G	A
83	-	Z
84	G	A
85	-	A
86	G	A
87	-	Z?
88	G	A
89	-	?
90	G	A
91	-	Z

Fig. 6.   The core of gathering g: a tentative reconstruction.

been added by Thornton as singletons in order to expand the size of the gathering in which he was copying Sir Otuel and Lydgate's Passionis Christi Cantus. Certainly the highly unusual circumstances in which Thornton seems to have copied his material at the core of g (discussed at length below) means that we cannot ignore this possibility, and that the troublesome watermark G paper is likely to be even more troublesome than the paper surviving elsewhere in Thornton's MSS.

Once we have isolated the fragmentary cores of these two gatherings then the problem which remains is one of matching each watermark F half-sheet to its most likely unwatermarked conjugate. Before attempting this however we must re-emphasize the necessarily hypothetical nature of this reconstruction of Thornton's original gatherings. We are dealing here with a collation which is based on the assumption of minimum physical losses to the MS. Furthermore we have identified obvious lacunae of uncertain extent following ff. 77, 79, 97, 102 and 124 and it is noticeable that all of these lacunae involve watermark F paper. Consequently our objective must be to retrieve a consistent pattern from the physical evidence in the paper manufactured on the F mould which is not contradicted by the information which we do possess. When this important point is conceded then the middle section of the London MS can be seen to have once consisted of two large and obviously composite fragmentary gatherings. These gatherings are represented in the diagrams

in figs. 7 and 8.[48]

It is of course helpful here that we have been able to assume a
minimum loss of only one leaf following ff. 77 (containing part of
Melayne); 79 (containing the end of Melayne); and 97 (containing the
rest of This werld es tournede). On these occasions the texts involved
are all unique to Thornton's collection and, as we have already seen,
the extent of the loss was incalculable when we relied solely on
textual evidence. Fortunately however, as the diagrams indicate, our
desire for a minimum textual loss at these points coincides with our
concern to retrieve the pattern in watermark F paper suggested by the
available physical evidence in the paper itself. On two other occasions
however, following ff. 102 and 124, we have been forced by the same
physical evidence to assume a loss which is greater than the minimum
suggested by the textual evidence. We have of course already suspected
physical lacunae of some sort at these points in the MS, but now the
physical evidence in the F paper suggests that they may be even more
extensive than our conservative instincts would at first allow us to
admit. We are once again forced to face the possibility suggested
earlier in the discussion that whole items may be missing from the
London MS without trace. Following f. 102, it now seems likely that the
remaining lines of the alliterating paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50
partly filled a half-sheet of F paper which was conjoint with f. 121.
This has now gone missing along with four half-sheets of G paper before
f. 103. As we have already noted these four folios were either blank
and cancelled by Thornton, or else contained other material (possibly
also by Lydgate and possibly also associated with the Virtues of the Mass).
In addition, following f. 124, the physical evidence forces us to assume
a minimum loss of two leaves (and not one) from the end of Thornton's
original gathering. We have already discussed how one of these leaves

-203-

FOLIO   WATERMARK   A/Z

Folio	Watermark	A/Z
80	G	A
81	–	Z
82	G	A
83	–	Z
84	G	A
85	–	A
86	G	A
87	–	Z?
88	G	A
89	–	?
90	G	A
91	–	Z

FOLIO   WATERMARK   A/Z

Folio	Watermark	A/Z
74	F	A
75	–	A
76	–	A
77	F	A
x	?	?
78	F	A
79	F	A
x	?	?

Folio	Watermark	A/Z
92	–	Z
93	–	Z
94	–	Z?
95	F	Z
96	–	Z
x	?	?
97	F	A
x	?	?
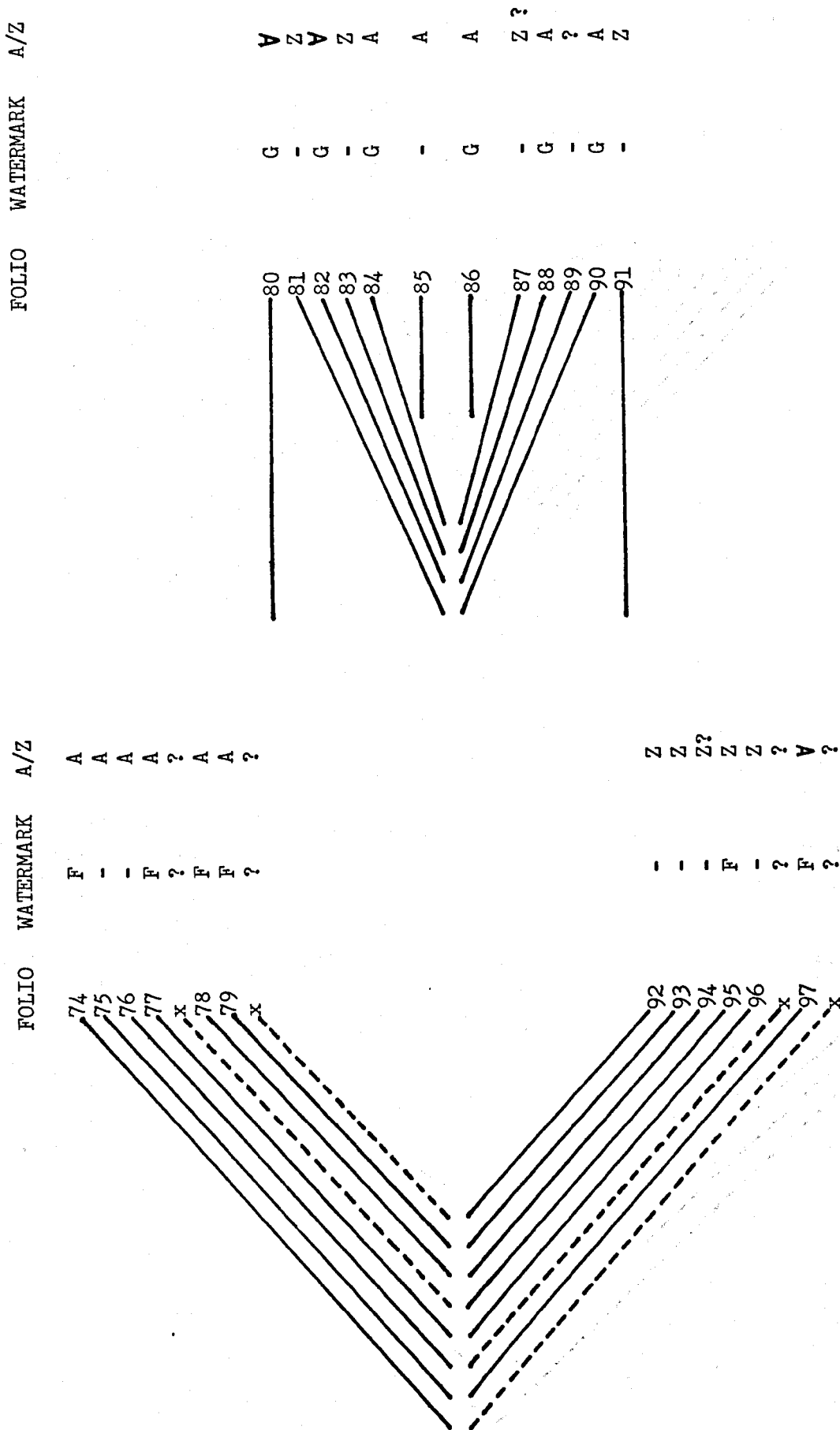
Fig. 7.   Gathering g reconstructed.
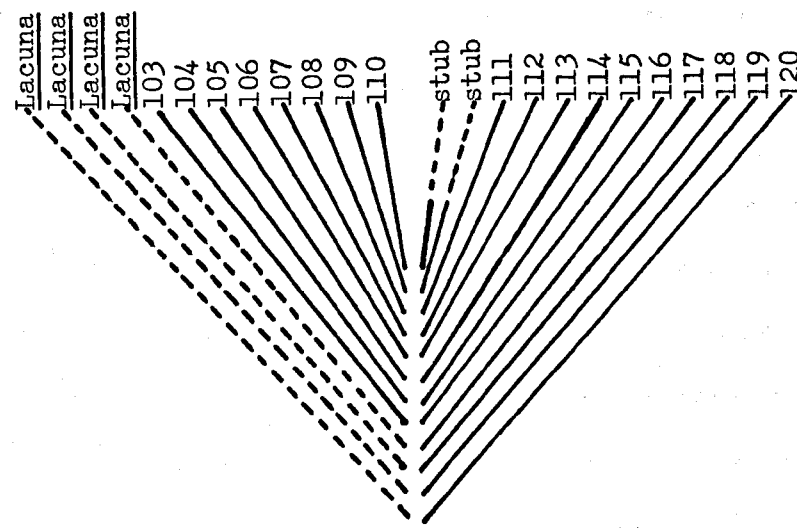
Fig. 8. Gathering h reconstructed.

probably contained the final stanza of <u>Mercy passeth all thynge</u> which, interestingly, Thornton appears to have recopied into the bottom margin of f.124v. The remaining space on these leaves may either have been blank or else may have contained further items. At both these points in the MS (and regardless of how we explain what these missing leaves might have contained) we are faced with a situation where the physical evidence in the paper itself suggests that the obvious <u>lacunae</u> here is considerably larger than we might otherwise have expected.

We are now in a position to offer what seems to be the most likely collation which the MS in its present very fragmentary state can support. This reads: + $a^?$ (now completely missing); $b^?$ (now completely missing); $c^?$ (ff. 3-8; a fragment of six leaves); d^{24} (ff. 9 - 32); e^{22} (ff. 33 -. 53; wants xxii); f^{20} (ff. 54 - 73); $g^{32?}$ (ff. 74 - 97; a composite gathering of two fragmentary quires; see fig. 8); $h^{36?}$ (ff. 98 - 124; a composite gathering of two fragmentary quires; see fig. 9); i^{22} (ff. 125 - 143; wants xx - xxii); k^{26} (ff. 144 - 168; wants xxvi); $l^?$ (ff. 169 - 181; fragment of 13 leaves) + iv.

Once we have described the physical make-up of the London Thornton MS in this manner, it is apparent that we are dealing here with not only a very fragmentary book, but also with one which was originally compiled from a series of irregularly sized gatherings. These two features of the London MS raise many interesting questions about the way in which Thornton himself went about the task of compiling his collection. Obviously, because the MS is so fragmentary, it is attractive to assume that Thornton gradually collected his items in a series of unbound gatherings which were susceptible to considerable wear and tear and perhaps even some rearrangement, before the MS was was finally ascribed in its present order. Indeed I have already indicated that some of the <u>lacunae</u> must have existed before Thornton had copied all his texts into these

unbound gatherings. However, while we can assume that some of these

missing leaves were simply blanks which Thornton himself removed, and

while we can assume that textual losses at the beginnings and endings

of unbound gatherings were an occupational hazard of Thornton's informal

type of book production, these assumptions still do not account for the

fact that so many leaves appear to be missing from the inner leaves

of gatherings g and h. While there may in fact be no rational explanation

for this peculiarity in the MS, the problem itself suggests that we

should look more closely at the internal structure of these gatherings.

Here the fact that both these exceptionally large gatherings are

themselves obviously composite, with the fragmentary cores of each

gathering made up from an entirely different stock of paper than the

outer leaves, can help us to explain more fully the circumstances which led

to the loss of so many leaves from the middle section of the MS.

Certainly a closer examination of the texts in these gatherings can help

us to retrieve several different stages in Thornton's gradual compilation

of the items in his collection.

The four short lyric items on ff. 120r - 124v in gathering h provide

us with a convenient starting point for this discussion simply

because, to the modern reader at least, these items dealing with the

related themes of wisdom, mercy and judgement, form a very distinctive

literary grouping/the London MS. Indeed the incipits and explicits

of these four texts suggest that the late medieval audience for these

texts, and of course that included Thornton himself, also recognised that

these lyric items form a sequence of "songs." Thus the incipits and

explicits of the items on ff. 120r - 124v read:

> His incipit cantus cuiusdam Sapientis Here bigynnys
>
> a louely song of wysdome (f. 120r)
>
> Amen (f. 122r)

A song how þat mercy passeth Rightwisnes (f. 122v)

Explicit Cantus Amen (f. 123r)

A Song how mercy comes bifore þe jugement (f. 123r)

Explicit Cantus Amen (f. 123v)

A Songe how þat mercy passeth alle thynge (f.123v)

Explicit Cantus amen (f.124v).

Interestingly copies of each of these songs are extant in a variety of other MSS and, importantly, in a variety of other MS contexts. Reference to these MSS can provide us with a much needed context from which to assess the late medieval literary reputation of these short texts. This in turn throws considerable light, on not only the nature of the source in which Thornton found these items, but also on Thornton's attitude towards the task of copying these songs for his collection.

A louely song of wysdome is the longest of these four songs and also has the most interesting textual history. In the London MS it consists of 38 eight line stanzas and, despite the fact that Karl Brunner, the nineteenth century editor of the poem, knew of two other longer MS versions of the same material, he chose to edit Thornton's copy as an independent poem in its own right. In addition Brunner published separately a much longer version of the poem under the heading of the Proverbs of Salomon.[49] This longer version is now extant in two MSS, Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 2. 38 and Magdalene College Pepys MS 1584. As the poem now stands in these MSS it consists of 90 eight-line stanzas, 21 of which also appear in the Thornton copy. Because of the fact that the Thornton text also contains material which is not contained in the other two MS copies then Brunner wisely considered that Thornton's song is a meaningful and complete revision of a much longer poem. He discusses how Thornton's poem contains 21 stanzas from the Proverbs, but these are presented in a different order, and are

occasionally and intelligently supplemented by 17 other stanzas which
do not appear in the two Cambridge MSS. The precise details of this
reworking will obviously reward further closer consideration elsewhere,
but the original motives for the revision are themselves fairly obvious.
Thus Brunner has already discussed how Thornton's song appears to have
been intelligently "streamlined" so that many of the didactic elements
in the poem which would have appealed primarily to a late medieval
clerical audience have in fact been omitted in Thornton's copy.
Presumably at the same time as this streamlining process took place
however the remaining stanzas were also being reorganized and supplemented
by additional didactic material. These 17 added stanzas deal with very
commonplace and fundamental didactic topics such as the dangers of the
seven deadly sins, the transitoriness of earthly glory and riches, the
wickedness of a false tongue and the need for good works. They suggest
that the reviser of the longer Proverbs text was concerned to expand
the more generalized didactic comments already existing in the original
poem because he was conscious that he was preparing his song text for
dissemination among a wider and less learned late medieval audience
than the one which had previously enjoyed the Proverbs text.[50] The
motives then for the creation of this song were probably remarkably
similar to the motives which inspired the revisions made to many of the
other religious and didactic items elsewhere in Thornton's collection.

The second song in the sequence preserved in Thornton's MS, is
written in 20 eight-line stanzas. Copies of the poem are also extant
in National Library of Wales Deposit MS Porkington 10, Lambeth Palace
MS 853, and West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Cowfold
Churchwarden's accounts.[51] The Lambeth MS is especially interesting
since this song forms part of a conflated sequence of short didactic
poems which have been copied as prose, and which also includes a copy

of the third item in the Thornton song sequence (a Song how mercy comes bifore þe juqement).[52]   This text is the shortest of the four song items in Thornton's sequence and consists of 8 twelve-line stanzas.   Copies of this text can also be found in British Library MSS Harley 1704 and Additional 39574.   However it is particularly striking that, in both the Lambeth and the Thornton MSS, two obviously thematically related items should be found in such close proximity to each other, and in the company of a series of items dealing with such familiar moral themes as the transitoriness of the earth and earthly things, the need for penance and the necessity for the repentant sinner to have God's mercy rather than absolute justice.

We do not have to look very far for further evidence of thematically similar sequences in other vernacular MS collections.   The fourth song in the Thornton sequence (A songe how þat mercy passeth alle thynge) is also extant in both the Vernon and the Simeon MSS.[53]   In the previous chapter we noted that Thornton's "religious" unit contains copies of several other items which also survive in both these earlier miscellanies. However, undeniably, the differences between Thornton's books and these two de-luxe fourteenth century MSS are, at first sight, more apparent and seem more important than the similarities.   For example both these huge collections were probably compiled from a vast range of earlier sources, possibly by scribes working in a Cistercian religious house. Both the Vernon and the Simeon collections were then generously and expensively decorated with a colourful profusion of illuminated capitals and decorative border work which contrasts sharply with the relatively drab and inexpensive decorative features in Thornton's rather less prestigious collection.[54]

Nevertheless, despite these obvious differences, the previous chapter has already discussed how the Vernon and Simeon collections

can provide us with potentially useful information about the probable
pre-history of the items in Thornton's lyric sequences. In this context
it is interesting to note that, in both the Vernon and Simeon MSS,
a copy of <u>Mercy passeth all thynge</u> is the opening item in yet another
extended sequence of short didactic poems. The order of these items
is identical in both MSS except that, in the Simeon MS, the 27 items
in the Vernon sequence have been supplemented by a further two short
poems.[55] In his study of the relationship between both MSS, A.I.
Doyle discusses how, in the Vernon MS, the didactic sequence itself
forms a final MS section. Like the items in the other four sections
which Doyle has identified in the MS, it seems likely that the task of
selecting and organizing the items which make up the final section must
have taken place, and the appropriate exemplars must have been obtained,
at some stage prior to the actual copying of the MS sections themselves.
Additionally however, the texts which were added to the sequence
in the Simeon MS demonstrate how, even though an already lengthy didactic
sequence had already been created in this carefully planned way, the
sequence itself was always capable of being expanded by the addition
of further items.

It is also intriguing that, in the Simeon sequence (but not in the
Vernon sequence) the <u>explicits</u> for 13 of the first 14 short didactic
items refer to these texts as "songs". Since there is little to
distinguish the first 14 items from the remaining 15 items in the
Simeon sequence, this may lead us to suspect that, at an earlier stage
in their history these songs had a closer affinity with each other than
they have with the remaining items in the sequence, simply because they
were copied from a different exemplar than the other items. However,
regardless of this latter speculation, the use of the term "song"
in the Simeon MS bears an obvious resemblance to the use of the same

term to describe similar texts in a similar didactic sequence in the Thornton MS.[56]

In the light of the similar didactic contexts in which we have found other and often earlier copies of Thornton's short song texts, the actual context of all four of these texts in a song sequence in the London Thornton MS no longer seems very surprising. It is likely that Thornton simply inherited the idea of grouping these texts as songs from an exemplar which already contained a similar didactic sequence. Indeed, once we recognise the likelihood of this, the first of Thornton's songs (A louely song of wysdome) would now appear to have been "tailor-made" by an earlier medieval compiler who was also perhaps originally responsible for the actual ordering of the other songs into a sequence. Moreover the example of the Vernon and Simeon MSS would suggest that the idea for didactic sequences of short vernacular texts on commonplace moral and didactic themes was most likely to have been of clerical origin. The sequences which were created and circulated towards the end of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries and which Thornton preserves in both his MSS, are most likely to have been compiled from texts which were themselves originally written, revised, and gathered together using the resources which were undoubtedly available in many of the late medieval religious houses. The collection of four songs in the London MS therefore does not necessarily demonstrate Thornton's own compiling instincts, but rather seems to indicate the availability in the later middle ages of exemplars containing this type of thematic didactic sequence which were intended for dissemination among devout and literate men with an interest in such material.[57]

When we now examine the physical structure of the London MS more closely, we can use the evidence we have already pieced together about the probable nature of Thornton's original exemplar for these

four songs to establish that this same exemplar probably contained several

other short didactic items. The most obvious indication that this

might be the case is the fact that two leaves appear to have dropped

out of Thornton's book following f. 124.   These missing leaves were

probably the final outer leaves of quire h.   However, we have already

discussed how they could not have been completely blank leaves which

Thornton himself had deliberately cancelled, simply because Thornton

appears to have attempted to make good a textual loss here by recopying

the final stanza of his fourth song text into the bottom margin of f.124v.

In view of the extended sequences of similar didactic items in other

MSS, it now seems reasonable to assume that these two missing leaves

contained other short texts which appeared in Thornton's exemplar

for the four songs, and which originally formed part of Thornton's

own didactic sequence. Additionally, once we have recognized the fact

that Thornton's exemplar need not necessarily have contained these

four short texts in isolation, we are encouraged to examine other

didactic items in the London MS for signs that they too may once have

belonged in an extended didactic sequence which also included the song

texts on ff. 120r - 124v.   When we do this, we can begin to retrieve

what appear to have been several different stages in Thornton's own

gradual assembly of the items in gatherings g and h in the middle section

of the MS.

At first sight the present MS context of these songs seems to

reinforce the impression that the texts on ff.120r - 124v form a

thematically exclusive grouping in Thornton's collection. The four songs

copies on the final leaves of quire h bear no obvious thematic or stylistic

similarity to either the item which immediately precedes them in the

same quire (The Three Kings of Cologne on ff. 111r - 119r) or to the item

which follows them in quire i (The romance of Richard on ff. 125r - 163v).

However, quire h is also a very fragmentary and obviously composite quire made up of a batch of fragmentary watermark H bifolia inserted into a damaged and fragmentary smaller batch of F paper. Most of the song texts are copied onto the batch of F paper and, when we examine the other items which have been copied in the same batch of paper, they generally appear to share a concern with the same didactic preoccupations as the four song texts. Moreover there appears to be some evidence in Thornton's presentation of these items that gathering h was not only already fragmentary as Thornton was adding more texts to his unbound gatherings, but because of its fragmentary state it was also subject to considerable rearrangement. An important point which must be recognized at the outset of this discussion of course is that the order in which Thornton's items now appear is not necessarily the order in which Thornton originally copied them.

The texts on ff.98r - 102v can certainly be said to act as thematically appropriate supplementary reading material for the late medieval readers of Thornton's sequence of songs on the theme of mercy and judgement. In the Quatrefoil of Love (ff.98r - 101v) the central figure is Mary, and she is important because she is the intermediary through which mercy is obtained by the penitent sinner seeking grace. M.M.Weale, the modern editor of the Quatrefoil, has aptly described the simplicity and directness of the ultimate moral of the poem.[58] She writes that Mary is seen as being, "all powerful (though chiefly through her tears and prayers) while we are in this life, but even she cannot save us at the last if we neglect her help in this world - that is the final moral of the poem" (p. xxiii). Appropriately the Quatrefoil, with its complex 13 line alliterating stanzas, is followed immediately on f.101v by a short penitential Prayer to the Guardian Angel which is written in rhyming couplets. This simple fifteenth century prayer is itself another minor indication of the general awareness of, and the genuine need for,

the range of practical devotional texts which were actually available

in a variety of different forms for the literate and devout lay person

who wished to actively work for the remission of his sins. Indeed the

opening lines of this prayer demonstrate an entirely orthodox late

medieval penitential attitude. The penitent asks the Guardian Angel

to accept:

> My fastyng, my penance, my prayers þat I make,
> My ympnys, my psalmys, my syngyng for syne,
> My knelynge, My louynge, My charite þat I am Ine
> (ll. 4-6).[59]

It is equally appropriate therefore that, on f.102r, the _Quatrefoil_

and this short couplet prayer are followed by a paraphrase of Vulgate

Psalm 50. The Lincoln Thornton MS contains a copy of the Latin text

of the same Psalm, and, from the appearance of various ME treatments

of the Psalm elsewhere in the fifteenth century, there is considerable

evidence to suggest that the Psalm itself was well known in the later

middle ages and was obviously a favourite choice of poets, translators,

commentators, book compilers, scribes and readers. This is hardly

surprising. In particular the general literary-didactic reputation of

the Psalm among lay readers was probably the direct result of the

importance and availability of the psalm in late medieval prayer books.

In most _Horae_, for example, Vulgate Psalm 50 is not only part of the

Psalter, but was one of the seven Penitential Psalms, and also formed

part of the Office for the Dead. Thus for the pious late medieval reader

of Thornton's collection a literary paraphrase of the Psalm would have

been one of the most obviously suitable "penitential" items which a

compiler would have chosen as part of a sequence of didactic texts.[60]

Moreover the fact that all three of these didactic items on ff.98r - 102v

have been presented to the reader of the London MS using a particularly

unusual and cramped method of layout suggests that the close thematic comparisons which we have been making between these texts should be matched by closer analysis of the implications of their striking visual peculiarities in Thornton's copies.

The physical appearance of the Quatrefoil and the short couplet prayer on ff. 98r - 101v has already evoked some critical discussion. Miss P.R. Robinson has commented on the likelihood that ff. 98 - 101 form a self-contained MS unit in Thornton's MS, which she considers to have originally been a separate "booklet." Sarah Horrall, following Dieter Mehl, has recently suggested that ff.98 - 101 originally formed a "gathering" of two bifolia.[61] At first sight this seems to reinforce the idea that these folios, and threfore the texts on these folios, should actually be considered apart from Thornton's main collection of texts. However, as we have seen, Horrall was matching each watermarked half-sheet with what appeared to be the most convenient unwatermarked conjugate. Reference to the chain indentations in ff. 98 - 101 show that it is physically impossible for Horrall's collation to be correct, and that for Robinson's "booklet" theory to be correct, these leaves must consist of (at best) one bifolia and two singleton leaves. However, once a more convincing collation has been established for the MS by the process outlined earlier in the chaper, the same evidence which Mehl, Robinson and Horrall have used in isolation, can be reinterpreted and used to suggest the actual conditions under which Thornton probably copied the items on ff. 98r - 101v. This reinterpretation of the same physical evidence in Thornton's MS can also help us to explain why gathering h in the London MS is so fragmentary.

It is interesting that Mehl, Robinson and Horrall all choose to ignore the similarities between the physical appearance of ff.98 - 101 and the present physical condition of f.102. For example, it is on

ff. 98 - 102 that the results of the severe cropping that the MS has

had to endure can be seen at their most serious. On ff. 98r, 99r,

100r and 101r parts of the actual text of the Quatrefoil have disappeared,

and it is only by a lucky chance that the text on f. 102 did not meet

a similar fate. On ff.98 - 102 then, in marked contrast to the

surrounding folios, excessive trimming has shorn away almost all of the

original side margins so that all three texts on these folios now

appear to have been copied right to the edge of the paper. The present

condition of these folios should alert us to the fact that Thornton

presented these texts in a way which suggests that he had to make careful

use of a very limited amount of paper.

We have discussed above how, on ff. 102r - 102v, Thornton's copy

of the alliterating paraphrase of Psalm 50 is presented consistently,

carefully and also economically with every two lines of verse copied

as one long MS line. The same general point can be made about Thornton's

presentation of the Quatrefoil on ff. 98r - 101v. Here, however, the first

eight metrical lines of every thirteen-line stanza are written two

to a MS line, thus occupying four long lines on Thornton's page.

However, despite the crowded appearance of these lines on the page,

Thornton was always careful to punctuate his text using the same

conventions that he used in the punctuation of f.102r - 102v (see above).

This punctuation serves to indicate the line divisions that are

obscured by Thornton's method of layout. The ninth very short metrical

line of the Quatrefoil stanza, which always consists of just two words,

was copied out to the right of Thornton's page, while the tenth, eleventh,

and twelfth lines of the stanza occupy three consecutive lines in

Thornton's page, These lines are bracketed together, and the

thirteenth and final line of each stanza is written to the right

of the brackets. Thus Thornton only filled seven lines on his page for

every thirteen-line stanza of the <u>Quatrefoil</u> which he copied.

Interestingly, Thornton's economical presentation is in marked contrast

to the presentation of the <u>Quatrefoil</u> in Bodley MS Additional A.106, the only

other surviving copy of the poem, where each thirteen-line stanza

occupies eleven MS lines.[62] Finally Thornton copied each of the

rhyming couplets of the <u>Prayer to the Guardian Angel</u> on f. 101v

in a single line on his page, again indicating the metrical division

between each line by the use of the same punctuation devices he used

for the other texts on ff. 98r - 102v.   Thus, in summary,

we can say that Thornton managed to copy 520 lines (40 stanzas) of

the <u>Quatrefoil</u> onto 280 lines in his MS; he copied the 26 lines (13

couplets) of his short prayer in thirteen MS lines; and he copied the

remaining 133 line fragment (11 stanzas, the introductory Latin phrase

of the next stanza, and the first line of the next stanza) of his

alliterating paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50 in 79 lines in his MS. The

texts on ff. 98r - 102v show every sign of having been added to

Thornton's collection as "filler" items; they provide us with outstanding

examples of occasions where Thornton's evident desire to always present

his texts in the most legible form possible was obviously severely

qualified by the limited amount of available blank space on which to

copy them. The result is a sequence of five crowded leaves which once

seem to have formed the opening leaves of gathering h in Thornton's

assembled collection, but which exhibit all the signs of having been the

final leaves in the gathering which Thornton actually filled up with

material.

We should also note that the generally ragged and torn condition

of ff.98 - 102 contrasts very unfavourably with the relatively neat

and unblemished condition of the last surviving leaf of the preceding

gathering (f. 97), and the first surviving leaf of the watermark H insert

in gathering h (f. 103). On ff. 97 and 103 the severe trimming must
have completely removed any ragged edges which may have once detracted
from the physical appearance of these folios. This fairly modern "cosmetic"
work, coupled with Thornton's spacious presentation of the items on both
these folios (which I have described in detail earlier in this chapter),
emphasizes even more the very unattractive and deteriorated condition
of ff.98 - 102. Thus, not only the cramped presentation of Thornton's
items, but also the poor general physical condition of ff. 98 - 102,
suggests that the items on these folios have had a far more precarious
existence than their present MS context would seem to indicate.

Thornton's obviously economical use of watermark F paper on
ff.98 - 102 can provide us with a useful additional point of comparison
with Thornton's similar use of the same F paper in copying his song
texts. Thus on f.120, on what appears to have been the final leaf
of the inserted batch of watermark H paper in gathering g, Thornton
copied the first 9½ stanzas of A louely song of wysdome using a single
column format. He then copied the remaining 28½ stanzas of this song,
and the three other song texts, into ff. 121r - 124v which are made up
of watermark F paper. However, although Thornton appears to have used
the same ink to copy the main text on these folios, and therefore
presumably copied all these songs at the one sitting, when he changed to
watermark F paper in this gathering he also changed to a double column
format. We have, of course, already seen how Thornton's practice
elsewhere in his MSS suggests that abrupt changes of format in the
presentation of his texts are most often prompted by the practical
exigencies of his unsystematic methods of book production. On f.121r
then this abrupt and apparently arbitrary change of format may well
have been prompted by practical considerations of economy. Indeed
reference to Thornton's economical use of the same watermark F paper

on ff. 98r - 102v suggests that, when Thornton added all the items on these outer leaves of his composite gathering, he was again very aware that the space available for these didactic texts was severely limited. By contrast, however, on f.120, when Thornton added the opening stanzas of the first of his four songs, his presentation of the text suggests that, at this stage, he was simply interested in filling up the remainder of the single column writing space which he had previously ruled for his batch of watermark H paper (ff. 103-120). By f.121r therefore Thornton must have realised that the exemplar or exemplars which were available to him at this point contained more items than he had room to copy in single columns on the remaining leaves of watermark F paper. If he was unable, or unwilling, to continue copying these texts in a new quire, yet if he still wanted to copy out as many items as possible, then the obvious solution to his problem was to commence copying these texts in the more economical double columns.

Closer examination of what at first sight appears to be insignificant physical and textual evidence in gathering h of the London MS suggests that the distinctions which we have been drawing between the two stocks of paper in this composite gathering are valid, and may explain Thornton's actions as both scribe and book compiler here. Acting on this assumption the available evidence suggests that several different "production stages" are responsible for the present order of the items in this large fragmentary gathering. Primarily because of our need to explain the present unusual and fragmentary appearance of the items on ff. 98r - 102v and 120r - 124v, we can now offer the following tentative reconstruction of Thornton's activities. These are represented by the diagrams in figs. 9, 10, and 11. Ff. 121 - 124 seem to have originally formed the opening leaves of a gathering consisting of six bifolia (ff. 121 - 124, 98 - 102), and ff. 103 - 120 appear to have

originally formed an entirely separate quire composed originally

of 12 bifolia. Thornton copied the opening lines of the first of his

four songs on mercy and judgement in single columns and onto the last

leaf of a gathering which already contained Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass,

and the Three Kings of Cologne (stage 1). He then changed to the more

economical double column format and copied the remainder of the first

song item and the other three related items onto ff. 121 - 124. The

last stanza of the fourth song item was originally copied on the first

of the two leaves which has now gone missing following f. 124. Other

related didactic material may also be missing from this small gathering.

Finally Thornton filled the second half of this originally small

gathering with other thematically appropriate items, comprising the

Quatrefoil, and the alliterating paraphrase of Psalm 50.

In stage II however the rapid deterioration of these unbound

gatherings must have already started when Thornton eventually returned

to these texts. Presumably because he realized that he was in imminent

danger of losing more material from an already fragmentary gathering of

watermark H paper, Thornton decided to protect the remainder of this

ubound gathering by refolding his smaller quire of F paper so that ff.98 -

102 and ff. 121 - 124 formed an outer covering for ff. 103 -120. At

the end of stage II ff.103 - 120 became a fragmentary insert in a

larger gathering (h). By this time however four originally outer

leaves had already gone missing from before f. 103, and a further

outer leaf had also gone which had originally followed f.102.

Interestingly Thornton's action in refolding his paper here also had the

pleasing result of juxtaposing a by now fragmentary paraphrase of

Psalm 50 on f.102, with what we can assume was a fragmentary copy of

Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass, beginning with Lydgate's treatment of Judica

me Deus (f. 103). Thornton then may have been consciously aware that

x
x   } missing
x
x
103   Virtues of the Mass
104
105
106
107
108
109
110   The Rose of Ryse
                     (filler item)

stub
stub
111
112
113
114   The Three Kings of Cologne
115
116
117
118
119
120   Opening lines of the
                     first song.

121   The remaining lines of
122   the first song and
123   three other songs.
124
x   missing   The last stanza
x   }   of the 4th song
                             (and other
                             material?)

98   The Quatrefoil of Love
99
100
101
102   Paraphrase of Vulgate
x   missing   Psalm 50

Fig. 9.   Thornton's compiling activities in gathering h:

stage I.

98 The Quatrefoil of Love
99
100
101
102 Paraphrase of Vulgate
   Psalm 50
x ⎤
x |
x } missing
x |
x ⎦
103 Virtues of the Mass
104
105
106
107
108
109
110 The Rose of Ryse
  (filler item)

stub
stub
111
112
113 The Three Kings of Cologne
114
115
116
117
118
119
120 The four songs
121
122
123
124
x ⎤ missing The last stanza
x ⎦   of the 4th song
         (and other
         material?)

Fig. 10. Thornton's compiling activities in gathering h:

stage II.

98 The Quatrefoil of Love

99

100 The Prayer to the Guardian

101   Angel

102 Paraphrase of Vulgate

         Psalm 50

x

x

x   } missing

x

x

x

103 Virtues of the Mass

104

105

106

107

108

109

110 The Rose of Ryse

    (filler item)

stub

stub

111

112

113

114 The Three Kings of Cologne

115

116

117

118

119

120 The four songs

121

122

123

124 End of 4th song in the

    bottom margin
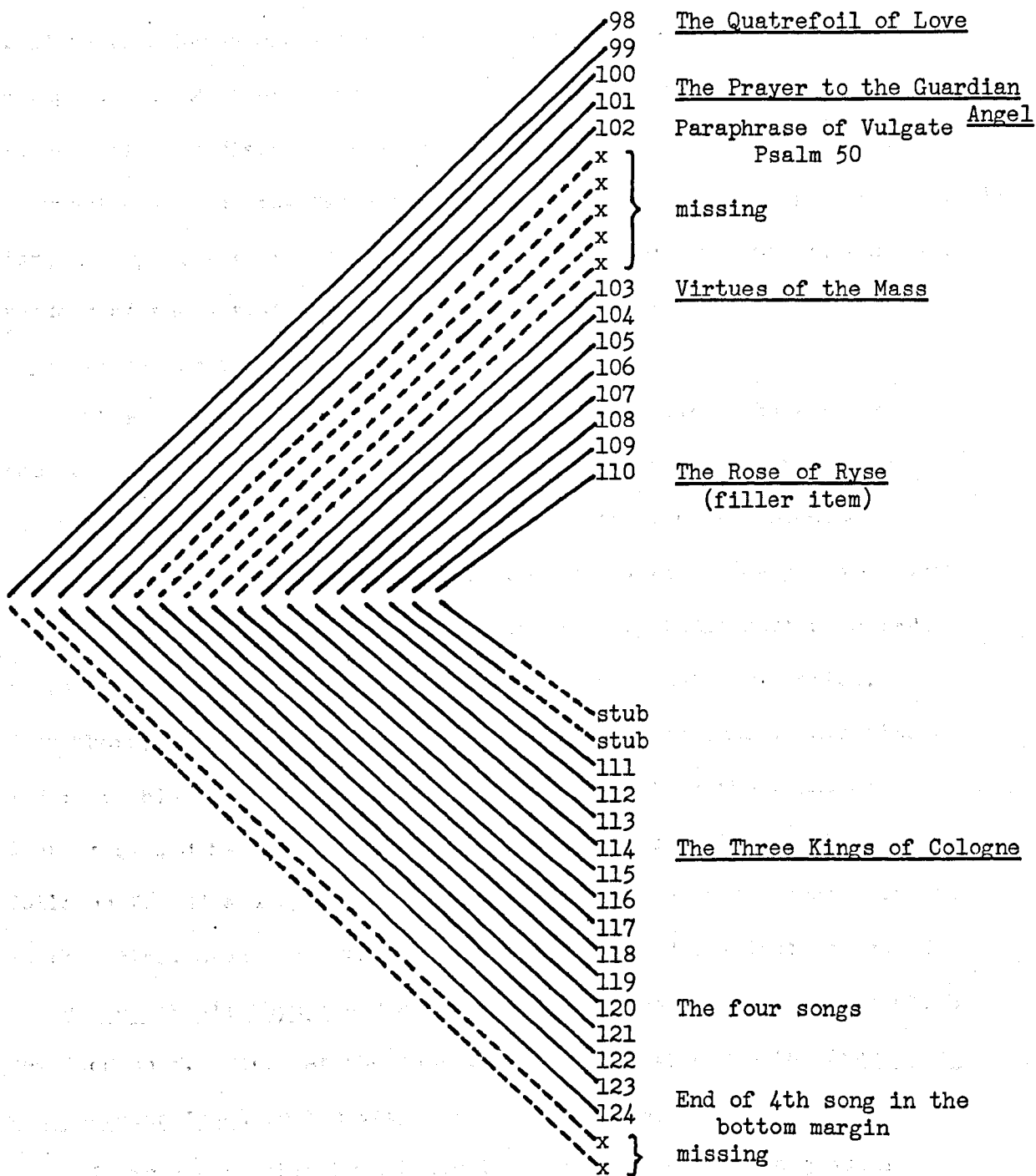
x } missing

x

Fig. 11.   Thornton's compiling activities in gathering h:

     stage III.

his rearrangement and refolding of the quire of F paper would necessarily

lead to this happy conflation of two stylistically dissimilar Psalm

paraphrases. Whether he was conscious of this fact or not

we have already discussed how some nineteenth century readers of his

MS considered that the Psalm texts on ff. 103 and 103 form part of a single

larger composite text. It is attractive to assume that other, earlier,

readers of these texts would also have appreciated the thematic

appropriateness of this juxtaposition.

Thornton's initial action here does not appear to have halted

the continued deterioration of gathering h. At a still later stage

f. 98r, which was now of course the outer leaf of this composite

gathering, sustained considerable damage from dirt and dampness. However

even more severe damage to its conjoint leaf (f. 124b) must have led,

to that leaf's complete disappearance from Thornton's collection.

When Thornton returned again to this gathering, presumably this time to

add it to his other quires, he may already have lost the final outer

leaf of g, and he was probably in imminent danger of losing the leaf which

followed f. 124 and which had now become the actual outer leaf. It was

at this final stage that Thornton probably rescued the last stanza of

Mercy passeth all thynge and added it in the most suitable space which

remained on f. 124v. At the same time he possibly added the Prayer to

the Guardian Angel in the very brief remaining space on f. 101v.[63]

If we accept this hypothetical reconstruction of the gradual

stages by which Thornton's items were copied and his composite gathering

h was assembled, then we can piece together even further information

about Thornton's unorthodox compiling methods by examining more closely

the items in gathering g. The main items in this gathering are: the

remaining lines of the Sege of Melayne fragment (ff. 74r - 79v); the

Hymn to the Blessed Virgin, O Florum Flos (ff. 80r - 81v); Sir Otuel

(ff. 82r - 94r); Lydgate's Passionis Christi Cantus (ff. 95r - 96r);

Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England (ff. 96r - 96v); Lydgate's

Dietary (ff. 97r - 97v); three Latin aphorisms (f. 97v);

and the opening lines of the fragmentary "song" this werlde es tournede

up sodowne (f. 97v).

We can see immediately that Thornton's Lydgate items, which are all

copied in single columns, seem to form another distinctive didactic

sequence. Indeed this sequence seems to reflect the Bury monk's own

wide ranging interests in devotional, moral and historical didactic

themes.[64] In the Passionis Christi Cantus Lydgate urges sinful man to

stand before his image of the crucified Christ and to think well on

Christ's original suffering and sacrifice; in the Verses on the Kings of

England Lydgate teaches the reader the morality inherent in the history

of English Kingship; and in his Dietary Lydgate instructs the reader, not

only how to eat wisely, but also how to live a life of moral rectitude.

It is no surprise then that these texts dealing with human moral and

social behaviour should form a sequence in Thornton's collection. They

obviously reflect didactic and thematic preoccupations which are not

unique to Lydgate or Thornton, but which were rather the fundamental moral

preoccupations of the later middle ages. Therefore it is probable that

Thornton himself was not responsible for the creation of the sequence

itself, but that he merely formed part of the wide audience of literate

and devout late medieval readers for whom such didactic sequences were

intended. It is most reasonable to assume in fact that Thornton copied

these short Lydgate items from the one exemplar. The real question

which seems to be at issue here is whether that same exemplar also

contained other didactic texts, which Thornton also copied for his

collection. A closer examination of the texts on f. 97v indicates

that this is a distinct possibility.

On f.97v Thornton completed his copy of the Dietary and this text

is followed on the same folio by the three Latin aphorisms.   These

comment briefly on the transitory nature and corruptibility of man.[65]

These are followed by This werlde es tournede which, as we have seen,

is a vernacular song fragment dealing with the mutability of the earth.

The theme of this fragment is of course one that was close to Lydgate's

own didactic interests, and, since the similarity of the ink in which

these short items was copied suggests that this folio was copied at the

one sitting, it is reasonable to suppose from the "settled" nature of the

items on this folio that here again Thornton was simply inheriting a

carefully arranged sequence of didactic items directly from his

exemplar.   The single folio which now appears to have gone missing following

f.97 presumably contained the continuation of this didactic song

fragment and may even have contained other thematically similar material

which is now completely lost.

Our discussion of Thornton's rearrangement of ff. 98 - 102 and

120 - 124 to enclose and protect what at one stage appears to have been

an independent quire (ff. 103 - 120) suggests an important new context for

the items on f. 97v.   Thus, when Thornton had completed his text of the

song item and any additional items on the folio which once followed

f.97, he appears to have added a quire whose opening leaves probably

originally contained several short items and the opening lines of

Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass.   All these items have of course now

disappeared, and the only texts which remain in this original gathering

are the Virtues of the Mass fragment, the Three Kings of Cologne, and of

course the opening lines of the first of Thornton's four songs on the

theme of mercy and judgement.

This combination of texts in Thornton's MS is very suggestive, but

the conclusions we draw can hardly be considered as anything other than

speculative. Thus, it is intriguing that the four items on ff. 120r - 124v, which Thornton copied as a sequence of four songs would appear to be the logical extension of the didactic sequence on ff. 94r - 97v. If Thornton's incipits and explicits are any indication of the type of didactic literature he thought he was copying at this point, then these four "songs" would appear to have a direct link with Lydgate's Passionis Christi Cantus and, even more obviously, with This werlde es tournede which Thornton calls, "a gud schorte songe." Indeed reference to the Simeon song sequence is useful here since it suggests that a short poem on the transitory nature of the earth is precisely the kind of text which Thornton's original song exemplar might be expected to have contained. [66] Here again then the limited available evidence suggests that Thornton himself, acting as scribe and book compiler, has effectively disrupted a sequence of songs on the themes of mutability, and mercy which probably came to him in a batch of texts which also included a sequence of Lydgate's minor poems. [67]

Even if we cannot fully explain Thornton's motives here they seem to have been influenced more by his desire to use up the remaining blank leaves in his half-filled gatherings than by his desire to preserve the order in which his texts originally appeared in his exemplar. Thus Thornton originally appears to have copied the items on ff. 103r - 119v before he added the opening lines of the first of his four songs on f.120r. This meant that, before Thornton copied his song texts from his exemplar, he already had a gathering which contained unknown items at the beginning, a fragmentary copy of Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass, and the Three Kings of Cologne. For a time f. 120 remained completely unfilled. Moreover we know that Thornton probably knew that Lydgate was the author of the Virtues of the Mass because he copied a note to that effect on f.103r. Presumably then, when Thornton received his

Lydgate/song exemplar, the exemplar itself made it clear to him that

Lydgate was also the author of these didactic items, although, if this

was the case, Thornton did not communicate the same information to his

readers.   Nevertheless, having copied all of the Lydgate items and the

first song items from his exemplar onto the final leaves of gathering

g, Thornton then appears to have been determined to include the quire

which already contained at least one Lydgate item as closely as possible

to this new Lydgate sequence.[68]   Instead of commencing to copy the

remaining songs in his exemplar in an entirely new gathering, Thornton

turned instead to the final blank leaf remaining in the gathering which

already contained the Virtues of the Mass. Using the same single column

format which he had used on ff. 95r - 97v, and taking advantage of the

writing space which he had probably already ruled for f.120, Thornton copied

the opening stanzas of the next song item in his exemplar. He then

commenced copying the remaining items in a fresh gathering of six

bifolia, but this time he took care to be more economical by starting

to present his texts in double columns. Presumably this was because,

by this stage, Thornton had already estimated that the remaining space

in this small gathering was barely sufficient for the number of items

which he had collected for copying.

     We have of course no firm assurance that the same Lydgate/song

exemplar which Thornton appears to have used for the items on ff. 94r -

97v and ff. 120r - 124v also contained the items on ff. 98r - 102v.

However the present order and appearance of the texts on ff. 94 - 97

and 120 - 124 suggests that, at this stage in his book compiling activities,

Thornton was reluctant to waste paper by assembling fresh gatherings on

which to copy texts unless he was sure that he had sufficient material

with which to fill these new gatherings completely. It is possible for

this purely practical reason also that Thornton commenced copying his

Lydgate/song sequence in a gathering (g) which already contained the remaining lines of one Charlemagne romance, a short Marian vernacular Hymn, and the complete text of a second Charlemagne romance. Thornton's actions then appear to be those of a scribe-compiler who is in the final stages of assembling his partly filled gatherings, and of course the items which they already contained, into a fixed but not totally unalterable sequence.

Before examining more closely the possible relationship between the Lydgate items and the "romance" items in gathering g, we can also draw some further tentative conclusions about the possible relationship between Thornton's Lydgate items and his text of The Three Kings of Cologne. As we noted earlier Thornton's fragmentary copy of Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass had probably been copied in a gathering which also contained The Three Kings of Cologne before Thornton copied his song texts from his Lydgate/song exemplar. However, the Virtues of the Mass is also by Lydgate, and it is the only other Lydgate item in Thornton's entire collection. Therefore it is attractive to assume that Thornton's determination to set his Lydgate item as close as possible to his other Lydgate material was mainly due to the fact that he inherited all his Lydgate texts from the one exemplar. When we examine ff.103r - 119v with these thoughts in mind, then we seem to have here another example of a gathering which Thornton rearranged before he incorporated it into his collection.

Thornton's probable compiling actions here are outlined in the diagram in fig. 12. In stage one I suggest that ff.103 - 120 originally formed a gathering where ff.120-120a were the central bifolium and the stub following f.110 (f.110b) and f.110 formed the outer bifolium. At an early stage Thornton copied The Three Kings of Cologne onto ff.110a - 119v. This originally filled the first half of the gathering. When this task

STAGE ONE

The Three Kings
of Cologne

now missing

stub
stub
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120

x
x
x
x
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110

STAGE TWO

missing

Virtues of
the Mass

The Rose of Ryse
(filler item)

The Three Kings
of Cologne

Opening lines of
the first song.

x
x
x
x
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110

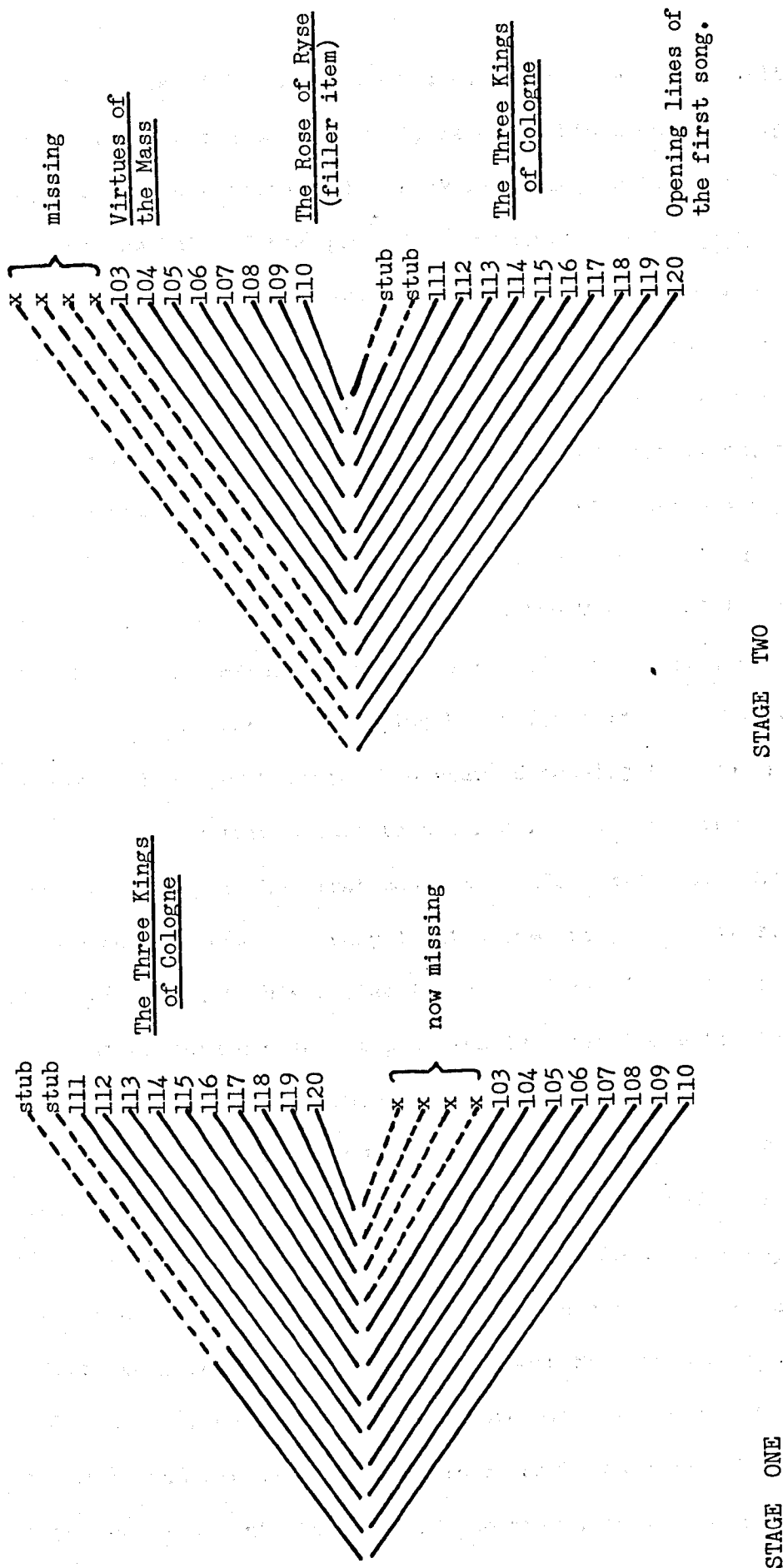stub
stub
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120

Fig. 12.   Thornton's compiling activities in gathering h: two possible preliminary stages.

was completed f.120 remained blank, as did the second half of the

gathering. Thornton presumably received his Lydgate exemplar at a

relatively late stage in his book producing activities. By this time

the second half of the gathering containing The Three Kings of Cologne

still remained blank as did the second half of gathering g. If

Thornton wanted to ensure that the Lydgate items in his source

were kept together in his collection, yet if he still wanted to use

up the remaining spaces in these half-filled gatherings, then

all he had to do was refold his gathering containing The Three Kings

of Cologne (stage two). The first half of the refolded gathering

remained blank. Thornton then copied the Virtues of the Mass (and

possibly other material) into the refolded gathering, before turning to

gathering g to continue copying his Lydgate items. When gathering

g was filled, and Thornton had started copying the song sequence from

his source, he turned back to his rearranged gathering and added the

opening lines of the first song on f. 120r (fig. 9). At an unknown

stage he then used the very limited remaining space in f.110v to crush the

Rose of Ryse into his collection as a "filler" lyric. It was possibly

only after this complex of practically motivated activity that the items

on ff.103 -120 settled into their present sequence.

Intriguingly we find more evidence to suggest Thornton's very

practical attitudes towards the task of copying and organizing the

order of his items when we examine in more detail the physical and textual

relationships of the Charlemagne items in g to each other, and to the other

short items in the same gathering. Both Melayne and Otuel are extant

only in the London MS and, as we have already mentioned briefly, their

thematic and textual relationship to each other has always been an

important scholarly issue. S.J. Herrtage, following a suggestion made

by Gaston Paris, argued that Melayne was written and intended as an

introduction to Otuel, while Maldwyn Mills has argued that the points of

similarity shared by both Charlemagne romances are probably coincidental,

and that Thornton himself may have been responsible for the close

proximity of both texts in his collection. Neither scholar attempts to

explain the circumstances which led to the "sandwiching" of O Florum

Flos between these two romances.[69] However, the very existence of these

two conflicting literary critical opinions is a good general indication

of how our general ignorance of the probable nature of the exemplars

in which romances circulated in the later middle ages inevitably affects

our modern literary-critical judgements of the romances themselves,

and the people who read them.   By using the newly established collation

for the London MS, we can in fact now offer more detailed evidence

about Thornton's own activities in the compilation of these items.

When Thornton came to copy Melayne on the remaining leaves of

gathering f in the London MS he appears to have been generally aware

that his action meant that he was juxtaposing this Charlemagne siege

romance with the stylistically dissimilar siege romance which precedes

it in his collection. Thus Thornton completed his copy of the Siege of

Jerusalem on f. 66r with the characteristic Thornton colophon, R Thornton

dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus amen. Following this he left the

remainder of the folio blank and commenced copying Melayne on f. 66v.

The short title, The Sege of Melayne is written in the head margin of

f.66v in Thornton's hand, but he appears to have added this title as

an afterthought in the only remaining space available to him after he

had copied the item itself. Since this presentation contrasts with the

careful layout of both the incipit and the explicit of the Siege of

Jerusalem, we may even suspect that Thornton's actual title for Melayne

was in fact influenced by the title of the previous siege romance.

Leaving this speculation aside however, Thornton's presentation

of the Charlemagne item, and the very noticeable variation in Thornton's

script on ff. 66r and 66v which led. Herrtage to claim that Melayne

and Otuel were in a different hand from the Siege of Jerusalem, both

suggest that Melayne was copied into Thornton's collection at a later

date, and also from a different exemplar than the one used by Thornton

for his copy of the Siege of Jerusalem.[70]   Equally however the present

position of Melayne in Thornton's collection should alert us to the

obvious fact that Thornton considered this Charlemagne item as an

adjunct of some kind to the existing sequence of items in his collection.

Presumably at one stage in Thornton's career as a compiler this sequence

ended with the Siege of Jerusalem. I shall discuss Thornton's gradual

formation of this earlier sequence in more detail later in this chapter,

and in the following chapter, but, for the moment, we must assume that

Thornton was probably equally aware and equally interested in the

thematic appropriateness of juxtaposing two stylistically different

siege romances as he was in stressing the points of comparison between

his two Charlemagne tail-rhyme items. This point can be made even

more forcibly by examining the present context of O Florum Flos in

Thornton's collection.

As the sequence of items in the London MS now stands Melayne ends

abruptly on f. 79v: O Florum Flos fills ff. 80r - 81v: and Otuel

begins intact on f.82r. Therefore any impression that the modern reader

might have that Thornton's second Charlemagne item forms yet another

adjunct to an organized and logical sequence must be considerably

qualified by the obvious intrusion of Thornton's inoffensive but

problematic Marian lyric. However, when we turn to the very limited

but suggestive evidence in Thornton's paper in this quire, we are once

again given a good indication of the mundane but important practical

considerations which frequently seem to have influenced Thornton's book

compiling activities and which often seem to have determined the quite

illogical order in which some of Thornton's items eventually appeared

in his collection. We have already seen how the outer leaves of

gathering g consist of 8 bifolia of watermark F paper. However, at some

stage in the history of these bifolia this paper was added to the

fragmentary core of a gathering which is composed of watermark G paper,

thereby creating a large composite quire. Of course this could have

happened at any time after the paper had been manufactured, but it must

have happened before Thornton added his copy of Otuel to the quire since

he commenced copying this item in G paper and completed it in F paper.

However it may be more than just coincidence that, in Thornton's

composite gathering, the remaining lines of Melayne are copied on paper

containing watermark F, and that O Florum Flos presently occupies the

opening leaves of the batch of paper containing watermark G. Given

the obtrusive nature of O Florum Flos we are encouraged to assume that,

when Thornton copied Melayne, his gathering consisted solely of F paper

which he himself later expanded by an insertion of G paper. It appears

likely that Thornton originally copied O Florum Flos quite independently

of Melayne, but that he expanded his collection by inserting ff.80 - 91'

containing O Florum Flos prior to copying Otuel. It was probably this

action which created the present unexpected and quite illogical sequence

of texts.

Once this hypothesis concerning Thornton's compiling activities

is accepted, we have here the first indication of delays of some kind

between the time when Thornton copied Melayne, the time when he inserted

the batch of paper containing O Florum Flos, and the time when he

returned to his newly expanded and partly-filled gathering to add Otuel.

These delays are in themselves suggestive of the uncertain conditions

under which Thornton was working at this stage in his career. But, in

order to explore these circumstances further, we must first examine the other items in quire g. When we do this then we quickly discover that it is only by assuming that there was a delay before Thornton copied his second Charlemagne romance that we can account for the "false start" to the Lydgate/song sequence which appears on f. 94r.

At first sight Thornton's actions in transcribing the opening lines of Lydgate's Passionis Christi Cantus on f.94r hardly seem very unusual. On this folio Thornton carefully copied the explicit of Sir Otuel; he then proceeded to copy the incipit and opening lines of Lydgate's text. The ink he used for his Lydgate items is a different colour from the ink in the main text of Sir Otuel, and we can assume that this is some indication of the fact that the Charlemagne text and the Lydgate text which presently share f. 94r were not copied at the same time. It is possible therefore that they were obtained from two different exemplars. Before copying the opening lines of his Lydgate poem, Thornton carefully left an indented space in his text for the later addition of a coloured capital; he wrote a guide letter in the margin and then commenced copying the opening lines of this item in single columns. However, when the reader turns the page to continue reading the text on f.94v, it is impossible to escape the impression that something unusual must have happened as Thornton was transcribing this text. Thornton originally left half of f.94v blank before commencing to copy the opening lines of Lydgate's poem for a second time. A later and probably sixteenth century hand subsequently filled part of the space which originally remained blank by adding two carol fragments, and this action has helped to fill part of the embarrassing gap in the MS at this point.

One possible explanation for Thornton's "false start" here has already been suggested. In a brief article which identifies and

describes the two carol fragments on f.94v Mrs Karen Stern has

suggested that the reason for Thornton's highly unusual scribal

behaviour here was because, "the scribe recognized, as he copied it,

an important religious text, and decided to give it greater prominence"

(p.33).[71]   However, if this was the case, then Thornton's unusual

actions are completely without precedent elsewhere in either the London

or the Lincoln MS. Closer examination of Thornton's presentation of

his text on f.94v, while it cannot by itself explain Thornton's action,

does in fact suggest that it is more likely that the present appearance

of Lydgate's text is in fact the result of a fairly serious error on

Thornton's part.

There is frustratingly little physical evidence on f.94r and

f.94v to help us here. The ink in which Thornton copied his text on

f.94r shows little variation in colour from the ink used on f.94v, and

this in turn shows little variation in colour from the ink used to

complete Thornton's copy of the text on ff.95r - 96r. Similarly any

slight differences we might detect between Thornton's script on these

folios would appear to be explained by the simple fact that Thornton

allowed himself more room to copy his text on f.94v, than he did on either

f.94r or f.95r. We can therefore be reasonably confident that

Thornton completed his task of transcribing Lydgate's text including

his false start, at the one sitting. While this is in itself potentially

useful information, there are also two minor indications that Thornton

was slightly less careful when he copied the opening lines of the

Passionis Christi Cantus for a second time. The most obvious of these

is that Thornton did not repeat the formal incipit for this item on

f.94v. By contrast of course, on f.94r, he appears to have been very

careful to not only have added a lengthy title to his false start, but

also to have added this title in a more formal script than the one

which he used to transcribe the opening lines themselves. Secondly, when

Thornton copied his text on f.94v, he was certainly careful enough to

indent the opening lines of his fresh start so that he could eventually

add a coloured capital to this item. Having done this and having added

a guide letter in the margin, Thornton obviously forgot to also omit

the first letter of the opening word in his text (the "m" in "man").

Ordinarily this would in itself be a minor and insignificant detail.

However it stands in direct contrast to Thornton's careful omission of

the opening letter "m" on f.94r. All the signs that remain then (and

it must be admitted that there are very few) point to the one general

conclusion: Thornton's repetition of the opening lines of his text is

hardly a carefully premedi ᵗated scribal action. It is more likely to

have been quite unplanned, and probably quite hastily executed.

We should, of course, consider Thornton's false start on f.94r

in the context of his other compiling activities in the middle section

of the London MS. If we do this, we can use a variety of scraps of

evidence, which at first sight appear unrelated, to reconstruct in

some detail the unusual circumstances which probably led to Thornton's

error. For example, when Thornton completed his copy of Melayne, there

appears to have been a delay of some sort during which he inserted a

batch of paper already containing O Florum Flos into gathering g.

It seems likely that Thornton already knew that he could obtain a copy

of Sir Otuel, presumably because he obtained both Charlemagne romances

from a single source. If he had also decided that he wanted to add

Sir Otuel to his collection as a companion piece to Melayne, then, at

the same time as Thornton was expanding quire g by inserting G paper,

he was probably also reserving the nearest available space in his new

expanded and half-filled gathering for Sir Otuel.

Equally however Thornton copied some of the items from the Lydgate/song

sequence into gatherings which were already partly filled by other material. Thornton's action in expanding quire g with a fragmentary batch of paper containing O Florum Flos suggests that, by this stage, his stock of paper was very limited. So, if paper was in short supply, or if Thornton was simply trying to fill the remaining spaces in his pile of unbound gatherings, then a situation could well have arisen where Thornton knew he had to copy part of his Lydgate/song sequence in gathering g, before he had the opportunity to copy his second Charlemagne romance. Moreover, if Thornton's Lydgate exemplar was only available to him for a very limited period (and he had not already copied Sir Otuel) Thornton may also have been forced to estimate roughly the number of leaves he would need to copy the Charlemagne text before copying the Lydgate and song items in the nearest unreserved space in his unfilled gatherings.

If Thornton did find himself in the invidious position of having to estimate where a text which he had not yet had time to copy would end, and thus where he could begin copying his Lydgate texts with the minimum of wasted space, then his actions on ff. 94r and 94v are very revealing. Thornton would appear to have estimated the amount of space he would need for Sir Otuel and to have then started to copy the Passionis Christi Cantus on f.94r.[72] However, when he turned the page to continue his task of transcribing this text, he appears to have had second thoughts. Presumably Thornton decided that his original estimate of the amount of space he would need for copying Sir Otuel was too little or else he realized that he had made a miscalculation. In either case he took the unprecedented step of recopying his text so as to have a limited amount of additional space available in case he needed it. Of course the present appearance of Sir Otuel on f.94r suggests that Thornton's original estimate was exactly right and that his

decision to recopy the Lydgate item was completely unnecessary. However closer examination of Thornton's presentation of Sir Otuel suggests that the relatively normal appearance of the texts on f.94r is in fact the direct result of Thornton's own skillful joinery work. Having originally predetermined how many leaves he would require to copy Sir Otuel, and despite having changed his mind about the amount of space he thought that he would need, Thornton's self-appointed task was to try hard to make his text fit the original space. This is of course what Thornton eventually managed to do, thereby causing the minimum disruption to the visual appearances of his items and making his original mistake all the harder to detect. However by examining the London MS carefully we can in fact uncover even more details about the way in which Thornton concealed part of his original mistake. To demonstrate this we have to compare Thornton's presentation of Sir Otuel with what, at first sight, appears to be his similar presentation of Melayne. When we do this then the minor, and by themselves insignificant, changes in Thornton's presentation is a good indication of the different conditions under which each of these romances were copied.

Thornton's two Charlemagne items are the only items in the London MS which are written in tail-rhyme stanzas. Both were copied using a single column format which is in marked contrast to Thornton's general practice in the Lincoln MS of copying his tail-rhyme romances in double columns. The twelve-line stanzas of these Charlemagne items are however presented in a manner which is generally similar to Thornton's presentation of Sir Degrevant. This item is written in 16-line tail-rhyme stanzas, but it is copied with the fourth, eighth, twelfth and sixteenth lines of each stanza set in the side margin. Consequently Thornton's use of this particular format for these three tail-rhyme items may well be an indication of the single stage in his career when

he copied them.[73]   Leaving this speculation aside, however, it is

obvious that the Charlemagne items in the London MS are presented in

such a way as to make it attractive to see them as a pair.[74]

In copying each romance Thornton transcribed the couplets in each stanza

in a single unbroken column, and then added the metrically shorter

third, sixth, ninth and twelth tail-lines in the stanza in their

respective positions, but to the right of the main column of text.

Additionally Thornton sometimes bracketed together the couplets in

his main column, always keeping the shorter tail-lines to the right

of these brackets. The reader was thus presented with a text where

the actual internal structure of the stanza was clearly apparent because

of the unfaltering way in which his attention was continually drawn to

the tail-lines themselves.

Thornton's presentation of these two stylistically and thematically

similar items was possibly inherited directly from his exemplar, and

is in itself hardly unusual. However what is important is that, despite

the general similarity of layout of these two romances, Thornton

consistently managed to copy more lines of Sir Otuel onto each page.

Thus, overall, Thornton eventually required 24½ folio sides to copy

the 133 stanzas (1595 lines) of his second Charlemagne text. If we

count the number of lines per page and set them on a descending scale

then we see that he copied 68 lines of text onto 7 of these pages:

65 lines of text onto another 10 pages; and 62 lines onto a further

4 pages. F.83v is the only page where Thornton only managed to copy

59 lines; and f.83r is the only one where he copied 56 lines. Finally,

on the opening folio of Sir Otuel (f.82r), Thornton managed to copy only

54 lines, and, on the final half-filled page (f.94r), he added the

remaining 30 lines. Reference to Melayne gives us the necessary perspective

from which to analyze the implications of this evidence. Thornton

needed 27 pages on which to copy the remaining 1602 lines of this fragmentary text. The maximum number of lines on any single page here are the 63 lines which Thornton copied onto the opening folio (f.66v). Elsewhere he copied 62 lines on each of four pages, and on two others he managed to copy 60 lines. On the 20 remaining pages Thornton managed to copy 59 lines on 9 occasions; 57 lines on 2 pages; and 56 lines on the other 9 pages.

The kind of variation in the number of lines copied on each page is of course the type of inconsistency which we should expect to find in any medieval MS, particularly if the items in the volume were assembled gradually or haphazardly. However, in the light of our earlier discussion, it is interesting to note just how consistently Thornton managed to copy more lines of text per page when he was copying Sir Otuel than when he was copying Melayne. The three pages which do contain fewer lines of Sir Otuel are those folios which Thornton copied near the beginning of his writing task when he still had the assurance of plenty of blank paper available for him to use. However, once he had copied the first four pages, the number of lines on each page of Sir Otuel never falls below 62. Although this may not seem to be very important, the consistency with which Thornton copied from 3 - 6 lines more per page for 20 pages of Sir Otuel does mean that he required about 2½ pages less to copy that text than he required for the similarly sized Melayne fragment. Since Thornton originally appears to have miscalculated the amount of space he would need for copying Sir Otuel by just under one leaf, it is attractive to assume that he himself was consciously making some effort to regulate his use of paper so as to try to fit his text into a space which was more restricted than he had originally anticipated.[75]

We can see then that Thornton's false start on f.94v is an

indication of his own recognition that he had made a mistake. However

the success with which he appears to have accommodated his scribal habits

to take account of that mistake is in direct contrast to the lack of

confidence implied by the fact that he felt that he had to abandon

his text on f.94v and make a fresh start on f.94v. Presumably, if

necessary, Thornton was prepared to cancel his mistake in some way to

make way for any remaining lines of Sir Otuel which he might have to copy

on f.94v. [76] However it is hard to escape the impression that his

decision to abandon his Lydgate text was a hasty and quite illogical

act. It is most likely to have been the act of a scribe, who, having used

his Charlemagne exemplar to calculate quite precisely the amount of

space he should reserve for Sir Otuel, found to his irritation that

through his own simple error he had not actually commenced copying

his Lydgate item at the point he had intended. Unthinkingly Thornton

appears to have abandoned his text, to have compensated for his error

by turning the page and to have started for a second time the task of

copying his Lydgate text.

Whereas this may be why Thornton's false start occurred in the first

place, it is interesting that Thornton himself made no attempt to indicate

to his readers that the opening lines of his Lydgate text on f.94r were

in fact repeated on f.94v. Indeed at a later date the initial coloured

capitals were added to both the false start and the true start to

Thornton's copy of the Passionis Christi Cantus, thereby giving the

casual reader of the London MS the false impression that the Lydgate

text on f.94r is in fact a short poem in its own right. By contrast however

Thornton made no attempt to use up the embarrassing blank space remaining

on f.94v, and so it is also perhaps fair to say that the space itself

is more embarrassing to later readers than it was to the original readers

of Thornton's book. Indeed Thornton may well have intended to return to

f.94v and add any short "filler" items which became available to him, but he did not do this, and it was left to a later sixteenth century reader of the London MS to do this for him by adding the carol fragments which now occupy part of the space on f.94v.

Once we have pieced together the evidence which remains to suggest the circumstances in which Thornton copied his texts and so compiled the middle section of the London MS, we are encouraged to look elsewhere in the MS for evidence of a similar compiling intelligence at work. If we do this then the composite nature of the MS encourages us to break down the remaining items in Thornton's collection into four MS sections. These can be described as follows:

Ff.3r - 32v, now consisting of two gatherings (c and d) and containing Thornton's Cursor Mundi (C.M.) fragmentary extract and the "Discourse between Christ and Man". Two gatherings (a and b) are now completely missing and only the remains of a third still remain. These missing gatherings probably contained the opening lines of the C.M.

Ff.33r - 73v, consisting of two gatherings (e and f) and originally containing only the Northern Passion (N.P.) and the Siege of Jerusalem. At a later date Thornton used the remaining space in f to add the opening lines of Melayne.

Ff.74 r - 124v.

Ff.125r - 168v, consisting of two fragmentary gatherings (i and k) and containing two texts which Thornton calls "romances." These are, the Romance of King Richerd þe Conquerore (Richard) and the Romance of the childhode of Ihesu Criste þat clerkes callys Ipokrephum (Ipokrephum).

Ff. 169r - 181v, consisting of a single fragmentary gathering (1) and containing the Parlement of the Thre Ages, and the remaining

fragment of Wynnere and Wastoure.

Seen in these terms the third section described here appears to be the most identifiably self-contained unit in Thornton's book. In this "romance" section, Thornton's characterization of Richard and Ipokrephum as "romances" in the explicit of the one text, and the incipit of the next on f.163v is a good general indication that he himself thought that these items formed a thematically similar grouping in his larger miscellany. However, while this thematic pairing may at first sight seem to be something which Thornton may have simply inherited from a "romance" exemplar, closer examination of the appearance of these items in the London MS suggests that it is more probably that Thornton himself was responsible for the pairing of items in this "romance" unit. [77] The main evidence which suggests this is the very obvious change of ink in the MS which coincides with the end of one text and the beginning of the other. Thus Thornton copied Richard in double columns using one batch of particularly dark, black ink. However when he came to copy Ipokrephum he used the same double column format, but the ink he used is more brownish in colour and has now faded very badly. Since the two inks appear on the same folio (f.163v), the idea that Thornton was using two quite different inks to copy these two romance items seems to be the only way in which we can account for these differences. Of course this in itself may only indicate a short time lapse between the time when Thornton used up one supply of ink, and the time when he commenced using another and seemingly inferior ink. However, the fact that this change of ink is so obviously associated with a change of text, and the fact that no other ink in the London MS has faded quite so badly as the ink used to copy Ipokrephum, suggests that the task of copying this text was undertaken on a quite separate occasion. Therefore we can assume that there was in fact an important time lapse

between the time when Thornton had originally copied Richard in gathering

i, and in the opening leaves of gathering k, and the time when he returned

to this partly-filled gathering and proceeded to copy Ipokrephum as a

second "romance" item in this apparently self-contained romance unit.

The use of red ink in the presentation of Ipokrephum indicates

another, equally important stage in the production of this "romance"

unit. It suggests that the rubricator of Thornton's texts, who in

this case was probably Thornton himself, took some considerable pains

during a finishing process to return to Ipokrephum and "freshen up"

this item before including it finally in his collection. Thus, on f.167r,

167v, and again on f.168r, letters from quite minor words in the narrative,

and on two occasions whole phrases in the text, have now been added

in red. Unfortunately, and despite close examination of the MS, it

is now hard to determine with any certainty whether these few additions

to the main text were added because Thornton had deliberately and

illogically left certain seemingly insignificant parts of his text

incomplete or whether Thornton was simply using red ink to patch up a

text which was already very badly faded. However, the second of these

explanations certainly seems the most likely; Thornton appears to have

returned to his copy of Ipokrephum with the intention of adding several

decorative features in red and, at the same time and using the same

materials, made good other minor defects. The result is that the

reader's eye is drawn, not only to the names of several of the characters

in the text which have been touched with red ink, but also to the quite

insignificant corrections. While this is in itself some indication of the

haphazard and arbitrary way in which Thornton could rubricate a text,

it is also significant that Ipokrephum is the only text in Thornton's

collection which has been treated in this way. Indeed, in this context,

it seems most important that the part of the incipit for Ipokrephum

which actually names this text as a "romance" has also been added in red and is also a later addition to a phrase in the side margin of f.163v which once simply read "Ihesu Cristi."   These words were written in the same faded ink as the main text, and it is hard to escape the impression that Thornton's present description of this item as a "romance" was simply added as an afterthought when he returned to his completed gatherings to complete his presentation of this text.   His designation of Ipokrephum as a "romance" therefore seems designed to create in his reader's mind some limited sense of thematic continuity, despite his unlikely pairing of the bloodthirsty romance of Richard with the "romance" of the childhood of Christ.

Once we have identified in general terms the nature of the relationship between these two Thornton romances we are of course reminded of the much larger sequence of Thornton romances in the Lincoln MS and the probable compiling activities which preceded the creation of that sequence.   Thus the existence of this seemingly self-contained "romance" unit in the London MS conforms to our sense that, when Thornton was originally copying items for the romance section of the Lincoln MS, he deliberately copied some of these items into what were originally self-contained MS units.   This was presumably so that the order in which the texts eventually appeared in his collection could remain optional for as long as possible.   Eventually, and as we described in the previous chapter, these self-contained units were gathered together so that more items could be added and finally the items in Thornton's romance sequence appeared in their present order in Thornton's collection. The physical and thematic distinctiveness of the items in gatherings i and k of the London MS however seem to be another indication of exactly the same compiling intelligence in action.   Therefore it seems quite justified to compare Thornton's treatment of his "romances" in i and k

of the London MS to his treatment of similar "romance" items in the Lincoln

MS. When we do this we are of course immediately reminded of the situation

in the Lincoln sequence of Thornton romances where a saint's life, a

miracle of the Virgin, an anti-mendicant satire, and a series of political

prophecies all appear in a "romance" unit. Now the appearance of

Ipokrephum in the London Thornton MS can be seen as another indication of

Thornton's probable practical motives for adding these religious items to

half-filled gatherings containing other, more orthodox ME romances.

Thornton's "romance" unit in gatherings i and k is followed in

gathering l by two alliterative items.   These are the Parlement of

the thre Ages and the fragmentary Wynnere and Wastoure. Traditionally,

critical responses to these items have been coloured by the fact

that they seem to form an isolated, and stylistically similar

grouping in the London MS, but here the very serious fragmentary

state of this final surviving gathering actually raises more problems

than it solves. Only 12 leaves have survived in this final section,

and these seem to belong to a gathering which must have originally

consisted of at least 11 bifolia.   Furthermore, until now we have assumed

that these 12 surviving leaves also form the opening leaves in a

gathering, and that Thornton's change in the presentation of Wynnere

and Wastoure means that he copied that text into a gathering which was

already fragmentary.   This was part of our attempt to establish a

minimum textual loss following f.181.   Now, however, given Thornton's

compiling activities elsewhere, and given the fact that his gatherings

appear to have lain around unbound for a considerable period after he

copied his texts, the same limited evidence can be used to argue a

different case. It is possible that ff.169 - 181 originally formed the

second half of a quire of 14 bifolia which has suffered an extensive

physical and textual lacuna at the beginning of the gathering, and which

has also suffered the loss of at least one leaf at the end. This second

possibility is demonstrated in fig. 13. In this final gathering, the

lack of physical MS evidence can unfortunately give us no clear indication

that Thornton originally copied these alliterative items as an isolated

pair.[78]

Fortunately we face a different situation when we turn to the

other end of the London MS and consider the items in gatherings e and f.

These gatherings contain Thornton's incomplete copy of the N.P.,

written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, the Siege of Jerusalem,

written in alliterative long lines, and Melayne, written in 12-line tail-

rhyme stanzas. Unlike the items in Thornton's final gathering, or indeed in

the "romance unit" which precedes that final gathering, the items in

this second section of Thornton's book have been so satisfactorally

and so completely integrated into Thornton's larger collection that

they seem to form the original core of the London MS. The material

in this section forms part of a recognizable "historical" didactic

sequence, which is not only related thematically and chronologically

to the preceding opening section of the book, but which is also physically

related to gathering g in the middle section of the miscellany.

We have already discussed how, in gathering f, Thornton appears

to have added Melayne as an adjunct to a gathering which already contained

the Siege of Jerusalem as another siege romance. However, at the stage

prior to this act, when Thornton began to copy the Siege of Jerusalem

in gathering e, that gathering already contained the N.P. Interestingly

there remains at least one minor indication in the London MS that

Thornton himself took some care to place these particular items side

by side in his collection. Thus, on f.50r in gathering e, Thornton

commenced copying the long alliterative lines of the Siege of Jerusalem

in a slightly darker ink, but on the same page in which he had

FOLIO	WATERMARK	A/Z
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
x	?	?
169	–	?
170	J	A
171	J	Z
172	–	A
173	J	Z
174	J	Z
175	–	?
176	–	A?
177	–	Z
178	J	Z
179	J	Z
180	J	A
181	–	?
x	?	?

Parlement of the thre Ages
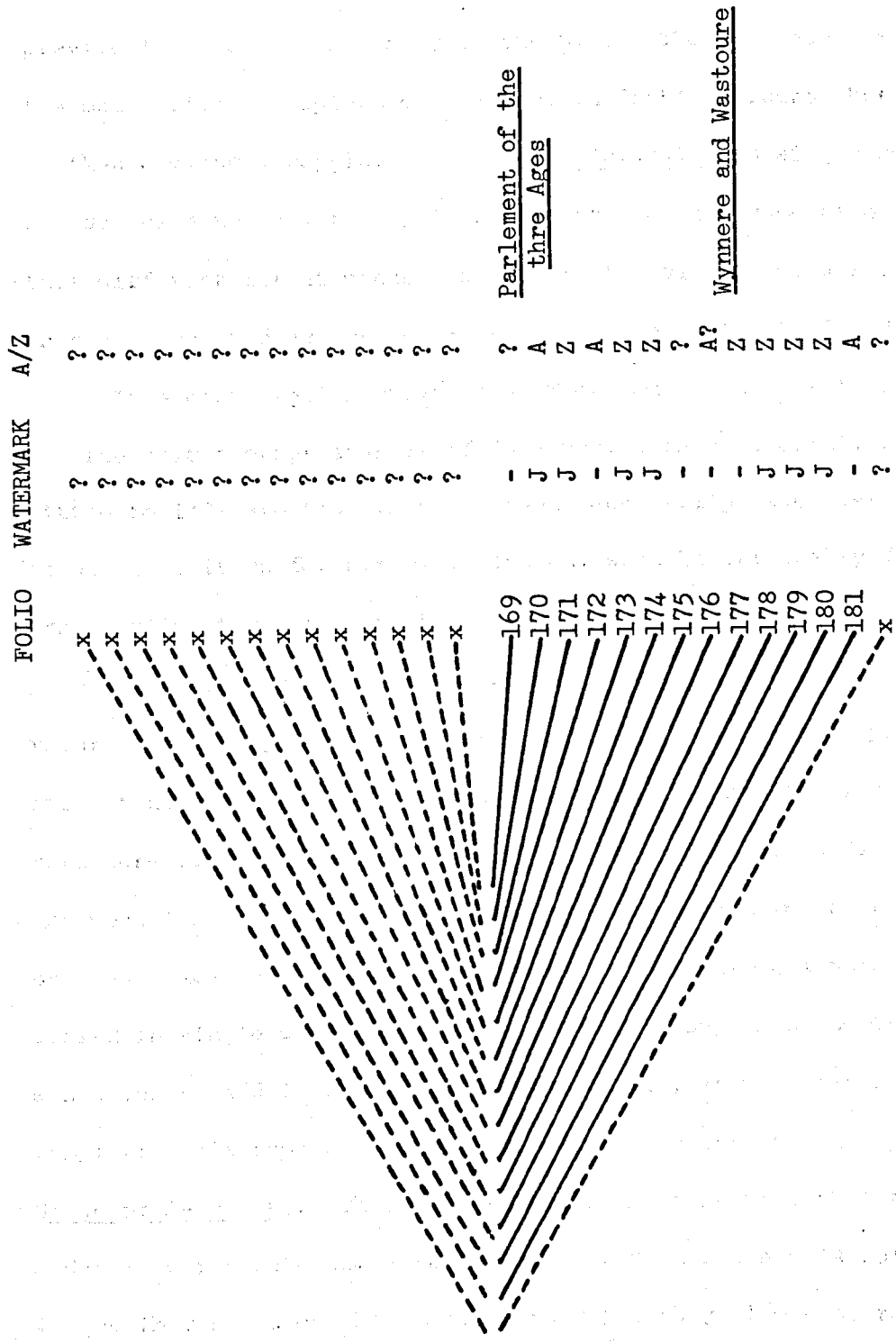
Wynnere and Wastoure

Fig. 13. Another possibility for quire 1.

previously completed his copy of the <u>N.P.</u> Thornton had earlier copied

the octosyllabic couplets of the <u>N.P.</u> in double columns, but on f.50r

he then commenced copying the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> in single columns.

His decision to copy the alliterative item on the same page and using

this different format means a change in the visual appearance of

this page which does not occur anywhere else in the London MS.

This might well indicate that Thornton was generally aware of

the thematic appropriateness of juxtaposing this material, but there is

little to indicate that Thornton need necessarily have created this

sequence of items for himself. Indeed, when he originally drew the

frame ruling for f.50r, he took special care to rule only half the

page for a text to be copied in double columns. At some stage he then

returned to the page and ruled the other half of f.50r in preparation

for a text to be copied in single columns. Thornton's extraordinary

care here is unprecedented elsewhere in either of his MSS. Moreover

the most likely reason why Thornton went to such pains to reserve

unruled space on his page for a text which he knew was going to be

copied in single columns, was because he already knew the item i he

was going to add in gathering e. Presumably, at the time when he was

completing his copy of the <u>N.P.</u>, Thornton had obtained a copy of the

<u>Siege of Jerusalem</u>. Therefore we should bear in mind that the present

order in which both these items now appear in Thornton's collection

is possibly based on the sequence in which they also appeared in

Thornton's source. Thornton's importance as a book compiler at the

core of the London MS was perhaps that of a scribe who was preserving,

rather than creating, a thematic sequence.[79]

The formal <u>incipit</u> for the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> on f.50r certainly

provides Thornton's readers, and probably provided Thornton himself,

with a good preliminary indication of the suitability of this "historical"

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romance for its present context in Thornton's collection. It reads:

> Hic incepit (sic) Distruccio Jerusalem Quomodo Titus
> + Vaspasianus Obsederunt + distruxerunt Jerusalem et
> Vi(n)dicarunt mortem Domini Ihi Christi

The text which follows describes how the death of Christ was revenged

by the destruction of Jerusalem. In defiance of history, but true to

the pious lessons to be learned from Christian history, the poem links

the historical fact of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem with the life,

Passion, and miracles of Christ. Indeed in the opening lines of the poem

the author has taken some pains to make this "historical" link abundantly

clear.[80] Therefore the original idea of adding a copy of the Siege

of Jerusalem to a copy of the N.P. (whether it was Thornton's own idea

or whether he inherited the sequence itself from his source) would

also appear to have been inspired by the characteristics which guaranteed

the ME romance's acceptance among its late medieval audience. At the

core of the London MS, Thornton's juxtaposition of the N.P. and the

Siege of Jerusalem stresses for his readers the continuous nature of the

links between Christ's life and Passion, and the repercussions of these

events on the lives of both Christian Knights and wicked Jews.[81] At

a later stage in his book producing activities, and in what seems to have

been a much more rudimentary and haphazard manner, Thornton also seems to

have been aware of the appropriateness of adding another siege romance

dealing with Charlemagne's knights to this "historical" sequence.

Finally, when we turn to the relationship between the first and

second sections of Thornton's MS, we can add considerably to our   .

understanding of other practical aspects of Thornton's book compiling

methods. The juxtaposition of the material contained in the present opening

sections of Thornton's MS miscellany is also based on historical principles,

this time originating in the Scriptures themselves. The items involved

here are Thornton's fragmentary and incomplete copy of the C.M.,

and his copy of the N.P..Earlier in this chapter we noted how Thornton's

C.M. copy ends on f.32v with a colophon which announces that the story

of the Passion will follow in the next pages. His text then omits the

Passion section of the C.M., and most of the remaining lines of this

venerable and lengthy account of world history from Creation to the Day

of Judgement. On f.33r, however, as if to make up this deficit in his

copy of the C.M., Thornton's copy of the N.P. opens the second MS

section in his collection. We appear therefore to be dealing with a

premeditated sequence of items dealing with events in the life of

Christ, and created by the juxtaposition of two MS units in the

London MS.

Scholars have long been aware of the existence of this sequence

in Thornton's collection. In 1916, in the introduction to her edition

of the N.P., Frances Foster suggested that Thornton not only excerpted the

C.M. and wrote the colophon which links it to his copy of the N.P.,

but also arranged these items with the Siege of Jerusalem to form a

continuous narrative. She felt that the sequence originally began with

the Apocryphal story of the childhood of the Virgin, and ended with the

destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian.[82] Foster's brief description

has been repeated by various scholars, but, to my knowledge, the full

implications of her brief statement have never been closely analyzed. Now

that we have established in some detail the probably quite limited

extent of Thornton's compiling activities elsewhere in both his MSS,

Thornton's possible treatment of the C.M. seems highly unusual. His

behaviour here, in this section of the London MS, also seems crucial to

our understanding of his own attitudes to, and responsibility for, the

tasks of reading, gathering, and arranging the diverse material

in both his MSS. Consequently the next chapter will expand our

discussion of Thornton's methods and motives by considering in greater

detail the textual reputation which the C.M. had throughout the

later middle ages. This will provide us with the necessary background

information with which to assess the nature of Thornton's source for the

C.M., his treatment of it, and the relationship between the C.M.

and the N.P. in Thornton's assembled collection.

NOTES

1.   A full description of the items in the MS can be found in Appendix 1.

2.   Most scholars note the existence of two Thornton MSS and then pass on to more detailed consideration of one or other of the MSS. For notable exceptions to this general rule see the varied and brief comments on both MSS by Dieter Mehl in, The ME Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (1969), pp. 259-60; D.S. Brewer, The Scholar, Thornton MS Facsimile (1975), Introduction p. ix; Gisela Guddat-Figge, Catalogue of MSS containing ME Romances (1976), p.24; Thorlac Turville-Petre, The Alliterative Revival (1977), p.44; and E.G. Stanley, review of the Scholar Thornton MS Facsimile, in N and Q, N.S., 25 (1978), pp.166-168.

3.   See Scriptorium, 30 (1976), pp. 26-37, 201-218.   I am very grateful to Mrs. Stern for discussing her article with me, and for very kindly lending me the original notes she made on the MS prior to 1972. Further references to Mrs. Stern's article will be indicated in the text.

4.   See further the discussion in the Introduction above.

5.   Cf. Madden's description of the Lincoln MS in 1832 (quoted in the Introduction).   Although the binding Madden describes has not survived, the description itself has been taken as proof that the Lincoln MS was preserved in a medieval binding until Madden arranged to have the MS rebound at his own expense. No such description exists for the London MS, and in a private communication the British Library have indicated that they have no information about the condition of the MS prior to their purchase of it in 1879.

6.   This information is taken from Mrs. Stern's notes on the MS. Cf. her article p.30.

7.   For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between both MSS see the concluding chapter.

8.   For the probable identity of John Nettleton as a sixteenth century book collector see the Introduction above. Mrs. Stern describes most of the marginalia in the London MS but, surprisingly, omits the mutilated text in the bottom margin of f.139v. This scrap is in an obviously sixteenth-century hand and is written vertically to the main text. At times the text is quite indecipherable and makes very little sense but the words which remain legible read: " note ye all men can ne / ? sotyltory/ ?yll? d of an / angell of greue/ Samyell the pr/ Sall ? / Sainte michae / th arcangell fro /."

9.   See Manuscripta, 23 (1979), pp. 99-103. For the sake of consistency I have described Horrall's collation using similar conventions to those used by A.E.B. Owen for his description of the physical make-up of the Lincoln MS. In order to differentiate between the gatherings in each of Thornton's MSS, I have used upper case letters to describe the quires in the Lincoln MS and lower case letters for the quires in the London MS.

10.   For a more detailed identification and description of the water-
marks in the London MS see Appendix 2.

11.   For a discussion of the probable function of the unusual catch
phrases in the Lincoln MS see chapter I above.

12.   It is worth noting here that, in copying items for both MSS,
Thornton frequently appears to have used small batches of similarly
watermarked paper for texts which eventually ended up in two different
books. This provides us with an added justification (if any is needed)
for using the physical evidence in one of Thornton's MSS to help us
to interpret similar evidence in the other book. The full implications
of Thornton's use of various stocks of watermarked paper in assembling
his gatherings will be dealt with in the concluding chapter.

13.   Stern does not attempt a systematic description of the watermarks
in the London MS, and consequently this information cannot be derived
from her article. However thanks are due to Mrs. Stern for scrupulously
pointing out her oversight to me.

14.   I know of no study of medieval paper which estimates the frequency
with which unwatermarked sheets were used in the make up of fifteenth
century gatherings and I suspect that the reasons for this lack of
information is because very few examples of unwatermarked sheets of
paper from the pre-printing era have actually survived.   However, for
a brief account of the rare appearance of unwatermarked sheets in
incunabula see Allan Stevenson's The Problem of the Missale Speciale
(1967), p.74 ff.

15.   The textual losses here correspond to ll. 289 - 374 of Siege
of Jerusalem and ll.3109 - 3612 of Richard. See E. Kölbing and M.Day,
eds, The Siege of Jerusalem, EETS, O.S., 188 (1932), p.vii and K. Brunner,
Der mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz, (1913), p.251
where the losses themselves were originally noted.

16.   See S.J. Herrtage, ed., The English Charlemagne Romances II: The
Sege off Melayne and The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of
Spayne, EETS, E.S., 35 (1880), pp. viii n.1 and 44.

17.   See Owen's discussion of the make up of the Lincoln MS in the
"Collation and Handwriting" section of the Scolar Thornton MS Facsimile,
pp.xiii-xvi.

18.   See I. Gollancz ed., Wynnere and Wastoure, Select early English
Poetry III (1920), preface, p.ii.

19.   Of course it is impossible to tell whether Thornton inherited the
pairing of these items from a single source, or whether he himself is
responsible for their original juxtaposition.

20.   Later in the Chapter, using the evidence of felt sides and mould
sides in Thornton's paper, I will suggest that a minimum of 11 leaves
must be missing from the gathering which now contains the Parlement and
Wynnere and Wastoure.   However, for the moment, it is sufficient to
assume, as Stern does, that the remaining lines of Wynnere and Wastoure
were copied on only one of these missing leaves.

21.   All references are to Richard Morris, ed., _The Cursor Mundi_,
EETS, O.S., 46, 57, 59, 62, 66, 68 (1874 - 93). In the next chapter
I discuss Thornton's copy of the _C.M._, and the possible reasons why it
is an extract.

22.   Of course, once we have established that the London MS has
probably suffered this type of extensive textual loss, we can see that,
when the gatherings which originally made up the MS were originally
assembled, the miscellany itself was probably far closer in number of
pages (and size of pages) to the Lincoln MS than scholars have hitherto
supposed.

23.   See H.N. MacCracken's edition of _O Florum Flos_ in _Archiv_, 131
(1913) pp. 60-63. For _Melayne_ see above n.14.

24.   However see H.M. Smyser's comments on the probable clerical
origin of _Melayne_ in his "Studies in the English Charlemagne Romances"
(unpublished Harvard PhD, 1931), pp. 202ff.

25.   Maldwyn Mills, ed., _Six ME Romances_ (1973), p.196.

26.   In quoting from the Harley copy of _O Florum Flos_ I have silently
expanded abbreviations and modernized the punctuation.

27.   The two opening carols contained in this bifolium are conventional
hymns employing a _Te Deum_ refrain and it is now generally accepted,
following a suggestion originally made by R.H. Robbins, that both can
be ascribed to the prolific Franciscan writer James Ryman. These two
hymns are accompanied in the MS by two ribald carols. For the texts
of all four items see R.H. Robbins, "The Bradshaw Carols," _PMLA_,
81 (1966), pp. 308-10. Robbins' article also includes a brief description
of the MS; however for a lengthy discussion of the history of the bifolium
prior to its present inclusion in Bradshaw's papers, see the excellent
recent article by P.J.C. Field, "The 'Friar of Order gray' and the Nun,"
_R.E.S._, N.S. 32 (1981), pp. 1 - 16. Thanks are due to Mr. A.E.B. Owen
for pointing out Field's article to me, and also for his kind assistance
during my unsuccessful attempts to trace the source of the _Supplement's_
erroneous entry.

28.   For a brief "potted biography" of the textual history of these
items see _Index_ 3632, 882, _Supplement_ 444, 3632, 4174.3; _Manual_, 6, XVI
(100, 101, 102) pp. 1864 - 5, Bibliography pp. 2125 - 7 (_Verses on the
Kings of England_); and _Index_ and _Supplement_ 824, 1418; _Manual_, 6, XVI
(34, 35, 36) pp. 1827 - 8, Bibliography pp. 2092 - 4, (_Dietary_).

29.   For discussion of these tags see below.

30.   The fragmentary Thornton copy of this poem can profitably be
compared to other short texts either by Lydgate or else written in the
Lydgate style. In this context we might even say that the first lines
of Lydgate's _So As The Crab Goth Forward_ seems little more than a
satirical reworking of the sentiments expressed more straightforwardly
in _This Werlde es tournede_:
                        þis worlde is ful of stabulnesse,
                        þer is þerinne no varyaunce;
                        But trouthe, feyth, and gentylesse ... (ll. 1 - 3).
For full text see H.N. MacCracken, ed., _The Minor Poems of John Lydgate_,
II, EETS, O.S., 192 (1934).

31.   For the Virtues of the Mass see H.N. MacCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, I, EETS, E.S., 107, (1911), pp. 87-115.

32.   However compare the description of the Thornton text in the Index and Manual where the paraphrase is described as, , being written in six line stanzas (Index 990; Manual 2, IV (22), p. 389). The reason for the error is described below.

33.   Curiously Stern, followed by Horrall, argues that the paraphrase only lacks 35 lines and that we are dealing here with a nineteen stanza poem of which 7 stanzas are missing. However reference to the Vulgate text clearly shows that Thornton's copy of the paraphrase lacks the remains of a twelfth stanza and eight others. Stern's mistake seems to have stemmed from the fact that she was following the conventional numeration in the Clementine Vulgate which subdivides the main text of the Psalm into 19 verses.   However the Vulgate text which the original ME author of the Thornton paraphrase used, subdivided the text of the psalm into 20 verses, the second of which is not indicated as a separate verse by the Clementine Vulgate. See the verse beginning, 'Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum in the Thornton paraphrase. Note also the discussion below in N.58.

34.   For the function of this very common punctuation symbol as a device for indicating a major medial pause in a MS line see M.B. Parkes, "The impact of punctuation: punctuation, or pause and effect," in, Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, ed. James J. Murphy, (1978), pp. 127 - 142, esp. Appendix. See also my brief discussion of Thornton's punctuating devices in Chapter IV.

35.   Herrtage writes: "On lf. 102 follows a prayer in verse, most of the verses beginning with a Latin line; on lf. 103 it is called a "psalme;" "Take this psalme," &c.; and on lf. 104 begins a morality, entitled Moralisacio Sacerdotis tocius apparatus in missa. to which the "psalme" forms a kind of introduction. At the end the morality is called a "latill tretise." The British Museum Catalogue describes the Virtues of the Mass as two items: the first is described as "Verses on the 43rd Psalm ... followed by a paraphrase of the psalm in eight-line stanzas"; the second is called "Moralisacio Sacerdotis tocius apparatus in missa, & c." See S.J. Herrtage, ed., The English Charlemagne Romances II, EETS, E.S., 35, p.ix, and Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1876 - 1881, p.150, items 15 and 16. Interestingly the section in Thornton's MS beginning with the lines Moralisacio Sacerdotis ... and corresponding to ll. 145-176 in MacCracken's edition, have recently been edited without the editors indicating that they are aware that the text forms part of the Virtues of the Mass. See The World of Piers Plowman, ed. Jeanne Krochalis and Edward Peters, (1975),pp. 234 - 5, selection 24.

36.   For further discussion of this curious decorative detail in the London MS see further Chapter IV.

37.   See Pearsall's book, John Lydgate (1970), pp. 258-9. It is generally accepted that Lydgate was originally commissioned to write the Virtues of the Mass for Alice, Countess of Suffolk, and wife of the man who not only owned the best MS of the Siege of Thebes, but also supported Lydgate's application, in 1441, for the renewal of his grant from the crown.   (Pearsall, p. 162).   For further details on the text

contained in the individual MS copies of the Virtues of the Mass which have survived, see further Index and Supplement 2413, 4245, 4246; Manual, 6, XVI (45, 87, 103, 104) pp. 1834, 1856, 1865, 1866, Bibliography, p. 2121.   The problem of the textual integrity of Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass should of course be compared to the problems raised by other "non-integral" ME items elsewhere in Thornton's collection.

38.   In the remaining lines of this particular stanza, Lydgate instructs his readers to watch carefully and in silence during the Mass. They must not gaze around nor chatter but should instead remain, "demure of looke and chyere" (1.37).   Throughout the introductory section his concern appears to be, above all else, to advise his audience on the efficacy to be gained by attending Mass regularly and by staying until the end. In this context see ll. 21, 28- 32, 40, 48.   Throughout, the general tone of this advice seems to be directed at a general audience of pious laymen rather than at a specific, and politically powerful, individual patroness.

39.   This feature is of course suggestive of a textual lacuna; however it is in itself hardly sufficient evidence for establishing a physical lacuna since, on at least one occasion elsewhere in his presentation of the Virtues of the Mass, Thornton's copy of the poem omits four lines from one of the eight-line stanzas.   Thus, on f.104r, at l. 129 in MacCracken's edition, and just after Thornton started to copy the poem in continuous single columns, he copied ll. 129 - 32 of MacCracken's seventeenth stanza; l. 133 - 136 are omitted; and he then continued to copy the eighteenth stanza in full.   On f. 104r, at least the missing lines in Thornton's text were probably omitted as the result of Thornton's own scribal error.   However this minor detail demonstrates well how the fact that a text was originally written in eight-line stanzas is no guarantee that the eight lines of each stanza were always going to be copied in their entirety by every scribe.

40.   All three MS copies of this text have been published in modern editions. See F.J. Furnivall, ed., Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, II, EETS, O.S., 117, (1901), pp. 658 - 63 (Vernon copy); F.J. Furnivall, ed., Early English Poems and Lives of the Saints, II (1862), pp. 118 - 24 (Simeon copy); K. Brunner, ed., "Hs. Brit. Mus. Additional 31042," Archiv, 132, (1914), pp. 323 - 7.

41.   It is intriguing to note that the only other item in the London MS which is written in a similar ink, and presented in a similarly economical way as the final stanza of the fourth song is the Prayer to the Guardian Angel on f. 101v. We might well speculate therefore that this text was originally one of those which Thornton had to rescue from the rapidly disintegrating folio which originally followed F. 125.   See further N.57.

42.   See Studies in Bibliography, 6, (1954), pp. 181 - 95. It is fair to say that it is Stevenson's work which has made the study of paper a sophisticated, reliable and respected source of information for the analytical bibliographer. See for example his articles, "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence," Studies in Bibliography, 1, (1948 - 9), pp. 149 - 82; "Watermarks are Twins," Studies in Bibliography, 4, (1951 - 2), pp. 57 - 91; "Paper as Bibliographical Evidence," The Library, 5th ser. (1962), pp. 197 - 212; his monograph, Observations on Paper as Evidence (1961); and his book length study of the Missale Speciale, The Problem of the Missale Speciale (1967).

43.   Theo Gerardy, "Die Beschreibung des in Manuskripten und Drucken Vorkommenden Papiers," Codicologica, 5 (1980), pp. 37-51.

44.   See for example Spector's, "Symmetry in Watermark Sequences," Studies in Bibliography, 31 (1978), pp. 162 - 78; and his forthcoming, "The Composition and Development of an Eclectic Manuscript; Cotton Vespasian D. viii. Leeds Studies in English.   I am extremely grateful to Dr. R.J. Lyall for discussing his unpublished work on the analysis of medieval paper with me, and for introducing me to the work done by Stevenson, Gerardy and Spector. In the following discussion of the contours in Thornton's paper, I rely heavily on the results of Dr. Lyall's own examination of the London MS and identification of the watermark pairs which he very kindly undertook for me; however, in every case where there is some doubt as to Lyall's original identification, I have checked the MS personally.   The resultant collation of the middle section of Thornton's book is of course entirely my own work.

45.   However, for an alternative interpretation of the physical evidence in this gathering see below.

46.   In a private communication Dr. Lyall suggested that measurement of the distance between the chainlines on watermark F paper and watermark H paper might provide useful supporting evidence. Thus, if the measured distances between the chain lines in H paper were different from the measured distances between the chain lines in F paper, yet similar to the measurements of the same distances on f. 120, then we would have an even more reliable indication that f. 120 was manufactured on an H mould. Unfortunately I have not yet had the opportunity to complete this work.

47.   My identification of ff. 80 - 91 is based on Dr. Lyall's work. However, in a private communication, Lyall has expressed some reservations about this description. Both of us found it difficult to distinguish the mould side of the unwatermarked half-sheets of G paper. On subsequently re-checking the MS, I found myself satisfied with Lyall's identification of the watermarked half-sheets, but, despite careful examination of ff. 81, 85, 89 and 91, I found it impossible to identify the mould sides of these sheets.

48.   Despite careful checking of f.100 on three separate occasions, neither Lyall nor myself have been able to distinguish between the mould side and the felt side of this folio.

49.   See Karl Brunner, ed., "Spätme. Lehrgedichte," Archiv, 161 (1932), pp. 194 - 5; 164, pp. 178 - 99.

50.   Brunner writes, "Eine Reihe rein kirchlich-didacktischer Strophen der Proverbs sind also hier nicht erhalten, aber auch zahlreiche allgemeindidaktische, die sich von den aufgenommenen inhaltlich kaum unterscheiden. Neu hinzugekommen ist die Strophe über das Verhältnis zwischen Herren und Diener (18), dann weitere gegen Falschheit und Unwahrheit, wofür andere über dasselbe Thema weggeblieben sind, endlich einige allgemeine Sittenlehren auf religiöser Grundlage und die abschließende Schlußstrophe 38." (p.193).

51.   A fuller discussion of the interesting textual relationship of three copies can be found in Auvo Kurvinen, "Mercy and Righteousness," N.M., 73 (1972), pp. 181- 92, and Joyce Bazire's recent "Mercy and Justice," N.M., 83 (1982), pp. 178 - 91. Both scholars discuss how this verse

item was subject to some editorial interference through revision and updating. Bazire concludes that the surviving copies, "though they may have many features in common, demonstrate how a poem could 'develop' in the course of transmission, both oral and scribal" (p.191).

52.   A brief examination of the Lambeth MS shows that it is a small book (measuring 163mm x 116mm) and consisting of 235 numbered pages. It contains a collection of 34 short vernacular and didactic items of which 33 are in ME verse. These can be grouped under the following general headings: (A) Short Marian Texts (items 1, 2, 6, 7, 20, 22); (B) Short Items either dealing with events in the life of Christ or else written in praise of Christ's name (items 3, 4, 5, 8, 23, 26, 30, 53) (C) Texts dealing with the transitory nature of earthly things such as youth, strength and wealth (items 10, 11, 17, 25); (D) texts dealing with the themes of judgement, mercy and penance (items 16, 18, 19, 21, 34); (E) Texts instructing the lay reader in proper moral behaviour in his day to day life (items 9, 24, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32); (F) Texts instructing the reader in the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith (items 12, 13, 14, 15).   These groups are of course not thematically self-contained; in particular there is a considerable degree of similarity between the items in groups C and D.   Moreover, despite the number and didactic range of the short items in the Lambeth collection, the first and lasting impression on the modern reader is one of not only thematic continuity but also visual continuity.   The items on pp. 1 - 27 (items 1 - 7); 154 - 233 (items 29 - 34) have all been copied continuously in single columns of verse, whereas the items on most of the remaining pages have been copied continuously as prose. The change from one type of layout to the other is the only major visual inconsistency in the entire collection; however even here, the changes in format normally occur in the middle of a text, e.g. on pp. 132, 145, 147 (in the middle of item 27), and on pp. 151 and 152 (in the middle of item 28).   Most of the items in the collection are generously punctuated by a sequence of enlarged and coloured capitals which are often the only indication in the MS that one text has ended and another has begun.   They normally begin without any formal heading or incipit, and the explicit, if it occurs, is rarely more than a simple and unobtrusive "amen".   In general then we seem justified in assuming that the scribe-compiler of the Lambeth MS was not simply transcribing a series of unrelated texts but was rather, and quite deliberately, conflating many of his items into a larger didactic sequence. For a brief description of the contents of the MS see M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Medieval Manuscripts, pp. 809 - 11.   For the sake of brevity, all references to the texts in the MS are based on the item numbers which James gives in his catalogue. Many of the items are edited by F.J. Furnivall in Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, EETS, O.S., 24 (1867).

53.   See F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, II, 2, pp. 789 - 92 (Vernon MS); and the Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1854 - 60, pp. 623 - 26. The most important published studies of both MSS and their relationship to each other include M. Serjeantson, "The Index of the Vernon Manuscript," M.L.R., 32 (1937), pp. 222 - 61; K. Sajavaara, "The Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," N.M., 68, (1967), pp. 428 - 39; and A.I. Doyle, "The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," in Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. B. Rowland (1974), pp. 328 - 44.   For other items shared by these MS collections and

Thornton's collection see chapter I above.

54.   For a full discussion of the inexpensive decorative features
in both Thornton's MSS see chapter IV below.

55.   The 28th item in the Simeon sequence consists of a text in praise
of telling the truth (nine 12-line stanzas, each stanza ending with the
line, "But he sey soth, he schal be schente"), and the 29th item is a morning
prayer of thanksgiving to the Trinity (eleven 8-line stanzas). The
other 27 short items in the didactic sequences in both MSS can be
characterized as follows: 8 items deal primarily with topics such as
judgement and mercy and the penitent sinner's experience of both; 6 items
deal with the transitory nature and corruptibility of earthly things;
4 items praise Mary as the epitome of womanhood and as our mediator
with God; 3 items deal with the general moral and ethical principles in
day-to-day life; 2 items deal with the moral lessons to be learned from
English history; 2 items praise God for His love; and 2 items instruct
the reader in fundamental tenets of the Christian faith. Although many
of these items are extant only in the Vernon and Simeon collections, the
thematic preoccupations of the texts bear comparison with the thematic
preoccupations of the sequence in the Lambeth MS, and of course with the
much smaller Thornton song sequence.

56.   The explicits for the first 14 items in the Simeon sequence ˄read:
            A songe óf merci (f.128vb)
            A songe of Deo gracias (f.129ra)
            A songe of I take my leue (f.129rb)
            Deus caritas (f. 129rc)
            A noþer songe of Deo gracias (f. 129rc)
            A song knowe þi self (f. 129va)
            A song of ʒusterday (f. 129vb)
            A song kepe wel cristes commaundement (f. 130 ra)
            A song ho seiþ þe soþe he schal be schent (f. 130rc)
            A song ffy on a feynt frend (f. 130 va)
            A song þonke god of al (f. 130vb)
            A song þis world is ffantasye (f. 130vc)
            A song merci god and graunt merci (f. 131rb)
            A song trouþ is best (f. 131rc)

57.   Much work remains to be done in this area; however for a detailed
account of the crucial role played by the regular clergy in the English
religious houses in the creation, preservation and transmission of some
ME didactic items see A.I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation
of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th
Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein,"
(Diss. Cambridge, 1953). See also the previous chapter for further
consideration of the evidence which points to the clerical provenance
of the clusters of religious lyrics, Rolle— related material and Hilton
items in the "religious" unit in the Lincoln MS.

58.   All references are to M.M. Weale, ed., The Quatrefoil of Love,
EETS, O.S., 195 (1935).

59.   All references are to the text of the prayer as it appears in
Carleton Brown's, Religious Lyrics óf the XVth Century (1939) pp. 204 -5.
Given the fact that the 29th item in the Simeon didactic sequence is
also a short prayer of thanksgiving demonstrating a similar penitential
attitude to the Thornton prayer, it is not all that fanciful to suppose

that Thornton's <u>Prayer to the Guardian Angel</u> may once have formed part
of the same exemplar as Thornton's song sequence. The fact that both
the Thornton prayer on f. 101v and the last stanza of the fourth song
on f. 124v are copied in the same distinctive ink, and that both have
obviously been added as "filler" items certainly suggests that both
were added to the MS at the same time.   It also of course suggests that
originally Thornton's short prayer was copied on one of the leaves which
have now gone missing following f. 124, and that the copy which survives
in the London MS is actually Thornton's second attempt to preserve
a copy of the prayer in his larger collection.

60.   For a more detailed discussion of the positioning of the Latin
text of Vulgate Psalm 50 in the Lincoln MS see the previous chapter's
discussion of the Latin and English items in gatherings O - P..
            Elsewhere, in more general terms, the well-established medieval
reputation of the Psalm is easily demonstrated by the variety of late
medieval contexts in which it appears and in which it was deliberately
made accessible to the literate, pious and devout late medieval layman.
Apart from its inevitable appearance in both Latin and English Primers, Psalm
50 is also extant in Richard Rolle's <u>English Psalter and Commentary</u>;
Rolle's <u>Latin Commentary</u>; the abbreviated <u>Psalter of Saint Jerome</u> (extant
in both Latin and English versions). Additionally the psalm is included
as one of the seven Penitential Psalms in the two paraphrased vernacular
versions of the seven Psalms which have been ascribed to Richard Maidstone,
a Carmelite friar, and Thomas Brampton, a Fransciscan friar. The
Brampton paraphrase is extant in 6 MSS and in 2 versions, one of which
is probably a pro-Lollard revision of the other.   The Maidstone paraphrase
of all seven of the psalms is extant in 19 MSS, and the MSS containing
this item show such a degree of textual variation that it is obvious
that they too have, at some stage in the history of their transmission,
been revised and reissued in the revised form.   In addition Maidstone's
20 verse paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50 also circulated independently
from his paraphrase of the other six psalms, and is now extant as an
individual item in 5 MSS. An entirely different and probably early
fourteenth century 20 verse paraphrase of Psalm 50 is extant in the Auchinleck
MS.   Obviously the differing MS contexts of these ME psalm paraphrases,
the relationship of different MS copies of the same text to each other
and to their Latin texts, would merit much closer attention than the
texts have hitherto received. However for a description of the MSS
and a brief bibliography of the individual treatments of the Psalm,
see the relevant entries in both the <u>Index</u> and the <u>Manual</u> (Index 1961,
3755, 2157; 1591, 355; 1956; 990; Manual, 2, IV (12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21,
22) pp. 386 - 9, Bibliography, pp. 538 - 41.

61.   See Miss Robinson's description of the London MS in her unpublished
thesis, "A Study of Some Aspects of the Transmission of English Verse
Texts in Late Medieval Manuscripts," (Oxford, 1972) pp. 153 - 9.
Mehl's discussion of where gatherings begin and end in the London. MS
was based on the fact that, on ff. 81v, 101v, 119v, 124v Thornton
crushed his text onto one page in preference to starting a new leaf, "as
if the scribe wanted to avoid starting a new gathering or as if the new
gathering had already been started before the preceding one was finished".
See "A Note on Some Manuscripts of Romances," in his <u>The Middle English
Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries</u>, (1968), p. 260.
In the light of the more compelling evidence of the contours in ‎
Thornton's paper, Mehl's speculative conclusions should be revised.
Thornton's actions would certainly appear to show his reluctance to start
a new leaf, but that does not necessarily mean that the page on which he

has crowded his text was necessarily the last page of his original gathering.

62. See also the description of the Bodley MS in Weale's edition, pp. ix - x.

63. Thornton's rearrangement of watermark F paper in quire h and possibly elsewhere in the London MS should of course be compared to his similar unorthodox use of paper in quire 1 and possibly elsewhere in the Lincoln MS. See the previous chapter for further discussion.

64. For these and other Lydgate poems on similar topics see H.N. MacCracken, ed., The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, 2 cols, EETS, E.S., 107 (1911); and O.S. 192 (1934).

65. For the text and translation of these short Latin tags see Appendix I. These Latin scraps seem little more than a minor example of the late middle age's delight in epigrams which were both mnemonic and practical. Although the meaning of Thornton's copies is at times open to some doubt, Stern aptly makes the point that the sentiments expressed here are not unlike those expressed in the Latin originals of Lydgate's own Duodecim Abusiones. They must also have been topics which were dear to the hearts of other ME versifiers since the second Latin tag on f.97v can also be found incorporated into a macaronic complaint poem in the clerically owned collection in British Library MS Reg. 17 B xvii. See further C. Horstman's edition of this poem in Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, 2 (1896), p.65.

66. See above N.51. See also the tenth, eleventh, seventeenth and twentyfifth items in the Lambeth sequence (N.47).

67. It is interesting that, in his study of Lydgate's verse, Derek Pearsall found it useful to consider in detail the striking stylistic similarities between some of Lydgate's didactic poetry and the group of short verse items in the Vernon didactic lyric sequence discussed above. See further his John Lydgate, pp. 204-6. Pearsall's comments here might equally well be applied to the stylistically and thematically similar sequence of "songs" in Thornton's collection.

68 In this context Rosemary Woolf's description of some fifteenth century MSS which preserve ME lyrics serve to make Thornton's compiling actions a little more comprehensible. Woolf's remarks deserve to be quoted in full She writes:
The most striking fifteenth-century innovation in manuscripts, however, was that purely poetical collections were made. Meditative lyrics by Lydgate or Hoccleve were copied in manuscript with other poems on quite different subjects by them or thought to be by them. In these the unifying principle is no longer that of subject-matter but that of the assembly of all the known work of one author (the principle of compilation nowadays so much taken for granted). A related kind of manuscript is the privately owned anthology: in a volume of this kind texts are collected that in the days of printing would have been issued in separate volumes. Romances, religious lyrics, secular poems by known authors, etc., are assembled as a large collection of verse. This kind of manuscript may be seen as related to those that contain, for instance, the works of Lydgate, because in them the religious lyrics are copied again primarily as poetry: their manuscript context is not other devotional material in prose but other poems on secular themes. (The English Religious

Lyric in the Middle Ages, pp. 375 - 6). Both Thornton's MSS would
appear to best fit the category which Woolf describes as the "privately
owned anthology." Moreover most of the anthologizing of the works of
single authors like Lydgate (London MS), Hilton or Rolle (Lincoln MS)
would appear to have been something that Thornton inherited from earlier,
clerically compiled exemplars. See further the discussion in chapter I
above.

69. See however the discussion of this problem in Stern's "The
London 'Thornton' Miscellany," pp. 29 - 30, n. 19. Stern was working
without a full collation for the MS and therefore her comments must be
treated as highly speculative and inadequate in themselves as an explanation
of the "sandwiching" of O Florum Flos between two Charlemagne items.

70. See Herrtage, p.viii. Stern has effectively dismissed Herrtage's
claims that the Charlemagne items were copied by a different hand than the
Siege of Jerusalem (see Stern, pp. 201-4).

71. See her short, "Two Unpublished Middle English Carol-Fragments,"
Archiv, 205 (1969), pp. 378-83.

72. Thornton's unusual practice here might even be compared to
his similar practice on f. 138v of the Lincoln MS where an explicit
for Sir Degrevant appears to have been copied apart from the main text
of that romance which ends with another explicit on f. 138r. The
explicit on f. 138v appears to have been copied in the same hand as the
incipit for Sir Eglamour which follows on the same page and in the same
column but after a short space. Thus, what has up to now seemed a
minor and seemingly inexplicable peculiarity in the Lincoln MS may in fact
also be some indication that the order in which Thornton copied these
items is not necessarily the same as the order in which they now survive
in his collection. For Thornton's infrequent habit of adding incipits
or explicits some time after he had copied the main text of his items
see the discussion in chapter I above.

73. A more detailed comparison of the linguistic features of Sir
Degrevant and Thornton's Charlemagne items might well prove very rewarding.
See also the comments in N.72 above.

74. The use of red ink as a rubricating device serves to emphasize
the "Charlemagne" features of Sir Otuel. Thus on ff. 82r and again on
82v (i.e. the opening pages of Sir Otuel) as part of a finishing process
in Thornton's book, the names of the main characters in the romance have
been highlighted with touches of red ink. For a detailed analysis
of what this finishing process entailed elsewhere in Thornton's MSS,
see the discussion in chapter IV below.

75. In his description of Thornton's unique copy of Sir Otuel and its
source (the French Otinel), S.J. Herrtage noted that the ME text usually
follows the story of Otuel quite closely, but at various points some
details are omitted. Major omissions occur at ll. 1129 (f. 88v)
and 1356 (f. 89v). Moreover, from l. 1393 (f. 90v) the remaining 500
lines of the French text are represented by about 200 lines in the ME
poem. Herrtage writes that, "the remaining portion of the poem differs
so considerably from the French that it is difficult at times to trace

the connection between them.   The translator appears as if he had
become tired of his task and anxious to get to the end of it."   (The
English Charlemagne Romances II, p. 158, n. on l. 1393).H.M. Smyser
follows Herrtage's conclusions (Manual, l, I, p.94), but it is just
possible that some of this "editorial" work is the result of whole stanzas
being omitted in Thornton's copy as he attempted to make this text fit
a restricted space.   Note also the discussion above concerning the highly
irregular and very problematic make up of the composite gathering (g)
which contains Thornton's Sir Otuel.

76.   Compare the way in which Thornton had to cancel a portion of his
copy of Richard that he had inadvertently duplicated on f. 142r.   The
offending lines (which correspond to ll. 983 - 1002 in Brunner's
edition) have not been entirely erased, but have instead been cancelled
by two diagonal strokes of ink, and separated from the main text by a line
made by criss-cross strokes of Thornton's pen.   Thornton's mistake on f.142r
is dealt with in some detail by Stern in "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany,"
pp. 34 - 6.

77.   Thornton's copy is the only extant copy where Ipokrephum is
actually called a "romance."   But it seems clear that the original ME
author was attempting to use the ephemeral delights of a lively narrative
for the straightforward and serious didactic purpose of celebrating Christ's
obedience, and His mercy.   In addition to Thornton's MS, two others
preserve copies of this account of the childhood of Christ.   These are
British Library MSS Harley 2399 and Harley 3954.   In MS Harley 3954
Ipokrephum follows a partially illustrated copy of Mandeville's Travels,
and is itself followed by a poem describing the efficacy of hearing
mass. In MS Harley 2399 Ipokrephum is preceded by pen trials, accompanied
by various heraldic marks, in the margins, and followed by a copy of
the didactic ME text, "How the wise man taught his son."   All three
copies of the text have been edited by C. Horstman.   See his, "Nachträge
zu den Legenden," Archiv, 74 (1889), pp. 327- 39 (Thornton copy), and
his Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden (1878), pp. 101 -10, 111 - 23 (Harley
copies).

78.   Compare for example, Thorlac Turville-Petre's recent comparison of
Wynnere and Wastoure to the Parlement in his attempt to provide a literary-
critical context in which to consider "the earliest datable poem of the
Alliterative Revival" (p.1).   The recent valuable work of Elizabeth Salter,
among others, has done much to weaken the case for not only the early date
normally ascribed to Wynnere and Wastoure, but also the idea of an "Alliterative
Revival."   See further, T. Turville-Petre, The Alliterative Revival (1977),
and Elizabeth Salter, "The Timeliness of Wynnere and Wastoure," Medium
Aevum, 47, (1978), pp. 40 - 65; "Alliterative Modes and Affiliations in
the Fourteenth Century," N.M., 29, (1978), pp. 25 - 35.

79.   The unusual decorative features shared only by the opening
initials of these two items in the London MS establish another unusually
close link between Thornton's copies of the N.P. and the Siege of
Jerusalem.   See the discussion of these decorative initials in chapter
IV below.

80.   In the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> Titus and Vespasian are introduced into the narrative only after the reader has been given a condensed account of Christ's trial and execution by the Jews which the poet claims happened 40 years earlier:

> A þrange þornen croune ; was þraste on his hed,
> Vmbe-casten hym with a cry ; & on a croys slowen.
> For al þe harme þat he hadde ; hasted he no3t,
> On hem þe vyleny to venge,; þat his veynys brosten,
> Bot ay taried ouer þe tyme, :3if bey tourne wolde,
> 3af hem space þat hym spilide, ; þeyhit spedde lyte,
> XL wynter, as y fynde, ; & no fewer 3yrys,
> Or princes presed in hem ; þat hym to pyne wro3t.
> Til hit tydde on a tyme, ; þat Tytus of Rome
> ... (ll. 17 - 25)

See E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, eds, <u>The Siege of Jerusalem</u>, EETS O.S, 188 (1932).

81.   The details of how the Jews in Jerusalem were eventually mercilessly punished by Titus and Vespasian, and the association of this punishment with the need to revenge the crucifixion of Christ, were ideas which enjoyed wide currency in late medieval literature. For example there were at least three vernacular narrative descriptions of the Siege of Jerusalem in circulation, of which the alliterative poem now extant in Thornton's MS and six others seems to have been the earliest and most influential. See further <u>Manual</u>, 1, I (107), pp. 16 - 3, Bibliography, pp. 319 - 21. For a discussion of the MS contexts in which the alliterative <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> survives see further Thorlac Turville-Petre's comments in <u>The Alliterative Revival</u> (1977), pp. 34, 44.

82.   See the <u>Northern Passion</u>, EETS, O.S., 147, Introduction, pp. 12 - 13. Part of fig. 1 in chapter IV is a colour photograph of ff.32v - 33r in the London MS.

THE SCRIBE AND HIS EXEMPLAR: THE LATE MEDIEVAL REPUTATION OF

THE CURSOR MUNDI AND ROBERT THORNTON'S FRAGMENTARY COPY

The Cursor Mundi (C.M.) is a well known ME text chiefly remembered for its scope as a medieval "historical" poem. The text, which is mainly written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, is almost 30,000 lines long in its fullest form. It gives an encyclopaedic, chronologically based narrative of the history of the world from the Creation to the Day of Judgement. In view of this, it is not surprising then that existing studies of the poem have concentrated mainly on the way in which the C.M. draws directly and indirectly on the wide range of both Apocryphal and Scriptural sources which were available at the time the text was written.[1] Indeed general studies of the C.M.'s place in early ME literature have considered this Northern text to be an important example of late-thirteenth century clerical verse production specifically intended for the education of the laity.

Unlike these studies this chapter will concentrate on what I believe to be the changing status of the poem in the century and a half between the time when it was originally composed and the time when Thornton copied it. By supplementing the evidence actually in Thornton's extract of the C.M. with a close analysis of the physical and textual evidence in other surviving copies of the text, we can establish many important details about late medieval attitudes towards the C.M. as a text for reading and copying. This necessarily lengthy and detailed reassessment of the medieval literary reputation of the poem will in turn provide us with an important new and hitherto unrecognized context in which to view the opening item in the London Thornton MS. We shall then be in a position to reconstruct in some detail the unusual conditions under which Thornton received and then copied this lengthy ME item for his collection.

The C.M. is extant in Thornton's MS and eight others.[2] These eight

MSS can be divided, in a preliminary way at least, into Northern and Southern copies of the poem. This division does have some validity since the C.M.'s earliest MSS are all of Northern or North Midland provenance. These are:

    British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.3 (c.1340), MS C;
    Göttingen University Library MS theol. 107r (c.1350), MS G;
    Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians MS (c.1350), MS E;
    Bodley MS Fairfax 14 (later fourteenth century), MS F.

The four remaining MSS are all of Southern provenance and all appear to be derived indirectly from a single Northern archetype.

These are:

    Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.8. (c.1400), MS T;
    London College of Arms MS Arundel 57 (early fifteenth century), MS H;
    British Library MS Additional 36983 (c.1442), MS B;
    Bodley MS Laud Misc. 416 (c.1459), MS L.

It has long been recognized that the copy of the C.M. most closely related to the Thornton text is that preserved in MS F. Nevertheless, the textual relationship here is not a direct one and it does not fall within the scope of this study to attempt to establish a stemma for the surviving C.M. MSS.[3] Similarly, questions concerning the original dialect and date of the C.M. have been discussed at some length elsewhere, but they too are of secondary importance here.[4] It is sufficient that the accepted provenance of the extant MSS supports my assumption, that this long Northern poem continued to circulate over a period during which the process by which vernacular texts were disseminated was subject to considerable expansion and change. By examining the successive recopying of this long ME text, we can identify the probable nature of these changes and their practical effects on the literature itself. More particularly, and for my own purposes most importantly, we are offered valuable information about the late medieval socio-literary milieu in which the C.M. continued to be read and copied.

Fortunately, our task here is made easier because a wide variety of MS copies of the C.M. are available in an accessible and reliable edition. The poem was first edited for the EETS by Richard Morris between 1874 and

1893 and his edition has proved invaluable since it presents accurate transcriptions of C, F, G and T in parallel columns, and also prints the complete text of E, mainly in an appendix.[5] Thus the modern reader has access to, not only the text of the C.M. (C), which is traditionally considered closest to a late thirteenth century original, but also to the other early Northern texts and an early Southern text.

In 1978 the first volume of a new three volume edition of the Southern Version of the Cursor Mundi was edited by Sarah M. Horrall. This edition uses MS H as its base text and records textual variants of the three other Southern copies of the C.M.. Thus the only MS copy which has received little or no attention in either edition of the poem is the Thornton text. This is hardly surprising since, on the one hand, the Thornton copy of the C.M. was not known to Morris and his colleagues and, on the other, this late and fragmentary Northern copy was of little interest to Horrall in her edition of what she considered a distinctly Southern version of the poem.[6]

It is important that we should emphasize the editorial approaches which Morris and Horrall adopt towards the C.M.. Whereas Morris considers the later Southern copies of the poem as corruptions of an original Northern archetype, Horrall (p.12) talks of the Southern copies as a new "version" of the C.M. which is, "not a corrupt copy of a Northern poem, but a new poem, substantially changed in language and scope from its original." At the outset of our discussion then this conflict of editorial principles raises important questions about our understanding of the C.M. and the question of the critical vocabulary we should use when we discuss it. For example, to talk of the Southern copies of the text as being a "new poem" is to suggest that Southern scribes undertook a systematically applied programme of literary recomposition. The changes which I have noticed in the textual transmission of the C.M. are considerable but they hardly merit this description since they were obviously intended to update

an existing poem rather than to recreate a new one.

In this context an examination of the general structure of the C.M.,
as the text appears in its surviving MS copies, reveals that terms such
as "fixed" "stable" or "static" which we might perhaps be encouraged
to apply to this ME item, are also not entirely applicable.[7] Consequently,
at the outset of this discussion, we should at least question the validity
of attempting to establish a reconstructed archetype for an "original" Northern
poem. We can however, in a provisional manner, tentatively identify what
may generally be called the "nucleus" of surviving copies of the C.M..
Thus analysis of the textual features shared by the extant MSS gives us
some indication of the bi-partite structure of the earliest surviving
versions of this verse compilation.

The first part of this structure conforms closely to our general
sense of the C.M. as primarily a historical narrative. The compiler,
working with a range of sources, organized his material chronologically
so that 11.271-23944 contain a narrative divided into the Seven Ages of
world history and interspersed with occasional narrative intrusions and
didactic comment. Of course the division of history into seven ages was
a common medieval historical concept.[8] It was obviously well known to
the C.M. compiler since his genealogical summaries and narrative comments
regularly indicate the transition from one Age to the next. In addition
to these narrative intrusions, a more visual sense of order is brought to
this wide ranging historical narrative by chapter headings which are
distributed unevenly throughout the narrative. These headings appear,
with varying regularity, in all the extant copies of the C.M.; but, while
the frequency with which these headings appear in the surviving copies
may vary, the heading themselves do serve to make the reader aware, and
indeed must have made the scribe copying from his exemplar equally aware,
of the smaller chronological units into which the narrative could be
divided.[9]

Following 1.23944 the simple linear structure of the historical

section of the C.M. is replaced. Although this section is organized in

the extant MS copies by the use of narrative intrusions and chapter

headings, these are not attempts to divide the text into chronologically

appropriate units. Instead the second structural unit in the C.M. is

organized on thematic principles. In MSS, C, F, G.and E, 11.23945-24970

consist of a series of loosely appended, seemingly self-contained, didactic

poems. These comprise of an account of the "Sorrows of Mary" (23945-24658)

followed immediately by an "Apostrophe to St John" (24659-24730). Although

these appear under a single "chapter heading" in the MSS, they may

originally have been two independent texts which at an early stage a

compiler of the C.M. deliberately conflated. However, 11.23945-24730 now

form a single textual unit written in six line stanzas rhyming aabccb.

This "chapter" is in turn followed by another self-contained account of

the "Festival of the Conception of the Virgin" (11.24731-970) which is

written in rhyming couplets and distinguished from the preceding material

by a two-line couplet. This is a direct translation of Wace's account of

the Festival. An early compiler also appears to have used Wace's text in

his historical section of the compilation.

In MSS C, F and G these items are again supplemented by additional

straightforward teaching texts, These items include: an exposition of the

Creed (24971-25102); an exposition of the Pater Noster (25103-25402); a

Prayer to the Trinity (25403-25486); The Matins of the Cross (25487-25618);

and a song on the Five Joys of Our Lady (25619-25683). In addition MSS

C and F add a "Book of Penance" (25684-29547) and F also contains a copy

of Cato's Morals (Morris, pp.1669-1674).[10]

In my account of the bi-partite structure of the nuclear C.M.,

the text seems to divide easily into the historically based section and

the smaller section loosely related by the theme of Marian devotion. If

we accept that this is an appropriate way to divide the text, then

Ll.23704-23944 are an important transitional passage in the text. These lines are written in an expository style more suited to a lengthy conclusion than to a simple narrative transition. It is only the narrator's words themselves which actually act as the transitional device. He identifies himself as a teacher who has been given a talent which he should use (ll.23881-904) and then adds that he will talk of the Virgin:

> Of hir worschip þat i mai mare,
> I sal of-tell sum ellis quare,
> Quen i am comen to better space,
> Eftir scho sendis me hir grace   (G, ll.23905-8)

Ll.23909-44 then consist of a prayer to Mary for her blessing.

For the first time in the C.M. this narrative intrusion makes a quite arbitrary link between two sections of the text. This is not based on the well-established medieval division of history, or indeed on simple chronology, but seems to have been the personal choice of perhaps the original compiler. The curious detail that the writer will continue his texts of praise to Mary, "elsewhere" and, "in a better place", may indicate a considerable lapse of time before the verse compilation was completed.[11] It certainly suggests that the compiler himself recognized the distinction I have made between the writing/compiling of the chronologically structured historical narrative and the appended texts in praise of Mary. Moreover, even within what we might call the historical "core" of the C.M., we can identify particularly unstable areas which make it inaccurate even to talk about an original "nucleus" to which other items were appended. It seems to me that the text which we call the C.M. is best seen, not as an integral ME poem, but rather as an "open" text which, throughout the later Middle Ages, was constantly available for adaptation, expansion and change.[12] By examining the fate of the C.M., first of all in its Southern copies, secondly when an early Northern copy was updated by a later scribe-reviser, and thirdly when it was made available to Thornton and other book compilers for their literary miscellanies, we can observe this lengthy verse compilation being subject to textual corruption,

contraction, adaptation and patchwork.

In his prologue to the C.M. the original writer/compiler of the
poem obviously conceived his task as being, in part, one of translation:

> Efter hali kirkes state
> þis ilke boke es translate,
> vnto engliss tung to rede
> For the luue of englijs lede,   (G, 11.231-34)

Studies of the sources of the poem have shown that the C.M. draws on a
range of material from both Latin and French sources. Indeed the general
"bookish" nature of these sources is normally indicated by the frequent
narrative allusions to an auctoritas. On one occasion however, he makes
it clear that his task was, in part, one of dialect translation. Writing
about his narrative on the Assumption of Our Lady he explains:

> In suthrin englijs was it draun,
> And i haue turned it till vr aun
> Langage of þe norþen lede,
> þat can nan oþer englis rede   (G, 11.20061-64)

The Southern Assumption referred to here is an integral ME text in its
own right; it is however also extant in all the extant copies of this
part of the C.M.. We can therefore perhaps assume that it was "embedded"
in the fabric of the poem at an early stage.[13] Of course Southern scribes
in particular were hardly likely to draw attention to the fact that part
of the text they were copying was itself an earlier Northern translation
of a Southern poem.[14] Consequently these lines were omitted from their
copies, although the same Assumption narrative was recopied. This
obviously deliberate scribal omission is a good indication of the general
nature of the Southern copies of the C.M.. By the late fourteenth century
a Southern 'translator' had done for his audience what the original writer-
compiler had done for a Northern audience a century earlier. In both cases
older, or at least unfamiliar, vernacular material was being made available
in the most recognizable and updated form possible for the C.M.'s audience.

This act of translation was, inevitably perhaps, also an act of

contamination. Frequently the Southern copies contain readings which weaken or distort the sense of the original Northern poem. Whereas this is to be expected as one of the hazards which faced any medieval text enjoying wide circulation, we should note that the Southern copies were particularly systematic in their attitude to the Northern rhyme-words. Where a Northern rhyme would not have been immediately intelligible to a Southern listener, it was replaced. Such changes might appear unspectacular, but they indicate that the Southern audience was presented with a text where lines like the following were rendered in a more understandable, updated poetic form. Compare:

Til all vr balis for to bete,	Iesu made þat mayden swete
Iesu made þat mayden suete;	Alle oure bales for to bete
þarbi men may hir helping ken	Herby men may her helpe wel knowe
Scho prais ay for sinful men.	She preyeþ for synful he3e & lowe
Qua þat worschipis hir he mai be bald,	Who so doþ hir worshepe may be bolde
Scho wil him 3eilde an hundreth fald,	She wol him 3elde an hundride folde
In hir worschip wald i biginne	In hir worshepe bigynne wolde I
A lastand werk apon to minne.	A werke þat shulde be lastyngely.

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(G)   (11.105-12)   (T)

</div>

Almost every page of Morris' edition provides further evidence that these changes do occur systematically. Thus we can be certain that the Southern scribes must have been very conscious of their roles as translators.

The relative length of the <u>C.M.</u> makes it an ideal ME text in which to observe any further systematically applied changes of this nature. Analysis of the textual variants in the earliest Southern copies of the text does however reveal few changes which suggest anything more than scribal carelessness. Nevertheless, by actually observing why this carelessness made Morris, for example, consider the Southern copies of the poem to be "bad" copies, we can appreciate how these early fifteenth century copies of the <u>C.M.</u> stand at an important transitional period in the textual transmission of the poem.

The best way to observe this process of apparent degeneration in action is to note the general nature of the textual omissions which are unique to the later Southern copies. These omissions generally consist of

the occasional couplet which may have been inadvertently dropped simply

because of the later scribe's inattention to his exemplar. In almost

every case, however, these omissions affect the same minor features of

the narrative. The missing lines are simply short rhetorical intrusions,

exclamations or repetitions. Taken in isolation then these omissions are

of little importance in comparison to the many lines which are left

untouched in the main narrative. The omissions can however, be matched

by the occasional scribal errors in the narrative which suggest that the

Southern scribes, in contrast to the earlier Northern scribes, did not

always make a clear distinction in their minds between the actual narrator

of the C.M., and the audience who were being instructed as they listened.

Thus readings like the following crept into the narrative of the late

fourteenth century copies:

Forþi i blise þat paramoure	þerfore blesse we þat paramoure
þat in mi nede me dos socure,	þat in oure nede doþ vs socoure
þat sauis me in erde fra sinne,	þat saueþ vs in erþe fro synne
And heuen bliss me helpis to winne	And heuen blisse helpeþ to wynne

(G)   (11.69-72)   (T)

Here the Northern copies' use of the first person singular, i.e. the

personal voice of the narrator, is replaced in the later copies by the

collective "we" of the first person plural. The same thing happens at

another rhetorical intrusion:

Gode men, it was a gret gedring	Wite we hit was a greet gederinge
Iesus fedd wid sua litil þing!	þat ihesus fed wiþ so litil þinge
Fisses tua and fiue laues of bred,	with fisshes two & fyue loues of breed
þat iesus wid fedd suilk a here.	(no gap in T)
Abute fiue thousand, als it es red,	Fyue þousande fed he wiþ his reed
was þe folk þat he þar fed.	(no gap in T).

(G)   (11.3504-9)   (T)

Again the figure of the preacher-narrator has been weakened by the change.

Note too how certain repetitious lines have been omitted in the Southern

copies. In the earlier Northern texts such rhetorical emphasis gives a

sense of the oral-didactic context for which the C.M. was originally

written. In the later copies we get the impression that these lines have

been simply overlooked by the scribe, perhaps because he felt that they were repetitive.

In my final example, the changes in the later copies actually weaken the lively narrative style in which the C.M. was written. Compare the Northern copies' use of the dramatic present tense to describe Herod's death, with the later Southern rendering:

þat gredi gerard als a gripe,	þat gredy gerarde as a gripe
His wranges mi biginnes to ripe!	Now his wrongis bigonne to ripe
And of his seruis mani day,	And for his seruyse mony a day
Nu comes time to take his lai.	þenne coom tyme to take his pay
þat caitif vnmeth and vnmeke,	þat cursed caitif so vn meke
Nu biginnes he to wax seke;	þo bigon to wexe seke
þe palsy has he a side,	þe palesy smoot his oon side
þat dos him fast to poke his pride;	þat dud him faste abate pride
On his heued he has þe skalle,	On his heed þere wex a scalle
þe skab ouer-gaes his bodi alle,	þe scabbe ouergooþ his body alle.

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(G)   (11.11811-20)   (T)

</div>

Of course T's change of tense makes the description limp and lifeless. It lacks what, in the earlier copies, was a vivid sense of a narrator actually delivering his text to a listening audience.

The point of these examples is not to argue that these changes are made systematically in the later copies of the C.M.. They are not. The general character of the text in fact remains oral-didactic: we retain the impression of a narrator actually delivering the C.M. to a listening audience. However, what these variant readings do suggest is that the Southern copies mark an ill-defined period in the transmission of the C.M., when indications of the original function of the text as a poem meant for oral instruction were disappearing almost involuntarily during its successive recopying. The sense of an individual mind controlling the recitation of the poem was therefore not consciously suppressed, but simply weakened, as the C.M. was translated into Southern English. Coincidental with the act of translation, those features of the C.M. which the scribe valued least tended to be blurred and distorted, rather than actively suppressed. This was not because the Southern copies were necessarily the first copies of the C.M. to pass from the hands of their

original clerical compilers and owners; it is more appropriate to see

them as marking a vague point in the text's transition, from a period

when it was performed publicly, to a time when it was enjoyed as written

didactic literature.

This last point is best illustrated by the few rare occasions in

the Southern copies of the text where we can be reasonably certain that

the omissions which have occurred are the result of an "editorial" scribal

impulse, rather than simple scribal carelessness. The prologue of the

C.M., where the scribes of the C.M. in general did not usually tamper

with their exemplar, provides two excellent examples. The prologue's

main function appears to have been to provide an introductory indication

of the original scope of the poem (see below). However, it also makes two

"contemporary" references about the need for a vernacular text like the

C.M., and the function it should serve. These occur towards the end of

the prologue, after the contents of the ensuing narrative have been des-

cribed in detail, but before the narrative proper has commenced. In the

first case the omitted lines make a pointed reference to the respective

status of French and the vernacular:

> Frenkis rimes here i rede
> Comunli in ilka stede;
> þat es most made for frankis men,
> Quat helpis him þat non can cen.
> Of ingland þe nacione
> Er englijs men in comune,   (G, 11.237-42)

It has already been noted that this detail was probably inappropriate a

century after it was first written.[15] This is just the type of superfluous

narrative comment which the Southern scribe would be apt to omit rather

than translate. The second omission refers to the function of the C.M.

for its original, unlettered audience. The lines read:

> Sumkin word or werk as we to held,
> Suilk akont suld we ȝeilde.
> þarfor drau ȝu hiþerward
> þat of þis pardon wil haue part,
> To here and hald sal haue pardon
> And part of cristes benison.   (11.259-64)

These lines need not necessarily have been dropped immediately after the C.M. passed out of the hands of the original clerical writers, but again the extensive modernization of the text in its Southern English form may have meant that the later editor-scribe found that these lines served no useful purpose. Whatever value there was in preserving the original reading had obviously passed and so the lines were omitted.

A decision on whether these were "editorial" omissions, and whether they were made specifically by the Southern scribes, relies in the case of the prologue on our sense of how long an outdated reference can remain outdated without being removed from a ME text. It is conceivable for example that these same changes also occurred in Northern copies of the C.M. which have not survived. The only extant Northern copy of the C.M. which can be assumed to have been copied after the Southern copies were in circulation is the Thornton copy but, as we discussed in the previous chapter, Thornton's copy begins acephalously at 1.10630. We can however, be quite sure that these particular changes in the Southern copies of the C.M. prologue were made because these are later copies of an older text, portions of which had become completely outdated.

In general the later scribes of the C.M. seem to have had little sense of the integrity of this long ME text. Thus in the case of the Southern copies of the C.M. this means that their text ends at 1.23898. This is, at the end of what I earlier described as the historical unit, or first part of the bi-partite structure of the poem. We do in fact have some grounds for assuming that this was a conscious act of scribal revision, and perhaps even "modernization" in these later Southern copies of the C.M. Thus, on the one hand, the earlier Northern MSS (i.e. MSS C, F and G) contain material which has been appended to this bi-partite structure. On the other hand, some 100 years later, in the fifteenth century, the inescapable conclusion is that a later scribe-compiler trimmed down this long ME text quite considerably. When we examine the Southern copies more

closely, we can see the first indications that these later scribes of the C.M. were, in fact, just as aware of the structure of the text they were copying as the original compiler must have been. Indeed it seems to have been the presence of the narrative intrusions in the text of the C.M. in the first place which encouraged a later compiler to dismantle part of the original joinery work which characterizes the structure of this verse compilation. To demonstrate this we need to examine more closely the relationship in the Southern copies, between the lengthy prologue to the C.M. and the main structure of the narrative.

In the Southern copies 11.23881-23898 are replaced by a concluding colophon. As we have seen, this is the section of the C.M. where the original compiler indicated the narrative transition from the Day of Judgement (the last Age of the world), to the other appended Marian devotional material. The appropriate lines read:

Amang þaa herdes am i ane, —	Vche mon ri3tly to deme
Sua wreche vnworthi wat i nane, —	His owne soule haþ to 3eme
þar-til haue i cristes grace me tane	And vche of vs witturly
Loued be he lauerd of all his lane.	Haþ receyued goddes tresory
A besant es me taght to sett	Riche besauntis of golde þei ben
þat i him aght to 3eild wid dett,	Somme lasse & somme moo to sen
þar-for au i me to paine	þo besauntis so þat we biset
To 3eild him wid bi3ate again,	þat we may wel paye oure det
Als bihouis vs 3eild ilkane,	To acounte were shul gone
Acunte efter þat we haf tane;	Aftir þat we toke vchone
Sum for mare and sum for less,	Somme for more & somme for les
Efter þat vr giftes es,	Aftir þat oure 3iftus wes
þat þat besant rote noght in horde,	He 3yue vs grace so to acounte
þat au he send in werk and worde.	þat we may to heuen mounte
Here i haue a littel spend,	þad sprad was on an harde tre
In word efter þat i entend,	Nailed naked þer on to be
Moght i mare, godd wate mi mode,	Oure fadir maker of alle þinge
I au it for to spend in gode,	þat neuer shal haue endynge

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(G)   (11.23881-98)   (T)

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In the first place we should recognize that this general shift is entirely appropriate to other changes we have noted in the Southern texts. The "I" of the narrator is replaced with a collective "us" which blurs the distinction, originally so important in the C.M., between the teacher and the taught. The important question for us is whether we can see these changes as an early fifteenth century development, or whether, at a very early

stage in the textual history of the C.M., an exemplar may simply have contained an unexpanded C.M. which ended at the Day of Judgement.

One of the features of the prologue to the C.M. is that it provides the reader with a handy checklist of the narrative sections of the poem (11.131-224). This prologue is extant in every copy of the C.M. which actually preserves the opening (including the abbreviated Southern copies). Therefore we must assume that it gives an accurate picture of the original scope of the poem, at a stage when the prologue was itself appended to the main narrative. Interestingly, after mentioning that it will tell of the Day of Judgement, both Northern and Southern prologues continue:

> þene of oure ladyes mournynge mode
> Whenne hir son heng on þe rode
> þe laste resoun þat I shal spelle
> Of hir concepcioun wol I telle
> þese are þe materes red on rowe
> þat in þis book wol I showe   (T, 11.217-22)

Thus, although we might suspect that the C.M. was the product of two main stages of compilation, it is apparent that the exemplar from which the Southern copies of the C.M. are ultimately derived did, in fact, contain the additional texts in praise of Mary. The Southern copies describe these additional texts in the prologue but then fail to provide their readers with the second part of the poem's bi-partite structure.

It was doubtless also the sense that the C.M. was a long text to which accreted material could be appended which accounts for the extra material added in MSS C, G and F. This material, comprising mainly of several short expository texts, and a longer "Book of Penance", is found in these early Northern copies, but its presence is not indicated in the prologue's list of contents. Therefore we can hardly talk of these additions as being integral parts of the C.M. itself. Their addition to the C.M. is however quite appropriate to our idea of the C.M. as an open text to which appropriate additions or even omissions could be made by later compilers.[16] Thus, in the Southern copies we are apparently dealing with a reversal to the earlier process of expansion and textual conflation

by which the C.M. gradually and variously grew to its fullest size.

There is at least one important indication in the Southern copies themselves that their "modernizing" attitude towards the C.M. should be related to the increased availability of certain types of didactic texts in the late fourteenth century. Thus Haenisch was the first to notice that ll.10835-924 of the Southern copies contain an account of the Annunciation which is different from the account in all the earlier Northern copies of the C.M..[17] In his "Inquiry into the Sources" essay Haenisch describes how the Southern scribes' account of the Annunciation seems to be derived directly from the text of the Vulgate, rather than through the French intermediary written by Wace, and used by the original compiler of the Northern text. By this action, Southern copies of the C.M. omit what was originally the central point of Wace's narrative: i.e. the discussion of how Mary could be both maiden and mother at the same time (cf. C.M., ll.10871-81). Whereas this omission could simply be the result of the use of a different narrative source at some unidentified stage of the C.M.'s compilation, it might also be an example of later scribal tampering in the C.M.'s Southern copies. At this stage in our discussion therefore, it seems best to assume that the Southern copies demonstrate how an early scribe-reviser had, not only modernized the C.M. and trimmed it back to perhaps its original length as a purely historical narrative, but he may also have replaced one section of the C.M. with a similar narrative account from a different source.

Although this last point is speculation, the way in which we have to discuss the unusual nature of the interpolation in the first place does give us a preliminary indication of what is best called late medieval "literary discrimination" in action. The fact that the C.M. continued to be copied 150 years after it was originally written, and the fact that those copies continued to be read for many more years, is evidence enough for the conservatism of this literary taste. Nevertheless the changes

which the Southern copies made to their text suggest that some sort of literary selectivity was at work. This derived from the old text exactly what it wanted, but left the scribe-compiler free to correct, emend, or even omit portions of the text depending on his particular situation or needs. In the remainder of this chapter we shall examine individual examples of these impulses in action. This will establish that the urge to update the C.M. was not a phenomenon restricted to the Southern copies alone.

So far in our discussion we have had to assume that the various changes to the range and scope of the C.M., which took place during the transmission of this text, actually took place in copies of the poem which have not survived. By contrast close examination of the remaining physical and textual evidence in MS C provides us with an opportunity to see editorial meddling with the text of the C.M. at first hand.

MS C has been edited more frequently than any other surviving copy of the C.M. and consequently critical attention has normally focussed on the features of C which would appear to make it a good and representative base text to use when considering the sources, language and literary qualities of the "original" C.M.. These features include C's early date, its Northern provenance and its relative completeness when compared to other extant copies of the C.M. text. However in an important article written in 1911 Carleton Brown discusses how, at two different points in C, where the narrative deals with Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection, the main text of the C.M. is expanded by the interpolation of extracts from the Southern Passion (S.P.). Since the C MS dates from c.1340, and the interpolations have been added in a fifteenth century hand, Brown quite rightly considered these interpolations to be the work of a later scribe-editor.

Although C's interpolations were also noticed by both Hupe and Horstmann, Brown's brief article remains the only attempt at a thorough

discussion of the textual insertions.[18] However, even here, Brown's main interests in 1911 were limited to identifying the interpolations and their source. Understandably he make little attempt to analyze the circumstances and conditions which lead to these acts of insertion taking place. Now however a re-examination of MS C, plus an awareness of the normal MS context in which we find all other surviving copies of the S.P., enable us to expand and clarify Brown's original comments.

Since the complete text of the S.P. remained unedited in 1911, the bulk of Brown's work in this short article consisted of providing the reader with a transcription of the relevant extracts from the copy of the poem in British Library MS Harley 2277. Brown uses this text to demonstrate the skill with which the C interpolator adapted and inserted the metrically similar material he found in the S.P. into the Passion section of the C.M.. He mentions briefly how the interpolator appears to have not only drastically abridged the material which he was borrowing but, at various points in his task, he also returned to the text of the C.M. and borrowed lines and phrases from the text he was displacing to create his own literary pastiche. Of course this is an 'editorial' activity we have already seen demonstrated in the Southern copies' drastic abridgement of the C.M. text and it is an activity we will see again in Thornton's abridged copy. Therefore in this sense at least, we can say that the C interpolator's skilled act of textual insertion is characteristic of the late medieval 'editorial' response to the C.M.. Moreover, closer examination of the other surviving MS copies of the S.P. now reveals that the C interpolator's editorial meddling with that text was also a characteristic editorial response to that poem.

In 1927 the EETS edition of the S.P. was published and, in her introduction, the editor, Beatrice Daw Brown, describes a further ten MSS which also contain copies of this text. In a brief note she points out that the Harley MS used by Carleton Brown for his textual collation is

less closely related to the C interpolations than three other MS copies of the poem, one of which she uses for her base text.[19] The C interpolations correspond to 11.1505-1680 and 11.1718-2113 of the EETS text. Close comparison of the C interpolation to the EETS text confirms Beatrice Brown's conclusion and also explains some of the changes to the C copy which Carleton Brown noticed in 1911.[20]

This textual collation may qualify but it certainly does not invalidate Carleton Brown's original claim that the C interpolator treated his text of the S.P. with freedom, omitting and revising his exemplar as it suited him. Instead, and more importantly, Beatrice Brown's comments about the textual history of the S.P. make it clear that the C interpolator's editorial attitudes here were remarkably similar to the attitudes many other editor-scribes adopted towards the task of copying the S.P.. Indeed, in one MS, the text of the S.P. differs so radically from the other surviving MSS that she completely disregards it as "late and worthless" for the purposes of her textual collation. Elsewhere, Beatrice Brown points out how the S.P. appears in various drastically abridged forms in six MSS. Three of these MSS seem to form a single shortened recension of the original narrative where the prolixity of the text is relieved by wholesale omissions. None of these revisions in these six copies exactly match the revisions made by the interpolator in C. Thus it seems probable that, like the C.M., the S.P. was a ME item which invited a variety of scribal meddling and interference at different stages in its textual history.[21]

It seems no surprise therefore that the C interpolator, having decided to update the C.M., chose to update his text with his own personally edited version of a particularly flexible Passion narrative. Furthermore, when we now examine more closely the general MS context in which the S.P. is normally found, we can also establish that the MS in which the C interpolator found his copy of this text was one in which the S.P. was

probably already incorporated into the South English Legendary (S.E.L.).

MS C is the only surviving MS in which the S.P. does not appear as part of the S.E.L.. Although this Passion narrative is occasionally displaced by the ME Life of Christ in some MSS of the S.E.L., and although the S.P. itself was subject to frequent abridgement and rearrangement, it is now generally accepted that the S.P. was originally written specifically for this collection of saints' lives and temporale narratives. Furthermore we can add to this intriguing network of textual interrelationships if we examine briefly the recent valuable research on the S.E.L. as a whole. Thus both M. Gorlach and O.S. Pickering have outlined in detail the ways in which many different versions of the S.E.L. were themselves constantly revised and expanded by the scribe-compilers who copied them. Naturally, because of this complex of activities, it is pointless to attempt to establish a stable "original" text which we can identify as the original S.E.L.. For example Pickering has shown how the temporale narratives seem to have had a particularly unstable place and were even freely developed out of one another.[22] Therefore we would be hard pressed indeed to identify the various items which accompanied the S.P. in the C interpolator's exemplar. Nevertheless, despite this difficulty, it is especially intriguing that the scribe-interpolator should have borrowed from this large and variable ME verse compilation since his borrowing was intended to update his own copy of another lengthy ME open text.

When we now turn to the question of how the C interpolator actually inserted this extra material into his fourteenth century copy of the C.M. we very quickly find that the interpolator's careful search of his S.E.L. exemplar for suitable material is matched by his equally careful re-organization of both text and gathering in C. To appreciate the extent of this interpolator's practical compiling activities here we need first to examine how MS C was originally assembled.

Originally C was a carefully produced vellum MS where the fourteenth

century scribe invariably copied his text in double columns and where he also managed to copy exactly forty six lines of text in each of these columns. In the MS this scribal consistency is matched by the presence of a regular system of twelve catchwords. Examination of the MS confirms that C originally consisted of thirteen gatherings. Eleven of these gatherings are now composed of six bifolia, but the eighth and thirteenth have obviously had extra vellum leaves added. In the case of the final gathering the original scribe probably added three extra leaves (ff.161, 162 and 163) to a gathering which originally consisted of six bifolia (ff.149-60). Unfortunately, it is now impossible to say whether these leaves were added as three singletons or as one bifolium and one singleton; however, in either case, the absence of catchwords on f.148 suggests that the individual leaves were added so that the remaining lines of the text could be copied by the original scribe without starting a new gathering.

A similar explanation cannot account for the irregularity of the eighth gathering. This now consists of ff.86-101 and these form six bifolia with ff.92, 96, 97 and 98 added to expand the size of the quire. Again it is impossible to say whether ff.96-8 were inserted as three singletons or as one bifolium and one singleton; but, in spite of this difficulty (see fig. 1) the actual presence of these extra leaves in the gathering is obviously directly related to the fact that it is in this eighth gathering, and on these leaves, that the fifteenth century inter-polator has inserted his two interpolations from the S.P..

We can in fact use a mixture of physical and textual evidence to retrieve in some detail the activities of the later interpolator in this eighth gathering. In the case of the first interpolation, for example, reference to the other surviving copies of this part of the C.M. narrative show that beginning on f.92r, col.1, the C interpolator replaced about 100 lines of the Morris edition (11.16749-16848)with a 247 line insertion.
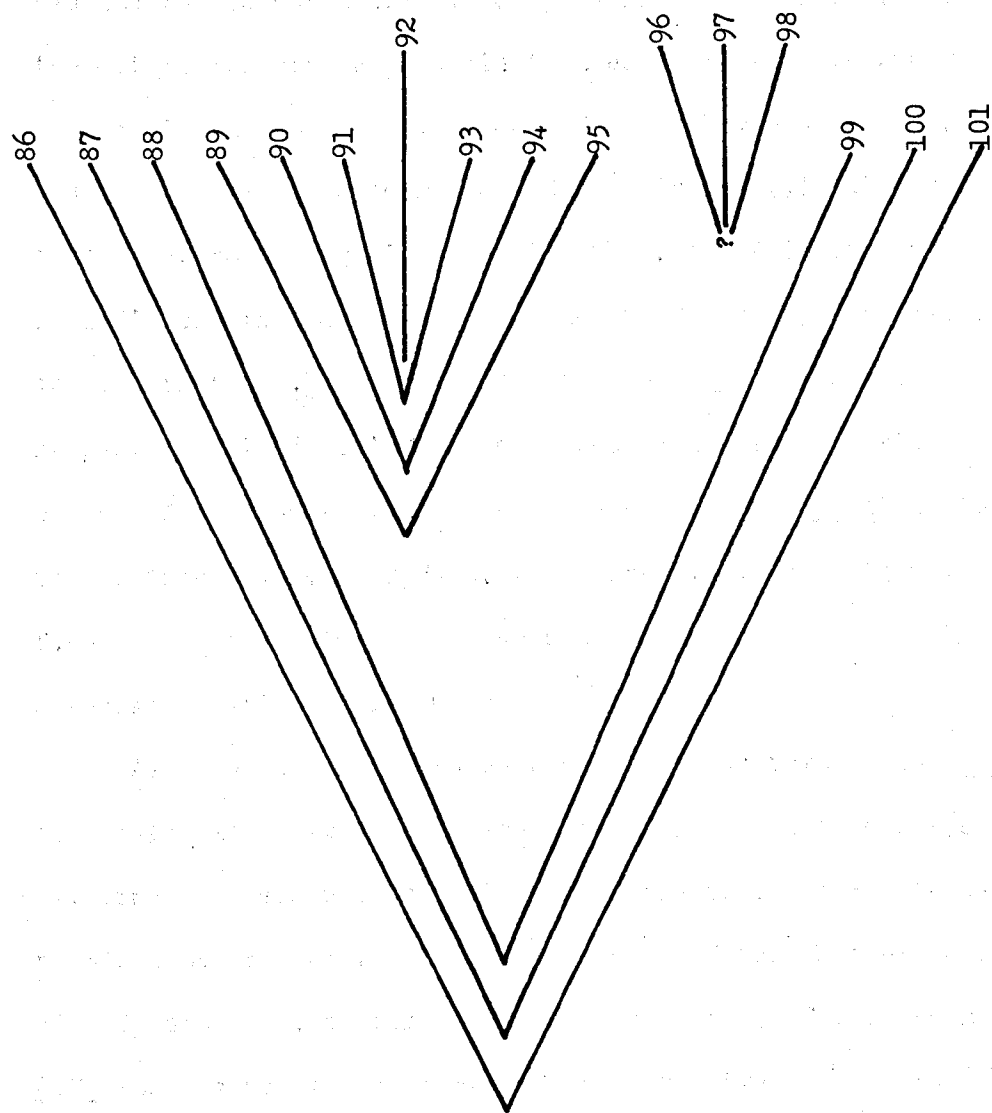
Fig. 1.   The eighth gathering in MS C (showing the later interpolator's insertions)

F.92, which the interpolator added to expand the gathering to accommodate this insertion, contains 163 lines of text and the remaining 84 lines of the interpolation have had to be accommodated on f.93r and part of f.93v. As we have seen f.93 forms part of the original quire and close inspection of f.93 reveals that the interpolator had to completely scrape away the two columns of text already on f.93r and the first 8 lines of text on f.93v, col.1 in order to make room for the insertion. This drastic action has led to the noticeably limp appearance of this vellum leaf.[23] Since the original scribe copied his text consistently, we can further say that originally the text on f.93r and 93v probably contained exactly 100 lines and that these lines corresponded closely to ll.16749-16848 in the Morris text. Before adding his insertion then, the C interpolator must have read C's original account of the death of Christ, compared it to the account in the S.P., and found that the C.M. text was lacking in some respects. This deficit must have been quite serious since he then proceeded to create his own much longer literary pastiche to replace, rather than to simply update, the narrative which originally appeared on f.93r. The offending narrative was then removed by scraping and the new material inserted in its place.

Although we have already noted that the text of the C.M. was subject to considerable revision, these acts of revision themselves imply that the existing text did not adequately meet the personal requirements of the poem's later readers. Thus, in the case of the Southern copies, we have already seen how, at some stage in the history of the transmission of the C.M., the desire to "streamline" the narrative led. to the omission of the Marian items which had previously been added to a historical narrative dealing with the seven ages of world history. In C, the personal inclination of the later interpolator was abviously to replace the C.M.'s formal and brief account of Christ's death with the much more lively account in the S.P..

If we set the first interpolation in C side by side with the C.M.

material it replaces then we can clearly see how the C.M. text may well

have looked stark, impersonal and unimaginative to the C interpolator.

Thus, whereas Derek Pearsall has described the S.P. as "the product of an

individual mind rapt in its purpose" and has pointed to the influence of

the Meditationes Vitae Christi on the poet, the C.M. account of Christ's

death seems to have been the anonymous work of a "professional" compiler.[24]

The C.M. poet, relying heavily on the Vulgate, moves swiftly, efficiently

but without elaboration through the events as they are recorded in the

Gospels. By sharp contrast the S.P. poet, dealing with these same events,

seems to have evolved for himself a simplified version of the dramatic and

deictic mode he found in the Meditationes Vitae Christi.[25] The extent to

which the C interpolator preferred the deictic style of the S.P. is of

course indicated by his consistent and heavy indebtedness to that text

throughout the interpolation. However this obvious preference is

especially remarkable in those places where we can assume that the text

of his interpolation bears some close resemblance to the text of the C.M.

which the interpolator had previously erased. Compare for example the

opening lines of the C interpolation with ll.16751-16762 in Morris' text:

Be-side þe cros stode his moder
þat was ful ful of woo,
And þe Marie Maudlayn,
And cleophe als soo.
Als he hanged on þe tre
His moder þer he seghe,
And sau Iohn þe euuanglist,
þat stode his moder neghe.
"womman," he saide, "loo þer þi son!"
An þen he said to Iohn
"Iohn loo þer þi moder!
Ful careful is hir mone."

His modir and mari magdalene,/
and mari cleophe,
And iohn his dere cosin,/
stode bi þe rode tre.
Iesus þan sau his modir wepe,/
of his he had gret pete,
"Modir, iohn sal be þi sun/
fra nu, instede of me.
And þi modir, mi dere cosin,/
þu loke hir hir," said he,
Fra þan he his leuedi laght/
in his ward for to be.

(C, ll.16749-16760)   (G, ll.16751-16762)

Here the C.M. narrative mentions in passing that Mary wept to see her son

on the cross, but the narrative quickly moves on to the next set piece

associated with Christ's death. By contrast C provides us with an excellent

example of the S.P. poet's controlled but purposeful didactism. The

reader's attention is focussed firmly and sympathetically on the plight of

Mary as she watches her son die in agony on the cross and obviously the poet's purpose is not only to describe the events dramatically, but also to analyze and evaluate the human suffering associated with them. This was a purpose with which the C interpolator was obviously in total sympathy.

The second interpolation confirms for us our impressions that the C interpolator was more interested in updating and revitalizing the C.M. narrative than he was in abandoning it completely. Here again he borrowed heavily from the S.P., but this time his borrowings seem to have been inspired more by his desire to give his readers accurate historical information about the Resurrection of Christ rather than by his desire to preserve a stylistically "better" account of the events described in the C.M..

In the surviving MSS containing this section of the C.M., the account of Christ's death is followed by a lengthy account of the adventures of Joseph of Arimathea (11.17289-18584). In MSS C and G the C.M. narrator informs us in a narrative intrusion at the beginning of this digression (11.17271-88) that he has based his narrative on a text written by Nicodemus. Hupe's studies into the sources of the C.M. have shown that the text referred to here is the Apocryphal Evangelium Nicodemi. Thus, the C.M. compiler's reference to the source marks the point in his narrative where his religious history is diverted away from the historical events recorded in the Gospels and into apocryphal legendary. It was also at this point that the C interpolator decided to incorporate the more historical account of Christ's Resurrection which he found in the S.P., into his existing text of the C.M.. Thus we are encouraged to assume that the earlier act of compilation here is related in some way to the later act of textual substitution.

Although the second interpolation in C did not result in the actual loss of part of the C.M., it did involve some rearrangement of the material.

Thus, on f.95v, the interpolator erased the lines corresponding to 11.17289-316 of the Morris text so that his interpolation could begin immediately following the lines where the C.M. narrator announces that he will now turn to the text dealing with the Nicodemus material. At this point the interpolator commenced copying the account of the Resurrection which he found in the S.P. on f.95v; he expanded the gathering by inserting ff.96, 97 and 98 which now contain the rest of his lengthy insertion; he then recopied 11.17289-316 in the remaining space on f.98v (see fig. 1).

Because of these actions the interpolator would seem to have been trying hard to make the narrative transition from the main narrative to his interpolated material as smooth as possible. Nevertheless, despite his efforts, some confusion inevitably remains. As the updated narrative now stands, C's text turns from dealing with Christ's death and then promises to tell of the adventures of Joseph of Arimathea. However, instead of doing this, the narrative first traces the events of Passion week and explains how they are symbolically related to contemporary liturgical practice. It is only then, when the narrative derived from the S.P. has described the order of events as they appear in the Gospels, that the text in C returns to the apocryphal material. Therefore the C interpolator, as well as the earlier C.M. compiler, would appear to have recognized at this point that the C.M. Passion narrative was digressing from the order of events as they are described in both the Gospels and the S.P.. Presumably it was because he preferred the order of events in this alternative ME Passion narrative that he made his ·editorial· attempts to improve on the existing text in his copy of the C.M..

The C compiler's impulse to improve the C.M. by drawing on a text of the S.E.L. would appear to have been encouraged by the way in which both ME verse compilations presented their material to their readers. In her study of the MSS containing the S.P. for example, Beatrice Daw Brown points out that the S.P. is normally distinguished from other S.E.L. items by a

marginal heading. In at least six of the surviving MSS (including two of the three MSS which are most closely related to the text of the C extracts) the actual text of the S.P. has also been rubricated by marginal headings which serve to divide the narrative up into further and much smaller logical textual units such as the Passio, Resurrectio, Ascensio and Pentecost sections of the poem. For example, in Pepys MS 2344 the marginal headings on each page distinguish narrative subsections such as Passio domini (pp.211-19); Resurreccio domini (p.220); Ewangelium post resurrectionem (p.221); Ewangelium Magdalene (pp.222-3); Ewangelium (pp.224-33). It is easy to see then how this type of rubrication would have encouraged potential scribe-editors to "dip" into the S.E.L. and derive from its Passion narrative exactly what they wanted.

In this context it is intriguing that the first adapted extract from the S.P. in C ends at a point which corresponds to 1.1680 in the EETS edition and p.219 in the Pepys MS. In the Pepys MS this page marks the end of the Passio Domini subsection. The C interpolator's decision to stop borrowing from the S.P. at this point may well have been suggested to him by the appearance of a similarly rubricated text in his exemplar. More importantly however, it seems more than just another coincidence that the C interpolator's second borrowing from the S.P. corresponds to 1.1718 in the EETS edition and begins on p.220 in the Pepys MS. It is on this page that a new subsection, the Resurreccio domini, appears. If the C interpolator was specifically looking for material on the Resurrection in a similarly rubricated S.E.L. exemplar, then the marginal headings in that book probably lead him straight to the Resurrectio section of the S.P.. Having found the material on the Resurrection, all he then had to do was to turn back a few pages to the Passio section in his S.E.L. exemplar, and to take from that section the excerpts he required to replace the C.M.'s much less attractive account of Christ's Passion.

If we now examine briefly the way in which one part of the C.M. text

in C was originally presented to its readers, we can find considerable

support for our assumption that the C interpolator's actions were guided

in a highly practical way by the marginal rubrication he found in his

sources. For example, when the interpolator came to add the material from

the Resurrectio section of his S.E.L. exemplar, he was careful to add this

material at the point on f.95v in C where the original fourteenth century

scribe had already indicated that the De resurreccione section of the C.M.

should begin.[26] This point originally corresponded to 1.17289 of the C

text in the Morris text. Now however, due to the C interpolator's erasure

of 11.17289-17316, it corresponds to the first line of the adapted excerpt

from the S.P.. The practical result of the C interpolator's efforts here

was to ensure that, when the readers of C's copy of the C.M. turn from the

Passion section to this section of their lengthy verse compilation, they

do actually find a narrative which deals with Christ's Resurrection. In

all the surviving C.M. MSS which contain this part of the narrative, the

focus of the text shifts instead from an account of the Crucifixion to

an account of the adventures of Joseph.

It is hard to avoid the impression here that the original concern

of the C interpolator was to rationalize the C.M. narrative and that this

is what encouraged him to turn to the S.P. in his S.E.L. exemplar. MS C

therefore provides us with our first example of a copy of the C.M. where

an individual scribe-compiler treated this verse compilation as an open

text and left his own distinctive stamp on the episodic narrative. This

trend continued throughout other fifteenth century copies.

One of the most interesting features of the C.M.'s transmission is

that the text is extant in three fifteenth century MSS which can be

considered as "miscellanies" of ME texts. These are the London Thornton

MS and MSS L and B. In these books the C.M. remains an important item,

but it is only one of a number of texts meant for the entertainment and

instruction of their fifteenth century owners. Interestingly, in all three MSS, the 150 year old C.M. can be found side by side with texts written by one of the most prolific contemporary writers, John Lydgate. In addition, in two of the miscellanies, the poem is extant with "romances," the very literature which the prologue of the poem suggests the C.M. was originally trying to emulate, rival and, perhaps even, supersede in popularity. Thus one of the first questions we must consider here is the exact nature of the C.M.'s relationship to these, "storyes of dyueres þingis/of princes prelates & of kynges" (C.M., G, 11.21-22). To do this we must first look at how the C.M. was affected by its new context in MSS which are essentially one volume libraries.

MS L provides us with a convenient starting point for this discussion since the provenance of this MS suggests a continuing "professional" clerical interest in the C.M.. Interestingly, in this MS miscellany, the C.M. is now found with other more secular material.[27] Here however the terms in which we should talk of the C.M.'s relationship with these other items can be established in some detail by examining more closely the structure of the gatherings in the MS. Thus physical collation of L reveals a degree of inconsistency in the scribe's use of paper which enables us to break the miscellany down into what were probably five of its original component parts. These are:

(1)   Ff.1r-64v. This unit contains Peter Idley's Instructions copied onto six gatherings of six bifolia with the first and sixth gatherings fragmentary. (F.65 is a single leaf in the book which the original folio numbering suggests might be the final leaf in a gathering of six bifolia which is now missing. It contains a table of contents for the C.M..)

(2)   Ff.66r-181v. These contain the text of the C.M. copied onto seven gatherings of eight bifolia and a final gathering of five bifolia.

(3)   Ff.182r-226v. These contain _Vegetius_ in prose copied onto four

gatherings of six bifolia with the last two leaves of the

last gathering cancelled. On f.226v the scribe identifies

himself as Johannem Newton.

(4)   Ff.227r-254v. This unit contains Lydgate's _Siege of Thebes_ written

on two gatherings, the first composed of six bifolia and the

second of eight bifolia. F.254v has been left blank.

(5)   Ff.255r-289v. These contain the _Secrees of Old Philisoffres_ also

by Lydgate (ff.255r-87v) on three gatherings of six bifolia.

This unit also contains a fragmentary text of Chaucer's

Parlement of Foules (ff.288r-9v). Approximately eight folios

would be needed to complete this item.

The physical structure of MS L would seem to demonstrate the

important role played by the individual personality of some late medieval

book compilers in the selection and arrangement of the items in their MS

miscellanies. Indeed in the case of L we can probably give a name to the

personality behind the collection since the scribe actually identifies

himself as "Johannem Newton" in an inscription on f.226v. Moreover, unlike

MS C for example, Newton's MS was not originally constructed from a pre-

arranged and consecutive series of regularly sized blank gatherings into

which he systematically copied his material. Instead, in comparison to C,

L seems to be the product of a more informal fascicular method of book

production where, like Thornton, Newton kept some of his options open by

copying his items into what originally seem to have been self-contained

units. However, in contrast to Thornton's highly unorthodox, and at times

haphazard methods of book production, we should also note at the outset of

our discussion that L seems to have been the product of a much more

organized and much less unsystematic approach to the task of compiling a

medieval miscellany.[28]

Newton's MS units appear to have been constructed with some regard

to the actual length of the individual item being copied. This would perhaps indicate that the collection was not only assembled gradually from a variety of different exemplars, but also that it was arranged in its present order independently of the actual copying. Thus in units 2 and 4 Newton estimated the amount of paper he would require for his final gathering in these units as either more than (in the case of 4) or less than (in 2) the preceding, regularly sized quires. The final gatherings of each unit were then constructed accordingly. Units 4 and 5 also show signs of having been copied separately since f.254v has been left blank. Unlike the last two leaves in gathering 3, Newton could not hide the fact that he had over-estimated the amount of paper he would need. He must have left f.254v blank because he could not cancel the blank leaf at the end of the unit, since he had already used part of the recto of f.254 to complete the Siege of Thebes.

Therefore in MS L the modern reader still has some sense of the self-contained nature of the MS units which originally made up this volume. However, in this respect Newton's C.M. unit is something of an exception since f.65, on which the table of contents has been copied, seems to belong, if anywhere, to unit 1. Closer examination of the present positioning of this folio in the MS however, reveals a very practical reason for this point of connection between units 1 and 2. It also draws attention to the equally practical manner in which similar lists of contents, describing the individual narrative subsections in the C.M., were occasionally physically appended to the existing verse compilation.

L is one of only three copies of the C.M. in which a table of contents, as distinct from the prologue's inbuilt list of contents, is added to the main text. In the other copies (G and F) these tables were obviously appended to the main C.M. text after the scribe had copied it. In G, the table has been copied on an outer leaf in the same red ink in which the text was later rubricated; while in F, the table has been added

on an extra bifolium appended to the first quire. From this it would appear that, if any scribe or book compiler wanted a list of the contents of the C.M. then the text of the poem was presented to him in such a way that he was encouraged to go through his copy, noting chapter headings which he found there and which attracted him and so compiling his own list.[29]

In L however, we can relate the presence of the table of contents even more closely to the practical conditions under which the book was assembled. Newton would appear to have listed the C.M.'s contents after he had assembled units 1 and 2. Originally f.65 must have been the final blank leaf in gathering I when the C.M. was added to the collection. Rather than leave this folio blank like the last leaf in unit 4, or simply cancel it, like the leaves in unit 3, Newton filled f.65 as completely as he could with the table of contents (half of f.65v still remains blank). This common sense scribal action then gives us yet another important indication of the general awareness individual late medieval scribes must have had of the episodic nature of the C.M.'s structure.

An awareness of the C.M. as a series of related narrative units, rather than as a single unified text, doubtless explains much of the drastic editing and modification which affected the C.M. when it passed into the hands of book compilers who were copying their texts for household consumption. By examining the C.M.'s physical context in a second fifteenth century miscellany (MS B) we can gain an impression of the even more unorthodox, and certainly more ingenious, methods of book production practised by other book compilers who were also close contemporaries of Robert Thornton.

MS B is copied in varying styles of common fifteenth century script. Although we should of course be wary about associating apparent changes of script with a corresponding change of scribe, these changes may in fact be of considerable importance.[30] On the one hand they may be the result of

the scribe's close imitation of his exemplar: a change in the style of
the script then may mean a corresponding change in the scribe's actual
exemplar. As we have seen, this is, in itself, potentially useful in-
formation since it suggests that the ordering of the texts is the scribe's
own and was not simply inherited from his exemplar. On the other hand,
such a change may indicate that a considerable period of time has elapsed
between the time when the one scribe commenced his writing task, and the
time when he completed it. Again this is an obvious indication of the
gradual way in which some medieval books were copied and assembled.
Thus, although we obviously cannot rely on palaeographical evidence in
isolation, we can make some useful preliminary comments about the styles
of script in B.

It is possible to distinguish five styles of script in the MS.
Script a is a form of Anglicana which recurs on ff.1r-2v, 216r-229v and
264r-305r. Scripts b, c and d are idiosyncratic variations of Bastard
Anglicana; b recurs on ff.3r-178v and again on f.305v; c occurs in ff.230r-
261v; d appears on ff.262r-263v. Script e is a Secretary hand which is
a style of script often found alongside Anglicana in fifteenth century
miscellanies; it appears only on ff.179r-215v. By combining this limited
palaeographical information with textual and physical evidence in the MS,
we can begin to draw some important preliminary conclusions about the
way in which this miscellany was constructed.[31] Using this combination of
physical and textual evidence, the MS breaks down into the following
smaller units:

(1)   Ff.1r-178v - copied mainly in script b, in ten gatherings of eight
      bifolia, and a final gathering of nine. This unit contains
      the C.M. expanded through an insertion (ff.1r-159r); an
      extract from the Prick of Conscience (ff.159r-174v); and an
      early Chaucer poem, the ABC to the Virgin (ff.175r-178v).

(2)   Ff.179r-215v - copied in script e in two gatherings, the first of

nine bifolia and the second of ten. This unit contains the prose <u>Three Kings of Cologne</u>.

(3) Ff.216r-263v - copied in scripts a, c and d in three unequal gatherings of seven, nine and eight bifolia respectively. This unit contains one main item, the rhyming <u>Titus and Vespasian</u> begun in script a, and completed in script c (ff.216r-255r); a saint's life from the <u>S.E.L.</u>, the third part of the legend of St Michael (ff.255r-261v), written in script c; and several short texts and fragments on the remaining folios, all copied in script d. These comprise a Chaucerian poem called <u>Truth</u> (f.262r); a moral poem ascribed to Lydgate beginning, "A knight that is hardy as a lyon" (f.262r-v); an ABC of Aristotle (f.263r-v); and a single stanza in praise of Mary (f.263v).

(4) Ff.264r-280v - copied in script a, and containing one gathering of eight bifolia and an added leaf. This unit contain <u>Ypotis</u> (ff.264r-268r); <u>Guy of Warwick</u> (ff.268r-275r); Lychfield's "Debate between Man and God" (ff.275r-279r); and the life and passion of St Erasmus (ff.279v-280v). Most of f.280v has been left blank.

(5) Ff.281r-305v - copied mainly in script a. It is now impossible to determine the gatherings but the modern pencil numberings suggest a gathering of six bifolia followed by three folios missing. The unit contains two long prose texts which are obviously related. These are the <u>Abbey of the Holy Ghost</u> (ff.281r-285v) and the <u>Charter of the same Abbey</u> (ff.285v-297v). In addition it contains the <u>Mirror of Mankind</u> (ff.298r-305r). These texts are all copied in script a. A one page fragment of Bokenham's "Life of St Dorothy" is copied onto the last surviving folio (f.305v) in script b.

The breakdown of B into these five units can give us an important preliminary indication of how the C.M. is related to the other texts in the MS. Again, as in C, MS B seems to have been originally copied in self-contained units from which we can at least partially reconstruct several stages in the assembly of the volume. For example the appearance of scripts c and d in only one unit of the MS (unit 3) implies that the texts in this section were copied separately from the rest of the book, and perhaps only gradually accumulated. Thus, script d appears only on the last two folios of the last gathering of this unit, and then only to add a series of short texts which serve to 'fill out' this self-contained section of the book. Although we might suspect that scripts c and d belong to the same scribe, it is important to note that the actual choice and ordering of the texts in this section seems to have been the specific responsibility of the compiler of the book, rather than simply an order inherited from an exemplar. In addition, the choice of texts seems to have been related to the amount of space the scribe had available to him. Even though we can not be completely sure that we are dealing with two scribes, we can at least assume that this unit was itself assembled gradually, and by textual accretion.

The order in which these texts now appear is, of course, not necessarily the original order in which they were copied. Script e only appears in unit 2 of the MS and supplies one of the three prose items in this collection of texts. It may well have been an inserted unit which was added to the book from a completely separate source. Indeed it may even be appropriate to view this unit as an insertion which was intended to update the original sequence of texts copied in scripts a, b, c and d.

Having recognized the composite nature of B, and having emphasized the independent nature of its various units, it is also important to recognize that the MS was also subject to an interesting degree of what must be called scribal collaboration. Script a belongs to the hand which

was most involved in the copying of the texts. All of unit 4; most of unit 5; and the opening parts of units 1 and 3 have been copied in this script. In the case of unit 4, the blank folio would suggest that it had been copied independently from unit 5, and that this unit might even have been prepared separately as a smaller "booklet" comprising of two pious romances, a short debate poem and a saint's life. The resemblance of this unit to the preceding one, which contains the same combination of saint's life and pious romance, certainly suggests that units 3 and 4 were compiled on recognizably similar principles, and that their juxtaposition in the MS is no accident.

In both units 1 and 5, script a is replaced by script b. Thus, in 5, the Life of St Dorothy is added in script b onto the remaining blank leaves of the last gathering in the book. This text is now fragmentary but originally about four blank leaves were probably filled in this way. Therefore, there is a strong impression that the scribe who wrote in script a was commencing to fill MS units in this book which the scribe, who wrote in script b, completed with appropriate material. In the case of units 1 and 3 this appears to have been a straight forward case of delegation of scribal responsibility. In unit 3, script c replaces a after the first thirteen folios of Titus and Vespasian had been transcribed. In unit 1, script b takes over once most of the prologue to the C.M. had been copied in script c. The rest of the unit is then completed by b.

MS B would appear to be an excellent example of collaborative book production in action. Of course, the MS evidence hardly suggests that the book was produced systematically in an organized atmosphere, such as, ideally, we might expect to find in a professional scriptorium; but it does suggest some sense of collective responsibility for the production of this quite modest collection of devotional items.[32] More particularly, however, the composite nature of B suggests that we should examine this copy of the C.M. in direct relationship to the other texts which are

copied with it in unit 1. By so doing we can gain a preliminary under-
standing of the fifteenth century book producer and literary compiler at
work.

B is the first MS copy of the C.M. which we have examined where the
smallest possible physical unit, in which the text could possibly exist
apart from the larger context of the miscellany, also contains other
normally unrelated ME verse items. Since the order in which the texts
appear in B seems to have been largely the responsibility of a scribe-
compiler, it is attractive to assume that the arrangement of texts in
group 1 was not simply inherited from an earlier exemplar, but was instead
the responsibility of a similar scribe-compiler. Thus in B, the C.M. is
followed by an extract from the Prick of Conscience (P.C.), and then by
a Chaucerian poem in praise of Mary. Closer examination of these items
reveals quite clearly the conditions under which these texts were borrowed.
and copied.

The extract from the P.C. has quite obviously been conflated with
the C.M.; it commences at a point in the C.M. where the narrative has just
foretold the coming of Christ at Doomsday, and is just beginning a
description of the Anti-Christ whose coming will precede the day of
Judgement.[33] At 1.22004 all the extant copies of the C.M. indicate a
narrative break. In T they are actually rubricated:

> Now is good to here hit red
> How þat anticrist shal be bred   (T, 11.22005-6)

The scribe of B stops copying from his C.M. exemplar at this point.
L.22003 is followed by 11.4085-6407 of the P.C.. These lines provide an
alternative account of substantially the same narrative which has been
omitted from the C.M. (11.22005-23705). Then, following the P.C. extract,
the following explicit makes this medieval tailory complete. This has
been added in the same red ink in which the text is rubricated, and
provides a summary of the contents of the C.M. and the interpolated

material. It reads:

> Explicit þe begynnyng off þe worlde off þe trenite
> be fadir & son & holi-gost þe Making off þe worlde
> & of adam & Eue & afftir of Noye and so fro Noye to
> Abraham & so doune þe Genelagy of our lady & þe birth
> off Crist & his pascion & Resvrrexion & so many oþer
> dyuers maters & so to þe day of dome & þe Comyng of
> antecrist & so to þe laste day of Iugement.   (f.174v)

No distinction has been made in B between the material which has been
added from the P.C., and the material which originally belonged to the
C.M.. Moreover, even if we argue that this substitution into the text of
the C.M. was originally made simply because the scribe's C.M. exemplar
was damaged at this point, the act of interpolation itself must undoubtedly
be associated with the general availability of the P.C. throughout
fifteenth century England. The poem is extant in more MSS than any other
ME text, and was itself particularly prone to abridgement, revision and
expansion. In addition, reference to the Index shows that, on at least
six occasions, extracts from this long Northern poem were copied in-
dependently into other MSS.

We have already discussed the skill with which one fifteenth century
interpolator updated the copy of the C.M. in C. Now, in B, we can see
just how judiciously another medieval compiler also chose his material for
extraction and conflation with the C.M.. Morris' edition of the P.C.
shows that the poem was divided into shorter narrative sections in many
of its copies. As we have seen in the case of the C.M., the S.P., and
the S.E.L. generally, these types of headings must have encouraged readers
and scribes to have little sense of these comprehensive religious narratives
as complete and unified poems which should be read straight through. The
narrative of the P.C. and the texts of these other verse compilations is
presented in such a way that the reader may simply have "dipped" into the
text to read some passages frequently and others not at all. In addition,
if potential scribe-editors were seeking likely sections of narrative to
extract, in an age when the idea of extracting, translating, updating and

abridging was in the air, then texts like the P.C. gave these later

compilers every possible visual guide to the smaller narrative subsections

into which the poem could be broken. A glance at the extract in B, when

it is set back into its original context in the P.C., shows that it occurs,

as we should expect, at the beginning of a new narrative unit: "the

coming of the anti-christ." The B compiler seems to have had easy access

to both the C.M. and the P.C. and simply exchanged his C.M. exemplar for

his P.C. exemplar at a natural narrative break in both texts.

When we examine the text of the P.C. more closely we can see that

the B compiler also stopped copying his exemplar at an equally convenient

point in the narrative. Morris' text reads:

```
        Now haf yhe herd me byfor rede              (1.6402)
        Of þe day of dome þat many may drede
        And of þe wondirful takens many,
        þat salle falle byfor þat day namly,
        And how þe werld þat we now se
        Aftir þe dome als new made sal be,    (B's copy ends 1.6407)
        Als here es contened, wha-swa wille luke,
        In þe fifte part of þis buke;
        Here on now wille I na longer stande
        Bot ga til þe sext part neghest folowande,
        þat specialy spekes, als writen es,
        Of þe paynes of helle þat er endeles      (1.6413)
        . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
        Her begynnes þe sext party of þis boke
        þat spekes of þe paynes of Helle          (1.6422)
```

The actual structure which has been imposed on the P.C. means that the

work the compiler has to do is minimal. If he had access to a table of

contents for the P.C., he simply had to turn to part five. Even without

this aid, the "historical" narrative structure of texts like the C.M.

and the P.C. were familiar enough so that any intelligent medieval reader

could quite quickly find his own way round in the rubricated text.

Although these rubrications were originally intended for the clerical

owners of these verse compilations, by the fifteenth century that figure

had been replaced by the scribe-compiler and private reader. Conceivably,

the same visual aids which guided the earliest readers of the C.M., the

P.C. and the S.E.L. seem to have guided fifteenth century editors in the

joinery work which then ensued.

Another interesting feature of B is the juxtaposition of the expanded C.M. with the Chaucer ABC to the Virgin (carmen secundum ordinem litteranum alphabeti) in the same MS unit.[34] The Chaucer text is a competent religious lyric in praise of Mary and, though its critics have made high claims for its qualities as poetry, its importance in this MS context is as a text which expresses the standard religious sentiments of the age in terms of the personal piety of its narrator:

> Almighty and al merciable queene,
> To whom that al this world fleeth for soccur,
> To have relees of sinne, of sorwe, and teene,
> Glorious virgine, of alle floures flour,
> To thee I flee, confounded in errour.
> Help and releeve, thou mighti debonayre,
> Have mercy on my perilous langour!
> Venquisshed me hath my cruel adversaire.   (ll.1-8)

By examining what we know of the history of this text's transmission in the fifteenth century, we can see that it is precisely the kind of text which a would-be compiler would have been encouraged to use, not only because of its reputation and availability, but also because of its context in other MS copies.

The ABC is generally considered a free verse translation of a decorative and self-contained religious lyric in Deguilleville's Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine. If this is indeed the case, then it is a metrical translation, as well as a translation into the vernacular. Although the original lyric was composed in octosyllabic couplets, Chaucer's poem is an early example of his use of the decasyllabic line which of course later became the most characteristic metrical form for any "Chaucerian" narrative. Indeed the translation must have quickly become known as a "Chaucer" text since the text was actually inserted in several later English translations of Deguilleville's Pelerinage. In the later verse translation of the French poem attributed to Lydgate, Lydgate himself does not seem to have translated the prayer because he knew of the Chaucer text's existence and reputation. Thus in British Library MS

Cotton Vitellius C 13, on the verso of the flyleaf at the end, is a note:

"Our Ladye's A.B.C. 50 leafes from the end." In the actual MS at this

point a space has been left for the ABC which has never been filled.

Similarly, in the only other copy of Lydgate's translation, in British

Library MS Stowe 952, John Stowe, the Elizabethan tailor and collector

of MSS, possessed a copy of the Lydgate translation where a space had

been left for the ABC at the appropriate point, and the initials A, B, C,

etc. had been added for each of the missing stanzas, each one beginning

with the next letter of the alphabet.

From these omissions we can assume that compilers were relying

perhaps too optimistically, on the availability of the Chaucerian text.

Indeed, Lydgate's actual words of introduction to the ABC in his trans-

lation suggest that he might even have been capitalizing on the reputation

of Chaucer's verse to enhance the prestige of his own text. He writes

about the ABC:

> And touchyng the translacioun
> Off thys noble Orysoun
> Whylom (yff I shal nat feyne)
> The noble poete off Breteyne
> My mayster Chaucer, in hys tyme
> Affter the Frenche he dyde yt ryme
> Word by word, as in substaunce
> Ryght as yt ys ymad in Fraunce
> fful devoutly, in sentence   (11.19751-59)

Of course, to the modern reader, this is rather a strange way to describe

the radical metrical changes in the Chaucerian vernacular translation.

Lydgate's words seem a self-conscious attempt to conjure up a picture of

Chaucer the diligent clerical scriptor, rather than Chaucer the poet.

However, Lydgate's words probably reflect some sense of the fifteenth

century's own estimate of the poem's worth as devout reading material,

and should thus be interpreted as an attempt to legitimize his own work.

In this context it is fascinating to note Lydgate's consciousness

of his role as both a translator and a would-be compiler:

> Therefore, as I am bounde off dette,
> In thys book I wyl hym sette

```
        And ympen* thys Oryson                        *  graft
        Affter hys translacion,
        My purpos to determyne,
        That yt shal entwyne
        Thys lytyl book, Rud off makyng,
        Wyth som clause off hys wrytyng        (11.19777-784)
```

Although he says that he himself will set the Chaucerian text into the

body of his own work, and has obviously prepared a place for it, that

task was never completed. Probably Lydgate, and certainly the later

scribes, were however, careful to leave a space for the text so they must

have been confident about its availability, and aware of its suitability

for a larger context.

      With this knowledge of the text's reputation, we can now examine

more closely the copy of the text in B. In Robinson's textual notes on

the 13 MSS which contain the Chaucer text, he distinguishes between two

recensions of the poem, a and b (p.915). MS B belongs to group b as a

later copy of, what Robinson considers, the six "better" copies of the

text. However, leaving that textual judgement aside, we should note that

the MS copies in group b, with which B is most closely associated, are

(with the exception of B) all texts which have been inserted in the ME

prose translation of Deguilleville's text. The ABC only appears as a

separate and independent poem in the seven texts with which B is not so

closely textually related. Whereas this evidence in isolation hardly

makes a strong enough case for the assumption that the compiler of B

knew the Chaucerian text from its larger context in the prose translation,

the actual appropriateness of his choice of texts to follow the C.M. and

his habit of "dipping" into other lengthy ME items for extracts which

interested him,makes that assumption a very attractive one.

      In B our attention is also drawn to the prologue of the C.M. since

that is where script a is replaced by script b. It will be remembered

that the Southern copies of the C.M. retained the original prologue's

inbuilt list of contents. This was despite the fact that they omitted

the material in praise of Mary, which an early compiler had originally

appended to the chronological historical narrative. Hence it is attractive
to assume that, in B, a compiler noted the discrepancy between the
prologue's list of narrative sections, and the actual items with which B's
exemplar of the C.M. dealt. The Chaucerian text may well have been the
most appropriate, available text which could be appended to the C.M. to
make good the defect, and also to fill the remaining blank space in the
gathering. Although the ABC does not exactly deal with Mary's conception,
it is a fairly standard example of the treatment of the Marian theme in
the ME religious lyric. In addition we have already seen how the C.M.,
throughout its transmission, grew by the simple conflation of previously
independent literary texts. I believe that B provides us with an example
of that process of expansion in action.

The idea of updating copies of the C.M. by adding more material is
a far less complex process than that of actually omitting sections of this
poem and replacing them with material from another. The C interpolator's
treatment of the S.E.L. and the B compiler's treatment of the P.C. are
both excellent examples of this latter practice and hint at the existence
of a discriminating sense of the fashionable among the later scribes and
book compilers who copied and read the C.M. in the fifteenth century.
Now the use of the term "literary taste" to describe this scribal attitude
seems even more justified when we examine the way in which both the B
compiler and Thornton treat the Passion section of the C.M..

In our discussion of the C interpolator's treatment of the C.M.
narrative dealing with Christ's Passion, we have already noted the
tremendous influence that the Meditationes Vitae Christi had on the S.P..
Thus it is particularly significant that, in B, 11.14918-17288, which in
other MSS comprise the complete C.M. Passion section, have been replaced
by one of the numerous ME translations of the account of the Passion in
the Meditationes Vitae Christi. The vernacular source for this replace-
ment has been identified as an early fourteenth century translation of

the _Meditationes_ often, rather optimistically, ascribed to Robert Mannyng of Brunne.[35] However this ascription is almost entirely based on the fact that J.M. Cowper, the nineteenth century editor of this translation, was most familiar with the text in only two of its eight surviving copies. In both British Library MS Harley 1701 and Bodleian Library MS 419 the _Meditations_ is conflated with Mannyng's translation of the _Manuel des Pechiez_. Although Cowper eventually discovered another copy of the same text in MS B's copy of the _C.M._ (following the first publication of her edition in 1875) she disregarded this text as a corrupt later copy.. Therefore her rather over-hasty attempt to identify Mannyng as the author of this text is a direct result of her preference for the MS Harley 1701. Moreover the B compiler's actions in conflating his text of the _Meditations_ with the _C.M._ (and Cowper's editorial assumptions) become all the more understandable when we consider how successfully the _Meditations_ has been absorbed into _Handlyng Synne_ in the Harley MS.

British Library MS Harley 1701 is a small early fifteenth century religious miscellany. It is copied in twelve quires of four bifolia with one leaf missing from the final gathering. Besides containing _Handlyng Synne_ (ff.1r-84r) and the _Meditations_ (ff.84r-91v) written in Anglicana Formata, the book also contains the short pious romance of _King Robert of Sicily_ (ff.92r-95r), written in a smaller and more calligraphic form of the same script. Most of f.95r has been left blank, but on f.95v the same scribe seems to have completed his collection by adding the beginning of a mass, ordained by Pope Clement, in Latin prose. This hand is distinguished from the other styles of script by its rather heavy letter forms, which perhaps indicates the scribe's unfamiliarity with the Latin prose. Even though this MS does not divide easily into self-contained physical units, we can see how the romance and the Latin mass have obviously been added as later additions on the blank space left after the first two texts had been copied.

The conflation of Handlyng Synne and the Meditations is complete in Harley 1701. Throughout these items, but not in the ubiquitous King Robert, titles, chapter headings and page headings are written in red. In addition, blue initials mark the sections of both narratives. Golden three-line initials with purple flourishes indicate, not only the beginning of both items, but identical initials also indicate four other important textual divisions in Handlyng Synne. No doubt this presentation was inherited from the scribe's exemplar, as indeed was the idea of conflating these two texts. However, four other MS copies of the text still survive where the Meditations is copied as a quite independent text. It is the existence of these copies which should lead us to reject, or at least to question, Mannyng's authorship of the Meditations. If we leave this question of authorship aside, we can make a few general remarks about the type of literary reputation the Meditations and Handlyng Synne had in the later Middle Ages. Thus it is easy to see how, in the exemplar he actually used, the B compiler may have been familiar with the Meditations in its larger context as part of a longer "open" ME didactic text like Handlyng Synne. Certainly reference to the Index shows that, on five occasions, self-contained extracts from Handlyng Synne were selected by other scribes. Once again then the presentation of lengthy "open" ME texts like Handlyng Synne seems to have encouraged later scribe-compilers to take from the longer text exactly what interested them.

In B's copy of the C.M. therefore, we can see a similar process of medieval conflation taking place at a later stage in the textual transmission of the Meditations. The compiler obviously intended this text to be read as an integral part of the C.M. and so his action as compiler is simply to replace one narrative intrusion in his C.M. exemplar with another. Thus, for example, at a corresponding place in T's copy of the C.M., a rubricated heading introduces the Passion section as follows:

Of þe passioun speke we here

How he vs bou3te ihesu dere
                    Secundum euangelium   (T, 11.14934-36)

B replaces this information with 11 lines of prose written as verse.

They read:

                    Fforto Soffre paynis grim
                    Manis soule to haue to hym
                    Here begynneth þe meditation of
                    þe pascion of Crist & of þe
                    Lamentation of oure Lady Saint
                    Mary þat sche made for her
                    Son when sche se hym
                    torment among þe Iewis which
                    Was compiled of bonaventure
                    a gode clerk & a Cardinall of Rome
                    & þe meditacions of all þe houris of þe day   (f.118r)

    B's narrative intrusion is obviously a replacement of the narrative

intrusion which, in most copies of the C.M., is built into the actual

verse of the poem. The compiler has however maintained the visual

appearance of his text by copying the prose in the same double column

format as the rest of the C.M. up to this point. This prose intrusion is

recognizably similar to the prose incipit which introduces the Meditations

in other MSS; therefore we can assume that the B scribe simply copied the

incipit for his Passion narrative directly from the incipit he found in

his Meditations exemplar. Thus, similar to the other additions B makes

to his copy of the C.M., this addition seems ·tailor made for its present

setting. Moreover, when we now compare the actual text of the Meditations

in B with the C.M. text which it replaces, we are once again made very

aware of the coolly professional style in which the original C.M. Passion

section was written. Obviously this must have unsettled many late

medieval readers.

    As its incipit and source would suggest, the ME Meditations narrative

in B provides its readers with an account of the Passion which emphasized

the physical sufferings of Christ, and focussed on the narrator's own

meditative awareness of this suffering through the sorrow of Mary. The

contrast between this presentation and the Passion narrative in the C.M.

can best be seen by setting similar passages from each text side by side.

þo kny3tis þat bi him sat:/
þei ihesu soone vncledde
And leide him on þe rode tre:/
þeron þei him spredde
þere he 3af his blessed body:/
for oure raunsoum in wedde
Ihesu haue mercy on vs:/
þat so sore for vs bledde
To þat tre þei nailed him þo:/
on mount caluory

Se now þe maner of þe crucifying
Two laddirs be sett þe cros behynde
and two enemyes vp fast þay clymbe
With hamyrs & naylis scharpely swifft
A schort ladder hym pight
þere as þe ffete Schorter were
Beholde þis Sight with rewly tere
Crist Ihesu his bodye vp stye
And when he cam to þe ladder ende
Towards þe cros his bak he layde
And his riall handis he oute streght
And to þe crucifiers hem right
And to his ffadir he caste his yen

. . . .

(C.M., T, 11.16665-74)   (Med., B, f.124v, 11.628-52)

Stylistically the passages are worlds apart. The C.M.'s septenary long

lines present a stylized, disciplined account that adds very little to

the Biblical sequence of events. The restrained nature of the didactic

comment draws the personal application from the narrative in the form of

a rhetorical aside. In contrast the breathless thrusts of B's description

of the same incident pile in as much circumstantial information as

possible. Meaning is contained within the metrically shorter lines and

(like the interpolations in C which we discussed above) the passage in B

is intended to appeal to the reader's visual, as well as emotional, sense

of Christ's death. A comparison of these passages confirms our impression

of the alternative affective style of religious narrative which was

increasingly becoming available for readers and compilers in the later

Middle Ages. In this case the stylistic contrast between these Passion

narratives suggests that we have here another fifteenth century compiler

who had access to at least two texts dealing with Christ's Passion and

who rejected the narrative which was embedded in the C.M., in favour of

a text which he considered to be the "better" and more attractive account.[36]

The conditions under which the C.M. was copied in B provide us with

our most important example so far of late medieval literary discrimination

in action among the scribes who copied the C.M.. The fifteenth century

compiler here not only appears to have ready access to a range of lengthy

ME items as well as the C.M., but he also seems to have recognized that

these texts were actually "open" compilations. The discriminating
scribe-editor felt free to read, excerpt or otherwise adapt these "open"
texts as he desired, with little regard for their integrity as complete
poems. Once we recognize and accept that this attitude seems to have
been an entirely characteristic late medieval response to certain ME
didactic items including the C.M., then we are, finally, in a position
to examine in detail Robert Thornton's interesting C.M. excerpt.

        In the previous chapter I described how Thornton's copy of the C.M.
is the opening item in the London MS. It commences abruptly at 1.10630,
omits 11.14937-17110, and continues with 11.17111-17270. The remainder
of the C.M. is then missing and a second MS unit begins with the N.P..

        In the London MS, Thornton's copy of the C.M. first breaks off on
f.32r (1.14936) at the important narrative intrusion which precedes the
C.M..Passion section in all the extant Northern copies of the poem. At
the outset then we can say that either Thornton's exemplar had suddenly
become defective or else Thornton himself had reached the end of the
portion he himself had wanted to extract. At any rate, examination of
the colophon on f.32r reveals that a compiler has replaced an original
narrative intrusion in the C.M. with one of his own. This can be seen
clearly when we set both texts side by side. The texts read:

For fast it draus te þe nede	ffor faste now neghes to þe nede
For his to suffir passiun.	ffor to suffre his passyoune
Forþi to speke of þat ransum	Anothir boke spekes of þat rawnsoun
þat richer es þan erd or heuene,	ffor now I thynke of this make ende
Or all þat manes witt mai neuene,	And to þe Passyoune will I wende
For-þi me think þat nu es gode	Anothir boke to by gynne
þat we speke sumquat of þe rode.	And I may to my purpose wynne
And alsua of þat ranssuning,	And þat I it till ende may brynge
þat for vs gaf iesus, heuene king,	I beseke our heuene kynge
And resun es we vr rime rume,	Als I this till ende hafe broghte
And set fra nu langer bastune.	he grante me grace þat me dere boghte
Crist and his moþer do me spede!	Till his honoure and haly kirke
þat i vnworþi es to rede,	he leue me space this werke to wirke
And of his will me send his grace	Amen amen that it swa bee
Of witt and will, and þar-to space,	I pray ȝow alle ȝe praye for mee
þat i it rede wid sli luuing	þat takes one hande þis begynnynge
I may it wele till end bring,	he brynge me vnto gode endyng. Amene.

To luuing of god and halikirke
To manes note als forto wirke.

(G, 11.14913 - 33)   (Thornton copy f.32r)

The "originality" of this colophon must be qualified by the obvious

verbal similarities between the two texts. The only "new" additions not

in other extant copies of the C.M. at this point are, firstly, that the

Thornton copy talks of turning to "another book" and "making an end" of

this book, and secondly, that the Thornton narrator prays for God's grace

in his undertaking and asks his readers to pray for him also in this new

"beginning." Therefore, we can see that what the compiler has actually

done is to integrate the new information which he wishes to convey to the

reader into the existing poetic structure of the text. He has in effect,

woven together the new material with the material he obviously found in

an existing narrative intrusion in his exemplar. However, as we have

already seen in the Southern copies and at first hand in MSS B and C,

this type of editorial interference appears to have been commonplace

among the scribes who copied the C.M.. Thornton's copy of the C.M. then

provides us with a further occasion where we can assume that, at some

stage in the C.M.'s transmission, an existing narrative intrusion in the

structure of the poem was replaced by what must be seen as a later scribal

interpolation.

It seems particularly important too that this is the third time

where we have noted this type of scribal interference affecting the Passion

section of the C.M. and the second example we have examined of scribal

meddling with the introductory narrative intrusion which marks the

beginning of the C.M.'s account of the Passion. These features alone

would suggest that long before the Passion section of the C.M. was omitted

from Thornton's copy of the text, the Passion section itself was a

particularly 'unstable' area within this larger verse compilation.

Reference to Thornton's presentation of his text on f.32r is a good

preliminary indication that he himself has created this "new" colophon.
On this page, immediately he commenced writing the colophon, Thornton
begins to space his text even more generously than elsewhere in his copy
of the C.M.. Whereas this may simply be the result of a tired scribe
completing a long stint of transcribing, it may also indicate that the
pressure on Thornton to copy directly from his exemplar onto a limited
space had relaxed. Indeed, since this is also the final leaf in this
first MS unit, he may even have been consciously "stretching" his material
to fill as much of this last leaf as possible without disrupting the
visual appearance of his text.

This characteristic concern with the visual appearance of his text
certainly explains why Thornton did not proceed directly to the Passion
narrative in "another book" as his colophon on f.32r promises. Instead,
having omitted the Passion section of the C.M., he filled the remaining
space on ff.32r-v with ll.17111-17270 of the C.M.. These lines contain
the Discourse between Christ and Man where the risen Christ tells man of
his Incarnation and Passion. Besides Thornton's MS, the text of the
Discourse appears in MSS C and G of the C.M.; MSS Takamiya 15 (olim
Sotheby's, 10 Dec., 1969, lot 43) and a Hopton Hall MS which is now
missing.[37] In the Takamiya and Hopton Hall MSS the Discourse was copied
as an independent poem in its own right and it is probable that, at some
early stage in the transmission of the C.M., this self-contained lyric
became embedded in certain Northern copies of the C.M..

In C and G the Discourse has been added to the longer text at the
most appropriate point in the C.M. (that is directly following the
narrative description of the Passion). This is hardly surprising since
we have already described how this kind of textual conflation in some C.M.
MSS, and not in others, is entirely typical of the way in which this
lengthy verse compilation continued to grow and change throughout the
later Middle Ages. In particular we should note here that the Discourse,

like the adapted excerpts from the S.P. in C, and like the text of the Meditations in B, is yet another example of a particularly unrestrained style of didactic Passion narrative. In the Discourse Christ implores sinful man to:

> Bi-hald and se my blodi side,
> þat for þi luue es opend wide;
> Put in and grape, mi suete freind,
> Take vte mi herte bituix þi heind;
> þen mai þu wid þin eien se
> Hu truli þat i loued ai þe.   (G, 11.17139-44)[38]

Thus the surviving text in C and G seem to show how the Discourse was added to the C.M. to supplement the Passion section. It is by a closer examination of the presentation of this section of the C.M. in G in particular that we can find indications of the very practical reason why the Discourse survives in Thornton's copy but the C.M. Passion does not.

One of the peculiarities of the C.M., which the Morris text unfortunately tends to obscure, is that the Passion section is written in septenary long lines. In C, E, F and in the EETS edition these longer metrical lines are split at their natural caesura and presented in double columns like the rest of the narrative. The result is pleasing to the eye since the visual appearance of the text in these copies remains unchanged (see, for example, fig. 2). The casual reader has no visual indication of the striking metrical change which takes place at 1.14937 in the narrative. The case is entirely different in MSS G, T, H and L. In these copies, the Passion section of the poem is the only portion of the narrative which is copied in single columns of long lines (see figs 3 and 4). Thus the visual effect of this sudden change of layout is just as striking as the corresponding stylistic change to a new metrical form within the fabric of the C.M.. Later in the chapter I shall discuss how this metrical change was yet another controversial feature of the C.M.'s Passion narrative; however, for the moment, we should concentrate on how this information about the changing visual appearance of the extant copies of this part of the C.M. can help us to explain Thornton's own practical

Fig. 2   MS C, f.94v (reproduced from the EETS edition)

And sua to make vr ransuning for vs him self he said
a þu blissed mari of all of þe quic mai i say
Mari sone mari milde þu hade in hert þat day
þat dai it was þi pissimimat naue þat bid sai nay
Quen þu þi suete sun sua sall be ledd bid tene and tray
ot comen it es þe ini þe suord þat thou piue herte strang
þat symeon bid when had hight þe so bid lang
Bot of ioy ane hundreth fald he dublid þe þi sang
Quen he ras fra dede to lijf bid his godde hed sua strang
ath þe birth and þe passion of ihc þat vs boght
If he ne had resin fra ye dede had tene vs all fornoght
Nu mai we se all opinli þe fight till end es broght
þe werld siumrid þe feind es feld þat man bid forn loght
in þe þan leuedi hang all vr trouth and fai
All men was in dute and were bot þu leue ha man
Till þi suete sun up ras þi trouth was stabil ai
Nu men agh vr lauerd leue þu lered vs þar þe bai
vr ari meke þu moder es full of reuth and pete
girthful maiden mild of all fulfild of all bunte
Na man mai tell þe feind part þe blissed nes of þe
vr trouth vr hope all lar þu þan vr beild leuedi in þe
And pais vs bid þi suete sun þat hang for vs on tre
Thin i haue þe passiun ini said eftir ini might
þu he egain vr bither berie vr bataile toke to fight
þogh his it war þe parties all vis it was þe plight
He giue vs grace haue part of blis þat he till his has lught
and þat we mai bidvten end be bid hym in his sight
þar ioy and blis es lastand ay þat es in heuenes light
And speciali for me ye pray þat þis boke gart dight
John of Lindbergh i zu sai þat es mi name full right
If it be tint or dune away truli ini trouth i plight
Qua bringes it me bid vten delay i sal hym zeild þo might
And qua it helis and haldis fra me truli i zu tell
Cursed in kirc þau sal þai be bid candil boke and bell

Ihc of man born
for sinful man þat was for lorn
I forsok mi fadir blis
and come in til erde i vis

Her me take and hard bind
for luue i had to manes kind
I tholid pouert pine and schame
all for sinful manes ane

Fig. 3.   MS G, f.114v (reproduced from the EETS edition)

(The last twelve lines copied in single column on this
page (John of Lindbergh's colophon) have been copied
in red ink).

compiling activities.

Once the Passion section has been completed in MS G and the Southern copies of the C.M. all these copies return to copying their text in double columns. However G is the only extant MS which recommences copying the C.M. in double columns with the Discourse (see fig. 3). The peculiarities of Thornton's copy of the C.M. might be simply enough explained then if we assume that Thornton came to the Passion section in his exemplar, saw that it was written in single columns, decided to omit that section (possibly because it appeared to be an intruder text) and then turned the pages of his exemplar until he found where the Discourse commenced in double columns. He then copied the short self-contained Discourse to complete his copy of the C.M..

Thornton's reasons for copying the Discourse were probably, in part at least, quite practically motivated. Having chosen to omit the C.M. Passion section from his copy, and having copied the early part of the narrative into a self-contained MS unit, part of f.32r and all of f.32v originally remained blank. Rather than leave these pages unfilled, Thornton must have decided to fill up the remaining space on the last leaf of his gathering with the most appropriate material still available to him at that time. He obviously found that material in the same exemplar which he had already used to copy the C.M. extract. The practical result of this compiling activity is that Thornton managed to avoid leaving an embarrassing blank space in his collection when his gatherings were eventually assembled in their present order. However, despite the superficial sense of visual continuity this gives to the reader of the opening items in the London MS, the inevitable result of Thornton's meddling with the C.M. is to ensure that the Discourse is now quite illogically "sandwiched" between a colophon which informs the reader that the story of Christ's Passion will appear in "another book" and a text which actually tells of Christ's Passion (Thornton's copy of the N.P.).

If, as is generally assumed, the opening items in Thornton's book do form an entirely logical historical sequence, then the _Discourse_ should appear _after_ and not before the _N.P._. The obvious displacement of the _Discourse_ in Thornton's historical sequence therefore provides us with another good indication of the purely practical exigencies which inevitably influenced Thornton's book compiling activities.[39]

Despite the rather uncertain way in which we can assume that Thornton normally received and arranged his texts, he does seem to have taken considerable pains, on this occasion, to provide signposts for his readers, directing them from his first MS unit containing the _C.M._ excerpts, to the second MS unit which opens with the _N.P._. Having copied an _explicit_ for the _Discourse_ on f.32v, Thornton then followed this _explicit_ with a Latin colophon. This type of self-conscious attempt to direct his readers is unprecedented elsewhere in Thornton's collection and it is his unusual action in adding these colophons which helps us to retrieve in even more detail the probable circumstances under which Thornton himself chose to omit the _C.M._ Passion section from his copy.

The text of Thornton's colophon reads:

> _Et sic procendendum ad Passionem domini nostri Iesu_
> _que incipit in folio proximo sequente secundum ffantasium_
> _scriptoris._

At first sight Thornton's unusual use of the term _fantasium scriptoris_ is particularly puzzling. According to the _Revised Latin Word List_, the meaning of _fantasium_ could range from "whim" to "imagination." However, its sense was generally derogatory. Thornton's use of this word would therefore read as a rather strange dismissal of his own activities as a compiler of these religious items. However, reference to the wide range of meanings which the vernacular term "fantasie" could have in the later Middle Ages reveals that Thornton was probably using the term _fantasium_ in a much more appropriate and precise way than we might otherwise assume. Reference to the _MED_ shows that one of the most important ways in which

the word "fantasie" was used was as a technical term to describe one of

the five inward "bodily wits" in the language of medieval scholastic

psychology and literary tradition:

> þe office of the fantasie ...... is forto forge
> and compowne, or to sette togedir in seemyng,
> þingis which ben not to gedir, and whiche maken
> not oon þing in kynde.[40]

However, by the fifteenth century, the word was in common literary usage.

Intriguingly Lydgate uses the term, in a form derived from the OF

fantasier, in his _Fall of Princes_. In the prologue to that work he

describes the role of the _scriptor_:

> Thyng that was maad of auctours hem beforn
> Thei may off newe fynde and fantasie,
> Out of old chaff trie out ful cleene corn,
> Make it more fressh and lusti to the eie,
> Ther subtil witt and ther labour applie,
> With ther colours agreable off hewe,
> Make olde thynges for to seem : newe.   (11.22-8)

I believe that we should associate Thornton's phrase _fantasium scriptoris_

with Lydgate's use of the term "fantasie" in the _Fall of Princes_. In

this poem Lydgate was attempting to define the way in which older literary

material was assembled and a "new" literary text was produced, while in

his book, Thornton was attempting to describe for his readers, as precisely

as he could, his activities as a book compiler. Both men were describing

the varied and complex processes of conflation and juxtaposition which

characterize not only their respective achievements as individual

craftsmen, but also the literary achievements of their age. By the

fifteenth century therefore the term _fantasium scriptoris_ was one which

both poet and book compiler could, with equal propriety, use about their

respective literary crafts.

In one respect however the two scribal colophons which accompany

Thornton's _C.M._ extract in the London MS seem to be misleading. The

fact that both colophons now appear in the opening item in Thornton's

assembled collection would suggest to the modern reader a sense of

confidence on the compiler's part that, at the beginning of his task, he

was sure that he could actually follow on in "another book" with a new text on the Passion. Despite our assumption throughout this chapter that there were a number of different Passion narratives available to the scribes and compilers who copied and owned the C.M., Thornton's apparent confidence here does seem surprising, since elsewhere in his books we have found considerable evidence to suggest that his exemplars normally came to him in an uncertain, unpredictable and even fragmentary manner. The confidence of Thornton's statements in his colophons however, only appears as confidence for as long as we assume that Thornton copied the opening items in the London MS in the order in which they now appear in his collection. When we examine more closely the limited physical evidence in the London MS we can, yet again, observe Thornton's practical ingenuity as a compiler at work.

The transition from the end of one MS unit in Thornton's book (f.32r) to the beginning of a new one (f.33r) is marked by a notable deterioration in the condition of the first leaf of the new unit. The first page of the N.P. is noticeably grubbier than the preceding folios. Often this kind of deterioration has been explained by the fact that separate, and not always self-contained, gatherings lay around unbound for a period; or again in the case of Thornton, A.E.B. Owen has argued that this kind of evidence suggests that Thornton's books may have been more frequently opened at these places. In contrast, and in a broader context, it has also been argued that the grubby condition of inner folios suggests that certain sections, which are now integral parts of larger medieval books, once circulated in "booklet" form.[41] However, as we have already seen in our discussion of this kind of physical evidence else-where in Thornton's books, it seems best to analyze each specific situation on its own merits before drawing these kinds of general conclusions. In the particular case of the soiled condition of f.33r, the combination of other physical and textual evidence in the London MS

makes it attractive to assume that the condition of this leaf is directly related to the way in which the first two MS units were originally assembled by Thornton. Thus, for a time, it is possible that f.33r was actually the outer leaf in Thornton's book and that the addition of the C.M. marks an important later stage in the gradual assembly of the London MS.

This assumption is supported by the noticeable change in the colour of the ink which Thornton used to copy each of these self-contained units. F.32v is written in a blackish ink which contrasts sharply with the faded brownish colour of the writing on f.33r. The inks must have been mixed and used separately, and perhaps the nature of the ink in which the opening of the N.P. is written is the result of the physical conditions which this text once had to endure. Therefore, all the physical evidence here points to the conclusion that, when Thornton excerpted and copied the C.M. and added both colophons to his "edited" text, he was actually expanding his collection by appending a physically self-contained introductory MS unit to the existing core of his collection. This core was originally formed by the N.P. and the Siege of Jerusalem. Obviously therefore, Thornton's attitude to the C.M. was greatly influenced by the fact that he was copying this item as an opening item for a larger collection. His "confidence" as a scribe-editor in omitting the Passion section of the C.M. seems, in part at least, to be the confidence of a man who has already copied a narrative dealing with the Passion in another book, and has preferred this Passion narrative to the one he found embedded in the C.M..

Thornton's actions as a scribe-compiler of the C.M. certainly merit even further consideration. Reference to other C.M. MSS shows that his seemingly drastic "editorial" treatment of the C.M. is perhaps not so unprecedented as it at first appears, but his editing is still the first and only clear indication in either of Thornton's MSS that Thornton was

especially anxious to omit a substantial portion of the text which appeared in his exemplar. Elsewhere in our discussion we have generally assumed that Thornton was a conservative scribe. Most signs of trans-lating, conflating, abridging and expanding in Thornton's texts seem indications of the type of editorial work which was carried out during the pre-history of "Thornton" items, before Thornton had actually received these texts in his exemplars. Thus Thornton's major contribution as a book compiler elsewhere seems to have been to gather together the written material which was available to him, and, on occasions, to rearrange some of this material so that his collection could be usefully (and occasionally even appropriately) filled with additional items. Thornton's carefully worded colophons though, and his treatment of the C.M., is quite different from these other, more mundanely practical, types of compiling activities. His failure to copy the Passion section of the C.M. implies a sense of literary selectivity, perhaps even of disapproval, which is something that is entirely unprecedented elsewhere in his collections. Therefore, now that we have retrieved so much useful information about the practical methods by which Thornton grafted the C.M. extract onto his existing collection, we should look more generally at how Thornton's decision to omit the Passion section from his copy seems indicative of the uncertain literary reputation of this section of the C.M. in the later Middle Ages.

Throughout the history of the transmission of the C.M. the Passion section appears to have been a particularly dissatisfying section of the C.M. for some medieval scribes. Thornton omitted this section entirely from his copy, apparently preferring to direct his readers to the N.P..[42] In the exemplars which lay behind MSS C, G and Thornton, and in these MSS themselves, the Passion section was "updated" by the addition of the short Discourse; in C the Passion section was also patched and updated by two extracts from the S.P.. Finally in MS B the C.M. Passion narrative

was replaced by the ME Meditations. In the light of this catalogue of scribal interference then, Thornton's decision to omit the C.M. Passion section from his copy can be at least partly explained if we assume that Thornton had already read, and preferred, the much livelier and more attractive account of the Passion in his copy of the N.P.. However there is also some additional evidence to suggest that Thornton's drastic editorial "cut" to the C.M. may also have been influenced by the very noticeable metrical change which coincides with the beginning of the Passion section in other more complete versions of the poem.

The C.M.'s most remarkable metrical feature is the change from octosyllabic couplets to septenary quatrains when the narrative commences to deal with Christ's Passion. In MSS C, F and G the narrator signals this change to his audience in the narrative intrusion which introduces the Passion section. He explains:

> ·And resun es we vr rime rume,
> And set fra nu langer bastune·.   (G, 11.14922-3)

It is not difficult to find other examples of ME texts written in septenary long lines. Indeed the septenary line is a characteristic of much early vernacular verse production and the early clerical compilers obviously considered that the septenary couplet or quatrain was a particularly functional and uncluttered verse form for the practical and direct instruction of the laity. Thus such teaching texts as the Ormmulum, and of course the S.E.L., share with the Passion section of the C.M., not only a common didactic purpose, but also a common metrical form. Doubtless that form was originally derived from Latin and Anglo-Norman clerical sources. It is even possible that the use of the two very distinctive metrical forms in the C.M. may itself have been in imitation of the use of the same technique by earlier Anglo-Norman compilers.[43]

In Old English and Middle English Poetry, Derek Pearsall has charted the origins and decline of the ME septenary line in some detail. He describes how one of the disadvantages of using regular septenaries is the

deadening effect they have on any narrative. Consequently he describes

how a much looser long line developed; and, eventually, what had

originated as a prestigious metrical form had degenerated to the level

of doggerel. By Thornton's time therefore, texts written in septenary

long lines would, probably have been considered old-fashioned. This

loss of literary status for the metrical form in which the C.M.'s Passion

section is written must have had very serious implications for the

reception of the poem among its late medieval audience. A fashion-

conscious book producer, for example, seeking the best texts for his own,

or his customer's consumption, was hardly likely to prefer the C.M.'s

formal and old-fashioned account of the Passion if he had access to any

one of the large number of Passion narratives which had gone into

circulation in the fifteenth century. Similarly of course a pious book

compiler like Thornton, who may not have had access to quite so many

texts, may well have considered what had originally been a stylized

metrical feature of the C.M. to be an irreverent and totally inappropriate

metre, more suited to a ballad than to a Passion narrative. It may well

have been a strong sense of propriety, rather than a sense of the

fashionable, which lead Thornton to omit the C.M.'s account of the Passion

from his copy and to direct his readers to the N.P..

We have already mentioned briefly that one of the most striking

results of the C.M.'s change of metre was that this was seen by some

scribes as a signal to commence copying their text in single columns.

In MSS G, T, H and L we find that the Passion section is not only

metrically and stylistically different but is also visually isolated

from the main narrative. This isolation probably played its part in

persuading both Thornton and the B compiler to abandon their C.M. exemplar

at this point. However, it is only in the Thornton copy that a scribe

seems to have been so unsettled by the C.M. Passion section that he sub-

sequently failed to complete his copy of the C.M.. This feature too

seems to require some further detailed consideration.

Thornton's copy of the C.M. is the only surviving copy which ends at a point corresponding to 1.17270 in the Morris text. Because of this we might possibly argue that there was no longer any real need for Thornton to copy the remainder of the C.M.'s historical narrative, since he had already successfully conflated the C.M. extract with a different historical sequence which dealt in its own way with the repercussions of Christ's death. Thornton may simply have considered the task of copying the remaining lines of the C.M. as, at best, a duplication of interest, or, at worst, a waste of his time, especially if other items were waiting to be copied. Here however, our strong sense that Thornton was not a scribe who would have wanted, or could have afforded, to abandon exemplars in this manner forces us to consider another possible explanation. On this occasion Thornton may well have had no control over the decision to stop copying the C.M. from his exemplar.

In this context we should note that examination of certain physical and textual characteristics in MS G has already proved helpful in describing the way in which Thornton's exemplar was presented to him. Now further reference to G can provide us with potentially useful scraps of information about the way in which Thornton's C.M. exemplar would appear to have circulated in the fifteenth century.

Unlike Thornton's copy, the G copy contains one of the fullest versions of the C.M. to have survived. However, by far the most immediately striking visual feature of this copy is that, in comparison to most late fourteenth century vernacular MSS, G has been lavishly decorated with nearly ninety illuminated initials.[44] These initials have been added to the text in the indented spaces which the scribe originally left as he copied his text, but the actual decoration of these letter forms normally extends into the margins of the page as well to form a decorative border. Many of the initials are inhabited by animal or human

forms and sometimes the illuminations depict recognizable biblical scenes which serve to illustrate the events described in the C.M. narrative at these points. The colours used include reds, blues, golds, browns, purples and greens and the result is an attractive and colourfully decorated copy of the C.M..

This artistic treatment ends rather prematurely in G. The last of the illuminated initials appears on f.95v. Moreover, following f.99r, the practice of adding even small one line decorative initials to the texts suddenly ceases. This is despite the fact that the G scribe had originally continued to leave indented spaces in the MS for the later addition of these coloured letter forms. Many of these indented spaces remain unfilled, and any letter forms which have filled some of the remaining spaces have been added in a plain black ink. This naturally forms a dramatic contrast to the colourful decorative features added earlier in the MS.

Although this decorative inconsistency may well have been the result of the G artist's loss of his decorative exemplar at this point, other inconsistencies in G should also be noted. For example, G is the earliest extant copy of the C.M. where the long septenary lines of the Passion section have been copied in single columns. This radical alteration to the visual appearance of the text takes place on f.100v, where the scribe copied 11.14894-14933 in double columns, but then filled the remaining space with 11.14937-14968 copied as sixteen long lines and added in single columns. He then copied 11.14969-17110 on ff.101r-114v in single columns, but again he filled the remaining space on f.114v with 11.17111-17118 (the opening lines of the Discourse) in double columns (see fig. 3).[45] Consequently the G artist can be said to have abandoned his decorative task at precisely the same point in the narrative where Thornton first abandoned his task of copying the C.M..[46] Neither the G artist nor Thornton would appear to have continued working on the C.M.

once the Passion section of the poem had been completed.[47]

This curious coincidence may of course be more than just a simple coincidence and, intriguingly, the text in G yields up one final possible clue about the pre-history of the C.M. in both this MS and in the Thornton copy. It is noteworthy, but perhaps less immediately striking, that up until f.114v in G, red ink has also been used to write the headings which mark the major narrative subdivisions. On f.114v however, ll.17087-17110, which act as an extended narrative intrusion between the Passion section and the Discourse in G, are also copied in red ink. F.114v is the last page where red ink actually appears in G and ll.17087-17110 provide us with the only example in this entire volume where a narrative intrusion, as opposed to a heading, is actually rubricated in this way. Moreover, the visual prominence of this narrative intrusion is further emphasized by the fact that these lines are the last lines in G to be copied in single columns (see fig. 3).

In the light of this series of coincidences, it seems in some ways appropriate that the carefully rubricated text on f.114v reads more like an explicit than a simple narrative transition. The first part of this intrusion is extant in both MSS C and G. In these MSS ll.17087-17098 inform the reader that the story of Christ's Passion is now complete and offer up a pious prayer for God's grace. Ll.17099-17110 however, add a more personal note. They now appear in their entirety only in G. These lines turn from the general "concluding" prayer for grace in C and G to the more personal prayer-request of one John of Lindbergh. The appropriate lines read:

> And speciali for me ȝe pray
> þat þis bock gart dight,
> Iohn of lindbergh, i ȝu sai
> þat es mi name ful right.
> If it be tint or dune a-way,
> treuli mi trouth i plight,
> Qua bringes it me widvten delay,
> i sal him ȝeild þat night.
> And qua it helis and haldis fra me,

treuli i ʒu tell,
                    Curced in kirc þan sal þai be
                    wid candil, boke, and bell.   (G, 11.17099-17110)

Here John of Lindbergh identified himself as the man who caused this

book to be "arranged". but it is not clear whether he means by this that

he is the original compiler/author of the C.M. or whether like Thornton,

he is simply speaking as a book compiler.[48] However, the remainder of

the colophon then directs the reader's attention to John's actual

ownership of this book and, in this sense, it is fair to say that the

colophon reads exactly like the ex libris we should expect to find at

the beginning or end of a privately owned volume. This is surprising

since we certainly should not expect to find a concluding colophon at

this central point in the C.M. narrative, especially since, in G, the

text of the C.M. continues for a further fifty-five folios. Now, however,

reference to the similar colophon on f.32r in the London Thornton MS can

help us to offer some explanation for the peculiarities in the G colophon.

        We have already discussed how Thornton's colophon on f.32r replaces

the Passion section of the C.M. and appears just before the opening lines

of Thornton's copy of the Discourse. Indeed, now that we have examined

the G colophon, we can see how Thornton's prayer for God's grace and his

request that his readers pray for him now that part of his writing task

has been completed, are both sentiments which Thornton shared with the

original author of the G colophon, and of course with the C prayer. At

first sight, this similarity between the G colophon and the Thornton

colophon may be little more than just coincidence. Nevertheless the way

in which Thornton can be shown to have constructed his colophon by

borrowing words, phrases and ideas which he probably found in the narrative

intrusion which introduced the Passion section in his source (11.14913-

33) makes it attractive to assume that he also borrowed ideas and words

from another colophon which concluded that same Passion section in his

exemplar (11.17098-110). This colophon was probably similar to the

colophon which now concludes the Passion section in G.

Although 11.17098-110 now survive only in G, we have little
guarantee that this colophon was actually originally written by the G
rubricator. Indeed, our suspicions that the G rubricator merely copied
this colophon from his exemplar, and that Thornton's exemplar contained
a similar colophon, are strengthened when we consider the relative useful-
ness of each of these colophons in their present MS contexts.

In the London MS Thornton may have borrowed ideas and vocabulary
from his exemplar but he also added his own meaning to these borrowings
in order to create a colophon which actually makes sense when it is read
in the context of his larger miscellany. Thornton used the colophon to
direct his readers away from the C.M. unit and towards the originally
quite independent MS unit which began with the N.P.. The Thornton
colophon therefore acts as a useful type of transitional device which,
with some adaptation, was admirably fitted for Thornton's own practical
needs as a book compiler. However, the colophon also blends satisfactorily
into the narrative fabric of the C.M. itself, which as we have seen, is an
episodic narrative that is frequently marked by narrative intrusions.

The situation is entirely different in G. Despite the fact that
the colophon on f.114v occurs at an important transitional point in the
narrative, the intrusion in G does not aid the transition which is actually
taking place in the text, but instead parallels the abrupt halt to the
lavish decorative treatment in this copy of the C.M.. Strangely, but
similarly to our experience as readers of Thornton's copy, the reader of
G is given the distinct impression that he has come to the end of a
volume. However, unlike Thornton's readers, the readers of G are not
led on into a second "book" or "volume" by this colophon. Again unlike
the Thornton colophon, the G colophon does not appear anywhere near the
end of an identifiable MS unit, where its function as a concluding
personal statement by a book compiler might perhaps make more sense.[49]

Instead f.114 clearly belongs to the first half of the eleventh gathering in MS G and, following f.114v there are no obvious breaks in either ink or script which might suggest that G was perhaps even copied at two different sittings. Indeed the text of the _Discourse_ follows immediately on the same folio as the G colophon itself.

If we assume that there must be a rational explanation for the apparent inappropriateness of the G colophon in its present MS context, we must assume that it was in an exemplar which lay behind the G copy that the precise meaning of the colophon was clear. It was by the subsequent recopying of the colophon from this exemplar that the original and practical function of the colophon itself has been obscured. Intriguingly echoes of the same colophon appear in MS C and in the Thornton _C.M._ extract and these would suggest that C's exemplar, and possibly Thornton's exemplar, also contained a passage similar to John of Lindbergh's colophon in G. If we now link all these coincidences together then the appropriateness of Thornton's colophon, plus our general sense that the _C.M._ was an "open" text, suggests an attractive hypothesis.

The G colophon reads exactly like the work of a book compiler who, having come to the end of one volume, was anxious to establish his ownership of that volume before moving on to a second volume. John of Lindbergh's colophon in G therefore was possibly originally appended to the _C.M._ Passion narrative in G's exemplar simply because it was at this high point in the narrative that a first self-contained MS unit actually ended. Therefore the colophon which now appears in the middle of a quire in G, was probably originally intended to appear near the end of a quire in the exemplar which lay behind this copy.

If this speculative reconstruction of the physical make up of G's exemplar is accepted then various problems associated with the surviving copies of the _C.M._ can be resolved fairly easily. In the first place, although the colophon naming John as the owner of the book of the _C.M._

now survives in its entirety only in G, it is likely that this or some similar personal reference, was dropped in other revised copies of the text, simply because most scribes felt it was inappropriate and impractical to interrupt their copying of the C.M. with what seemed to them to be an irrelevant ex libris. Indeed it is now only in MSS G and C that any form of concluding statement by the narrator marks the end of the C.M. Passion section. In C, as in G, this awkward intrusion reads more like a concluding prayer than a helpful narrative transition. Another intriguing point of comparison between C and G is that it is only in these MSS that the self-contained Discourse appears as an interpolated addition to the main narrative account of Christ's Passion. Again reference to the probable physical make up of the original exemplar behind these copies would now suggest a likely explanation for this act of textual conflation.

The idea of ending a volume of the C.M. at the traditional high point in any medieval narrative based on Scriptural history may have had an irresistible appeal to the writer of the original colophon. Consequently he probably arranged his book so that his account of Christ's Passion, and his personal ex libris, filled most of the remaining space in the final gathering in this first volume. However, it is easy to see how the urge to update the Passion section of the C.M., which we have already seen demonstrated in other copies of the poem, might well have led the same man (or someone else) back to this final quire at a later date with a copy of the Discourse. Despite the fact that this was an independent ME poem in its own right, it was probably considered highly appropriate material with which to fill up any blank space remaining in this final gathering. It is attractive to assume therefore, that this short ME text owes its present context in the C.M. to the practical compiling methods of the scribe who copied G's exemplar. This man was possibly, although not certainly, John of Lindbergh himself. Later scribes, including the G scribe, who used this early volume, or copies of it, as

an exemplar, treated the _Discourse_ text as an integral part of the _C.M._.
It is for this reason that it now survives in both C and G, and of course
in the Thornton copy.

It is remarkable how closely our hypothetical reconstruction of
this early scribe's activities as a book compiler match the later book
compiling methods of Robert Thornton. We have seen how, when Thornton
had decided to omit the Passion section from his copy of the _C.M._, he
also added the _Discourse_ to his collection as a "filler" item. This was
in an attempt to make good practical use of the remaining blank space in
his _C.M._ MS unit. Moreover, Thornton probably found this "filler" item
by turning over the pages copied in single columns in his _C.M._ exemplar
until he found a place where the text recommenced in double columns.
Having found the _Discourse_ in this way, and having copied it, Thornton
then appears to have abandoned the _C.M._ completely. Now however, our
tentative reconstruction of the nature of G's exemplar suggests a very
simple explanation for Thornton's failure to complete his copy of the
_C.M._. Thornton's exemplar would appear to have been a copy of the first
volume of a two volume _C.M._ exemplar. A similar exemplar probably also
lies behind C and G.[50]

The colophon in G makes it quite apparent that its author expected
a variety of readers to borrow his book, and also of course to return it.
Equally, however, the obvious availability of this book for other readers
would suggest that this particular copy of the _C.M._ may have not only
circulated among readers, but may also have been available as an exemplar
from which other copies of this lengthy teaching text could be taken. If,
as seems inevitable, this "book of the _C.M._" originally contained the
continuation of the _C.M._ narrative from the Passion to the Day of
Judgement, then it seems equally likely that this particular _C.M._
exemplar circulated in at least two volumes. Each volume probably had
its own _ex libris_, and presumably they could have circulated independently

of each other. Thornton would appear to have used only the first of these volumes, and, as we have seen, this probably ended with the _Discourse_ added as a 'filler' text. However, Thornton's "editorial" decision _not_ to copy the text of the _C.M._ dealing with events after the Crucifixion was perhaps not actually his decision at all. It might well have been the result of a situation forced on him because the second volume of his _C.M._ exemplar was wanted elsewhere or had got lost, or was otherwise unavailable to him.[51]

The general examination of the decorative features in Thornton's items in the next chapter will reveal other interesting details about the transmission and reputation of the _C.M._ in the later Middle Ages. However, our study of the textual transmission of the _C.M._ in this chapter leaves us with a useful and new impression of this lengthy verse compilation. Originally the vernacular poem we now call the _C.M._ was arranged into a bi-partite structure by one or possibly more clerical compiler-translators. The text was derived from a variety of sources which were available in Latin, French and the vernacular. The relationship here between the _C.M._ and its original sources is one which obviously requires further careful research; however, in the fourteenth century, the text was expanded by the addition of texts which appear to have been originally independent and self-contained vernacular poems in their own right. By the early fifteenth century this already complex network of textual inter-relationships was complicated by the fact that, in the Southern copies, the _C.M._ had contracted to the scope of a historical narrative without any of the Marian items which had earlier been appended to it. Moreover Robert Thornton, and other scribes, compilers and book producers who were able to obtain copies of the _C.M._, continued adding this text to their own miscellanies throughout the fifteenth century. In these late copies, there remained a tendency to alter, excerpt and

patch this verse compilation in a manner which was limited more by the availability of other more suitable material than by any sense of the C.M. as an integral poem. Nevertheless, although Thornton's "editorial" response to the task of copying the C.M. as the opening item in the London MS is not quite as drastic as it might at first appear, his reactions (as far as they can be ascertained) are entirely characteristic of the general medieval critical response to this venerable, lengthy, but, by the fifteenth century, slightly old-fashioned ME verse compilation.

1.   Since the nineteenth century the C.M. has attracted considerable
critical attention. For an excellent and up to date bibliography, see
Sarah M. Horrall, ed., The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi, 1 (1978).
In this volume which contains an edition of the first 9928 lines of the
C.M., Horrall provides a comprehensive line by line account of the poem's
place in medieval exegetical tradition. Her footnotes confirm the C.M.'s
indebtedness to an impressive range of sources. These include a general
reliance on such important and widely known clerical authorities as the
Vulgate, the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor, the OF Bible of
Herman de Valenciennes, the Eluciadarium, and De Imagine Mundi of
Honorius of Autun. On occasions the C.M. also borrows directly or
indirectly from many other sources, including Wace's Fête de la Conception
Notre Dame; Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour; the pseudo-Matthew gospel and
the gospel of Nicodemus. Therefore, Horrall's characterization of the
poem as a "well-proportioned compilation of pre-existing material trans-
lated into serviceable Middle English verse" seems entirely apt.

2.   Index 2153 lists ten C.M. MSS. However, the reference to MS McGill
Univ. 142 should be deleted because the McGill fragment actually contains
part of the Southern Assumption. See Michael G. Sargent, "The McGill
University Fragment of the Southern Assumption," in Medieval Studies, 36
(1974), pp.186-98. The dates given for the eight MSS listed here are of
course approximate and correspond to those given in existing descriptions
of the MSS. For full references, see further Horrall, The Southern
Version, pp.13-21.

3.   The close textual relationship of the fragmentary F copy and the
Thornton copy, first noted in the British Museum's Catalogue of Additions,
p.148, is clearly shown by the presence in both these copies of several
lines of the C.M. which are not found in other surviving MSS. These
lines correspond to F, 11.11907-8; 11993-4, 12485-6, in the EETS edition
of the poem. Textual collation also shows however that neither copy can
have been derived directly from the other. Many readings in MS F often
differ from Thornton but correspond to readings in MSS C, G, H, T, L and
B (see, for example, F,.11.12800-5; 14279-89) and, conversely, Thornton's
readings sometimes agree with MSS C, G, H, T, L and B against F (compare,
for example, F, 11.11791-2; 13069-70). Throughout this chapter all line
references are to The Cursor Mundi, ed. Richard Morris, EETS, O.S., 57,
59, 62, 66, 68, 99 and 101 (1874-93). Professor Horrall is currently
preparing a revised stemma for the C.M. MSS based on her textual collation
of all the surviving MSS and I am grateful to her for a copy of her
unpublished notes on the textual affinities of the Thornton fragment. In
general, Horrall's work confirms the close, but not direct relationship
between F and Thornton and also supports my assumption that the Southern
copies are all derived from a Northern exemplar best represented among
surviving copies by MS G.

4.   Much additional work needs to be done on the dialects of the
surviving C.M. MSS before we can speak with any certainty about the
"original" dialect of this verse compilation. Indeed as the following
discussion of the poem will show, ideas of an "original" dialect or of an
"original poem" do themselves need some considerable rethinking. However,
for a general discussion of this problem now in need of revision, see
H. Hupé's "Cursor Studies and Criticism on the Dialects of its MSS," in
Morris, EETS, O.S., 101, pp.105-252. . For more specific criticism of the
dialects of MSS G and T, see further the helpful comments by Angus
McIntosh in his "Scribal profiles from Middle English texts," N.M., 76

(1975), p.230, n.1; his "A new approach to Middle English dialectology,", English Studies, 44 (1963), pp.6-7; and his work with M.G. Dareau in, "A dialect word in some West Midland manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience," Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, ed. A.J. Aitken et al (1972), p.26, n.5. Hopefully this work will be extended in the near future.

5.   For further comments on the very fragmentary E copy, see Appendix 3 and also my brief discussion of C.M. MSS prepared for illustration in the next chapter. In the original EETS edition the Morris text is accompanied by H. Hupé's essay on the dialects and, by H.C.W. Haenische's, "Inquiry into the sources of the C.M.." Haenische's work remains of considerable interest, however for reasons unknown to me, subsequent reprintings of the EETS volume dropped his contribution. His essay was not re-instated in the modern reprint (1961-66).

6.   See note 1 above. The remainder of Horrall's edition will appear in two further volumes which are, as yet, unpublished. In a private communication received after this was written, Professor Horrall has indicated to me that she intends to add an edition of Thornton's text as an Appendix in a later volume.

7.   See further my description of the structure of the C.M. in its surviving MS copies in Appendix 3. As far as possible the narrative subdivisions described in this appendix are based on actual subdivisions in the MSS themselves; however my necessarily complex description of the structure of the C.M. is also indebted to previous discussions by Morris, EETS, 57, pp.viii-ix; Horrall, pp.24-5 and the diagram on an unnumbered page before p.1 in Ernest G. Mardon's short study, The Narrative Unity of the Cursor Mundi (1970).

8.   The division of history into seven ages was, of course, biblical in origin (see Genesis 5:1; Matthew 1:1-17). St Augustine (City of God, xxii) was among the first to expound the theory that history can be made to reflect the same pattern as the six days of creation and the final day of rest. For a general discussion of medieval concepts of history and their relationship to the general structure of the C.M., see the short study by Ernest G. Mardon referred to in the previous note.

9.   Thornton's copy is an interesting example of how, at different stages in its history, the C.M. seems to have been prone to various attempts to further subdivide the poem into smaller narrative units. Thus, in the Thornton copy, the surviving text has been broken up by nineteen separate headings, all of which occur at obvious narrative breaks in this episodic narrative. Only four of the Thornton headings can actually be matched with similar narrative headings in other MS copies and, on two occasions, the headings are matched only by similar headings in F (before 11.12079 and 12659). However, the text of the C.M. in F and G is also accompanied by two different but equally detailed tables of contents. These also indicate certain subdivisions in the C.M. narrative. Of the nineteen subdivisions made by Thornton's headings, twelve similar subdivisions appear in the F table of contents and ten similar subdivisions appear in the table in G. Of the twenty Thornton headings only the four on ff.21v, 23v, 24v and 28r are entirely unprecedented in surviving copies of the text. It seems best to assume therefore that the Thornton headings were in fact something which Thornton probably inherited from his exemplar. For a more detailed discussion of the present context of the tables of contents in F and G see below, n.28. See also the discussion of Thornton's presentation of the C.M. as a text meant for illustration in the next chapter.

10.   Of course, we can quite conveniently classify many of these items as elementary teaching texts. For example, reference to Index 788 shows that the "exposition of the Pater Noster" occurs quite independently of the C.M. in British Library MS Cotton Galba E. 9 , where it accompanies a copy of the Pater Noster normally found in the Lay Folk's Mass Book. It is preceded in this MS by the C.M.'s "Book of Penance" (Index 694) which also appears independently of the C.M. in a slightly different version in one other MS (MS Bodley 14667). Supplement 557.3 lists MS Sion Coll. Arc. L.40.2/E.25 as another variant copy of this treatise. Of course, several different ME versions and extracts of Cato's Distichs also circulated independently of the C.M. in the later Middle Ages (see Index and Supplement 854, 726, 3955, 1539, 169, 820, 247, 3957). The C.M. version in six-line stanzas (Index 169) can also be found independently of the C.M. in MS Bodley 29003. It is likely therefore that, at various stages in its transmission, the C.M. grew by the accretion of other originally quite self-contained ME teaching texts.

11.   For discussion of the importance of this narrative intrusion, see further n.50.

12.   My use of the term "open text" to describe the C.M. has obviously been influenced by M. Görlach's use of the same term in, The Textual Tradition of the S.E.L. (1974). In his discussion of the complex textual transmission of the S.E.L., Görlach demonstrates at length how different versions of this lengthy verse compilation expanded in size to absorb many previously independent ME items by an incremental process of textual accretion. Subsequently, because it was an "open text," later compilers and scribes felt free to, not only add extra items to the collection, but also to extract items from the collection for use elsewhere. For a detailed discussion of direct points of contact between the C.M. and the S.E.L., see my discussion below. See also the discussion of other unstable ME religious texts in Thornton's collection in chapter I above.

13.   For an excellent discussion of the Southern Assumption as a poem antecedent to the C.M., see M.G. Sargent's article on the McGill fragment referred to in n.2 above. Interestingly, one MS of the S.E.L. has also absorbed a reworked version of The Assumption in septenary long lines (Index 1092) into the Temporale narrative sequence in the S.E.L.. This version, and the Southern couplet version now found in the C.M., are both derived from a single ME poem on the Assumption (Index 2165). For the S.E.L. item, see further O.S. Pickering, "The temporale narratives of the S.E.L.," Anglia, 91 (1973), pp.449-50.

14.   As early as 1853, Hupé recognized that the Southern copies of the C.M. were closely related to each other and derived from a Northern source best represented by G. This general conclusion has been confirmed by Horrall. (See n.3 above). Therefore, the only point which is at issue here is whether T, in the EETS edition, or H, in Horrall's edition, present the most representative early Southern text. However, since there are only minor textual differences between T and H, and since these offer little evidence upon which to settle this issue, I have preferred the edition of T which appears alongside G in the EETS edition. In the remainder of this chapter therefore, I have used T as a representative Southern copy of the C.M.. I have also preferred G as the nearest extant Northern equivalent.

15.   For example, Derek Pearsall has drawn a comparison between the way the Southern C.M. MSS omitted ll.237-42 and similar changes made by Trevisa when he translated Higden's comment on the use of French in schools. See Pearsall's Old English and Middle English Poetry (1977), p.107.

16.   In this context it is interesting that, in the tables of contents which both G and F append to their copies of the C.M., the texts describe not only the contents already indicated in the C.M. prologue, but also the various expository items which were themselves appended to these early Northern copies. Reference to the table of contents in G shows clearly that this fragmentary copy which now ends with the prologue to the "Book of Penance," would have originally contained a copy of a text, "Of þe þurgatori Of saint patrick." The Index lists three versions of the life of St Patrick with his Purgatory (Index 3037, 3038, 3039) and it is worth noting that one of these versions (Index 3037) was in fact absorbed into many MSS of the S.E.L..

17.   At this point Thornton's copy is also different from the Southern copies.

18.   For a full account of existing studies of this MS, see The Southern Version, p.18, n.27. Carleton Brown's article appears in "The Cursor Mundi and the 'Southern Passion,'" M.L.N. 26 (1911), pp.15-18. The interpolations themselves had previously been noted by Hupe in his study of the C.M. MSS known to him. See his "Cursor Studies," pp.124*-125*. See also Horstmann's brief identification of C's second interpolation in his Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge (1881), p.lxvii.

19.   See B.D. Brown's comments in The Southern Passion, EETS, O.S., 169 (1927), p.xiv, n.18. The 3 MSS most closely related to the C interpolations are Magdalene College Cambridge MS Pepys 2344 (Brown's P, which she uses as her base text); King's College Cambridge MS 13 (Brown's K) and MS Bodley Additional C.38 (her A). These 3 MSS form a single group in Brown's discussion of the surviving copies of the poem.

20.   For example, Carleton Brown indicates in his transcription (at a point corresponding to 11.10-11 of the first C interpolation in the Morris edition) that the copy of the S.P. in the Harley MS contained 20 lines which have no equivalent in C. However, these 20 lines also fail to appear in MS P at this point. So it is unlikely that the C interpolator was himself responsible for this omission in his copy (cf. 1.1518-19 of the EETS edition). Conversely, however, at a point corresponding to 11.36-7 of the first interpolation in C, Brown also notes that a further 20 lines in the Harley MS also have no equivalent in C. Since these lines are not omitted in any of the other surviving copies, then it is possible that, this time, the C interpolator was responsible for the abridgement (the omitted lines correspond to 11.1640-1663 in the EETS edition of the S.P.). Elsewhere, textual collation of the C interpolations with the EETS edition of the S.P. confirms Brown's original point that the C interpolator, "treated his original with freedom, relieving much of its prolixity by varying or omitting at his pleasure."

21.   For further discussion of these abridged copies of the S.P., see B.D. Brown's discussion of the textual relationship between the MSS, pp.xxiv-xxx. A detailed textual analysis of the late copy of the S.P. in Cambridge University MS Ff.5.48 (F), which Brown discarded, might well enable this brief discussion to be extended even further. We might also note here that an Index entry erroneously states that another copy of the Resurrection narrative found in C and derived from the S.P. also appears in Cambridge University MS Dd.1.1 (Index 2685). The two texts are in fact quite distinct and the mistake in the Index seems due to the fact that both texts have practically identical opening lines. See further O.S. Pickering's, "An Unpublished Middle English Resurrection Poem," N.M., 74 (1973), pp.269-82.

22.   See my references to the work by Görlach and Pickering above (ns 12

and 14). Görlach briefly mentions the C interpolations on p.128 of his study.

23.   Strangely this is a very striking feature of the MS which has not previously been noted.

24.   Pearsall's discussion of the S.P. appears in his OE and ME Poetry, pp.105-6.

25.   See further B.D. Brown's comments on the Meditationes as a source for the S.P. in her edition (pp.lxxviii-xcii). Brown concludes that the S.P. preserves, "the fundamental character of the Meditationes Vitae Christi — that of a conscious interpreter of the ideal of sympathetic meditation." For an excellent general discussion of the dramatic, realistic and exclamatory style in late medieval meditative texts, see Pamela Gradon's Form and Style in Early English Literature (1971), especially pp.300-13. Elsewhere Elizabeth Salter has discussed in detail the enormous influences the Meditationes had on many of these late medieval Passion narratives. See for example, her comments in, Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ", Analecta Cartusiana, No.10 (1974), especially chapter III. See also her, "The Manuscripts of Nicholas Loves's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ and related texts," in Middle English Prose: Essays on Bibliographical Problems, ed. A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall (1981), pp.115-27.

26.   On f.95v in C the fourteenth century scribe has indicated to his readers the beginning of the new narrative section derived from the Evangelium Nicodemi by inserting the curious marginal heading, "De resurreccione" following 1.17288. However, a similar heading does not appear at a corresponding place in any other surviving C.M. MS and it is obvious that this was because the actual text of the C.M. does not deal with Christ's Resurrection until 1.17365. Instead, following 1.17288 in MSS F and T, a heading appropriately indicates that the text will now deal "Off Ioseph off aramathy" (F) thus replacing (in these MSS) the information conveyed by the narrative intrusion in 11.17271-88 in MSS C and G. It is easy to see how the C interpolator's attention was probably originally caught by the heading in C. However, any quite natural expectations that he might have had that the narrative at this point should actually deal with the Resurrection would have been disappointed. He may even have assumed that there was an important textual omission in his copy, simply because the rubrication in C did not fit the text it described. Since the interpolator obviously had access to another Passion narrative he may have felt that it was his duty to emend this "deficient" copy by inserting the material which would make good the deficiency. Having done this he seized the same opportunity and used the same exemplar to improve upon the C.M.'s existing narrative account of Christ's agony on the cross.

27.   Little is known about the original provenance of MS L. However, in Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, N.R. Ker suggests that, some time after the book was originally copied, it was at the Brigittine house at Syon. His suggestion is supported by the appearance of the name "Syster Anne Colvylle" on a flyleaf in the book. It is easy to see how Sister Anne would have been edified and possibly even entertained by the C.M. and by most of the other items in this MS collection, but one can only wonder what the Brigittine sister made of the Vegetius item. It may well be that the MS had a more varied history than the remaining historical evidence now suggests. For a general discussion of the sources and background to the other main items in L, and for other brief notices of MS L, see further: C. D'Evelyn, ed., Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son (1935);

A. Erdmann and E. Ekwall, eds, <u>Lydgate's Siege of Thebes</u>, EETS, E.S., 108, 125 (1911, 1930); and R. Steele, ed., <u>Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres</u>, EETS, E.S., 66 (1894).

28.   Thus, for example, unlike Thornton's MSS, there is little sense in L that Newton frequently returned to his completed gatherings either to squeeze in extra filler items or else to rearrange or expand the original gatherings so that his collection could itself be increased. Furthermore, in direct contrast to the variations we have noted in the size of Thornton's gatherings (the largest being quire Q in the Lincoln MS which was originally composed of 19 bifolia), Newton's standard gatherings of six or eight bifolia seem carefully pre-planned.

29.   My own examination of MSS L, F and G has confirmed Morris' description of these tables of contents. See his introduction to the EETS edition of the <u>C.M.</u>, 57, pp.1a-6. The fact that all three tables of contents in these MSS sub-divide the <u>C.M.</u> narrative slightly differently can be explained by the fact that all three tables seem to be based on independent attempts, at three different stages in the textual transmission of the <u>C.M.</u>, to catalogue this verse compilation. For the importance of these tables of contents in explaining some of the peculiarities of Thornton's rubricated copy of the <u>C.M.</u>, see n.9 above. See also the discussion of Thornton's headings in chapter IV below.

30.   For examples of variation in the handwriting of individual medieval scribes, see M.B. Parkes, <u>English Cursive Book Hands</u> (1969), esp. plates 21-24 and commentary. For an account of a single scribe who regularly used more than one script, see A.I. Doyle's "The work of a late fifteenth century English scribe, William Evesham," in <u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>, 39 (1957), pp.298-325. Both scholars make many useful additional comments in their recent collaborative work on Chaucer and Gower MSS. See their chapter, "The production of copies of the <u>Canterbury Tales</u> and the <u>Confessio Amantis</u> in the early fifteenth century" in <u>Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries</u>, ed. M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (1978), pp.163-210. For variations in Thornton's hand, and for comments on Thornton's occasional use of different styles of script, see the Introduction above.

31.   The collation and description of B offered here is based primarily upon my own examination of the MS in its present binding. However, see also Horrall, pp.16-17. Throughout my description of the scripts I have followed the description given by Gisela Guddat-Figge in her <u>Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Middle English Romances</u> (1976), p.166.

32.   In this context see the hypothetical reconstruction by Laura Hibbard Loomis of the collaborative activities and the organized atmosphere of a professional London book-shop in, "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Book-shop of 1330 - 1340," <u>PMLA</u>, 57 (1942), pp.595-627. The need to hypothesize the physical existence of such shops (but not the need to assume the actual collaborative processes which Loomis described) have recently been questioned by Doyle and Parkes in their collaborative work on Chaucer and Gower MSS (see n.30 above).

33.   For some indication of the range of extant MSS containing the <u>P.C.</u>, see the discussion in chapter I above. Our knowledge of the complex history of the <u>P.C.</u> is far from complete and I have made no attempt to identify any individual textual peculiarities in the B extract. Throughout the following discussion, therefore, I rely on the "standard" 1863 edition of this verse compilation for both text and line references. See

The Prick of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (1863). For preliminary
discussions of some of the complex textual problems associated with this
ME didactic text, see Angus McIntosh's, "Two Unnoticed Interpolations in
Four Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience," in N.M., 77 (1976), pp.63-78
and Derek Britton's, "Unnoticed Fragments of the Prick of Conscience,"
N.M., 80 (1979), pp.327-334. McIntosh's article (p.63) gives some in-
dication of the present growing scholarly interest in this text. Note
also Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh's recent Descriptive Guide to
the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience (1982). (A brief description
of MS B can be found on pp.154-5).

34.   All references are to F.N. Robinson's edition of the poem in The
Complete Works of Chaucer, pp.524-26 (text); p.855 (explanatory notes);
p.915 (textual notes). My discussion of the ABC's context in the
Pilgrimage of the Life of Man is based on the edition by F.J. Furnwall,
introduced by K.B. Lobock in EETS, E.S., 77, 83, 92 (1899-1904).

35.   All references here are to J.M. Cowper, ed., The Meditations on the
Supper of Our Lord and the Hours of the Passion, EETS, O.S., 60 (1875).

36.   The "literary taste" shown here by the B compiler's choice of Passion
narrative should of course be compared directly to the "literary dis-
crimination" of the C interpolator which we discussed at length earlier in
this chapter. However, whereas in C we can only assume that the inter-
polator had access to the S.E.L., it is worth noting that the compilers of
the first MS unit in MS B not only had access to items from the S.E.L.
which they copied in unit 3, but also seem to have had access to the P.C.,
the Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, and also perhaps Handlyng Synne. It
would be fascinating to know if copies of these longer poems still survive
which could be shown to have been copied by the same hands as we find in
MS B. The network of textual relationships suggested by the items in
MS B is certainly worth closer consideration.

37.   I am indebted to Professor Takamiya of Keio University for so
considerately and promptly providing me with information about his MS
(olim Sotheby's, 10th December, 1969, lot 43). In a private communication
Professor Takamiya has indicated to me that his MS and the Hopton Hall MS
(which I had previously assumed were identical) are in fact two entirely
different MSS. The whereabouts of the Hopton Hall MS is now unknown;
however, see the description of the MS in H.M.C., 9th Report, part ii,
Appendix, p.384.

38.   For an excellent discussion of the deictic mode of certain ME Passion
lyrics like the Discourse, see further Rosemary Woolf, The English
Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (1968), especially pp.184-238. Later
in the chapter I suggest the very practical manner in which the Discourse
may have been appended to the C.M. narrative by an early compiler.

39.   Strangely, this important point has been ignored by scholars who,
since Frances Foster, have argued that Thornton's opening items in the
London MS form a logical and continuous narrative sequence. See the
comments by Foster in her introduction to the N.P., EETS, O.S., 147,
pp.12-13. For the remaining volumes of Foster's edition, see EETS, O.S.,
145, 147, 183 (1912-13, 1930).

40.   The quotation is taken from, Elsie V. Hitchcock, ed., The Donet by
Reginald Pecock, EETS, O.S., 156 (1921), p.10. My quotation from Lydgate's
Fall of Princes, EETS, E.S., 121 (1918). For further more detailed dis-
cussion of perjorative and other meanings of the terms "fantasye" and

"ymaginacioun" in Chaucer's poetry, see J.D. Burnley, <u>Chaucer's Language and the Philosopher's Tradition</u> (1979), especially pp.111ff., 183-4.

41.   See A.E.B. Owen's comments in "The Collation and Handwriting" section of the Scolar Thornton MS Facsimile, p.ix. For the "booklet" see P.R. Robinson's, "The 'Booklet': A Self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," <u>Codicologica</u>, 3 (1980), pp.46-69.

42.   Thornton was not alone in choosing the lively and colourful <u>N.P.</u> as the main Passion narrative in his verse collection. Intriguingly, Foster has described how the poem is also preserved in two MSS of the <u>Northern Homily Cycle</u>. In addition, selected material from the <u>N.P.</u> was also used to help expand this cycle at a later date. See further Foster's comments in EETS, O.S., 147, pp.1-18. The <u>N.P.</u> itself was of course also subject to considerable revision and adaptation.

43.   For an example of the use of a mixed metrical form in an Anglo-Norman text, see M.D. Legge, <u>Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background</u> (1963), pp.77ff.. Elsewhere throughout my discussion, my information is derived directly from Derek Pearsall's account of the history of the septenary long line in his <u>Old English and Middle English Literature</u>. In particular, Pearsall notes (p.144) that the <u>Tale of Gamelyn</u>, originally written in septenary alexandrine couplets, seems to have been discarded as "unfashionable" by most fifteenth century readers of ME romances. Its present survival is due solely to its interpolation as the <u>Cook's Tale</u> in a number of Chaucer MSS.

44.   My discussion here is based upon my own examination of MS G in August, 1982. Thanks are due to Dr Haenel and the staff of the Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen for making the MS available to me. Following this visit Professor Horrall very kindly supplied me with a copy of a short paper entitled, "An Illuminated Middle English Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century" (delivered at a conference in St Louis in 1981). In this paper, Horrall describes for the first time the decorative features which appear in G. However, the physical and textual evidence I use in the following discussion is quite different from that used by Horrall. Furthermore, my own conclusions about G bear no resemblance to her account of John of Lindbergh's commissioning and ownership of G, which she has indicated is now open to some revision. For a brief account of John of Lindbergh as "author" of the <u>C.M.</u>, see further Hupe's comments in EETS, O.S., 101, pp.187*-189*. Strangely, Hupe, in his efforts to disprove the theory that John commissioned and owned G, writes that, "the Göttingen MS shows no ornaments at all" (p.188*). This is a particularly curious mistake since, in the preface to this volume, Morris describes how MS G was actually deposited in the British Museum, "until it had been copied and compared with the proofs and revises" (p.xxi). Professor Horrall is currently re-examining the historical evidence which suggests the identity of John of Lindbergh: she follows Hupe's original suggestion that John was from Lincolnshire. For the possible relevance of the suspected Lincoln-shire provenance of John's Book to Thornton's fragmentary extract, see the discussion below and also n.49.

45.   There is some evidence to suggest that the G scribe was originally quite unprepared for this change of format (which he probably found in his exemplar). Thus one of the minor features in G is that each page was carefully ruled in advance of the task of transcribing the text in double columns. Interestingly, ff.100v-114v have also been ruled for double columns, although they were of course eventually filled with material written in single columns. Consequently, despite the fact that the G scribe merely seems to have inherited the actual change in visual format

from his exemplar, we can also say that his decision to copy the Passion section of the C.M. in single columns was not automatic, but rather involved him in making the "editorial" decision to discard the frame rulings that had previously been drawn and which he otherwise uses so consistently and carefully.

46.   We can not of course be sure that the G artist also completed the rubrication of MS G. However, despite this uncertainty about the artist's role in G, there are a variety of different ways in which an artist, as well as a scribe, could have been easily unsettled by the Passion section in G. For example, if the artist had originally been commissioned to decorate "The Cursor Mundi" without having any knowledge about the actual scope of the poem, then he would probably have felt quite justified in stopping his decorative work on f.99r where a "second" item begins, this time copied in single columns. The artist might well have assumed that his original task was completed and consequently he abandoned the MS. Alternatively, it is possible that the G artist abandoned his decorative task at the same point in which the illustrations in his exemplar also stopped. If this was the case, however, then it is clear that the G artist was using a different exemplar from the one originally used by the G scribe. This hypothetical situation seems more feasible perhaps since Angus McIntosh has already established that two dialectally different C.M. exemplars also lie behind the single exemplar which the G scribe used. McIntosh has even been able to trace the changeover from one exemplar to the other to a point corresponding to 11.10995-10997 on f.75r in G. Because of this precise detail we can hardly share Horrall's view that this change in written exemplar has anything to do with the sudden halt in the decoration of G. See, however, McIntosh's discussion in "Scribal Profiles from M.E. Texts," p.230, N.I.. I am exceptionally grateful to Professor McIntosh for confirming this information for me and also for patiently explaining in some detail the implications of his findings. For further discussion of the likelihood that various illustrated C.M. exemplars were circulating in the Middle Ages, see chapter IV below.

47.   An early reader of MS G also appears to have been unsettled by the Passion section. In the MS a lengthy and previously unnoticed marginal note appears on f.103r. The note itself appears to have been written in a much later hand and a considerable part of it is made up of meaningless scribbles. However, in the opening lines the anonymous, and obviously confused, writer complains: "Iohn how shuld I tryst yow?" He accuses John of being, "of þe newe lernyng." The note continues to complain confusedly about not understanding John's meaning, saying that, "it is not as þai do say," but it is not clear to whom "they" refers. The remainder of the note, where it does make sense, consists of confused but pious ejaculations about the writer's "ending:" "My endyng is when that god wyll send it/yf it be good no man can mendit." Intriguingly, the writer of this marginalia seems to be referring here to John of Lindbergh, whose name appears on f.114v in G. This pious reader obviously associated John in some way with the compilation of the Passion section of the C.M. in this MS (ff.100v-114v) and possibly much of the confusion of his note is the result of his equally confused response to the C.M. at this point.

48.   Taken in isolation John's name itself can mean little and should hardly be used as solid evidence about either the "original author" of the C.M. (Hupe) or about the "original owner" of MS G (Horrall).

49.   This point is confirmed by the following collation of G, which is based on the evidence of catchwords and my examination of the MS in its present binding. (Cf. Horrall, The Southern Version, pp.19-20). My

collation reads: a-f^{12} (ff.1-72); g^2 (ff.73-74); h-o^{12} (ff.75-158); p^{12} (ff.159-169); wants xi-xii). Catchwords and examination of the MS confirm that ff.73-74 form a single bifolium, but, as far as I can tell from close inspection of the MS, there seems no logical reason why the G scribe should have copied ll.10589-10962 into a bifolium instead of into one of his regularly sized gatherings.

50. The limited historical evidence presently available certainly does not contradict the hypothesis that Thornton may even have had direct access to the volume owned by John. In her unpublished notes Professor Horrall suggests (for her own entirely different purposes) that Lindbergh can be identified as a village in Northern Lincolnshire about thirty five miles N.E. of Lincoln. By the late fourteenth century the manor and church in the village were sold to the Carthusian priory of St Anne in Coventry. The Carthusians of course, appear to have had a major interest in the transmission of certain ME items, especially items like the Rolle and Hilton texts which Thornton also copied in the Lincoln MS (see chapter I for a detailed discussion). Moreover, it is to an area just south of Lincoln that Angus McIntosh has traced at least one other Thornton exemplar containing the alliterative Morte, and also probably the Previty of the Passion. Presumably, if the first volume of John's book had remained in the Lincolnshire area until Thornton's lifetime, then Thornton could perhaps have had access to this volume through his own Lincolnshire connections. Alternatively, of course, Thornton's copy could itself be a copy of a copy of John's book, far removed from John's original in terms of provenance and dialect. Despite this intriguing, but speculative, complex of historical and textual possibilities, close linguistic analysis of the dialect layers in MSS C, G and in the Thornton extract might well provide further useful details about the suspected network of textual interrelationships between these C.M. copies. For McIntosh's work on the dialects of C.M. MSS, see n.4 above.

51. We can not rule out the possibility that other C.M. exemplars also circulated in several volumes. For example, the Northern exemplar(s) which lay behind the Southern copies of the C.M. (now best represented by G) might also have circulated in two or more separate MS units or "volumes." One of these C.M. volumes could easily have ended near the point corresponding to ll.23905-8, where the narrator promises to continue his appended texts in praise of Mary, "ellis quare/Quen i am comen to better space" (ll.23906-7). All the Southern copies replace the text following l.23881 with a colophon concluding the C.M. and this may have appeared in a Northern source. A final volume, containing the appended Marian material, and possibly other expository material, could easily have been lost, or stolen, or misplaced long before the Southern scribe-editors translated the C.M. into their own dialect. For discussion of other ME teaching items which also circulated in various disarranged and fragmentary forms in the later Middle Ages, see the discussion of the items in Thornton's "religious" unit in chapter I above.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOOK PRODUCER AS DECORATOR: THORNTON AND

THE DECORATIVE FEATURES IN HIS MANUSCRIPTS

The previous chapters in this study have established in some detail the gradual, and at times haphazard ways in which Thornton assembled and copied the items for both his MSS. Throughout this discussion of Thornton's scribal activities we have frequently used the scraps of evidence provided by the marked inconsistencies in the present visual appearance of Thornton's items to help in our reconstruction of Thornton's book compiling activities. Additionally, we have used the presentation of Thornton's items elsewhere, in other related MSS, to help us to establish the importance of the visual appearance of a medieval text in directing the individual medieval scribe's response to the task of copying that item for other readers. In this chapter I want to extend this discussion by a detailed examination of the various decorative features which adorn the items in Thornton's MSS. Although in most cases these decorative features are quite minor, sometimes "unfinished," and in themselves often insignificant, they do in fact provide us with much useful information about the editorial preparations and decisions that Thornton himself made as he copied individual items from his exemplars and for his larger collection. This, in turn, will help us to retrieve some sense of the practical conditions in which Thornton was working as a book compiler, and will establish the terms in which we should discuss the relationship between Thornton's two books in the final chapter.

As the modern reader glances through the Thornton MSS his attention is immediately caught by the ways in which coloured inks, and in particular red ink, have been frequently used in the presentation of the various items. In Thornton's MSS coloured inks are most regularly and consistently used to fill the letter forms of the simple decorative capitals

which appear with varying frequency, but which are scattered nevertheless throughout both the London MS and also throughout the "romance" section and the "religious" section of the Lincoln MS. In addition red ink is also intermittently employed in both Thornton's MSS to point out headings, _incipits_ and _explicits_, for underlining or highlighting the names of characters in the narrative, and particularly in the opening lines of an item, to draw attention to details of versification or punctuation.[1] In this limited way then the frequent appearances of red ink contribute to any impressions of coherence, uniformity or "shape" which the reader is now inclined to find in Thornton's heterogeneous collection.

There is very little that is new or surprising in these appearances of red inks throughout Thornton's MSS. Indeed many of Thornton's colourful decorative features quite clearly belong to what Malcolm Parkes has called, "the general repertory of punctuation that emerged during the course of the Middle Ages."[2] It is probable then that the appearances of some punctuation devices such as the _littera notabilior_, the _punctus_ or the _virgula suspensiva_ in Thornton's items were intended by Thornton to assist his readers in a very practical manner to read and understand the material in his collection.[3] Thus it is already well established how these and similar punctuating devices are often used to indicate various precise narrative subsections in a medieval text such as the beginning of a new chapter, or stanza, or paragraph, or, in the case of the _punctus_ and the _virgula suspensiva_, the occurrence of pauses within the lines.[4] However on other occasions the punctuation of the items in Thornton's collection seems quite informal and is often limited to the infrequent appearance of decorative capitals in Thornton's texts. We can safely say therefore that no consistently applied system of punctuation emerges in Thornton's collection as a whole and that, with few exceptions, Thornton himself was probably inheriting the punctuation devices preserved in his copies from other similarly rubricated exemplars. However, by considering

in further detail the inconsistent manner in which these decorative features were eventually added in Thornton's MSS, we can begin to assess the extent of Thornton's personal responsibility for the planning and execution of the decoration in his books.

Thornton naturally had some editorial control over where coloured capitals should eventually appear in his texts. As he copied the items in both MSS from his various exemplars it was his own choice to omit the initial letter of certain words at the beginning of a line and to indent his text so as to prepare space in his copy for these capitals. Often, but not always, Thornton also added a guide letter in the side margin in order to identify the capital letter which should eventually be added.[5] Of course this was standard medieval scribal practice and in most cases we can assume that Thornton merely consciously preserved the sequence of coloured capitals in his text from a similar sequence which he found in his exemplars. Thus, in some items at least, the present visual appearance of Thornton's text seems a good indication of the way in which his exemplar was also capitalized and punctuated. For example in the Lincoln MS, Thornton's copy of the Psalter of St. Jerome and the Latin items accompanying it (ff.258v-270v) contain a total of 359 coloured capitals while all the other items in gatherings L-P in the "religious" section of the Lincoln MS (ff.179r-279v) contain only 118 coloured capitals. Indeed Thornton's Latin items here are the most densely capitalized items in either of his MSS. The reason for this would appear to be because the abbreviated Latin Psalter and its accompanying prayers were originally derived from a similarly densely punctuated medieval Book of Hours or Primer. Thus, although Thornton's exemplar may even have been a far more colourful, richly decorated, and de-luxe copy of these Latin items, Thornton still probably reproduced as faithfully as he could the positioning of the capitals in his source. The same point might also be made about Thornton's other Latin items in the Lincoln MS which he

seems to have found in a medieval prayer book and which now appear as "fillers" on ff.177v-178v in K and ff.277v-279r in P.[6]

When we now turn to a detailed examination of the ways in which Thornton's coloured capitals and other visually colourful features were eventually added in both his MSS, then it is hard to escape the impression that much of the rubrication and decoration of his books is in fact the scribe's own work. Thus, for example, throughout both Thornton MSS there is nothing to suggest that any strict division of labour existed between the tasks performed by Thornton as a scribe and the tasks which, under other, organized conditions, might well have been performed by a professional rubricator specially commissioned by Thornton. Indeed, all the available evidence points to the intimate involvement of at least one rubricator in various scribal tasks which we must also associate with Thornton himself. Thus in our discussion of the physical make-up of the London MS we have already mentioned how on one of the occasions on which Thornton returned to his items in that MS, he actually used red ink to make good deficiencies in his copy of Ypokrephum. This was probably at the same time as he was adding other minor decorative features to this item. Similarly, on f.53r in the Lincoln MS, the untidy marginalia which identifies Thornton as the owner of the alliterative Morte has been added in red ink and is written in Thornton's hand (see fig.1). We can also detect Thornton's hand at work as rubricator and scribe on the two occasions where he has added quite lengthy incipits in red ink to his copies of Ypokrephum (London MS f.163v) and the Vita Sancti Christofori (Lincoln MS f.122v), or on the occasions where at least part of his formal incipits, explicits or headings have been written in red.[7] On other occasions of course, the titles and endings of Thornton's items were added by Thornton in the same black ink as he used elsewhere for copying his items.

This frequent, and at times quite arbitrary use of red ink in both
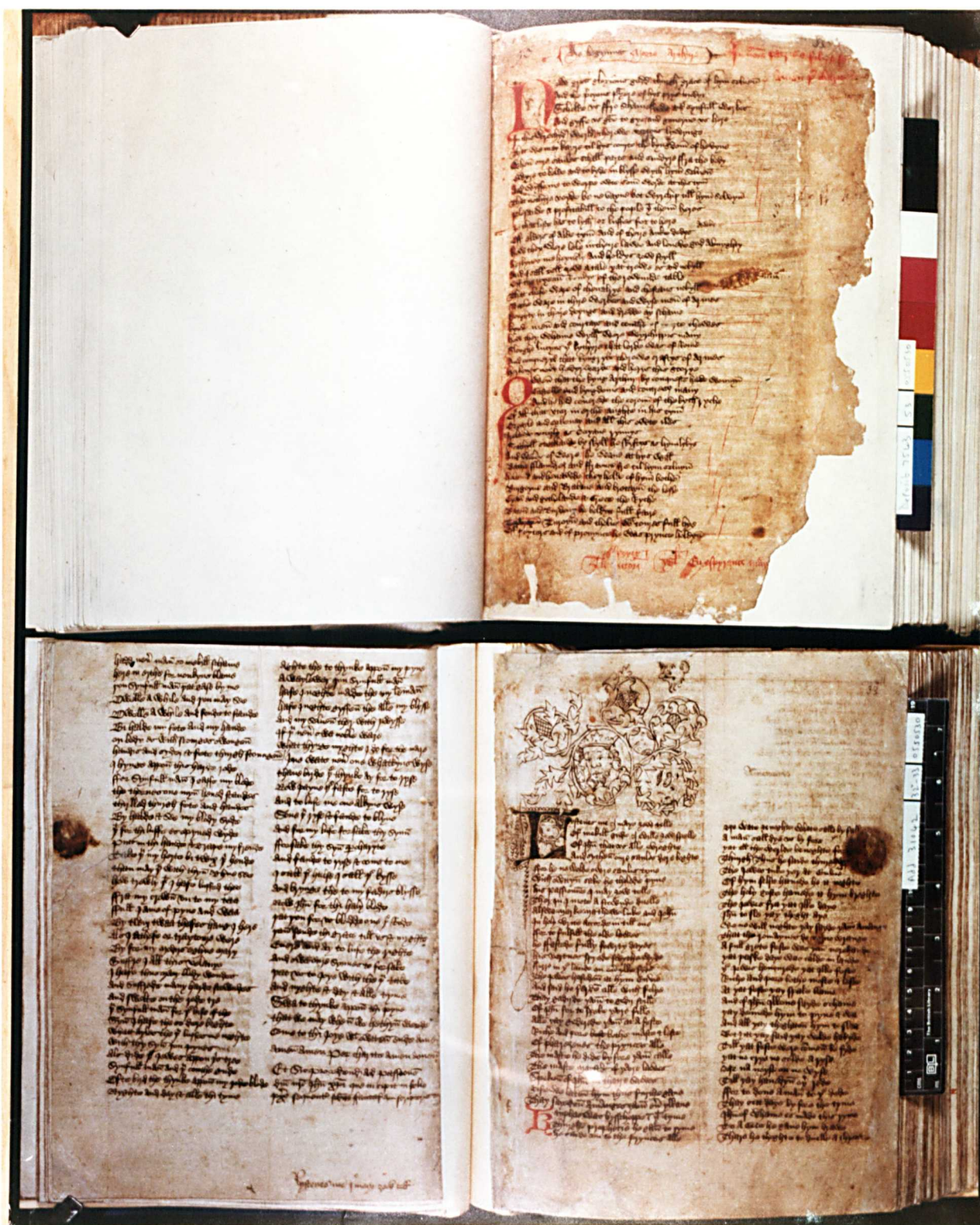
Fig. 1.   Lincoln Thornton MS f.53r (above);
          London Thornton MS ff.32v, 33r (below).

MSS becomes even more apparent when we consider that, in quire i of the London MS and in quires M and N of the Lincoln MS, Thornton has even used red ink to draw the frame rulings for his blank gatherings. Thornton's frame rulings were of course always drawn before he actually copied the texts themselves and normally before he had folded the bifolia which make up his gatherings.[8] Thus the fact that the writing frames in gatherings i (London) and M and N (Lincoln) are ruled in red, plus the fact that the items in these gatherings are themselves rubricated, suggests that the red ink used here was added on a variety of different occasions.[9] Even at this preliminary stage in our discussion then, we gain some sense of the inconsistent and haphazard manner in which Thornton's role as scribe could sometimes interchange with his roles as decorator and rubricator as he assembled his collection. Despite the semblance of uniformity imposed on Thornton's books by his obvious preference for using red ink as a rubricating and as a decorative device, we can assume that he did not systematically add this red ink to his items in one final production stage, when all the gatherings which now make up his MSS had finally been assembled. Instead the task of rubrication, like the task of actually copying the items in the first place, would appear to have been a gradual and at times haphazard process. Once we have accepted this, we can begin to account for some of the other unusual and inconsistent features in the decoration of Thornton's texts. In particular we are encouraged to examine more carefully several occasions in one or other of Thornton's books where, contrary to our expectations, certain minor decorative features have not been added in red, but have instead been added in a variety of other colours.

Some of the most striking examples of this type of inconsistency in the decoration of Thornton's MSS occur on ff.19r, 19v, 27r, 109r and 154r in the Lincoln MS (see fig.2). On ff.19r, 27r, 109r and 154r we find four decorative capitals which are obviously closely related to each

F.154r

F.109r

F.27r

F.19r

F.19v
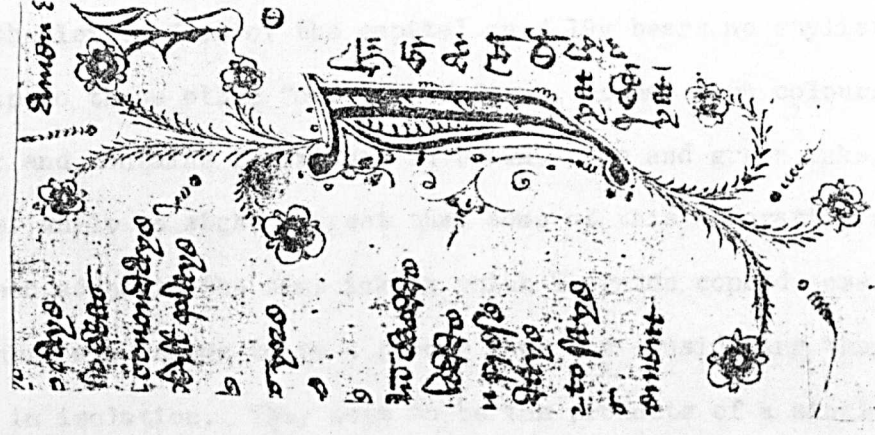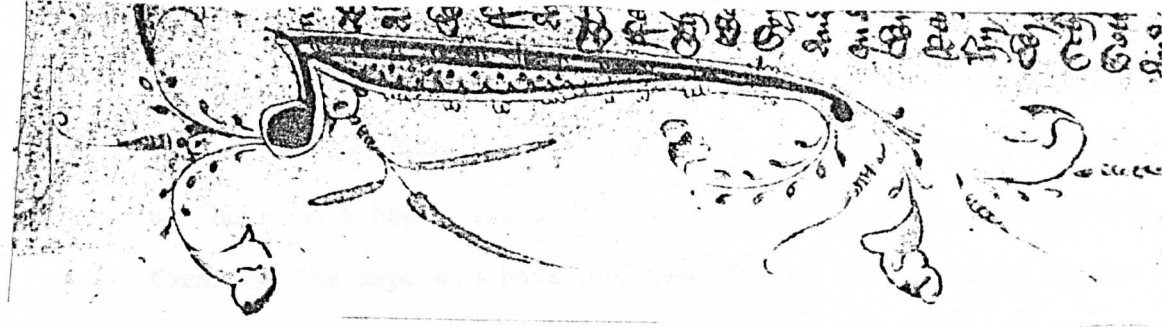
FIG 2 Decorative Capitals in the Lincoln MS

other in terms of style, colour and artistic technique, but which are now also different from all but one of the other coloured capitals in either of Thornton's books. Thus on these four occasions the coloured letter forms of the capitals have not been filled in by simple blocks of ink but rather some attempt has been made to adorn the letter form itself with bands of different coloured inks. The capital on f.19r is formed by bands of brown, blue, green and black, while on ff.27r, 109r and 154r the capitals are formed by bands of brown, green and black. Furthermore, whereas the letter form of the capital on f.19v bears no stylistic relationship to these other four letter forms, it has been coloured in black ink and contains flourishes in brown, blue and green inks.[10] Therefore, while we might suspect that some of this decorative work has simply been added in the same ink in which Thornton copied some of his texts, there also seems to be a strong case for considering these five capitals in isolation. They seem to be the products of a single quite separate stage in the gradual decoration of Thornton's MSS.

The most obvious point to note here is that the capitals on ff.109r and 154r actually occur in the opening lines of Sir Ysumbras (f.109r) and the Awentyrs (f.154r). If we consider these capitals in isolation then we might perhaps explain the marked stylistic differences here by assuming that, in these cases at least, Thornton was trying to give added prominence to the opening lines of two of his romance narratives. However, while there may be some truth in this assumption, the appearance of similar capitals on ff.19r, 19v and 27r, in the middle of the prose Life of Alexander, suggests that all five capitals were probably added in a much more haphazard manner than we might at first assume. In the first place, on ff.19r, 19v and 27r, there is no obvious reason why anyone would wish to draw the reader's attention to these particular parts of Thornton's Alexander text. The most likely reason then why these capitals are so different from all the others is probably because they were added at

a later date than the customary red capitals which normally decorate Thornton's Alexander item.. Moreover, it is noticeable that when Thornton originally copied the Awentyrs, he gave no clear indication that this text should have an opening capital since he failed to indent the first few lines of his text on f.154r. Thornton's oversight here meant that the opening capital which now appears in his text has had to be added in the side margin of the MS. It is easy to see how, on an earlier occasion when Thornton was adding other capitals in red, he may simply have over-looked the fact that this text required a coloured opening initial.[11] Similarly, it is possible that on f.109r, Thornton also inadvertently omitted adding the opening capital to Sir Ysumbras when he was adding other red initials to his items. Thus, although a red capital appears on f.108r, the opening lines of Sir Ysumbras occur at the bottom of the second column of f.109r. This time Thornton did originally indent the first five lines of his text to accommodate the opening capital I. However, because the opening capital is an I, he obviously did not need to indent his text quite so much as usual. Furthermore, no guide letter appears in the margin of f.109r to warn the rubricator that the opening of Sir Ysumbras requires the addition of a coloured capital. Since the next capital appears on f.114v in the Lincoln MS it is likely that at one stage in the decorative process Thornton probably leafed through the pages of gathering G without actually noticing that his copy of Sir Ysumbras required an opening coloured initial. On other occasions and for similar reasons, he may also have accidentally omitted adding capitals on ff.19r, 19v, 27r and 158r. It must have been at some later stage then, when the most serious of these omissions were being made good, that the capitals on ff.19r, 19v and 27r were also added. The fact that they were added so carefully, but in such a capricious manner, would suggest that whoever added them was no longer quite as concerned about imposing a sense of uniformity upon the items in the assembled gatherings.[12]

Examination of the London MS tends to confirm our impressions of
the inconsistent and casual ways in which some of the coloured capitals
were added to Thornton's items.[13] For example on f.9v, in the middle of
Thornton's copy of the CM, we find a simple coloured capital. This now
occupies the indented space in the last two lines of the folio and pro-
vides us with our only example in Thornton's entire collection where a
capital has been coloured entirely in blue. There is no need to seek for
an elaborate explanation for this minor but unique peculiarity. Obviously
this was the colour which was available or which appealed to the person
who coloured this initial in the MS. However, the reason why similar
blue capitals do not appear elsewhere in Thornton's books would seem to
be because the capital on f.9v was added at a very late stage in the
production of Thornton's book. A later reader, who may or may not have
been Thornton, probably noticed that someone had forgotten to add the
required coloured capital in the space which Thornton had originally
reserved for it on f.9v. That reader completed the decorative task which
Thornton himself had originally planned.

Other inconsistent decorative features in the London MS are much
more intriguing, and give us a far clearer sense of the unsystematic way
in which some items were decorated in Thornton's collection. The first
of a lengthy sequence of green letter forms suddenly appears on f.104v in
Thornton's copy of Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass. From ff.104v-120r
these green letter forms alternate with red capitals similar to those
which we find elsewhere in Thornton's books. However, from ff.120r-143v
a continuous sequence of red capitals briefly reappears; then the sequence
of alternating red and green capitals recommences on f.144v, halfway
through Thornton's copy of the romance of Richard, and continues until
f.168v. These are the only occasions where green capitals appear in
Thornton's books and thus we would seem to have here an alternative system
of colouring the capitals in Thornton's items. This system is used only

in the London MS and only appears in quires h and k of that MS.

When we combine this information with the information we have already retrieved regarding the gradual assembly of the London MS, then all the indications are that it was Thornton himself who added these alternating green and red capitals. In quire k for example, it seems as though the decoration was added to the gathering independently of either the previous gathering (i) or the following one (1). It is easy to see how Thornton himself was probably encouraged to add the decoration to this quire (but not to the previous one which contains the opening lines of Richard), simply because he decorated k at the same time as he was also attempting to "freshen up" his copy of Ypokrephum. Indeed, in the second half of the gathering this "freshening up" process is the only possible reason why any rubricator or decorator should have wanted to isolate this gathering for special attention in the first place. The fact then that the opening initial in Ypokrephum on f.163v is the only initial in Thornton's entire collection where half of the letter form has been coloured in green and the other half in red, would seem to be a minor indication of the excessive attention Thornton was paying to this text as both scribe and decorator.

It was probably at exactly the same stage as Thornton was decorating Ypokrephum in this manner that he was also adding the green and red capitals which now appear in gathering h. Here we can be even more certain about the production stage at which ff.104v-120r received their decoration simply because we have already established in some detail some of the various production stages through which this composite quire has had to pass. Thus in chapter II we demonstrated how gathering h originally seems to have been composed of two separate gatherings. The first consisted of ff.103-120 and now contains Virtues of the Mass; The Rose of Ryse; the Three Kings of Cologne and the opening lines of A louely song of wysdome. It is only on these folios in h that the alternating

green and red coloured capitals actually appear. Therefore, if Thornton's practice in quire k is a reliable guide, it is attractive to assume that Thornton decorated ff.103-120 at the time when they formed an independent gathering of 12 bifolia. This was before he had to refold a second smaller gathering (ff.121-124; 98-102) to provide an outer cover for ff.103-120, which had by then become fragmentary. Consequently, we can also say that Thornton was adding his sequence of alternating coloured capitals before his items had settled in their present order in the London MS. At this early stage he may well have had no clear idea about how he eventually wanted to decorate the various items which now make up his collection.

Any suspicions that Thornton did not always have the opportunity to personally complete the decoration of his items certainly seem justified in the light of other evidence in both his MSS. In the Lincoln MS for example, we find that when Thornton added the items on ff.176v-178v and 277v-278r to his collection he was careful to reserve space in his texts so that future rubrication could be added. Thus, as he copied the items on these folios, Thornton carefully indented his main text so that a total of forty four capitals extending for mainly two lines; four for three lines; one for four lines, and two for five lines, might be added later. Furthermore, the surviving guide letters in the side margins on ff.178r, 178v, 277v and 278r indicate that Thornton also took some pains to ensure that a future rubricator could tell at a glance the letter forms which should be added at these points. Of course, as we have seen, this careful preparation is characteristic of Thornton's standard scribal practice elsewhere in his MSS; but what is unique about the texts on ff176v-178v and 277v-278r is that they provide us with our only examples in Thornton's entire collection where the coloured letter forms in his items have not actually been added. Therefore we are encouraged to assume that the fact that these texts remain unrubricated and "unfinished" has

something to do with the stage at which Thornton originally copied them for his collection.

In chapter I we discussed how the short items on ff.176r-178v in gathering K at the end of Thornton's "romance" unit and the short items on ff.277v-279v in gathering P at the end of Thornton's "religious" unit would appear to have been added as 'fillers' in the space remaining in Thornton's assembled collection. This was obviously at a very late stage in the production of the Lincoln MS. In addition, it seems likely that Thornton derived most of these closely related items from a single exemplar and that he probably inherited the actual idea of rubricating his texts from his similarly rubricated exemplar. Now, however it is equally easy to see how, by this late stage, Thornton had probably already decorated the other items in the Lincoln MS. The final decoration of these items then was apparently overlooked when the gatherings which make up the Lincoln MS were eventually bound together, and so these Thornton texts settled permanently into their present neglected and rather shabby context.

The same unfortunate fate has certainly not befallen the items in the London MS. Here, despite our suspicions that at an early stage Thornton had started to decorate this collection using both green and red inks, we find that most of the coloured capitals have now been added in red. It is of course impossible to tell whether Thornton was personally responsible for adding all these red capitals and for abandoning his earlier, more ambitious, decorative scheme. However, some doubt about this certainly seems justified when we consider that in the top margin of f.73v in the London MS the name "Willa Frostt" is written in red ink. This provides us with our only clear example in either of Thornton's MSS where someone other than Thornton has used red ink in his books. It is natural therefore to associate Frostt's name, as well as Thornton's name, with the eventual decoration of the London MS. In this MS Frostt may well

have completed the decoration of the items which had been originally planned and partially completed by Thornton himself.[14]

So far in our discussion of the simple coloured capitals which appear in Thornton's books we have concentrated on the evidence provided by the most obvious variations in the colour of the letter forms themselves. When we now examine the occasions in Thornton's collection where some of these capitals have themselves been decorated, we are once again made very aware of the varying stages and gradual way in which Thornton himself seems to have undertaken this decorative task. In particular closer examination of the only two decorative capitals which now appear in the London MS adds to our growing sense that Thornton left this MS in a far more "unfinished" state than he did its sister volume.

The only two decorative capitals which appear in the London MS appear as the opening initials of the N.P. (ff.33r-50r) and the Siege of Jerusalem (ff.50r-66r).[15] Both decorative initials have been executed in a black ink which is similar to that with which Thornton actually copied these texts. Therefore, as a preliminary, we can assume that it was probably Thornton himself who was responsible for adding these decorative features to his items. Moreover, despite the fact that they have simply been added in plain black ink, the decorations themselves are carefully and elaborately drawn. Thus, on f.33r Thornton has decorated the opening initial of his copy of the N.P. with an encircling plant. The entwining foliage of the plant overlaps the actual letter form at one point and then forms the roundels which fully occupy the first column of the fourteen line double column space which Thornton had originally left blank at the head of the N.P.. These roundels are occupied variously by a drawing of a king, a grotesque, and three acorn-like sprays. In addition, a woodwose with a pig's snout and beard has been drawn in the top margin, but this has not been incorporated into the main design (see fig.1).

On f.50r the opening initial I of the _Siege of Jerusalem_ extends for the five lines of text which Thornton had previously reserved for it. However, this time it is the main body of the letter form which has been overlapped by encircling foliage and in addition, recognizable male and female human profiles also decorate the outer stem of the letter. The initial itself is dominated by a grotesque face with pointed ears and malevolent features which bears an obvious resemblance to the pig-like grotesque in the top margin of f.33r. Because of this similarity and because both initials have been added in black ink, it is attractive to assume that both were drawn by the same artist and that that artist was Thornton himself.

The stylistic features of both initials, but in particular the initial on f.33r, has already attracted some critical attention. Thus Dr Ian Doyle, Mrs Karen Stern and Professor E.G. Stanley have all commented on the degree of confidence, professionalism and general artistic ability implied by the manner in which these decorations have been added to Thornton's book.[16] However, if we now also examine these decorative capitals in the context of Thornton's decorative work elsewhere in both his MSS, then we can retrieve important information about the processes by which these Thornton texts were "finished" and the planning which preceded this finishing process.

It is important to note that the letter forms of both these decorative capitals provide us with the only examples in the London MS of letter forms which have been added in black ink. Interestingly, on f.33r the text of the _N.P._ is also accompanied by a red capital which is one of 60 similarly coloured capitals in this Thornton text. The opening initial of the _Siege of Jerusalem_ is also accompanied in Thornton's MS by seven other capitals, all of which have been added in red ink. We can assume therefore that there is probably a reason why the opening decorative initials of these items were added in black, while the remainder

of the capitals in these and most other Thornton items in the London MS remain unadorned and have been coloured in red. That reason is that the unadorned red capitals were probably added at a quite different stage in the decoration of the MS. If we now attempt to make some further distinction between these various decorative stages it becomes very likely that the decorative initials in black ink were probably added before the red capitals and that they were probably added very soon after Thornton had copied the N.P. and the Siege of Jerusalem.

In chapters II and III we have suggested that the core of the London MS was originally formed by a MS unit (quires e and f) which at an early stage contained only the N.P. and the Siege of Jerusalem. At a later date Thornton added the Sege of Melayne to that unit and, at an even later stage, he appears to have preceded this unit with his copy of the C.M.. Therefore it is likely that the reason why the N.P. and the Siege of Jerusalem are the only texts which have had decorative initials added is because these were probably decorated in this way long before they had been finally set into their present context in Thornton's miscellany. Furthermore, as Thornton copied the four opening lines of the N.P., he not only indented his text but he also left the top half of his page blank, presumably because, at this very early stage in his book producing activities, he had already decided to add some substantial decoration to the opening initial on f.33r. This may of course have been Thornton's own idea but it is just as likely that Thornton simply inherited the idea of decorating the opening initial of the N.P. from a similarly decorated exemplar. Indeed, if this was the case, then the fact that the decorative initials on ff.33r and 50r have been added in black ink might even suggest that Thornton used the decorations which he found in this exemplar as a model for the decorative features which he then added to his own items. Since he probably had limited access to this decorated exemplar then the decoration itself would of course have had to be added at the same time

as Thornton actually copied the texts themselves. This would explain why both decorative initials in the London MS have been added in an ink which is similar to, if not identical with, the inks which Thornton used to copy the N.P. and the Siege of Jerusalem.[17]

When we now turn to the Lincoln MS we find that the decoration of Thornton's capitals has proceeded to a much more advanced stage. However, even here there is little to interest the medieval art historian until he forgets the vivid colours, the richness,and the variety which is normally associated with the medieval illuminated letter.[18] Thus Thornton's decorative capitals in the Lincoln MS normally consist of red letter forms with additional internal decorations of scrolls or foliage some-times added as patterned "in-filling." This penwork has normally been added in mauve ink.[19] Occasionally the coloured capitals are actually inhabited, most often by an animal or by a simply drawn human figure and these are also normally added in mauve. Indeed, on almost every occasion where a coloured capital has been decorated, the same decorative penwork has been extended to the inner margins of Thornton's pages where simple flourishes act as external decoration for the letter forms.

The competence with which this artwork has been executed and the occasional stylistic ingenuity which it displays is unfortunately matched by the remarkable drabness of its visual presentation. The mauve ink in which most of this decorative work has been added to the MS is now very badly faded and, at times, discoloured. However, if we leave aside for the moment questions about the intrinsic quality of this artwork we can see how the sameness of the mauve penwork gives a sense of completeness to Thornton's book. Many of the mauve decorative features, and in particular the internal foliage and scrolls, appear in practically identical form in both the "religious" and the "romance" units in the MS (for examples see fig.3) and this visual and stylistic resemblance between the decorated capitals throughout Thornton's book was presumably intended

F.299v

F.213r

F.270v
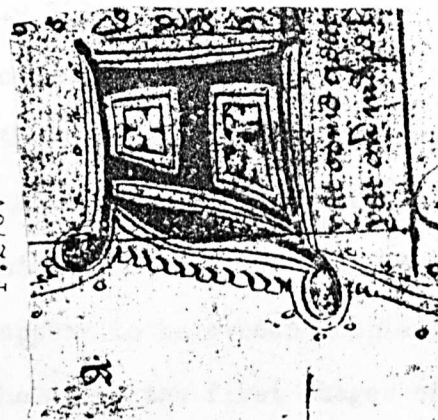
F.214r

F.25r
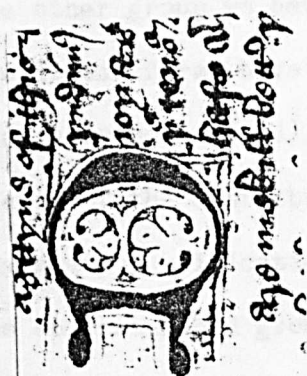
F.32r

F.42r
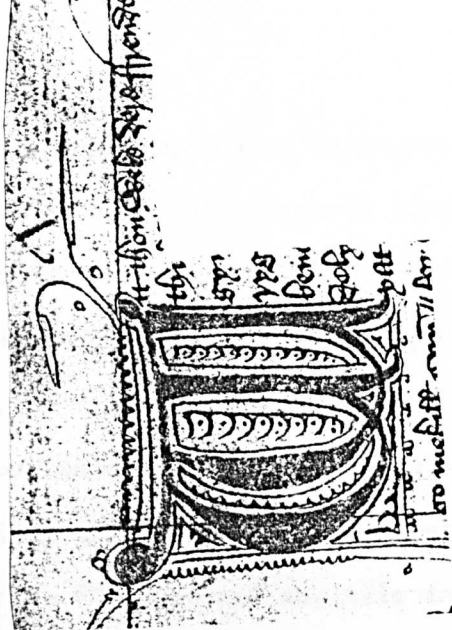
FIG 3 Decorative Capitals in Thornton's Life of Alexander and in his religious items

to give the medieval reader an impression of continuity and unity as he perused Thornton's collection of texts in the Lincoln MS. Because of this obvious sense of "shape" we can in fact use the information provided by inconsistencies in these seemingly minor and insignificant decorative features, to retrieve much valuable information about the processes by which Thornton's items in the Lincoln MS were completed and the preparations which preceded these various decorative stages.

Of the 675 coloured capitals in the Lincoln MS (340 of which extend for more than one line) I have counted only 223 capitals which have actually been decorated. Of these, 179 occur in the "romance" unit of the MS (gatherings A-K), and 44 occur in the "religious" unit (gatherings L-P). Therefore we can, in a preliminary manner at least, establish two new groupings in which to discuss Thornton's coloured capitals. In the first group we have those capitals which appear to have been completely "finished" (i.e. these are the capitals where, in the first stages of the decorative process, the letter forms were coloured and then, at a later stage or stages, the additional internal and external decorative details were added). In the other group we have a series of seemingly "unfinished" capitals. (Here the letter forms have been coloured, but no additional decorative detail has ever been added). Of course, we should note here that it is only because of the distribution of the completed capitals in the MS that we have any justification for labelling the second set of coloured capitals as an unfinished group. Indeed, it is probable that these uncompleted capitals were not actually considered "unfinished" by early readers of the MS, simply because they would not have demanded the same rigorous standards of decorative consistency which modern readers might expect from a book. However, laying this objection aside for the moment, it is interesting to compare in some detail the different patterns of distribution of these decorative capitals in both the "romance" and the "religious" sections of Thornton's book.

Gatherings D-I in the Lincoln MS, which form the bulk of Thornton's
"romance" unit, are in fact, the only gatherings in Thornton's entire
collection where the capitals have been completed. Despite the fact
that not all of the coloured capitals appear to have been added at the
same time, all of the 105 capitals which now appear on ff.53-163 have
had various internal and external decorative features added to the
capitals themselves. Indeed, the only items in Thornton's "romance"
unit which actually contain unfinished coloured capitals are the Life of
Alexander in gatherings A-C (containing 74 finished capitals and 29
unfinished capitals), and Sir Perceval in gatherings I-K (containing one
finished and one unfinished coloured capital). In the case of Sir Perceval,
it is easy to see how the decoration of the capital on f.164r might simply
have been overlooked as someone systematically worked his way through
Thornton's items at a single finishing stage. However, it is hard to
accept that a similar explanation accounts for the much greater number
of unfinished capitals which appear in the Life of Alexander. Indeed,
when we look more closely at the distribution of the capitals in both
these items, we get our first clear indication of the obviously uncertain
manner in which this finishing decorative process sometimes seems to have
taken place.

In chapter I, we have already discussed how Thornton copied the
prose Life of Alexander into a MS unit which originally consisted of three
quires (A-C), and we have also suggested that, at a later stage in
Thornton's compiling activities, this MS unit was eventually appended to
Thornton's larger "romance" unit which had originally opened with the
alliterative Morte. At an even later stage, and at the other end of his
"romance" unit, Thornton then added Sir Perceval in the remaining leaves of
quire I and in a new gathering, K. These texts would appear to be among
the last items that Thornton assembled in his "romance" unit, and they
are also the very texts in which the decoration remains unfinished. In

<u>Sir Perceval</u> the opening initial has been finished, but the initial on
the first leaf of gathering K (f.164r) is unfinished and was probably
carelessly overlooked. In the <u>Life of Alexander</u> unfinished capitals
occur on ff.12v, 14v, 15v, 17v, 18r and throughout quire C (ff.43-52).
In all, twenty one capitals in the last quire of Thornton's Alexander unit,
and eight capitals mainly on the verso leaves in the other two quires,
have remained unfinished. The nature of these omissions would suggest
that all Thornton's "romance" gatherings were probably assembled by the
time that the final embellishments were being added to the capitals in
his Alexamder item, and that the later "romance" gatherings had already
been finished. As the artist, who was probably Thornton, worked his way
through the Alexander unit seeking the next capital to embellish, he
occasionally missed the coloured capitals on the verso of the leaves.
In addition, he completely omitted the third gathering in the Alexander
unit from this treatment, presumably because at this late stage he had
run out of materials, time or patience. Thus, presumably because of the
haphazard nature of Thornton's book producing activities, most of the
coloured capitals in the opening "romance" section of his book appear to
have been finished. Paradoxically, at the same time, many of the capitals
in the opening item in this section seem quite unfinished.

    In the second "religious" section of the Lincoln MS, the situation
is quite different. Finished capitals are scattered throughout gatherings
L-P, giving the casual reader the impression that some of Thornton's
coloured capitals have been quite haphazardly and indiscriminately
chosen for further decoration, while others, which would have been just
as suitable, have simply been ignored. We can, however, without much
difficulty, find several obvious patterns in the distribution of the
finished capitals which suggest that the decoration of the capitals in
the "religious" section was, in fact, added in a much more selective
manner than we might at first assume. For example, fourteen of the

finished decorative capitals appear as the opening initials of items in the "religious" section and it is easy to see how, if time or resources were in short supply, the opening initials of these items would be the most convenient places at which to begin a decorative task which might never be completed. Similarly, it was presumably because the artist was also aware that he was decorating the opening page of a "religious" unit that, on f.179r, he made a point of decorating, not only the opening initial of the Privety of the Passion, but also the only other coloured capital which appears on this page. However, despite this obvious concern, the thirty six coloured capitals on ff.179v-209r remain unfinished, and it is only on f.209v that we find the next decorated opening capital. The remaining twenty nine finished capitals in the "religious" unit which are not opening capitals can all be found in gatherings N, O and P. Indeed, only three of the twenty one coloured capitals which appear in N and O (ff.223r-253v) have actually been left unfinished (those on ff.226v, 241v and 250v). Therefore the finishing of the coloured capitals in these two gatherings can be said to have been just as thorough as the finishing process in gatherings A and B. Since all three of the unfinished capitals in N and O appear on verso leaves it is easy to see how, during one stage of a decorative process, someone who was working their way systematically through these gatherings may have quite inadvertently overlooked these capitals.

It is also easy to see how any enthusiasm for actually completing this decorative task might have waned considerably when the same artist eventually came to Thornton's Latin items on ff.258r-270v in quire P. As we have seen, these are the most heavily rubricated items in Thornton's entire collection, containing in total 335 one line coloured capitals, sixteen coloured capitals extending for two lines, twenty nine coloured capitals extending for three lines, three coloured capitals extending for four lines, one coloured capital extending for five lines, and one similar

capital extending for six lines. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that it is at this point that the seemingly systematic attempt to decorate the coloured capitals in quires N, O and P in the MS appears to have broken down. Instead, the artist contented himself with finishing the initial capital of the Latin text of Vulgate Psalm 50 on f.258r; and the opening capital of the Veni Creator on f.258v. He ignored the small one line coloured capitals in these texts and passed on to the Psalter of St. Jerome and the accompanying material (ff.258v-270v). Here he was faced with a sequence of short Latin items which contained nearly 360 coloured capitals, but the artist simply decorated the two largest capitals which appear on the first page of the Psalter (f.258v); the three main capitals of the prayers on f.262r, and the eleven coloured capitals which appear on the last seven pages of the sequence (ff.267v-270v). Therefore, his reason for paying particular attention to only some of the coloured capitals on these folios would appear to be purely practical. The artist was obviously anxious to complete the decoration of some of the capitals in the Latin items, but he was also aware that this would be a time-consuming laborious task. He therefore decided not to decorate all the capitals, but simply to finish those which appeared to him to be the most prominent. His decision to complete the decoration of the three main capitals on f.262r, but to ignore the main capitals on ff.259r-261v and 262v-267r, seems to have been quite arbitrary. However, his decision to finish the decoration of the capitals on ff.267v-270v would appear to have been influenced by the fact that only a very limited number of capitals actually appear on these folios.[20] Presumably therefore, these capitals were selected for the finishing process simply because it was possible to quickly and thoroughly complete the decoration of these folios at the one sitting.

In gatherings A-K and N-P we get some limited sense that an attempt was made by an artist to work his way systematically through these

gatherings page by page and, thereby, to complete the decoration of the coloured capitals. Equally, however, the existence in A-K and N-P of coloured capitals which have often been quite illogically omitted from this decorative process, and the fact that many of the capitals in gatherings L-M also remain unfinished, would suggest that the process itself was applied haphazardly, perhaps even at a series of quite separate stages as Thornton's book was being gradually assembled. This would, of course, suggest that it was Thornton himself who added these finishing touches to his own book. If we examine more closely the decorated capitals in gatherings L-P with this assumption in mind, we can, in fact, begin to distinguish between at least two finishing stages at which these decorative touches were added.

In our general discussion of the decorative capitals in gatherings L-P, we tentatively suggested that a distinction could be made between those capitals which were completed because they were opening initials, and those capitals which were finished simply because they appeared in gatherings N-P. On the one hand, the artist seemed to show an understandable preference for decorating the opening initials of fourteen of the items in the "religious" unit and, on the other hand, he also seems to have worked his way page by page through gatherings N-P. Of course, these two approaches to the task of decorating the coloured capitals can hardly be seen as mutually exclusive activities, especially since eight of the fourteen decorated opening initials actually appear in gatherings N-P. However, when we now examine the two different inks in which the decorative penwork was executed in Thornton's "religious" unit, it does seem valid to maintain a distinction between the time when some of the opening initials in M and N were decorated, and the different time when the other decorative capitals were then completed.

We have already noted how most of the decorative features which adorn the coloured capitals in the Lincoln MS have been added in mauve

ink. However, in the "religious" unit it is particularly noticeable that the decoration of the nine finished capitals on ff.209v, 213r, 213v, 219v, 225r, 225v, 229v, 231r and 233v has been added in black ink. This ink is similar in quality and appearance to the black ink which Thornton used to copy some of his items in both his MSS and so, on these nine occasions at least, we can assume that it was Thornton, acting as artist as well as scribe, who probably added these decorative touches. Moreover, if Thornton was responsible for this decorative penwork in black ink, then it is interesting to note that its appearance in the "religious" unit of the MS is confined to gatherings M and N (ff.199-236). Of the twenty four coloured capitals which appear in these folios only ten have actually been decorated. Eight of these ten finished capitals are, in fact, the opening initials of the main items in M and N, and seven of these eight opening initials have been decorated in black ink.[21] The only decorative initial which has not been finished in black in M and N is the opening initial of "Ihesu thi Swetnes" on f.219r which has been decorated in mauve. However, closer examination of f.219r reveals that the only reason why mauve ink was used to decorate this particular coloured capital may have been because the capital itself has had to be added in the side margin of Thornton's page.[22] Presumably, at the stage when the letter form was eventually added to Thornton's item in red, Thornton was also in the process of adding mauve ink elsewhere in his collection. However, at an even earlier stage in the finishing process, it is likely that the only decorative features in M and N were those which were added in black ink. It is attractive to assume therefore that, when Thornton began finishing the coloured capitals in the "religious" unit, he deliberately selected the opening initials of the main items in M and N for special treatment. Possibly this was because of the decorative nature of the exemplars which he had used for the items on these folios. When he returned at a later date to continue this

decorative process, he paid particular attention to the opening page of
his "religious" unit (f.179r), and he then worked his way progressively
through gatherings O-P. The completed appearance of these gatherings,
plus the fact that Thornton did actually manage to complete the decoration
of every capital in gatherings D-I in his "romance" unit, would suggest
that he probably also intended eventually to add even more decorative
capitals to his items in L-M at a later time. However, due to the
gradual manner in which he was completing this decorative process, this
plan (if it ever existed as a preconceived plan) was never actually ful-
filled. For this reason we can say that the decoration of the "religious"
unit in the Lincoln MS remains relatively incomplete.

So far in our discussion of his "religious" unit we have assumed
that Thornton added all the decorative black ink penwork to his capitals
at one sitting, and that he added the mauve penwork at a quite different
later sitting. In the case of Thornton's use of black ink for decorative
purposes in gatherings M and N this assumption seems reasonable; this is
because we can clearly isolate and define Thornton's main purpose for using
the ink in this way in these gatherings. However, the fact that Thornton
habitually used similar black ink to copy his items makes it difficult to
establish with any certainty that he added other black decorative penwork
to other items elsewhere in his collection and at the same sitting.[23]
Even though similar black ink decorative penwork appears in the Lincoln MS
on ff.4r, 7r, 9v, 13v and 21r in Thornton's "romance" unit, it is always
possible that this decoration was added quite separately from the decoration
in Thornton's "religious" unit. Interestingly, these other examples of black
decorative penwork appear in the middle of Thornton's copy of the Life of
Alexander which, as we have already noted, is the most unfinished item in
Thornton's "romance" unit. Moreover, unlike the decorative capitals in
gatherings M and N, Thornton's use of black ink to decorate the coloured
capitals on these folios seems to bear no relationship to the relative

importance of these capitals in the narrative itself. Therefore, on these particular occasions, it seems likely that Thornton was simply using black ink to continue the decorative process in gatherings A and B which he had originally begun with mauve ink. Presumably then, the capitals which have now been decorated in black ink in Thornton's Alexamder item provide us with even more examples of capitals which were once left unfinished at an early stage of this gradual finishing process.

In Thornton's "romance" unit we have already made some distinction between the time when Thornton completed the decoration of the capitals in gatherings D-I and the time when he appended gatherings A-D and decorated most, but not all, of the capitals in his "Alexander unit." That time lapse (before Thornton's Alexander item was decorated, and while Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte (ff.53r-98v) was the opening decorated item in his "romance" unit) would also appear to be indicated by the particularly severe discolouration which has affected the internal and external decorative features of the eighty decorative capitals in Thornton's alliterative item.[24] Indeed, the only way we know that these features were once added in a similar mauve ink to that which Thornton used elsewhere in his MS is because, on ff.55v, 56r, 60r, 66r, 71v and 72v, slight traces of the original mauve colour still remain. Elsewhere in the text, the decorative features now appear in an unattractive, faded and washed out brownish colour which con- trasts markedly with, for example, the mauve decorative features in Thornton's Alexander item. The contrast here is so great that it seems unlikely that this discolouration is entirely due to earlier wear and tear on Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte. Instead, it would seem that the stock of mauve ink which Thornton prepared before he started to decorate the capitals in gatherings D-F was an experiment, and was actually made up from a different recipe from the stock of mauve ink which Thornton normally used. The fact that this was obviously an unsuccessful experiment is probably the reason why the decorations in gatherings D-F have now almost completely faded to

a different, and much less attractive colour. This unfortunate state of affairs does however have one fortunate side effect: it serves to draw our attention to the qualitatively different artwork which now adorns Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte.

It must be admitted that the borderwork which accompanies the decorative capitals in most of Thornton's decorated items is normally simple, stylized and unimaginative. However, seen in the context of Thornton's larger collection, we can also say that the borderwork in gatherings D-F (ff.53-102) is much more elaborate (see, for example, figs 4 and 5). The foliate flourishes which have been added to the coloured letter forms in these gatherings extend for a much greater proportion of the margin, and consist of much more naturalistically drawn acanthus ornament. We are dealing here with a developed and confident artwork where, for the only time in the Lincoln MS, the borderwork has also been extended even further on occasions to include well drawn representations of grotesques, dragons, natural wildlife, household pets, and (on f.93v) even a scroll containing Robert Thornton's own name. These additional decorative touches have been added in the margins of Thornton's pages but they have also been completely integrated into the other decorative borderwork. In addition, on ten occasions in these gatherings, the coloured letter forms themselves have been inhabited by expertly drawn animal or human figures which seem to have been specially added to complement the borderwork, and of course to decorate what was originally the opening item in Thornton's book.[25] Despite the present shabby and rather faded appearance of all these internal and external decorative features in Thornton's capitals, the intrisic quality of the decoration which accompanies the capitals in these gatherings is obvious and provides us with an excellent example of the characteristic tendency in later medieval decoration towards vigorous naturalistic representations. Thornton's artistic work in gatherings D-F then is the product of an

F.95v

F.94r

F.84r

F.93v (Thornton scroll)

F.86r

F.74v

F.83v

FIG 4   Decorative Border Work in Gatherings D-F in the Lincoln MS

F.105r

F.108r

F.102r

F.98v

FIG 5 Decorative Capitals in Thornton's copy of <u>Octavian</u>

artist who, at times, shows considerable skill but whose resources were obviously limited. The result is that the decorations themselves are neither expensive nor colourful.

One would like to think that the original artistic inspiration for this quite sophisticated decorative work came at least in part from Thornton's own imagination and from his own artistic abilities. Indeed, the technical competence with which this decoration was executed means that we can have some sympathy for that view. However, the fact that this type of imaginative border work is not sustained throughout Thornton's book, but ends abruptly on f.102r, is probably some indication that Thornton was also carefully copying and imitating many of these stylistic features from similar details which he found in some kind of decorative source. Although the exact nature of this source is something which is now unfortunately lost, the evidence which suggests the stage in the decorative process at which Thornton is most likely to have used this stylistic model can in fact be deduced from the remaining evidence in his MS.

F.102r is the last leaf in gathering F so, as a preliminary, we can say that the changeover in the style of decoration actually coincides exactly with the end of one quire and the beginning of the next. Equally however the abrupt changeover here does not simply coincide with the end of one item and the beginning of the next, but instead occurs in the middle of Octavian. This item contains four decorative capitals (see fig. 5). The decoration of the first two capitals (on ff.98v and 102r in F) is stylistically similar to the penwork which adorns the capitals in the alliterative Morte. By contrast, the two remaining capitals in Octavian (on ff.105r and 108r in G) are decorated in the relatively simple and stylized manner which is typical of most of the decorative details in Thornton's finished capitals elsewhere in his collection. Therefore this seemingly unimportant decorative inconsistency in Octavian would

appear to be a good indication that Thornton added the finishing touches to Octavian at two quite different decorative stages.

Chapter I has discussed how Thornton probably copied Octavian some time after he had already copied the alliterative Morte. Therefore it seems highly unlikely that the artistic exemplar which Thornton was using for the decoration of the alliterative item, and for the first two capitals in Octavian, was identical to the original written exemplar from which Thornton had earlier copied the alliterative text. Furthermore, the unusually elaborate way in which Thornton completed the decoration of all of the alliterative Morte and part of Octavian has presumably also got something to do with the fact that, at one stage in his compiling activities, these items seem to have opened Thornton's collection of romances. It is probable then that, as he completed the decoration of the capitals in gatherings D-F, Thornton made some considerable effort, to find a decorative model worthy of unusually careful artistic imitation: this was because he was consciously preparing these gatherings for a place at the head of his collection. That place was of course eventually taken by gatherings A-C containing Thornton's Alexander item, but this "Alexander" unit seems to have been appended as a later addition to the Lincoln MS. At a much earlier stage in his book compiling activities Thornton would appear to have already completed the detailed and relatively elaborate decorative details in gatherings D-F.

When we examine the decorative capitals in Thornton's copy of the Life of Alexander in gatherings A-C we can add considerably to our growing store of information about the changing conditions under which Thornton decorated his items. For example, in the light of Thornton's special treatment of gatherings D-F, it seems important that, of the seventy four finished capitals in gatherings A-C, we can safely say that sixty one are stylistically and qualitatively no different from the majority of finished capitals in gatherings G-P (see fig. 3). This is perhaps

surprising, given the present prominent position of the "Alexander" unit as the opening section of the Lincoln MS, but it confirms our impression that gatherings D-F were decorated apart from the other gatherings in the Lincoln MS. More importantly however, the decorative details in ten of the remaining decorative capitals in Thornton's Alexander item suggest that, as Thornton was adding the final touches to this romance, he went to some lengths to ensure that some of these decorative capitals would actually illustrate the written material which they accompany. Since Thornton's Alexander romance is the only clear example of this type of tailor-made decorative process in action in his collection, it is natural to associate Thornton's artistic practices here with his desire to give his Alexander item a prominent place at the head of his collection.

There are ten inhabited initials in Thornton's Alexander romance and, unlike the similar number of inhabited initials in gatherings D-F, these initials in gatherings A-C do serve to link the text and the decoration in a direct and meaningful way for Thornton's readers. Indeed, the main source of inspiration for these initials seems to have come from the text itself and, in particular from the challenges Alexander was having to face at various stages in his career. Thus, on f.38r, a capital T introduces an episode where we are told that Alexander and his men come across "a grete multitude of dragones, Serpentes and lyones þe whilke turmentid Alexander & his men reghte gretely" (p.90, 11.22-4).[26] Presumably because he wanted to illustrate this portion of the narrative for his readers, Thornton has inhabited his capital with a coiled dragon and has added a second dragon above the capital (see fig. 6). Although similar and purely decorative images of dragons and serpents occasionally appear elsewhere in the Lincoln MS, the appearance of these dragons on f.38r means that the reader's experience of this episode in Alexander's life is matched by the decoration which Thornton has supplied to his copy.

Thornton obviously had a similar intention in mind on f.16v. At

F.17r (Darius)

F.17r (Alexander)

F.16v

F.38r

FIG 6 Inhabited Capitals in Thornton's Copy of the _Life of Alexander_ (a)

this point in the narrative a Persian prince offers to betray King Darius because in the past Darius has failed to reward his great services to him. However Alexander prudently rejects this offer of help because he realizes in his own words that, "my men will no3te beleue þat þou will feghte agaynes thyn owenn peple" (p.42, 11.15-7). This particular incident obviously caught Thornton's attention as he decorated his text and thus he added what appears to be a picture of the Prince, in the capital which introduces this episode (see fig. 6). Indeed in the exchange of letters between Darius and Alexander, which immediately follows this incident, Thornton also added an image of Darius in the D of that King's name, and an image of Alexander in the A which begins his name (f.17r, see fig. 6).

The image of Alexander on f.17r is particularly interesting. Although the decoration is now quite badly faded in the MS, it still shows a youthful, bearded figure wearing a crown. Interestingly this minor decorative feature in Thornton's text seems to provide his readers with visual confirmation of the pre-eminence and authority of the youthful Alexander at a point in the text where that pre-eminence and authority has been seriously challenged. The initial which contains the image of Alexander on f.17r occurs in the text just after Darius has reproached Alexander for his vanity and, above all for trying to, "euen thi littilhede till oure heghe magnificence" (p.42, 11.35-6). However, it is Alexander, not Darius who wears the crown on f.17r. Darius is depicted as a rather full-faced man who shows every sign of being a common soldier. Thornton's regal portrait of Alexander then contradicts the insults of Darius visually while Alexander's pious retort in the text itself provides verbal confirmation for Thornton's readers that these charges are false. Thus Alexander reminds Darius that, "Pride & vayne glorie hase oure gode3 all way hated; and take3 vengeance of dedly men þat takes apon þam þe name of immortalitee. Bot þou, als I wele see, cessee3 no3te 3itt hider-to for to blasfeme in all þat þou may" (p.43, 11.14-7). In this war of

words between two pagans, Thornton's readers were guided by Thornton's decoration as well as by the text itself to identify with the sentiments expressed by Alexander.

Thornton's depiction of Darius on f.17r as a full-faced, beardless and crownless man is distinctively different from the depiction of a king which appears in the D of Darius on three other occasions in the text (see fig. 7). On ff.7r and 9r (on f.9r depictions of Darius occur twice on the same page) the portrait which appears in the initial D is of a thin old man who is bearded and who wears a crown. The figure of the old thin-faced king does reappear on f.24r but this time it is obviously intended to represent Porus since it occurs in the initial letter of that king's name. These obviously similar drawings reveal the extent to which Thornton's ambitious attempts to decorate his Alexander item meaningfully are in fact quite idiosyncratic and, in purely artistic terms, obviously simply executed. On the one hand Thornton was not above adapting a single model for the depiction of two different regal opponents of Alexander. That model, whether it was contained in Thornton's imagination or on a scrap of paper in front of him, was a stereotyped image of an old king's head which Thornton obviously felt could appropriately suit either Darius or Porus. On the other hand however, Thornton also used two different models to depict the same regal figure. Thus, on f.17r Thornton conveniently ignored how he had previously depicted Darius on ff.7r and 9r and shows him here to be a man without a crown purely because it suited the immediate literary context.[27] Regardless of these inconsistencies however, all these inhabited initials provide Thornton's readers with visual points of reference in this prose text so that the reader could actually see simple representations of the protagonists as they read what these men have to say.

The significance of the two remaining inhabited initials in Thornton's Alexander item is less immediately obvious. On f.11v the

F.24r

F.9r

F.7r

FIG 7 Inhabited Capitals in Thornton's copy of the *Life of Alexander* (b)

coloured capital A is decorated with an image of a knight apparently
hacking his way through thick undergrowth (see fig. 8). In the narrative
Alexander has just witnessed the complete destruction of Thebes by his
men and this is followed by Apollo's cryptic promise to the Thebeans that
the city will be rebuilt by a man who shall have three victories. The
inhabited capital occurs immediately following this prophecy and the
ensuing narrative deals with how Alexander moves to Corinth where the
Thebean Clitomarus defeats three men in a wrestling match, and is granted
permission by Alexander to rebuild Thebes (p.31). It is not too fanciful
to suppose then that the subject of the miniature in Thornton's text is
Clitomarus fulfilling Apollo's prophecy by commencing to rebuild Thebes.

The subject matter of the initial on f.23v is the most intriguing
of all. The miniature consists of a picture of a barrel drawn on its
side with a tree springing from it (see fig. 8). In the text itself the
initial occurs immediately following the wedding of Alexander to Roxana,
the daughter of Darius. In the narrative we are told that Alexander wrote
to his mother and to Aristotle his teacher, "þat þay scholde make grete
solempnytee lastyng aghte dayes because of þe weddynge of Alexander &
Rosan Darius doghter. And so did Alexander in Perse wit þe maceydoynes &
þe persyenes many a daye" (p.60, 11.2-5). At first sight then Thornton's
illustration might seem to be a symbolic representation of the celebrations
which followed the wedding of the central figure in this prose biography
of Alexander. The tree springing from the barrel may well be a vine and
the barrel itself could be a wine barrel. However the representation may
have had an additional and even more immediate and intimate symbolic
relevance to the scribe's family. In a University of Chicago term paper
in 1935 one of M.S. Ogden's students suggested that this illustration was
a rebus of the Thornton family name.[28] Reference to the Victoria County
History for the North Riding of Yorkshire (V.C.H.) shows that a similar
Thornton rebus does occur elsewhere, and of course it would be entirely

F.23v (Thornton rebus)

F.11v

FIG 8 Inhabited Capitals in Thornton's copy of the Life of Alexander (c)

appropriate that Thornton should symbolically indicate the identity of his own family at a time when the hero in his romance biography was getting married. Indeed on this occasion at least, we get the inescapable impression that Thornton as scribe, artist and book compiler was intimately involved in several stages of this text's production and was himself anxious to identify the opening item in his own collection as a suitable "Thornton" romance.[29]

Some additional information confirms Thornton's treatment of his Alexander item as a "special case." We have already discussed how the relatively unfinished state of the coloured capitals in Thornton's Alexander item was probably due to the fact that Thornton had already successfully completed the rubrication and decoration of most of the other coloured capitals in gatherings D-I before he eventually added the "Alexander unit" to his collection. Therefore, when Thornton came to decorate gatherings A-C, we can assume that he probably intended to complete the task of finishing the decorative touches to these gatherings fairly soon after he had added the coloured letter forms to the Life of Alexander. As Thornton was colouring these letter forms then he may already have decided how most of them were going to be decorated. Indeed some such explanation is certainly required if we are to account for Thornton's particularly inconsistent and unusual treatment of the coloured letter form A in gatherings A-C.

The letter A is frequently capitalized in Thornton's opening romance and of course this is exactly what we should expect in a text dealing with the life of Alexander. However, on fourteen of its thirty three appearances as a coloured capital in Thornton's Alexander item, the horizontal shaft of the letter form has been omitted when the coloured capital was added. This is an exceptionally unusual practice in Thornton's books and I have found only one other example in Thornton's items where a similar omission has taken place. This is in the letter form A which appears on

f.263r in the Lincoln MS. Here however, despite his omission, Thornton never returned to his capital to add any internal decoration. By contrast, in all fourteen cases where the horizontal shaft has been omitted from the coloured capitals in Thornton's Alexander item, the internal decoration has actually been added. Indeed on ff.11v, 16v, 17r and 23v the four coloured letter forms which remain incomplete happen to be four of the inhabited initials which illustrate Thornton's text (see figs 6,7 and 8). Thus, at an early stage in the rubrication and decoration of this text, Thornton seems to have been anxious to reserve additional space in some of his capitals for later internal decoration and illustration. Such personal and idiosyncratic involvement in the decision making which in this case had to precede the final stages in the decoration of the coloured capitals, is hardly a feature which we would readily associate with anyone other than Thornton, the scribe and owner of this copy of the Alexander romance.

The minor decorative features of Thornton's Alexander item are certainly interesting but it must be admitted that the extended border work and the decorative initials which embellish Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte remain much more elaborately executed. This feature in the Lincoln MS is particularly intriguing and puzzling since we have assumed that Thornton deliberately arranged his material so that his Alexander text effectively displaced his Arthurian text at the head of his collection. Ordinarily of course, we would certainly not expect Thornton, or any other book compiler, to replace a relatively well decorated item with a seemingly inferior artistic product. Therefore, in the light of this seeming anomaly, certain other unusual and incomplete decorative features in Thornton's Alexander item become very important and obviously merit further detailed consideration. These features (which consist of an "intruder" capital and a series of nine large blank spaces in Thornton's copy) provide us with an excellent indication that

Thornton originally intended the present opening item in the Lincoln MS to be far more visually attractive than any other item in this miscellany.

As Thornton copied the prose _Life of Alexander_ from his exemplar, he left a total of 112 indented spaces in his copy, most of which were intended for the later addition of coloured capitals. Four of these spaces extend for two lines of text in Thornton's copy, twenty six extend for three lines; fifty nine extend for four lines; twelve extend for five lines, and one extends for six lines. All of these spaces have since been filled by 102 of the 103 coloured capitals in this opening item. Moreover, despite the degree of variation in the size of the individual coloured capitals in Thornton's copy, there is nothing to suggest that these spaces could ever have been filled in any other way. However the same comment cannot be made about the space now occupied by the enormous decorative capital Q on f.6r. This occupies an indented space which extends for twelve lines in Thornton's copy and is the largest coloured letter in Thornton's collection. In the Lincoln MS it is also the only example of a coloured letter which extends for more than seven lines of Thornton's text.[30] Interestingly an orthographical peculiarity also tends to isolate this decorative capital. In Thornton's text the capital on f.6r is the initial letter of the word "qwhen." Although this is an acceptable ME spelling, this is the only occasion in the _Life of Alexander_ where the word actually begins with the letter q. Therefore, despite the inconsistencies and uncertainties generally associated with medievel orthography, there is obviously a strong case for saying that the enormous capital Q on f.6r is an impostor. Its presence in this Thornton text is probably the result of some kind of error on Thornton's part.

Reference to the nine large spaces which still remain blank in Thornton's Alexander item confirms this and suggests the real reason why Thornton originally reserved the twelve-line space on f.6r. These other spaces occur on ff.1r, 22v (the indented spaces extend for ten lines);

2v, 7r, 24v (the indented spaces extend for eleven lines); 2r, 3v, 26r (the indented spaces extend for twelve lines); and 26v (the indented space extends for thirteen lines). On these nine occasions there are none of the usual indications that Thornton intended to add coloured capitals to his text: he did not omit the opening letter of the first word which accompanies these spaces and guide letters do not appear in the margins at these points. Therefore, on each of these occasions, it appears likely that Thornton originally reserved these spaces so that some kind of illustration could accompany his text. It was at a later stage, when he was adding the coloured capitals in gatherings A-C, that Thornton seems to have inadvertently filled the blank space on f.6r with the offending capital.

The fact that these nine (originally ten) large blank spaces have been set into Thornton's opening item, but do not appear in any other item in the Lincoln MS, suggests that the Alexander romance is even more 'unfinished' than we have hitherto suspected. As Thornton copied this item from his exemplar he would seem to have been preparing his copy for some substantial form of accompanying decoration which had never taken place. Therefore, as a preliminary to our discussion of what this decoration might have been, we can say that Thornton's Alexander item is "frozen" at an unfinished production stage through which none of the other items in the Lincoln MS (including the alliterative Morte) would have had to pass.

It is of course very difficult to talk about original intentions here when nine of the ten spaces still remain blank and the tenth contains a decorative capital which seems out of place. However the existence of brief marginal notes beside two of the blank spaces on ff.7r and 26r means that, on these two occasions at least, we can deduce the actual subject matter of the illustrations with which Thornton originally intended to decorate his text at these points (see fig. 9). Thus, on f.7r Thornton

F.26r

F.7r

FIG 9 Marginal Instructions in Thornton's copy of the *Life of Alexander*

has written <u>rex equitans</u> in the side margin beside the indented space. This note is copied in the same ink as the main text on this page and was presumably added as Thornton was transcribing his text from his Alexander exemplar.[31] Again on f.26r, Thornton added the words <u>Regina regalibus cum duabus astantibus</u> in the side margin beside the blank space on this folio.[32]

In the past the existence of such marginal notes in MSS intended for illustration has been taken as evidence of collaborative book production. Such notes provided a guide to the illuminator from his superior indicating the main details of the required illustration. Often, in well-organized and careful commercial enterprises at least, these instructions were copied as short notes in the head margin of the folio where they could be shorn off when the book was finally trimmed before binding. Such instructions were not meant to survive and many of those which have survived in illustrated MSS do so in a very mutilated condition.[33] So, although the conditions under which Thornton produced his books were quite informal and unsystematic, it is likely that these two marginal notes were intended as instructions or reminders to an artist who may or may not have been Thornton himself. Indeed we might even suspect that a binder's knife has claimed any other instructions which Thornton copied elsewhere in the head margins of his Alexander item. Luckily however, it was impossible for such trimming to remove these two notes on ff.7r and 26r in the inner side margin.

The most important feature of these marginal notes is that they indicate that Thornton originally intended the illustrations to be related to his text. On f.7r the marginal note suggests that the text should be accompanied by the image of a king on horseback. At the point in the text where the space has been left for this illustration we are told that certain fugitives from Alexander are complaining about him to his great enemy Darius. We are told:

> Darius spirred thaym of his stature & of his schappe,
> and þay schewed hym purtrayed in a parchemyn skynn þe
> ymage of Alexander. And alsone als Darius sawe it,
> he dispysed Alexander bycause of his littill stature.
>
> (p.20, 11.31-4)

At this point in the narrative Alexander is sweeping across Judea in

triumph so presumably then an image of Alexander the conqueror astride

his horse is likely to have been the regal portrait which was intended.

If this was Thornton's original intention then his readers, as well as

Darius, were obviously intended to have a visual image from which to

derive their own impressions of Alexander's appearance. Presumably this

drawing might even have been intended to visually contradict Darius'

unflattering reaction to Alexander's portrait which is actually mentioned

in the text.[34]

The intended illustration of a queen with two attendants suggested

by the marginal note on f.26r would undoubtedly have provided Thornton's

readers with a visual impression of Talyfride, Queen of the Amazons, on

her first appearance in the prose romance. Thornton's brief note mentions

the regal qualities of this queen, and, surprisingly perhaps, makes no

reference to either her legendary ferocity or to the exotic feminine

society over which she holds sway. There is little indication then that

he intended the portrait on f.26r to be anything other than a conventional

portrait of a queen; but here again it is obvious that Thornton's stress

on the regal qualities of Alexander's opponent was intended to provide

his readers with a visual response to the accompanying narrative. Thus

in the accompanying narrative, Alexander's encounter with Talyfride comes

at the peak of his career and seems to be an example of how the influence

of his reputation as a great leader had spread across the earth. Despite

the warlike threats contained in the letter in which Talyfride describes

the wonders of her land and her women followers, Alexander laughs and

orders the queen to submit. Unlike Alexander's protracted military

campaigns against Darius and Porus, for example, we are told that Talyfride

was quick to make peace with the conqueror without a fight. The ME text
reads:

> And Talifride hir selfe and oþer ladys wit hir went
> un-till hym, and accorded wit hym, and went hame
> agayne, wonder glade and blythe.
>
> (p.67, ll.12-14)

It is perfectly appropriate therefore that Thornton seems to have intended
his proposed illustration of Talyfride to stress her courtly femininity
rather than her savage ferocity or military prowess.

Using the information we have obtained from the evidence on ff.7r
and 26r it is not difficult to predict the likely subject matter of the
eight remaining illustrations for which spaces were originally left but
for which no marginal instructions survive. Thus, on f.26v, where
Alexander responds to Talyfride's letter with a letter of his own, a
space has been left which could most appropriately have been filled with
a portrait of the conqueror himself. The positioning of the blank space
at the commencement of Alexander's retort to the warlike threats of
Talyfride suggests that Thornton was deliberately attempting to balance
the illustration of Alexander's regal adversary on f.26r with a companion
picture of the hero himself on f.26v. Of course we should note here that
exactly the same kind of balance is actually created by Thornton's simple
drawings of Alexander and his opponents in the inhabited initials on f.17r.

Six of the seven other indented spaces in Thornton's copy of the
Life of Alexander were also at one time probably intended to contain
portraits of the hero of this romance biography. Moreover, in each case,
their function in Thornton's copy would always seem to have been to pro-
vide appropriate visual confirmation for Thornton's readers of Alexander's
pre-eminence. Thus the space left on f.2r coincides with the point early
in Alexander's career when he sets out to conquer King Nicholas, following
that king's abusive challenge to the young Greek prince (p.10). On f.2v
the space occurs at the point where Alexander first receives messengers
from Darius demanding tribute (p.11). On f.3v the blank space occurs at

the point where Alexander first receives messengers from Darius demanding
tribute (p.11). On f.3v the blank space occurs at the climactic moment
in the career of the young prince when he ascends his dead father's throne
for the first time. The first lines of text which Thornton actually
indented read:

> When kyng Philippe was entered, Alexander went and
> sett hym in hys trone, and gerte calle by-fore hym
> all þe folke þat was gaderd thedir.
>
> (p.13, ll.10-12)

On f.6r the space which Thornton eventually filled with a decorative
capital, occurs at the point in the text where Alexander moves against
Jerusalem to begin his victorious siege of that city (p.18). On f.22v
the space follows a remarkably detailed description of the throne which
Alexander has just seized from Darius. The lines immediately preceding
the space Thornton reserved for illustration read:

> When Alexander was sett apon this trone, coronnde
> with his diademe, & þe Macedoynes & þe persenes
> standyng aboute hym: be-fore þam alle he gert
> write a lettre till all cuntreez, þat was of this
> tenour.
>
> (p.58, ll.1-4)

On f.24v the blank space coincides with the point in the text where
Alexander replies to Porus' scathing description of him as a thief, a fool,
a leader of cowards and, significantly, as a man lacking in physical
stature (p.62). Indeed, on f.24r this challenge is matched by an image of
Porus in the coloured capital which marks the initial letter of that king's
name. Elsewhere as we have seen Thornton decorated other coloured capitals
in his Alexander romance with simple representations of Alexander's ad-
versaries. Therefore in general, we can say that the intended function
of these proposed illustrations in Thornton's prose biography of Alexander
would seem to have been to balance the criticism of Alexander by his
adversaries with accompanying visual illustrations which confirm his pre-
eminence at high points in his career.

Finally the blank space on f.1r was probably intended to provide

Thornton's readers with an illustration of Bucephalus, Alexander's horse. The space in Thornton's copy occurs at exactly the same point as Bucephalus is being described for the first time in the narrative. We are told:

> This ilke horse was called Buktiphalas, bi-cause
> of his vgly lukynge, For he had a heued lyke a
> bulle, & knottills in his frount, as þay had bene
> þe begynnyng of hournes.
>
> (p.8, 11.18-20)

Thus here, as in the other remaining blank spaces in Thornton's text, the narrative of this prose romance itself provides the essential details which any medieval artist would have required to have completed suitable visual illustrations. Of course, although we can deduce the most likely general subject matter of Thornton's intended illustrations, it is difficult to be any more precise about specific iconographic details. Nevertheless, by reference to the pedigree of Thornton's Alexander item, we can establish that Thornton was not alone in desiring to illustrate his Alexander material in this manner.[35]

The ME prose Life of Alexander now survives uniquely in Thornton's MS. However, it is well established that this Thornton romance is a slightly abridged but close translation of the third revised and inter-polated redaction of the Latin Alexander romance generally referred to as the Historia de Preliis. The Historia de Preliis in turn is a mid-tenth century translation of the romanticized Greek biography of Alexander (the Pseudo-Callisthenes) which was falsely ascribed to Alexander's nephew. A revised and expanded redaction of the Historia de Preliis (I^1) was made in the late-eleventh century and from this were derived two further interpolated Latin redactions (I^2 and I^3). In I^2, despite numerous additions from Orosius and Pseudo-Methodius among others, the style of I^1 remains for the most part unaltered. It is from this re-daction that the ME alliterative Alexander fragments, Alexander A and Alexander B are derived. I^3 is entirely independent of I^2 and dates from

the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. It is characterized both
by stylsitic remodelling and also by the addition of many moralizing and
sententious interpolations. Interestingly I^3 seems to have been extremely
important as a direct source for many vernacular translations of Alexander's
biography. For example, at least five different Italian prose translations
of I^3 are known to have been made in the later Middle Ages. It is from
a copy of the I^3 redaction that not only is Thornton's prose translation
derived, but also the ME alliterative poem known as the Wars of Alexander.[36]

Despite the respectable pedigree of all these ME romances, the
MSS in which these items now survive are, with one notable exception,
neither expensive nor elaborate productions. The Wars of Alexander sur-
vives in Bodley MS Ashmole 44 and Trinity College Dublin MS 213. Both
MSS are rather plain with the only decoration in either being the capitals
which are at times drawn larger than the main text but which are drawn
in the same ink in which the texts were originally copied. Alexander A
survives in Bodley MS Greaves 60 which is an Elizabethan note book. The
Alexander text is copied from ff.1v to 24v wherever space remained between
the Latin exercises which make up the bulk of the volume. By contrast
however, Alexander B survives in Bodley MS 264, one of the most profusely
illustrated medieval MSS still extant.[37] Indeed this is the only sur-
viving copy of an English version of the Historia de Preliis to be
illustrated.[38] Intriguingly it is this fact which establishes the most
important point of contact between the intended illustrations in Thornton's
Alexander item and the medieval traditions of illustrated Alexander
literature in other late medieval books.

In this study of the surviving MSS which contain illustrated
Alexander material, D.J.A. Ross has noted that the nine miniatures which
illustrate the interpolated English item in MS Bodley 264 seem to have
been designed directly from the text.[39] However, despite this, Ross also
notes some iconographic coincidences with what he terms "the late antique

picture cycle."[40] This programme of illustrations was ultimately derived

from a similar earlier programme of pictures in Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The picture cycle itself reached Latin Europe through the I^2 recension of

the Historia de Preliis, passing from it to the OF Prose Alexander and

thence to the I^1 recension. Although the late antique picture cycle is

only found in one I^3 Latin MS copy in an abbreviated form, the full cycle

was used to illustrate Hebrew and Italian vernacular texts derived from

I^3. In addition Ross discusses various examples where this extensive

programme of pictures was abridged, expanded, revised or quite radically

adapted, often according to the immediate textual context in which it

was used. In this way we can account for the frequency with which many

iconographic themes reappear in illustrated Alexander literature through-

out the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it is the highly conventional nature

of many of the themes chosen to illustrate events in Alexander's life

which gives us our first indication that Thornton himself may well have

been copying his Alexander item from an exemplar which was itself

illustrated.

In both his published and unpublished work Dr Ross has described

how subjects similar to Thornton's intended illustrations variously occur

in different versions of the Alexander picture cycle. For example, in

a recent paper read to the Symposium, Alexander de Grote in de Middeleeuwen,

of the Interfacultaire werkgroep Mediaevistiek of the University of

Groningen, Ross has discussed the iconography of the Bucephalus episode

in the late antique picture cycle.[41] Although as many as seven scenes

can be depicted, the three most common show: (1) the presentation of

Bucephalus to Philip (Alexander's father) usually by a groom leading the

horse to the king seated on a throne; (2) the taming of the horse by

Alexander who enters the cage where Bucephalus is kept and harnesses the

wild beast; (3) Alexander rides the wild horse in Philip's presence. It

is probably one of these scenes which Thornton had in mind when he left

a space on f.1r of his MS.

Equally the space on f.2r, at the point where Alexander responds to the insults of Nicholas, was originally shown in the earliest Alexander illustrations as a chariot race (it survives in this form in the Armenian version) but in Europe it was usually illustrated as a battle or a joust. Moreover Thornton's intended illustrations on ff.2v, 7r, 24v, 26r and 26v could all appear in Alexander illustrations as a standard iconographic formula showing a Royal personage with a messenger or dictating to a scribe. The intended illustrations on ff.3v and 22v would probably have been versions of a standard enthronement or coronation formula. The image on f.6r, where Alexander arrives at Jerusalem, was again represented in the picture cycle by Alexander kneeling before the Jewish High Priest. Indeed, seen from this perspective, it is not even necessary to argue that Thornton derived his own sequence of intended illustrations from his own careful reading of the Alexander item. It seems not unlikely that he simply derived the subject matter of his intended illustrations from a conventional Alexander picture cycle which already existed in the exemplar before him. Moreover, in this context, Thornton's brief marginal note beside the blank space on f.26v becomes a particularly intriguing, but very minor, indication that Thornton was deriving precise details about the subject matter for his intended illustration here from visual details in his exemplar, rather than from his written text.

Thornton's marginal note on f.26v reads: <u>Regina regalibus cum duabus astantibus</u>. It occurs at the first appearance of Queen Talyfride in the narrative but, interestingly, the text of the <u>Life of Alexander</u> does not actually indicate here, or anywhere else, that this Queen had two attendants with her during her negotiations with Alexander. However, Thornton's note specifically indicates that in his illustration he wanted a queen to be accompanied by two such figures. This unusually precise requirement is hardly something which Thornton himself would be likely to

invent, and it seems reasonable to assume that this information was derived from an illustration of a queen and her two attendants in Thornton's source at this point. Indeed Thornton's exemplar may even have had a rubric similar to that which now appears on f.98r of Bodley MS 264 (see fig. 10). Here the rubrication makes clear that the Queen of the Amazons sent two messengers to Alexander.[42] Generally speaking therefore it is attractive to speculate that, as Thornton wrote the marginal instruction on f.26v, he had a picture before him which contained similar icono-graphic details to those surviving in the miniature of the queen on f.97v in MS Bodley 264, and to those preserved in the miniatures of her two messengers on f.98r in the same MS. Of course, in view of the almost total lack of evidence about the content of the illustrations which Thornton intended for his Alexander item, it would be pointless to take this speculation much further. However, it is at least fair to say that the existence of these illustrations in MS Bodley 264 provides us with English examples of the type of miniatures which were often used to illustrate this episode in Alexander's life. More specifically the limited remaining evidence on f.26v in the Lincoln MS provides us with an example where Thornton's marginal note, rather than his written text, is probably the most accurate description of the kind of illustration which he eventually hoped would be added to his text.[43] It is probably best to assume therefore that Thornton's main contribution here, as he copied the Alexander item from his source, was simply that he left blank spaces in his copy where illustrations appeared in his exemplar.[44]

When we now set Thornton's Alexander item back into the context of the Lincoln MS we can begin to see Thornton's planning and achievement here in its proper perspective. Thus, using our knowledge of the practical conditions under which Thornton copied and decorated his other items, we can suggest that the illustrations which he intended for his Alexander item would probably have required the minimum of artistic ingenuity.

F.98r (The rubric reads: Comment la royngne de Femmyne enuoia ij damoisels en message a la roy de Alixandre)

F.98r (The rubric reads: Comment la royngne de Femmyne enuoia Alixandre pour auer pees)

F.97v (The Queen and her court)

FIG 10   Illustrations of the Queen of the Amazons and her attendants as they appear in MS Bodley 264

Indeed, they could all have been based on very common and highly conventional iconographic models which Thornton or another local artist, could have found in many different secular and religious late medieval visual contexts. Thus a model of a king on horseback, the rex equitans of Thornton's note on f.7r, is all that would be required to complete the illustrations on ff.2r, 6r, 7r, 24v and 26v; a model of an enthroned king could have filled the blank spaces on ff.2v, 3v and 22v; a model of a horse could have been adapted to fill the gap on f.1r; and finally a model of a queen in her court could have been adapted to fill the gap on f.26r. Indeed by using a single iconographic model for a variety of contexts, Thornton would not only have been repeating artistic methods which he had used elsewhere for the minor decoration of the inhabited initials in his romance, but he would also have been accentuating the thematic parallels which the reader can observe in the text of the romance biography itself.

In this context it is tempting to speculate that, with the minimum of adaptation, the rough ink sketches on ff.52r and 52v in gathering C could have easily provided an artist with generally suitable models upon which to base the illustrations of Alexander and Bucephalus (see fig. 11).[45] These drawings occur on the final leaf of Thornton's "Alexander" unit and are followed on f.53r by Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte. Thus, although we can hardly assume that the sketches were directly inspired by the Alexander item itself, we can at least say that they supply the reader of the Lincoln MS with stock images of chivalric combat in a section of Thornton's collection where the main items themselves deal with similar knightly activities.[46] Moreover, if Thornton, or some later reader, had originally intended that these crudely drawn and experimental ink sketches should act as rough guides to the artist who was eventually going to illustrate the Alexander item, then their actions here would certainly not be unprecedented elsewhere in other late medieval books.

In Les Miniaturistes Francais Henri Martin has discussed the question
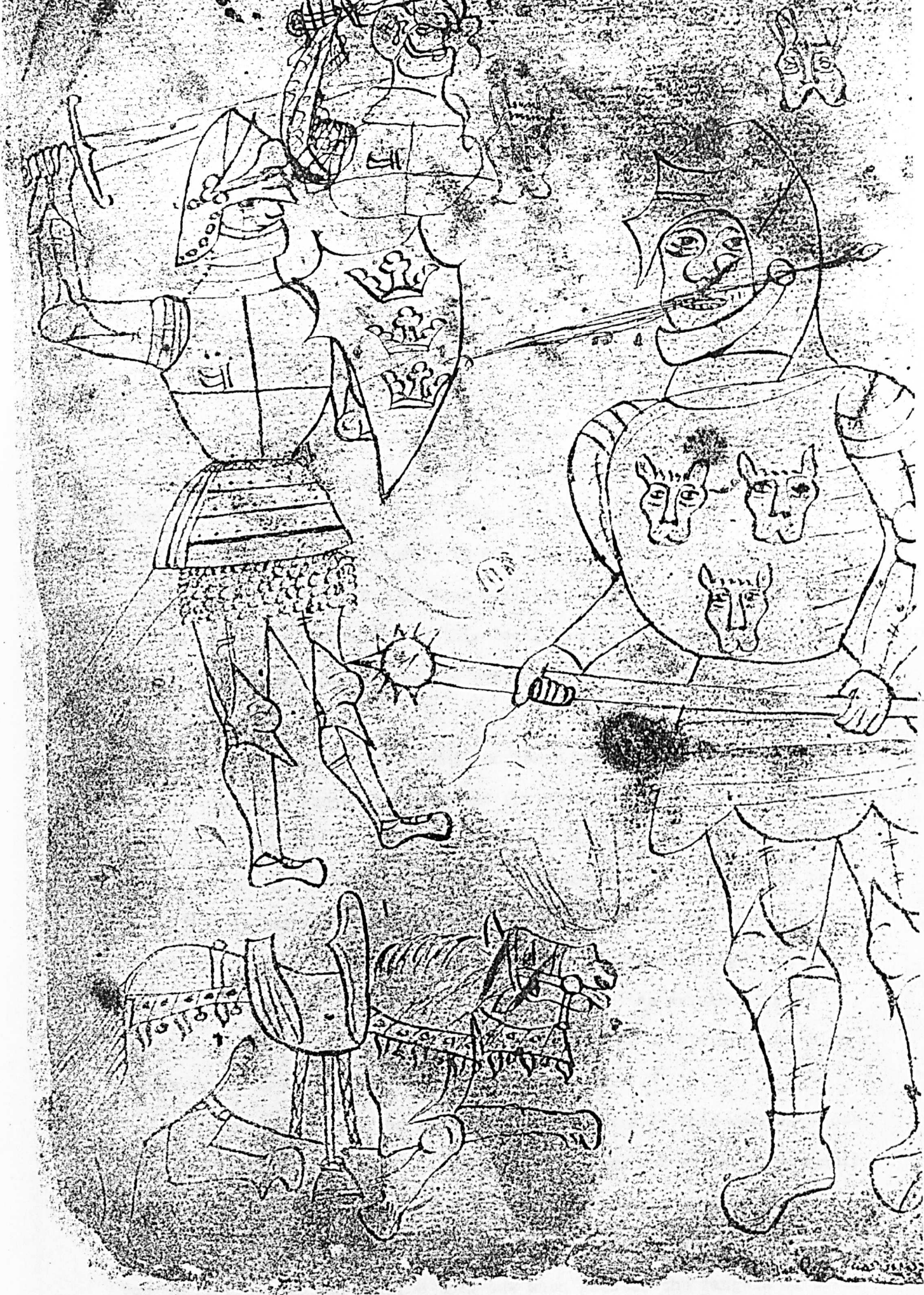
FIG 11 Ink Sketches on f.52v in the Lincoln MS

of the organization of labour in the late medieval workshops which specialized in commercial book decoration and illumination.[47] Occasionally the master illuminator in these workshops drew rough sketches in the margins of the page which provided the basic iconographic outline which a superior wanted the miniaturist coming afterwards to follow. Because the surface which was being painted was often parchment, and because the rough sketches were normally drawn in the side margins, these sketches were sometimes removed with the aid of either a knife or a pumice stone. However, in one fourteenth century French miscellany which contains the OF _Prose Alexander_ and various other "travelogues," many of the original rough sketches have been left, or else have been imperfectly removed for fear of damaging the parchment. In an article describing this MS (British Lib. MS Royal 19. D.1.) D.J.A. Ross analyzes in detail the evidence which suggests that the decoration in this book, and in at least three other MSS in the British Library, is the product of a single mid-fourteenth century workshop.[48]

Ross further argues that this workshop was engaged solely in the task of producing cheap illustrations for popular works in the vernacular, and did not necessarily work in association with any particular scriptorium. In his article he describes how, on the one hand, all four MSS which he has identified as being the products of this workshop have been copied by different scribes; and, on the other hand, the remarkably high degree of subdivision of labour which Ross has deduced from the evidence in the Alexander MS, is corroborated by similar evidence of specialization which Martin found in medieval guild records and accounts.

In his analysis of the illustrations produced by this workshop, Ross places particular stress on the errors, confusions and shoddy workmanship which could result in a commercial illuminator's workshop when it was necessary to illustrate a MS for which no traditional iconographic model was available. We can imagine then how much greater the dangers of error

and confusion would be in the case of the Lincoln Thornton MS if, when it came to the time when Thornton's Alexander item was due to be illustrated, there was also a lack of suitable compositional models. For example, regardless of the illustrations which may have appeared in his original written exemplar, Thornton would probably have had to improvise when it came to preparing for the illustration of his own copy of the Life of Alexander. Given the uncertain conditions under which he was producing his books, he could hardly have relied with any confidence upon the possibility of borrowing his Alexander exemplar for a second time in order to laboriously imitate the illustrations which he had originally found there. Instead it seems inevitable that, at some stage, Thornton, or someone else, would have had to derive the subject matter of his illustrations from whatever visual material seemed suitable and happened to be available.[49] This material could, of course, have been derived directly from the artists imagination, perhaps using the literature in Thornton's collection as an inspiration. However, it seems more likely, and would certainly have required far less imaginative effort, if Thornton or a later reader had simply turned to other, perhaps quite unrelated artistic models and used these as the basis for the rough sketches on ff.52r and 52v. There remains the tempting possibility therefore that these ink sketches which seem so crudely drawn and so experimental, were preliminary attempts by someone, possibly even Thornton himself, to outline the type of subject matter with which the Alexander romance should eventually be illustrated.

Despite this irresistible speculation, the fact remains that the illustrations in Thornton's Alexander item have never been completed. In attempting to explain why this should be the case we must first compare the 'unfinished' decorative state of the opening item in the Lincoln MS to the similarly 'unfinished' state of Thornton's copy of the C.M. which now heads the collection of Thornton items in the London MS.

In chapters II and III we have described how, in the London MS, Thornton appears to have originally copied his C.M. extract into a self-contained MS unit which he then appended to an existing thematic sequence. Originally this earlier sequence, and the core of the London MS collection, seems to have been headed by Thornton's copy of the N.P. which is followed by the Siege of Jerusalem. Moreover, in this chapter, we have seen that the opening initials of these two items are, stylistically, the most sophisticated decorative initials in Thornton's entire collection and also the only two examples of decorative initials in the London MS. It now seems likely that Thornton's reasons for decorating the N.P., and the Siege of Jerusalem in this special manner were, firstly, because he originally intended to head his collection in the London MS with the N.P., and, secondly, because he probably inherited the idea for decorating these two items from a similarly decorated exemplar. If we accept these con- clusions then it hardly comes as a surprise that, when Thornton copied his C.M. excerpt, he not only copied it with the intention of placing it at the head of his existing collection, but he also prepared it, as he copied it, for a sequence of illustrations which have never been added.[50]

Thornton gave his copy of the C.M. a relatively elaborate presentation in the London MS. He copied this opening verse item in double columns and, as he copied it, he also neatly subdivided his text into "chapters" by adding nineteen separate headings in the columns of text at obvious narrative breaks. These have been added in the same black ink as the main text and, although only four of these headings can actually be matched by similar headings in other MS copies, Thornton probably inherited the idea of subdividing his text in this way (if not the actual subdivisions them- selves) from a similarly organized exemplar.[51] However, on nine occasions, Thornton's headings have also been accompanied in the same column by spaces which have been deliberately left blank before he recommenced the task of copying his text. Therefore, unlike the spaces in Thornton's

prose Alexander item, the blank spaces in Thornton's copy of the C.M. have not been created by indenting the text, but instead they occur in the single column space which Thornton normally reserved for his written text. This means that the headings which Thornton has added at these points in the narrative would seem to serve an intriguing dual purpose. On the one hand their appearance here, as elsewhere in the C.M., serves to subdivide the narrative. But, on the other hand, their present appearance in one of the two opening items which Thornton has carefully prepared for future illustration, would suggest that these headings might also have been intended to act as accompanying rubrication for Thornton's intended illustrations. In this sense, although the illustrations themselves have never been added to Thornton's copy, we can use Thornton's headings, as well as the text itself, to gain some general impression of the type of illustrations which Thornton probably had in mind when he copied the C.M..

The ten-line space on f.4v in the London MS accompanies the descriptive heading, "Off the concepcyon off john þ^e Baptiste" (cf. l. 10935 ff. in the Morris edition).[52] Similarly, the eleven-line space on f.7r accompanies the description, "How Ihu Was Offrede to the temple" (cf. 1.11287 ff.); the nine-line space on f.7v accompanies, "How the three kynges made Offerande" (cf. 1.11373 ff.); the eleven-line space on f.8v accompanies, "How the angel warnned þ^e thre kynges to ga noghte by heraude" (cf. 1.11511 ff.); the ten-line space on f.9r accompanies, "How. ioseph ffledd intill Egipt with Marie and Ihesu" (cf. 1.11576 ff.); the ten-line space on f.12v accompanies, "How they ledd Ihu to the scole at lere" (cf. 1.12079 ff); the ten-line space on f.21v accompanies, "How Ihu gaffe the borne blynde man his syght" (cf. 1.13519 ff.); the twelve-line space on f.23v accompanies, "Off the man that was helide at the Pissoyne" (cf. 1.13760 ff); and finally, the ten-line space on f.25v accompanies "How Ihus fforgaff þ^e Magdelayne hir Synnes" (cf. 1.13962 ff).

In addition, although the twelve-line blank space which extends across two columns on f.24v is not accompanied by any kind of rubrication or descriptive heading, we can also assume that Thornton planned a substantial illustration at this point as well. Like the other nine smaller blank spaces in his copy of the C.M., the space on f.24v does not coincide with any obvious textual lacuna in Thornton's MS. Instead it occurs at a point corresponding to 1.13885. Here Christ preaches in the temple for the first time and tells his audience that his learning is not that of an unlearned man but comes from God himself. Presumably then Thornton left this space so that an image of Christ preaching in the temple could accompany his text.

Of course, due to the fragmentary nature of Thornton's copy of the C.M., we cannot be sure that these ten blank spaces were the only parts of this episodic narrative which Thornton originally intended to illustrate. Indeed it seems likely that Thornton's plans to illustrate this opening item may have been even more ambitious than the remaining fragment in his MS would now suggest. However, using the evidence which still remains in the London MS, and despite the fact that Thornton's illustrations were never added, we can still assume that the spaces which now occur in Thornton's copy were intended to be filled by illustrations of the events in Christ's life which were being described in the narrative. This is hardly surprising when we consider that the illustrations which Thornton planned for his Alexander item in the Lincoln MS were also intended to relate closely to the text itself. Here of course, behind Thornton's copy, there was a well established medieval tradition of illustrated Alexander material. Intriguingly, if we now look briefly at other surviving MS copies of the C.M., we can see that, here again, Thornton was certainly not alone in seeking to illustrate his copy of this lengthy and episodic biblical history.

The copy in the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh (E) is the

only other copy of the C.M. where spaces also seem to have been specifically reserved in the narrative for illustrations which were never completed.[53] Thus, as the E scribe copied the C.M. from his exemplar, he reserved a fourteen-line space on f.39v and a thirteen line space on f.41r. On f.39v the space occurs at a point corresponding to l.19451 in the Morris edition, where Stephen is about to be stoned; and on f.41r the space occurs at l.19656 where the Lord appears to Saul. Unlike most of the blank spaces in Thornton's copy neither of the blank spaces in E are accompanied by descriptive headings, but nevertheless it is likely that, here again, the text of the C.M. is a good indication of the type of scene which the E scribe had in mind when he reserved these spaces in his copy. Unfortunately however, the fragmentary E copy of the C.M. is even more fragmentary than the fragmentary Thornton copy. E contains only ll.18989 - 24968 of the published text, whereas Thornton's copy contains ll.10630 - 17188. Therefore, since the actual text of the C.M. in these copies does not actually coincide, it is impossible to decide whether or not both scribes were acting on their own initiatives in preparing their texts for illustration, or whether they were simply inheriting the idea of illustrating their material from similarly illustrated exemplars.

Reference to the illustrations which actually appear in the copy of the C.M. in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A 3 (C) gives us a third example of the medieval desire to illustrate this episodic narrative. As the C scribe copied this text he left spaces in his copy on ff.2v (a thirteen-line space following l.270); 10v (a ten-line space following l.1626); 14v (a sixteen-line space following l.2314); 44r (a six-line space following l.7860); 51v (a five-line space following l.9228) and 70v (a five-line space following l.12740). The space on f.2v has been filled with a list of the days of the week in Latin (added in red ink) and their vernacular equivalents (written in black ink). This precedes the description in the narrative of the seven days in which God created the

earth (11.271-410). The other five spaces in C were obviously reserved

for the genealogical diagrams which have been added in black ink. These

diagrams give visual summaries of the lengthy genealogical descriptions

at these points in the narrative.

The first of the drawings intended to illustrate the C.M. appears

on f.14v in C. On this folio only the first eight lines of the sixteen-

line space following 1.2314 have been filled with a genealogical diagram.

The remaining space is filled with a carefully labelled black ink drawing

of the tower of Babylon. The construction of this tower had previously

been described in the narrative (11.2239-2314) and, in C, this episode is

further highlighted by a rubricated heading on f.14r (De construccione

turris babilon). In addition, the C copy contains two other diagrams

and two further black ink drawings. However, on all four occasions these

diagrams and drawings have been added at appropriate points in the text,

but they have also had to be inserted in the margins of different pages

in the MS.

In the bottom left hand margin of f.7v a labelled diagram in black

ink, representing the four streams in Paradise has been added at the point

in the text where Paradise with its four streams has just been described

(11.999-1044). On f.12v, in the bottom margin a black ink illustration

of Noah's ark appears with its mast extending into the centre margin of

the page. The C.M. has just described how Noah built this ship and how

his family survived the flood (11.1633-2008). Additionally, in the bottom

margin of f.13v, a diagram has been inserted to indicate visually the way

in which Noah's sons shared the world. The narrative describes this

episode on the same folio (cf. 11.2087-2138). Finally, in the centre

margin of f.36v a roughly drawn sketch of the tablets of Moses has been

added at a point corresponding to 1.6471 ff. where the text has just

described the ten commandments which Moses gave to the people.

Since these various illustrations and diagrams in C have all been

drawn in a similar black ink, it is possible that they were all added at a single sitting. Moreover, the fact that they have been added in a similar black ink to the main text is perhaps a minor indication that they were added at the same time, or shortly after, the main text of the C.M. had been copied from its exemplar. Thus, although it is always possible that these drawings have all been added at the whim of a single scribe, it is still possible that the simple illustrations in C might also have been derived from the same exemplar as the written text itself.

In this context it is noticeable that all the drawings in C appear in the earlier part of the MS: the last marginal illustration is the rushed sketch on f.36v. Again, this may perhaps indicate that the scribe's enthusiasm for illustrating the margins of his episodic narrative waned considerably after only four attempts and that the fourth attempt was only a half-hearted one. It is equally likely however that the exemplar which provided the scribe with the models for his marginal illustrations was required elsewhere, before he could add any further drawings to his own copy. That exemplar was possibly the same as the one which he had already used for his written copy of the C.M. Regardless of this interesting possibility however, it is clear that the subject matter of the completed illustrations in C does not coincide with the subject matter which Thornton probably had in mind when he copied his C.M. extract. Here again therefore, while it seems possible that illustrated C.M. exemplars were actually in circulation, we have no solid or unambiguous evidence to support the theory that there was an extensive C.M. picture cycle in the later Middle Ages.

The Göttingen copy of the C.M. (G) is our fourth and most elaborate example of the medieval impulse to illustrate the C.M.. In the previous chapter we discussed briefly how G is the most lavishly decorated of all the surviving copies. Now we should add that, on at least fourteen occasions in G, the decorative capitals in the MS depict scenes which are

also described in the text of the C.M. at these points.[54] Often these scenes spill out of the decorative letter forms and into the margins of the book but the most important point here is that they were obviously added in order to illustrate as well as to decorate this episodic and lengthy text. The fourteen illustrations consist of the following subjects: an angel (appears on f.4r at l.411 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Of angelis and lucifer hou he fell/For his pride fra heuen to hell"); the blessing of Issac (f.24v at l.3411 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Nou es gode to vndertake,/þe stori to tell of sir Ysaace"); Joseph in chains (f.32v at l.4513 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Ioseph lay in þat langing,/Bi-tuix and Pharao þe king"); Moses and the commandments (f.45v at l.6451 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Listens nou vnto mi saw,/And tell i sal of moyses law"); David and Goliath (f.52v at l.7475 where there is no rubric but the text deals with king Saul's search for a man to fight Goliath); Solomon's temple (f.60v at l.8757 where there is no rubric but the text deals with the building of Solomon's temple); the ox inIsaiah's prophecy of Jesus (f.67v at l.9817 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "þe prophecye of suete iesu,/Listen, and i sal tell 3ou nou"); the castle of love (f.68r at l.9879 where there is no rubric but where the text deals with the allegory of the castle of love and grace); the tree bows to Jesus (f.79v at l.11681 where there is no rubric but where the text deals with how the tree bowed to Jesus); Jesus sows the wheat seeds (f.83v at l.12323 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Hou iesus sew þe quete"); Jesus plays with the wild lions (f.83v at l.12333 where the rubricated heading in G reads, "Hu þe leonis fauned iesus"); Jesus cures the man who was born blind (f.91v at l.13520 where there is no rubric but where the text the text deals with Christ restoring the blind man's sight); Christ preaches (f.93v at l.13726 where there is no rubric but where the text deals with Christ being asked to judge the woman taken in adultery);

Lazarus ill in bed (f.95v at 1.14128 where there is no rubric but where the text deals with Lazarus).

MS G has already provided several intriguing points of comparison and contrast with the Thornton copy of the C.M.. For example, our examination of the textual history of the C.M. in chapter III suggested that there was an indirect link between Thornton's copy and the earlier copy in G. Thus behind both these copies we have detected signs of the influence of John of Lindbergh's "book of the C.M.." Because of this indirect link it is also tempting to speculate that the actual idea of illustrating the narrative with a sequence of pictures was not necessarily Thornton's own idea, nor indeed an idea which he shared coincidentally with the G artist. Indeed it is not unlikely that it was the exemplars which lay behind Thornton's copy and the copies in MSS E, G and C which encouraged Thornton, the E scribe, the C scribe and the G artist to variously attempt to illustrate these individual copies of the C.M.. At least one of these exemplars was John of Lindbergh's book and, in the light of the evidence in the surviving copies of the C.M., it now seems quite probable that John's book was itself copiously illustrated.

On the other hand of course, it is equally important to note that Thornton's ambitious attempts to prepare his opening item in the London MS for future illustration and decoration were in fact far more ambitious than the preparations originally made by the G scribe. Thus, as Thornton copied his text from his exemplar, he not only indented his text so that the coloured capitals could be added, but he also determined the size and positioning of the future illustrations by leaving spaces for them on his written page. By contrast, in G the scribe simply reserved space in his copy for the addition of coloured capitals and made no other preparations. Indeed, the relatively unfinished appearance of MS G following f.99r, after which the spaces for coloured capitals remain unfilled, reminds us that it was not necessarily the G scribe who

eventually decided the manner in which the decoration of this book should be completed. Indeed during the final decorative stages, when the various illustrations were being added to the text, the scenes themselves were probably chosen by an artist whose choice was probably influenced as much by personal whim and the availability of suitable compositional models as it was by details in the text before him. Thus all the scenes which illustrate the G copy may also have appeared in an illustrated C.M. exemplar, but we should remember that these are stock religious scenes and so they might equally easily have been derived from other very conventional iconographic models.[55] Therefore in G, regardless of the source of the original idea to illustrate the C.M., there is little to suggest that the G artist faithfully imitated the illustrations which may have been in the written exemplar used by the G scribe. The same general point should also of course be borne in mind in any attempt to account for the probable subject matter of the illustrations with which Thornton eventually intended to illustrate his copy of the C.M..

MS G is also of course the sole surviving MS copy which actually illustrates the portion of the C.M. narrative which also survives in Thornton's fragmentary copy. However, in the light of our reservations about comparing the decorative features of the surviving C.M. MSS too closely, it is hardly surprising that only one of the six scenes which illustrate this section of the C.M. in G actually coincides with the positioning of one of the ten blank spaces in Thornton's copy. This is the illustration on f.91v in G (1.13520) which depicts Jesus curing the man who was born blind, and which coincides exactly with the space in the C.M. narrative on f.21v in Thornton's MS. Interestingly, in G this particular scene is not accompanied by a rubricated heading in the MS although a descriptive heading does appear in Thornton's copy at this point. Furthermore, the illustrations on ff.79v and 95v in G have no rubricated headings but we find that descriptive headings in Thornton's

copy on ff.9v and 26v at similar points in the narrative, highlight for

Thornton's readers two further episodes which the G artist actually

illustrates for his readers. Elsewhere of course, Thornton's headings

do not seem to coincide significantly with either the rubricated headings

or the illustrations in G and so these coincidental points of comparison

in both MSS simply serve as another useful reminder of the general

attraction of certain well known episodes in the life of Christ for late

medieval scribes, artists and readers.

In general then, we can assume that a close comparison of the

illustrated copy of the C.M. in G and the copy which Thornton prepared

for illustration in the London MS reveals more differences than similarities.

However, the fact that G is one of four different surviving MSS, where

various scribes or artists have been encouraged to make plans to illus-

trate this lengthy narrative is itself quite striking and highly unusual.

It suggests, however vaguely, that the C.M. was a ME text which circulated

in a form which encouraged scribes like Thornton to seek to illustrate

their own copies. In addition the diverse and incomplete nature of the

decorative features in Thornton's copy and in MSS E, C and G indicates

the strong element of personal choice which seems to have played a crucial

role in deciding whether and how different copies of the C.M. should be

illustrated. Inevitably, the individual scribe, supervisor, artist or

book compiler who intended to illustrate this lengthy verse compilation

would have been influenced, not only by the illustrations (if any) in the

exemplars before them, but also by the conditions in which the individual

books were being produced. These practical considerations, which varied

so much over the lengthy period of time in which the C.M. continued to

circulate, seem to provide us with the most likely explanation for the

fact that so many copies have been prepared for illustration but so few

C.M. illustrations have actually survived. Therefore, in our final

assessment of Thornton's own attitudes towards the C.M. and his own

achievements as a book decorator, we must also attempt some assessment

of the changing practical conditions in which he was copying his items,

decorating them and preparing them for future illustration.

The incomplete state of the decoration of the opening items in both

Thornton's MSS inevitably leads us to certain intriguing speculations

regarding Thornton's original intentions when, as a scribe, he copied

the _Life of Alexander_ and the _C.M._. In the first place the limited

evidence which remains in Thornton's MSS and in other related MSS suggests

that Thornton's exemplars for these items may themselves have been

illustrated. Thornton's main contribution then may simply be that he

left blank spaces in his copies where illustrations appeared in his

exemplars or, equally likely, that he originally selected the illustrations

he intended for his copies from similar illustrations which he found in

his exemplars. However, the act of reserving spaces for future illus-

tration in the first place, accompanied at times by clear indications of

the subject matter which was to be added at these points, is itself

indicative of Thornton's confidence in his ability to ensure that these

texts would eventually be illustrated. Regardless of the nature of

Thornton's exemplars then, the remaining MS evidence in his books suggests

that Thornton's personal desire was to enhance the visual appeal of both

books for his future readers. In both cases it also seems likely that as

Thornton copied these items and confidently prepared them for future

illustration, he was already aware that they were destined to form the

opening items of two quite separate volumes.

Of course, the actual desire to illustrate a ME literary narrative

is itself particularly rare. It is only in the fifteenth century that

we get signs that extended programmes of illustration were being developed

for texts like the _Confessio Amantis_ or Lydgate's _Troy Book_ and his _Fall

of Princes_.[56] In most cases, we can assume that these picture cycles were

originally added for commercially pragmatic reasons and that they were

added by craftsmen working in illuminator's workshops. In some cases the unfinished state of a MS obviously originally intended for illumination seems to be an indication of an unsuccessful business speculation.[57]

However, the conditions in which Thornton was producing his books would appear to have been somewhat different from the conditions in which other, more de-luxe and certainly better known English illuminated MSS were produced. Thus we have described at length how Thornton gradually added his own rubrication and decoration to some of the items in the Lincoln MS and to at least some of the items in the London MS. It is possible then that eventually he also intended to add his own illustrations to his Alexander item and to his copy of the C.M.. However, we have also noted that the decoration of the London MS is at a far less advanced stage than the decoration of the Lincoln MS. In addition it is likely that some of the coloured capitals in the London MS were added by William Frostt, whose name appears in red ink on f.73v in Thornton's book. Although we cannot establish the identity of this man, the appearance of his name in the MS suggests that, at a late stage in his book compiling activities, Thornton may well have handed over some of the responsibility for the finishing of his rubrication and decoration to another person. Equally however we might also speculate that, due to the ambitious nature of his plans for full-scale illustrations for the Life of Alexander and the C.M., Thornton may also have considered specially commissioning a professional craftsman for the specific purpose of illustrating the opening items in each of his books.

Much work remains to be done before we can talk with any assurance about the range of formal and informal tasks which were undertaken by fifteenth century English provincial workshops which specialized in commercial book decoration and illumination. However, in her recent work on one mid-fifteenth century English illuminating shop and its customers, Kathleen Scott has reconstructed a convincing and detailed picture of a

workshop where the two illuminators did not work in close association with any particular scriptorium but were instead prepared to work on a range of different kinds of commission for their various customers.[58] Although this workshop was probably based in London it is likely that similar commercial decorative work was going on in other important provincial centres like late medieval York. Therefore we should not automatically rule out the possibility that Thornton had access in fifteenth century Yorkshire to a workshop, however small or informal, where he might have reasonably expected to find available the necessary facilities with which to satisfactorily complete the illustrations in his two books.

Historical evidence confirms the likelihood of this speculation. Among the entries in the Freeman's register for York between the years 1327 and 1473 we find good indications that book production in the city, and in particular the decorating of books, was a specialized and organized business. Among the freemen who specified their trade in York during these years we find thirty-eight parchment makers, one stationer, thirty-five scriveners, six book binders, and finally and most importantly, thirteen limners (1339, 1349, 1391, 1406, 1418, 1419, 1424, 1434, 1436, 1439, 1460, 1462, 1472).[59] Of course, the quality or type of work which these limners actually undertook is unspecified; however, it is likely that at least some of these men were engaged in the same type of commercial activities as their counterparts in London or Paris. Therefore, if Thornton was generally aware that there were workshops in York which were prepared to take on private commissions from individual customers who could afford to pay for them, then he may well have considered the idea of illustrating his opening items as a particularly attractive one. His original plans for the finishing of the opening items in his books may well have included a visit to an illuminator's workshop as well as a visit to the medieval book binder's shop.[60]

There are many possible reasons why this proposed visit to a late-medieval illuminator's workshop did not actually take place. The most obvious of these is of course that, despite his ambitious plans, Thornton eventually found that he could not afford to pay for the necessary artwork to be completed by a professional craftsman. However, the likelihood that William Frostt was left to complete quite minor decorative features in the London MS suggests another possibility. It suggests that Thornton may well have died, before he could satisfactorily complete his own finishing process for some of the items in his collection. If this was the case, then Thornton may also have delayed sending either his Alexander item or his C.M. item to a commercial workshop until it was too late. Despite his original intentions, Thornton's mortality, rather than his lack of funds, may well have determined that both his books remained in their present unfinished decorative state.

1.   Examples of the use of red ink for some of these purposes have
already been discussed in chapters I and II above. Additional examples
will, of course, be discussed in detail in this chapter. In this context
however, we should also note that quire Q, containing Thornton's copy of
the Liber de Diversis Medicinis, is the only quire in either of Thornton's
MSS which is exempt from this type of colourful decorative treatment.
For further discussion of the thematic and visual isolation of Thornton's
"medical" unit, see the discussion in chapter I above.

2.   See his "The Impact of Punctuation: Punctuation or Pause and Effect,"
in Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval
Rhetoric, ed. James J. Murphy (1978), pp.127-42. This contains a useful
discussion of the principal marks of late medieval punctuation. For
other important studies of medieval systems of punctuation, see also:
A.C. Cawley, "Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa," London
Mediaeval Studies, 1 (1937), pp.117-8; P. Clemoes, "Liturgical Influence
on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts,"
Occasional Papers Printed for the Department of Anglo-Saxon, 1 (Cambridge,
1952); M. Morgan, "A Treatise in Cadence," M.L.R., 47 (1952), pp.156-64;
E. Zeeman (Salter), "Punctuation in an Early Manuscript of Love's Mirror,"
R.E.S., N.S. 7 (1956), pp.11-18. For an excellent general survey of the
more informal punctuating devices often found in late medieval MSS
containing ME items, see Pamela de Wit's, "The Visual Experience of
Fifteenth Century English Readers," (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford,
1977).

3.   We should also add to this list of common medieval punctuating
devices, the marginal rubric (π) which Thornton normally adds in black
ink, but which is also sometimes added in red. These marks indicate
important narrative sub-divisions such as, a new paragraph or stanza or
strophe. For individual examples of Thornton's use of this device in
the London MS, see my discussion in chapter II above. For a recent
interesting brief assessment of similar marginal markings in the Lincoln
MS, see M.F. Vaughan's, "Consecutive Alliteration, Strophic Patterns,
and the Composition of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," in Modern Philology,
77 (1979), pp.1-9, esp. pp.7-9. Thornton also infrequently uses brackets
to link together rhyming lines in some of his verse texts. See, for example,
my discussion of his presentation of the Quatrefoil of Love in the London
MS (ff.98r-101v) in chapter II above. For other examples, see Thornton's
presentation of the Sege of Melayne; Sir Otuel; the Passionis Christi
Cantus (second draft only) and the alliterating paraphrase of Vulgate
Psalm 50 (opening lines only) in the London MS. For examples in the
Lincoln MS see, among others, Thornton's presentation of Sir Degrevant;
Sir Eglamour (opening lines only); the Awentyrs; Sir Perceval and
St John the Evangelist.

4.   . Thornton uses the punctus and the virgula suspensiva very infrequently
in the London MS. The punctus appears by itself in Thornton's cramped
presentation of the Prayer to the Guardian Angel (f.101v); his economical
presentation of the paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50 (ff.102r-v); and
occasionally in the Three Kings of Cologne (ff.111r-119v). Both the
punctus and the virgula suspensiva also appear in Thornton's cramped copy
of the Quatrefoil of Love (ff.98r-101v). See the description of Thornton's
presentation of these items in chapter II above. By contrast, in the
Lincoln MS both the punctus and the virgula suspensiva appear frequently
throughout Thornton's prose items where they serve to break these prose

narratives up into shorter sense units for the medieval reader.
Interestingly, they also appear in Thornton's copy of the alliterative
Morte. Here Thornton originally added the punctus in the same black ink
as he used for his main text and this mark consistently marks the medial
pause in the lengthy metrical lines in which this non-rhyming alliterative
text was composed. Moreover, on ff.53r-69r, the rubricator (who was
almost certainly Thornton himself) returned to the alliterative Morte and
added additional punctuation devices (normally examples of the virgula
suspensiva) at exactly the same medial point in the line. Thus, although
Thornton's action here was clearly meant to re-emphasize for his readers
important medial pauses in the lengthy alliterative lines, the original
idea of punctuating the text in this way was probably inherited from his
exemplar.

5.   The present non-appearance of guide letters in some of Thornton's
items, particularly in the London MS, is perhaps not always due to
Thornton's obviously inconsistent scribal practices here. It is also no
doubt partly due to the rigours of the binding processes which the London
MS has had to endure. Thus guide letters which once appeared in the side
margins may often have been shorn off by the binder's knife as the ragged
edges of the pages were tidied up. See further the discussion of the
present physical condition of the London MS in chapter II.

6.   For more detailed discussion of the probable provenance and
appearance of the various exemplars in which Thornton found his Latin
items, see chapter I above. Elsewhere, among the vernacular items in
Thornton's collection, the inconsistency with which coloured capitals
appear, and the varying size of the capitals which do appear, are a less
certain indication of the similarly infrequent appearance and varying size
of capitals in Thornton's exemplars. We should recognize here the pos-
sibility that, on some occasions at least, Thornton may have quite
arbitrarily altered the size of the capitals which appeared in his source.
On other occasions he may have added or omitted other capitals at will.
Future research might well produce examples where Thornton is likely to
have "edited" his copy in this way. In this context note the appearance
on f.45v in the Lincoln MS of a guide letter (f) where no indented space
and no coloured capital appears in Thornton's text. This clearly suggests
a careless and unintentional omission by Thornton as he copied his exemplar.
Similarly, on f.114v Thornton obviously added the opening coloured initial
to his copy of the Erl of Toulous as an editorial afterthought. When he
originally copied this item from his exemplar, he did not indent his text,
and he simply added the small opening capital in the same ink as the rest
of his text. At a later date a coloured letter form has had to be super-
imposed on his originally unprepared copy. For examples of Thornton's
tendency to omit the first letters of certain words without leaving an
indented space for the later addition of coloured capitals, see n.22 below.

7.   These other occasions all occur in the Lincoln MS. See for example
the incipit on f.53r (fig. 1); the heading on f.192r; and the explicit
on f.194r. Note also Thornton's very consistent use of red ink in his
presentation of the related short items ascribed to Rolle on ff.194v-196v.
For further discussion of the presentation of these items, see chapter I.

8.   The relatively few occasions when Thornton appears to have changed
the frame ruling on his page, when he returned to a half-filled gathering
to add more material, are the most likely exceptions to this general rule.
See for example chapter I's discussion of the frame rulings on ff.98v and
161r in the Lincoln MS. It is of course also important to distinguish
here between the red frame rulings which appear in gatherings 1 (London MS)

and M and N (Lincoln MS) and the roughly drawn red line which has been traced across the top of ff.51 and 52 in gathering C in the Lincoln MS. For the importance of making this distinction, see further the discussion of the collation of gathering C in chapter I.

9.   Thornton's persistent habit of drawing red frame rulings in gatherings i, M and N (despite the unfortunate blotching effect this has had on some of his pages) seems quite idiosyncratic. However, since Thornton used red ink so frequently in his collection, we can hardly assume that the writing frames in i, M and N were necessarily drawn at the one sitting. In i and N it may have been little more than personal convenience that made Thornton use the same pen and ink to draw the rulings as he had previously used for decorating and rubricating items elsewhere in his collection. In M the situation is more complex. Here Thornton was experimenting with these colourful frame rulings at the same time as he was variously but inconsistently using single column and double column writing formats for his verse items. In i and N red ink need only have been accessible when Thornton prepared blank sheets for his gatherings; but, in M, Thornton's stock of red ink must have been permanently available as he copied his items in black ink. For further discussion of the short items in M and N and the other problems they present, see chapter I above. C.f. Owen's comments in the "Collation and Handwriting" section of the Scolar Thornton MS Facsimile, p.xv.

10.   The similarity between these coloured capitals is made even more apparent when we consider that the internal and external decorative flourishes which adorn all five capitals have been added using greens and browns and, on two occasions, touches of blue (ff.19r and 19v). Elsewhere the internal and external decorative features which have been added to Thornton's capitals were added in at least two different types of mauve ink. See the discussion below. It should also be noted here that the only other appearance of the colour blue in Thornton's MSS occurs in the letterform M on f.9v in the middle of Thornton's copy of the C.M.. See below for further details.

11.   See also the discussion of the initial on f.114v in n.6 above and the discussion in n.22 below.

12.   This, in itself, is hardly an indication that someone other than Thornton was updating the decoration of his books. We should always expect to find minor examples of this kind of totally inconsistent decorative work in personal collections which have themselves been compiled gradually and inconsistently.

13.   C.f. Mrs Karen Stern's brief discussion of the decorative features in the London MS in "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," Scriptorium, 30 (1976), pp.26-37, 201-218.

14.   The appearance of Frostt's name (but not the fact that it was added in red ink) was noted by Karen Stern in "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," p.209. Future historical research might well reveal more information about the identity of Frostt and his relationship (if any) to the Thornton family, but the minor decorative details in the London MS make it seem unlikely that Frostt was actually commissioned by Thornton as a professional craftsman. He may simply have been a later reader of the London MS. For further discussion of this possibility, and for the idea that Thornton did intend to commission a professional illuminator at one stage in his book producing activities, see the discussion below.

15.   The colour photograph in fig. 1 reproduces the decorative opening

initial of the <u>N.P.</u>. Even under ultra-violet light it proved impossible to make sense of the word which appears in the middle of the blank space in the second column on f.33r.. For a black and white photograph of the opening decorative initial in the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u> on f.50r see "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," pl.13.

16. For the comments by Doyle and Stern see "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," pp.209-10 and n.78. For Stanley's discussion, see his review article in <u>N and Q</u>, N.S., 25 (1978), pp.165-8.

17. If this explanation is accepted then the possibility is again raised that Thornton's exemplar for these items may well have been far more lavishly decorated than the copies which now survive in Thornton's MS. Note too that some obviously incomplete but well drawn black ink border work appears in the outer margin of f.66r where Thornton completed his copy of the <u>Siege of Jerusalem</u>. This is the only example in Thornton's entire collection where any decorative border work survives independently of the coloured letter forms. It is possible therefore that the inspiration for this particular experimental black ink border work came from the same source as the inspiration for the decorative capitals on ff.33r and 50r.

18. See, for example, J.J.G. Alexander's general illustrated survey in <u>The Decorated Letter</u> (1978). The most important analysis of secondary elements of decoration in fifteenth century English MSS (i.e. the borders, demi-vinets, champs and pen-flourished initials) remains Margaret Rickert's chapter on the illumination of surviving <u>Canterbury Tales</u> MSS in John M. Manley and Edith Rickert's, <u>The Text of the Canterbury Tales</u>, 1, pp.561-605. See also the recent excellent work by Kathleen Scott referred to in n.58.

19. But see n.10 above. I also discuss below several important examples where minor decorative penwork has been added in black ink.

20. Following f.270v the only other "finished" capital in the MS is the coloured capital on f.276v in gathering P. This is the opening initial of Thornton's extract from the <u>Prick of Conscience</u> (<u>P.C.</u>).

21. On f.209v the opening initial of Thornton's copy of <u>de dominica oracione</u> (a ME prose exposition of the <u>Pater Noster</u>) is actually inhabited by a mild mannered face. The face appears in the P of <u>Pater Noster</u> and Thornton's marginal note here reads: "<u>Tractatus de dominica oracione secundum</u>." The incomplete nature of this marginal note, which is set in the margin beside the inhabited initial, is probably a good indication that the drawing is intended to represent Christ's face. Elsewhere in M and N the two "finished" capitals which are not opening initials appear on f.225r and 225v in the middle of Thornton's fragmentary copy of Hilton's <u>Mixed Life</u>. These are the only two other examples of inhabited initials in Thornton's "religious" unit. On f.225r the capital is inhabited (significantly perhaps in view of the suspected provenance of this "Thornton" text) by a tonsured profile; on f.225v the capital is obviously inhabited but it is difficult to determine the subject matter. (Possibly the drawing is intended to represent a tusked (?) creature of some kind.)

22. Thornton's practice here should be compared to his practice on f.154r, where the opening initial of the <u>Awentyrs</u> was also probably added at a different time from most of his other coloured capitals. On both ff.291r and 154r Thornton failed to indent his text to reserve space for the later provision of an opening initial. In both cases however, he did omit the

opening initial from his copy and in both cases that initial was an I.
Since this particular letter form did not require a great deal of
indented space, Thornton seems to have sometimes casually ignored the
need to indent his text as he copied it. Interestingly, on both these
occasions and also on ff.27r and 109r where Thornton did indent his text
slightly, Thornton appears to have carelessly overlooked the initial
letter I when he was adding most of the other red letter forms to his
items. In this context, see the discussion above and fig. 2.

23.   For example, it would be pointless to argue that Thornton added the
much more elaborate black ink decorative opening initials on ff.33r and
50r in the London MS at exactly the same time as he added his black ink
decorative features in gatherings M and N in the Lincoln MS. However,
despite the fact that they have ended up in different MSS, these black
ink decorative features all appear to have been added by Thornton with a
single purpose in mind: they would all appear to demonstrate Thornton's
understandable preoccupation with decorating the opening initials of some
of the items in his books. In the case of the decorative work in the
London MS this preoccupation would also seem to be related to Thornton's
obvious desire (discussed below) to make the items which originally
headed both his MS miscellanies as attractive as possible.

24.   The colour photograph in fig. 1 shows how this discolouration has
affected the internal and external decorative features of the two
decorative capitals on f.53r.

25.   These inhabited initials occur on ff.66r, 70v, 75v, 77v, 78r, 80r,
94r, 95v, 97v in Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte and on f.102r
in his copy of Octavian. For examples, see also figs 4 and 5.

26.   All references are taken from The Prose Life of Alexander, ed.
J. Westlake, EETS, O.S., 143 (1913). Presumably due to Westlake's pro-
longed illness the introduction, notes and glossary for this edition have
never been published.

27.   The image of Darius on f.7r has actually been added in black ink.
It is probable therefore that Thornton added this decoration after most
of his other decorative features had been added. See the discussion above.

28.   I have not read this paper; however Ogden makes a brief reference
to it in the introduction to her edition of the Liber de Diversis Medicinis
(EETS, O.S., 207 (1938), pp.viii-ix, n.4). The rebus referred to in this
note is engraved on a headstone which was originally brought from Jervaulx
Abbey but which is now built into the north wall of the tower of the
parish church in Middleham in the North Riding of Yorkshire. William
Page's description of the rebus can be found in V.C.H., 1, N. Riding
(1914), p.256. For examples of the tun being used as a symbolic device
to indicate the identity of other, later, book producers, see Ronald B.
Mc Kerrow, Printers and Publishers Devices in England and Scotland 1485-
1640 (1931). We can conveniently assume therefore that the obviously
symbolic relevance of the drawing on f.23v in the Lincoln MS would have
been quite apparent to other members of the Thornton family, and to those
who knew them and had read Thornton's book.

29.   In this context we should of course also note the existence of other
signs of Thornton's "proprietorial" attitude towards his texts, this time
in the alliterative Morte. Thus Thornton's name actually appears in a
decorative scroll on f.93v in gathering C. This scroll has been added in
the same ink (now badly faded) as the other decorative features in D-F.
The appearance of Thornton's name coincides with the point in the

narrative where Gawain has just been killed. Here however, as with the other decorative details in gatherings D-F, the positioning of this rather obvious indication of ownership would appear to have been chosen at random. This particular decorative feature should also be compared with other, equally obvious marginal indications of Thornton's ownership of this poem. These have been added in red ink and appear on the opening page of Thornton's alliterative romance (f.52r). See fig. 1.

30. I have found only one other capital in Thornton's collection which extends for as many as ten lines of indented text. This is the capital I on f.14v in Thornton's copy of the C.M. (London MS). Here however, the actual dimensions of the space which Thornton originally indented are much smaller and could only have been filled by the letter form I. If there is a reason why this particular capital extends for as many as ten lines, then perhaps the reason is that the short episode in the C.M. which the capital introduces, extends for the same ten lines as Thornton's coloured capital. Possibly therefore Thornton remembered to indent his text slightly but forgot to stop indenting it until he came to the end of the episode in question. For Thornton's carelessness with the letter form I in his collection, see above. See below for more detailed discussion of Thornton's presentation of the C.M..

31. In addition a crude frame has been drawn around the space on f.7r and a puzzling note has been added in the middle of this space. The note reads hic incipit and seems to be copied in a different ink from Thornton's main text or his original marginal notation. The full significance of the note (if it is anything more than a pen trial) remains intriguing but unclear.

32. Westlake mistakenly transcribes the marginal notation on f.26r as: Regina Talibus cum duabus astantibus (p.65, n.3).

33. See for example the various states of the marginal instructions in Bodley MS 264. This well known de-luxe MS is an outstanding example of the kind of copiously illustrated Alexander material which was being professionally produced in the later Middle Ages. For a facsimile of the MS, and for a valuable introductory description of the methods by which it was produced, see further M.R. James, The Romance of Alexander, A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodley 264 (1933). Further references to this MS are made in the general discussion of illustrated Alexander material below.

34. Presumably a portrait of Alexander on f.7r would have performed exactly the same function for Thornton's readers as the minor feature of the king's face in the initial letter of Alexander's name on f.17r.

35. In this context two of the most important studies of the transmission of the Alexander legend in medieval literature are: George Cary's The Medieval Alexander, ed. D.J.A. Ross (1956, repr. 1967) and Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature by D.J.A. Ross (1963). Both studies include a comprehensive survey of the many Alexander narratives based on Pseudo-Callisthenes. In both cases this includes brief accounts of the ME texts derived ultimately from this main source of medieval knowledge about Alexander. My discussion here is based on these accounts. For a more detailed discussion of the relevance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition to the ME romances derived from the Historia de Preliis, I² recension, see also F.P. Magoun's introduction in The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon (1929).

36. In 1926 G.L. Hamilton speculated that Thornton's copy of the Life of Alexander and the ME Wars of Alexander were derived from a revised and

interpolated redaction of the <u>Historia de Preliis</u> (I^{3A}). See his, "A New Redaction (J^{3A}) of the <u>Historia de Preliis</u> and the Date of Redaction J^{3}," <u>Speculum</u>, 2, pp.113-46. However D.J.A. Ross has since demonstrated that Hamilton's evidence for dating redaction I^{3} was inadequate and, in 1961, suggested that the question of a "new" redaction needs to be reconsidered. In 1976 H.N. Duggan confirmed that Hamilton's I^{3A} recension is a "ghost." See further D.J.A. Ross, "The I^{3} <u>Historia de Preliis</u> and the <u>Fuerre de Gadres</u>," in <u>Classica et Mediaevalia</u>, 22, pp.218-21 and H.N. Duggan, "The Source of the Middle English <u>Wars of Alexander</u>," <u>Speculum</u>, 51, pp.624-36. For the best edition of I^{3}, see now K. Steffens, <u>Die Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni Rezension J^{3}</u> (1975). I am indebted to Dr Ross for the references to the article by Duggan and to the book by Steffens.

37.   For useful and convenient descriptions of all the MSS containing ME Alexander items, see G. Guddatt-Figge's <u>Catalogue of MSS Containing ME Romances</u> (1976). See also, F.P. Magoun <u>The Gests of King Alexander</u>, pp.3-15, and the relevant library catalogues.

38.   A lengthy colophon on f.67r in Bodley MS 264 makes it clear that <u>Alexander B</u> survives in this <u>de-luxe</u> context only because the English text supplies a supposed omission in the French <u>Roman d'Alexandre</u> at this point. The scribal colophon reads: "Here fayleth a prossesse of þis rommance of alixand þe wheche prossesse þat fayleth 3e schulle fynde at þe ende of þis bok ywrete in englyche ryme and whanne 3e han radde it to þe ende turneþ hedur a3en and turneþ ouyr þis lef and bygynneþ at þis reson 'che fu el mois de may que li tans renouele' and so rede forþ þe rommance to þe ende whylis þe frenche lasteþ." The ME <u>Alexander B</u> which supplements the French text at this point deals mainly with Alexander's visit to the land of the Gymnosophists and his epistolary correspondence with Dindimus, King of the Brahmins. These events however, are not found in extant copies of the <u>Roman d'Alexandre</u>, or indeed in the main source of the French text, Julius Valerius. Therefore whoever instructed that the colophon and the ME text should be added must have already known the general content of the ME text; must have realized that a version of this material was not in the French text, and must have wanted to expand the material in his French Alexander biography in the most meaningful way possible. For further discussion of what Skeat calls the "inappropriateness" of this scribal colophon, see W.W. Skeat ed., <u>Alexander and Dindimus</u>, EETS, E.S., 31 (1878), pp.ix-x. See also, the comments by M.R. James in the facsimile of Bodley MS 264 and comments by Magoun and Ross.

39.   See the discussion by Ross in <u>Alexander Historiatus</u>, p.57. The nine illustrations were first described by W.W. Skeat in <u>Alexander and Dindimus</u>, pp.xix-xx. A revised description is provided by F.P. Magoun in <u>The Gests of King Alexander</u>, pp.9-11.

40.   For a discussion of the late antique picture cycle, see further D.J.A. Ross, <u>Alexander Historiatus</u>, esp. pp.53-7; his "Nectanebus in His Palace: A Problem of Alexander Iconography," <u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>, 15 (1952), pp.67-87; and especially his <u>Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study of Comparative Iconography</u> (1971). This latter work is copiously illustrated with scenes from the picture cycle, many of which represent generally similar scenes to those for which Thornton seems to have reserved space in his copy.

41.   An abstract of this paper can be found in his, "A Funny Name for a Horse - Bucephalus in Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Literature and Visual Art," in <u>Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages</u>, ed. L.J. Engels <u>et al</u>

(1978), pp.302-3. In a private communication Dr Ross has indicated that
his work on Bucephalus is a chapter of a general survey of the picture
cycle which is written but which is likely to prove too costly to publish.
Dr Ross has also very kindly answered several other queries about the
late antique picture cycle and Thornton's intended illustrations.

42. My comparison of Thornton's intended illustration on f.26v to the
illustrations of the Queen of the Amazons and her messengers on ff.97r and
98r in Bodley MS 264 is complicated by the fact that, on f.98r in Bodley
MS 264   the rubricated headings do not match the accompanying illus-
trations. However, despite this complication, the comparison still seems
valid since I am not arguing here for a direct relationship between these
two manuscripts. (It is also of course an interesting comment on the
confusion which could occur when several medieval craftsmen were working
together on the same book that the two miniatures in Bodley MS 264 would
appear to have become transposed in this way. See fig. 10.)

43. Thornton's marginal note on f.7r provides us with another less
striking minor example of a similar situation. Here his note indicates
that the accompanying illustration should be of a king on horseback.
However at this point in the ME narrative there is no mention of Alexander's
famous horse. Presumably one of the reasons why Thornton may have taken
the trouble to leave these marginal instructions on the inner margins of
ff.7r and 26v was because at these points in his exemplar the narrative
he was copying did not give a precise enough indication of the subject
matter in the accompanying illustrations. This does not seem to have been
a problem with the remaining illustrations in Thornton's source.

44. If Thornton did find his Alexander romance in an illustrated exemplar
then we might speculate that this played a decisive part in originally
persuading him to allow this item, rather than the alliterative Morte,
to head his collection in the Lincoln MS. See also the discussion of the
relationship between these items in chapter I above.

45. On f.52r the basic outline of a knight has been roughly sketched in
the outer margin of the page. The drawings on f.52v have only a slightly
more "finished" appearance. The largest depicts a knight in battle gear
who clasps a mace in his hand. A heraldic device on his breastplate shows
the heads of three wild animals. Opposite this sketch is a much smaller
drawing of a riderless horse, complete with saddle and trappings.
Immediately above this drawing is a sketch of a second knight who is about
half the size of the larger knight with whom he may even be exchanging
blows. This smaller knight brandishes a sword above his head and carries
a shield upon which is depicted three crowns. An unidentifiable device
(possibly an axe?) appears on his breastplate . The three "unfinished"
sketches on f.52v consist of the top torso of a knight, again with a sword
raised above his head and again with the same unidentifiable device on his
breastplate . However he brandishes a different sword and has no shield.
Beside him on the page is a roughly drawn sketch of a horse's head which
is sketched for a second time in the top right hand corner of the page.
These might even be preliminary and experimental attempts to draw the
heraldic devices which appear on the largest knight's breastplate.

46. Because of the lack of detail in the sketches it is of course im-
possible to claim that the figures on f.52v do in fact represent Bucephalus,
Alexander and one of his adversaries. Indeed in this context it says much
for the inherent flexibility and general vagueness of the subject matter
here that with some adaptation, the drawings might equally well be said to
illustrate the celebrated episode in the alliterative Morte where Arthur
fights the giant of Mont St Michel.

47.   For a full discussion, see Henri Martin, _Les Miniaturistes francais_ (1906), esp. ch. vi.

48.   See his, "Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany," _Scriptorium_, 6 (1952), pp.63-75 and plates.

49.   Elsewhere studies of the activities of other medieval book illustrators have discussed how, even in the professional workshops, it was the availability as much as the suitability of compositional models which often determined the types of illustration which eventually decorated certain secular narratives. See for example H. Buchthal's, _Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration_ (1971); and M. Alison Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France," in _Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism_ (1976), pp.83-102. For further discussion of this point and for a survey of the ways in which the study of iconography can assist in the understanding and interpretation of medieval literature, see Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall, "Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: The Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture," in _Medieval Iconography and Narrative_, ed. Flemming G. Andersen _et al_, (Odense, 1980), pp.100-23.

50.   In the London MS Thornton's decision to place his copy of the _C.M._ (gatherings a-d) rather than his copy of the _N.P._ (gathering e) at the head of his collection should be compared to his decision in the Lincoln MS to head his collection with his Alexander item (gatherings A-C) rather than an Arthurian one (gatherings D-F). In both MSS it is remarkable that the MS units which originally headed each of Thornton's collections, but which were eventually supplanted, have themselves gone through a more elaborate decorative process than the remaining gatherings elsewhere in Thornton's MSS. This would appear to be another excellent indication that Thornton took particular care to decorate the items he copied as opening items soon after he copied them, and _before_ all his gatherings had been assembled and his texts arranged in a final order.

51.   See also the discussion in chapter II, n.9 above.

52.   All textual references are to the _Cursor Mundi_, ed. Richard Morris, EETS, O.S., 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (1874-93).

53.   This possibility was also mentioned by N.R. Ker in his detailed description of MS E in his _Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries_, II, 1977, pp.539-40.

54.   See also my discussion of MS G in chapter II above, and n.44. The illustrations in G were first described by Sarah M. Horrall in a paper which she delivered in St Louis in 1981. My description here is based upon Professor Horrall's brief notes of this lecture which she kindly sent me and also upon my own brief examination of G in 1982. The text of the MS headings in G have been taken from those given by Morris in his edition.

55.   It is easy to see how the G artist (or indeed any other well equipped medieval illustrator) could conveniently, easily and appropriately create for himself a _C.M._ "picture cycle" from contemporary Bible illustrations. Interestingly in his study of the illustrations of texts recounting the story of the Trojan war, H. Buchthal argues that, because of the availability of this specific type of illustrated religious material, scenes which originally illustrated episodes in Biblical history were used wholesale for the creation of other early secular picture cycles. The

same general point about the usefulness and flexibility of stock religious scenes in secular settings has also been made by Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter. For full references, see n.49 above. In this context we might not inappropriately speculate that a single illustrated Bible might easily have provided Thornton, or someone else, with all the compositional models which he would have required to illustrate both the C.M. and the Life of Alexander.

56.   For a general survey of the range of surviving illustrations in ME secular narrative texts, see the Salter/Pearsall article referred to in n.49 above, esp. pp.104-6.

57.   Recently for example, Malcolm Parkes has conjectured that Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61 (one of the three pre-eminent Troilus MSS) was deliberately left unfinished for commercial reasons. The MS now contains the famous Troilus frontispiece, but the process of "finishing" the book by adding a programme of ninety illustrations, and by filling in prominent initials, headings and colophons was never completed. Work on the book was abandoned until either a customer could be found to buy the book, or an existing client could pay for the illustrations and decoration. See further, Troilus and Criseyde: A Facsimile of Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61, introd. M.B. Parkes and E. Salter (1978), esp. p.xi. Note also J.H. Fisher's, "The Intended Illustrations in MS Corpus Christi 61 of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," in Medieval Studies in Honour of Lillian Herlands Hornstein, ed. J.B. Bessinger Jr and R. Raymo (1976), pp.111-21.

58.   Scott concludes her detailed reconstruction of the workshop's activities by suggesting that: "One cannot anticipate the sort of book which an illuminator might have decorated, and the researcher cannot preclude a search of less attractive manuscripts simply because the artist was known to work on luxury books. The artist probably accepted work as it came - if an expensive order, so much the better, but in slower times he could scarcely be expected to refuse the order for a moderately priced book." See further her, "A Mid-Fifteenth Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31 (1968), pp.170-96. For the varied career of a single English illuminator, see J.J. Alexander's "William Abell 'Lymnour' and 15th Century English Illumination," in Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber (1972), pp.166-72.

59.   See A Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Surtees Society Publications, 96 (1897). F.21r of the A/Y Book of Various Memoranda Relating to the City of York and Ainsty (located in the Central Library in York) indicates that the scriveners of York had formed their own guild by 1425 and thus declared their independence from the other freemen involved in the business of book production in the city. This historical evidence is also used for quite different reasons by George R. Keiser in his "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91: Life and Milieu of the Scibe," in Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979), pp.165-66, n.14.

60.   The visit to the illuminator's shop obviously never took place, but it is now generally accepted that, prior to 1832, Madden examined the Lincoln MS in a medieval binding. This may well have been supplied by a professional book binder either before or after Thornton's lifetime. A fuller description of Madden's activities can be found in the Introduction above. There is no evidence to suggest when the London MS was first bound; however in my discussion of the physical condition and original make-up of this MS in chapter II, I have assumed that major damage occurred to the MS

because it remained unbound until long after Thornton's lifetime. It is
sometimes assumed that medieval MSS could not be illuminated after they
were bound (see Graham Pollard's comments in "The Company of Stationers
before 1557," in The Library, 4th ser., 18 (1937), p.14). However in his
"Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany,"
D.J.A. Ross demonstrates how, in the examples he examined, "books were
usually bound and not still in sheets or quires when they reached the
illuminator" (p.67). See also the comments supporting Ross in Curt F.
Buhler's The Fifteenth Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, the
Decorators (1960), esp. ch. three. Consequently the fact that one of
Thornton's MSS may have been bound in his lifetime may have had little or
no effect on his ambitious plans to eventually illustrate the opening
items in both his books.

CHAPTER V

THE SCRIBE AND HIS PAPER: THORNTON AND

THE "THORNTON" WATERMARKS

Throughout this thesis the evidence in Thornton's paper has

provided us with valuable information about the manner in which he pro-

duced his books. In chapter I, close analysis of the physical make-up

of the Lincoln Thornton MS means that we can retrieve some of the stages

by which this collection grew to its present tri-partite shape. In the

second chapter a satisfactory physical collation for the London Thornton

MS depends on the way in which we compare Thornton's informal book pro-

ducing activities in both his MSS, and how we use the evidence provided by

the chain indentations in Thornton's paper. Thornton's habit of copying

some of his material into originally self-contained MS units then enables

us to reconstruct at least part of his "editorial" attitude towards the

task of copying the Cursor Mundi (C.M.). Additionally, the discussion of

the decorative features in Thornton's MSS in the previous chapter is only

possible because we can retrieve Thornton's own motives and methods by

close examination of the physical make-up of his books. Therefore, in

this concluding chapter, it seems appropriate to offer a preliminary, and

very tentative, analysis of the evidence provided by the various water-

mark designs that actually survive in Thornton's paper.[1] By examining in

detail some of the distribution patterns these marks seem to form, and by

drawing together the various other strands of information we have already

retrieved concerning the circumstances in which Thornton received and

copied his items, we can begin to reconstruct a detailed picture of

Thornton as a late medieval book producer at work. This, in turn, will

enable us to suggest the terms in which we can consider the relationship

between both Thornton MSS.

Traditionally, scholars are sceptical about the reliability of

watermark evidence as a means for dating medieval paper, or for dating the MSS in which this paper survives. However, the durability of the watermark designs themselves means that it is no longer appropriate to ignore without comment this valuable source of information about the nature of the paper stocks used by individual medieval scribes.[2] In Thornton's MSS, for example, watermark evidence provides us with practically the only physical MS evidence which has remained unchanged since Thornton actually held each page in his hands. Whereas his texts have sometimes been corrected by his own or later hands, and the various inks Thornton used have altered in appearance over the years, and while Thornton's original gatherings have been subject to considerable rearrangement, change and decay, the watermarks in his paper remain unalterable for as long as the pages which contain them survive. Therefore, the main problem in dealing with the "Thornton" watermarks is in deciding how to interpret and use the evidence they provide.

Appendix 2 lists the fifteen different watermark designs (A-O) that we can readily identify in Thornton's paper. However, as Allan Stevenson among others has pointed out, "watermarks are twins."[3] Before we can comment further on the origin or date of manufacture of Thornton's paper, the half-sheets containing all fifteen designs must be examined individually, and the minute differences between the seemingly identical watermark shapes in them carefully noted.[4] In this way, the watermarks that were manufactured on a single pair of paper moulds (and which seem at first sight to be the same design) can in fact be shown to have been formed by a pair of "twin" shapes in the original moulds. Therfore, in most cases our identification of each watermark design (A-O) is actually an identification of twin watermark shapes.[5]

Much of this detailed work is still in progress and Dr R.J. Lyall has already been able to establish that the ten different watermark types in the London MS were originally manufactured on a total of twenty one moulds

(ten of which were pairs). Interestingly, as far as it is possible to
tell at this stage, eleven of these moulds were used to produce the six
different watermark types that are shared by both Thornton's MSS (water-
marks A, B, C, E, F, H).[6] This supports the view that Thornton produced
at least part of each MS using an identical stock of paper.

At this point however, the value of using watermark evidence in
isolation from other sources of information clearly ends. For example,
despite the variety of watermark designs in Thornton's MSS, we cannot
automatically assume that Thornton had access to these fifteen types of
watermarked paper at fifteen different stages in his book producing
activities. Instead, it is probable that his general stock of paper was
obtained from a limited number of sources, and that it passed through
several hands between the time that it was manufactured, imported from
continental sources, held by a paper supplier, and then eventually pur-
chased or otherwise obtained by Thornton himself. A further complication
is that the same continental paper mill was sometimes capable of producing
a variety of quite different watermark designs for the same size of paper.[7]
Moreover, Thornton himself may sometimes have stockpiled paper, especially
if he had already started to accumulate a number of lengthy items or knew
that he was about to receive a batch of items that he particularly wanted
to copy. Furthermore, we know very little about the actual quantities in
which Thornton is likely to have bought his paper, or the number and range
of other purposes for which he may also have required the same stock. On
many occasions Thornton may have constructed his own gatherings by folding
his sheets to form bifolia, but on other occasions he may simply have
purchased blank gatherings that had already been made up.[8] Therefore,
changes from one watermark to another in Thornton's MSS, or the existence
of quires containing patterns of mixed watermarks are certainly tantalizing
sources of evidence, but they need not always reflect Thornton's own use
of different batches of paper. We have to use other types of supporting

evidence before we can begin to use the surviving watermark evidence in Thornton's books with any degree of confidence.

The best place to begin any effort to determine the significance of the "Thornton" watermarks is with the items that we can assume Thornton copied either very early or else very late in his career. An obvious choice here is the combination of items formed by Thornton's copies of the Awentyrs of Arthure and Sir Perceval in gatherings I-K. Thornton commenced copying Sir Perceval in gathering I (originally composed of eleven bifolia, only ten of which survive) and this quire was made up exclusively of B paper. However, by the time Thornton added Sir Perceval to his collection, quire I had already been subject to some rearrangement. At the first stage in its history Thornton had used the opening leaves of his blank gathering to copy the Awentyrs. This information is itself potentially useful, but, for the moment, what is more interesting is that Thornton eventually completed Sir Perceval in K. Sir Perceval (and gathering K) were only added to Thornton's collection some time after gatherings A-I had been assembled in their present order. Therefore, the watermarked paper that survives in K can also be linked to a late stage in Thornton's compiling activities.

Gathering K was originally composed of eight bifolia, but the final leaf of the quire is now missing (presumably cancelled by Thornton). The core of the quire is formed by three bifolia of watermark A paper, the next two bifolia are watermark F paper, and the outer three bifolia contain watermark K. Interestingly, we find no other examples of watermark A paper in the Lincoln MS. Instead, the only other examples in Thornton's collection survive in gatherings c and d. These gatherings contain the remains of Thornton's fragmentary and incomplete copy of the Cursor Mundi (C.M.). As far as it is possible to tell from the surviving fragments, d, and possibly also c, were both originally made up entirely from watermark A paper. Moreover, although this paper also now forms the opening leaves

of the London MS, Thornton originally seems to have added gatherings a-d to the London MS as a single MS unit, and as a much later adjunct to a collection of material which originally began with the Northern Passion (N.P.).

Watermark F paper is dispersed more widely in Thornton's collection. In the Lincoln MS examples of F paper now survive in I and in gatherings A and B. The core of gathering A is formed by two bifolia of F paper, and although this opening gathering is also particularly fragmentary, the outer leaves of A were probably originally composed of eleven bifolia of K paper. Gathering B was made up from a core of three bifolia of K paper followed by nine bifolia of F paper. Only half of gathering C survives and this gathering now consists of ten singleton leaves, four of which contain watermark K. There are no other surviving examples of watermark K.in Thornton's collection, but it is certainly interesting that water-mark F paper is shared by gatherings A, B and K. Gatherings A and B contain the bulk of Thornton's copy of the prose Alexander and, together with C, they originally formed another self-contained MS unit. The Alexander text contained in this unit eventually supplanted Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte as the opening item in the Lincoln MS. Intriguingly however, gatherings A-C were also already in their present position before Thornton had copied Sir Perceval in gatherings I-K.

In this context we might also note that, in the London MS, watermark F paper was also used to form the outer leaves of gatherings g and h. These are the two large, and particularly fragmentary quires in the middle section of the MS. Here Thornton used his F paper to copy the remaining lines of the Sege of Melayne, part of the Lydgate song sequence he in-herited from a single exemplar, the Quatrefoil of Love, and the alliterating paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50. These are also all items that Thornton seems to have copied late in his career, when he was not only adding two gatherings to his collection, but when he was also filling up the limited

spaces in other gatherings which he had already partly used. At this point then we are certainly justified in assuming that the pages containing K, F and A watermark designs were late additions to Thornton's general stock of paper, just as the items on this paper were also added to Thornton's collection at a late stage in his compiling activities. Although it is not possible to determine the order in which Thornton copied the items in gatherings A-C, c-d, and g-h, it is tempting to assume that these gatherings had all been constructed, and the bulk of Thornton's stock of A, F, and K paper used up, before Thornton eventually used remnants of this paper to construct the gathering in which he completed Sir Perceval.

We can draw an entirely different set of conclusions from the watermark evidence in the quire in which Thornton eventually began copying Sir Perceval. Gathering I originally contained Thornton's copy of the Awentyrs and it is now made up exclusively of watermark B paper. Elsewhere in the Lincoln MS, B paper is only found in gatherings D and E (containing the bulk of Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte). However, in the London MS, watermark B paper is also found in gathering e (containing Thornton's copy of the Northern Passion (N.P.)). Originally, Thornton appears to have copied the alliterative Morte onto a self-contained "Arthurian" unit which, like the Awentyrs gathering, was only later absorbed into his collection of romance quires in the Lincoln MS. Similarly, both the alliterative Morte and the N.P. were copied onto MS units which for a time, contained the opening items in each of Thornton's collections. However, in each case Thornton eventually seems to have updated his collection by adding new opening units to his two different, unfinished collections. Therefore, it is certainly tempting to assume that the Awentyrs, the alliterative Morte and the N.P. were all copied in the early stages of Thornton's compiling activities. Since Thornton also copied these items onto the only quires in his collection that contain watermark B paper, it would also appear likely that Thornton used up his

stock of B paper at a similarly early point in his career.

It is difficult to draw any further conclusions from the rest of the paper on which Thornton copied the alliterative _Morte_ and the _N.P._. Gatherings D-F (containing the alliterative _Morte_) are mixed quires. The eight bifolia which make up D and the six outer bifolia in E consist of watermark B paper, but the three inner bifolia in E and all eight bifolia in F are composed of watermark E paper. As many as thirty five other examples of watermark E paper survive elsewhere in Thornton's MSS and this makes E the largest batch of any type of "Thornton" watermark design to have survived. Moreover, this paper is now far more widely dispersed than any of the other types of watermarked paper that we have so far noted. In the Lincoln MS gatherings H, L and M (containing eleven, ten and twelve bifolia, respectively) are made up exclusively of watermark E paper. In addition, the two inner bifolia of gathering P also contain the watermark E design. Of course, we might expect that Thornton's copy of the _Previty_ (in gathering L) would also have been copied on a similar batch of paper to that used for his copy of the alliterative _Morte_, but, like watermark B paper, the watermark E paper was obviously also part of the main stock of paper that Thornton used to construct gatherings which were eventually added to very different parts of his collection. In addition, some of these gatherings may even have been assembled before Thornton obtained them or before he knew which items were eventually going to fill them.

Despite these various possibilities it is interesting that, watermark E paper frequently recurs in the "romance" unit and in the "religious" unit in the Lincoln MS, but that only one sheet of watermark E paper has now survived in the London MS. This originally formed the outer bifolium of gathering f. Like gatherings E, F and L, gathering f seems to have been assembled and partially filled at an early stage in Thornton's career. It now contains the continuation of his copy of the _N.P._ and all of the _Siege of Jerusalem_. Interestingly, however, the single sheet of E paper

in this gathering (which may have been left over when Thornton originally constructed some of his other quires) also seems to have been added as an outer leaf to an already mixed quire. Some of the other paper in this quire provides us with a further series of possible links between the gatherings in both Thornton's MSS.

The core of f was originally formed by three bifolia of watermark D paper. This type of paper survives nowhere else in Thornton's collection. However, the gathering also contains six bifolia of watermark C paper. Elsewhere, the only other surviving examples of C paper are in gatherings G and P in the Lincoln MS. In G they form the two inner bifolia of a gathering which also contains the only surviving bifolium of watermark L paper in Thornton's entire collection. The outer leaves of G originally consisted of eight bifolia, but only seven of these survive, and they all contain watermark H paper. We also know something about the previous history of gathering G. It would appear to have been added to Thornton's collection so that Thornton could complete the copy of Octavian which he had commenced copying on the remaining leaves of gathering F. This was after a time lapse of some kind, during which gatherings D-F simply contained Thornton's copy of the alliterative Morte.

The paper in gathering P also provides us with additional scraps of potentially useful information. The core of this gathering consists of two bifolia of watermark E paper, and its outer leaves are formed by a mixture of two sheets of N paper (only the watermarked half-sheet now survives) and eleven bifolia of C paper. There are no further examples of watermark N paper in Thornton's collection and the two half-sheets which now survive in P may even have been inserted at a later stage in the history of this mixed quire. However, the preponderance of C paper in gatherings P and f certainly encourages us to speculate that, by the time Thornton was constructing these gatherings he was rapidly using up his remaining stock of C paper. By the time he eventually assembled gathering

G, he was then having to supplement his C paper, and his sheet of L paper, with part of his stock of H paper.[9]

Fortunately, a fairly substantial sample of watermark H paper has also survived elsewhere in Thornton's collection. In gathering O Thornton used eight bifolia of this paper and a single outer bifolium of watermark M paper for his fragmentary and disarranged copy of Gratia Dei (G.D.) material, and for the opening of his copy of the Reuelacyon. In the London MS Thornton also copied the Three Kings of Cologne onto the opening leaves of another gathering which was originally made up of twelve bifolia of H paper. However, this gathering was eventually rearranged and incorporated into a gathering of F paper in order to form gathering h. Gathering h was formed at a late stage in Thornton's compiling activities, but presumably by the time this batch of H paper was finally inserted in Thornton's collection, Thornton had already used up most of his stock of H paper in gatherings G and O. It does not necessarily follow then that Thornton copied Octavian, or the other items in G, either before he had copied his G.D. material in O, or before he copied the Three Kings of Cologne, now in h. Instead, the gatherings containing all three of these items may well have been constructed at a similar stage in Thornton's career.

The survival of only one sheet of watermark M paper in gathering O also suggests some close link between the paper in gathering O and N. Quire N, containing most of Thornton's Hilton items, Sayne Iohn þe euangelist and an anonymous tract on prayer, is now particularly fragmentary and it is no longer possible to establish its original size. However, the leaves in N which do survive form five bifolia and four singleton leaves which probably also once formed eight bifolia of watermark M paper at the core of the original gathering. Moreover f.222, which seems to be a stray singleton leaf in Thornton's collection, may once have belonged to either the beginning or end of this particularly fragmentary

and problematic gathering. This leaf is now the only other surviving example of watermark M paper in Thornton's entire collection.

Four other types of watermarked paper also survive in Thornton's MSS, but, for a variety of reasons, it is no longer possible to establish much information about the chronology in which Thornton used these particular batches of paper. However, in the case of the paper in gathering Q at least, the difficulty itself can be readily enough explained. Gathering Q originally consisted of nineteen bifolia, but only seventeen bifolia and one singleton leaf still survive. However, unlike all Thornton's other large gatherings, Q is now made up exclusively of a single batch of watermarked paper (watermark O) and examples of this paper do not survive anywhere else in Thornton's collection. Q also forms a "medical" unit in the Lincoln MS which was originally formed when Thornton copied the _Liber de Diversis Medicinis_ from one of his exemplars. This was certainly copied into an entirely separate gathering and it may even for a time have been read apart from Thornton's larger collection. Therefore, because this huge gathering seems to have been tailor-made for the material now contained in it, it is possible that, on this occasion at least, Thornton obtained a single stock of watermarked paper specifically so that he could copy a single item.

In gathering g the situation is rather more uncertain and complicated. Here Thornton probably originally copied _O Florum flos_ (and possibly also other unknown material) onto a batch of paper containing watermark G. This paper is now fragmentary but no other examples of G paper survive elsewhere in Thornton's collection. However, eventually Thornton also seems to have inserted this batch of G paper (which was probably already fragmentary) into a gathering which was originally made up exclusively of watermark F paper. This was perhaps because, at a late stage in his compiling activities, Thornton wanted to insert his copy of _Otuel_ as closely as possible to the _Sege of Melayne_. However, by this time _Melayne_

also occupied the opening leaves of an already well-filled quire. Consequently, the nearest available extra batch of paper was inserted into the quire, and the remaining space was eventually filled by Thornton's second Charlemagne item.

Interestingly, the two other types of watermarked paper in Thornton's collection (I and J) survive in a series of three gatherings at the end of the London MS. Gathering i was originally composed of eleven watermark I bifolia (no other examples survive in Thornton's collection), and now contains the opening of Thornton's copy of the romance of Richard. This is completed in k in a gathering which originally contained at least thirteen bifolia of watermark J paper. Interestingly, Thornton also used a stock of J paper which was originally manufactured on a different pair of J moulds to copy the Parlement of the Thre Ages, Wynnere and Wastoure, and perhaps some other unknown material in his very fragmentary gathering l.[10] No other examples of Thornton's J paper survive in his MSS, but l is now the final surviving gathering in the London MS. At some time Thornton also seems to have returned to gathering k to add Ypokrephum in the limited remaining space. He also seems to have removed a final, probably blank, leaf from the same gathering. Clearly then gatherings i, k and l could have been constructed at any time during Thornton's career. The only point that can be made here is that Thornton used up the blank space in i before he started to fill k.

In view of the remaining uncertainty about the ways in which Thornton used some of his paper, any conclusions we might wish to make here can only be provisional, and must remain open to revision in the future. However, the evidence presently available suggests that the relationship between the items in Thornton's collection, and between Thornton's two books, is not as straightforward as we might assume. Thornton certainly seems to have assembled his books gradually. However, at several different stages in his book compiling activities, he also seems to have worked on items which

eventually ended up in two different MSS. One of the features which would seem to link some of the items in both these collections is obviously Thornton's tendency to copy some of his material onto self-contained MS units. Other items were subsequently added in new gatherings or where space remained in earlier half-filled gatherings. It was presumably by this gradual, and perhaps not entirely haphazard, accumulation of diverse material that Thornton's collection continued to grow.

Frequently, of course, we must also suspect that the actual "shape" of Thornton's collection (where it has a "shape") was determined by the nature of the exemplars he obtained at certain important stages in his career. However, we might also well ask why Thornton was originally encouraged to work simultaneously on (at least) two separate collections, and why the London MS in particular seems a much less satisfactory, less well-organized, and perhaps even less complete collection. Naturally, part of the answer to these questions lies in the present particularly fragmentary state of the London MS itself. We might also add that the MS probably remained unbound for far longer than its sister volume. Thornton may even have died before the task of finally arranging all the items now in his second volume had been completed. Nevertheless, it is also interesting that the collection of items in the London MS probably once opened with a copy of the N.P.. Textually speaking, Thornton's copy of this poem is one of the most obviously unfinished items in Thornton's entire collection.

Thornton's text of the N.P. is obviously incomplete. As Frances Foster noted in her edition of the poem, his copy breaks off abruptly in the middle of the second column of f.41r.[11] It omits part of the story of how Seth was sent to Paradise, and the interrupted text begins again on f.43r. Thornton obviously knew how much space this missing text would fill in his copy since he left a blank space of ff.41r-43r. Presumably his estimate here was based on some obvious indication of a textual lacuna

in his source. Indeed, it is most likely that the blank space on ff.41r-43r is an accurate indication of where the stub of at least one leaf appeared in that source. However, despite the obvious care with which Thornton reserved space in his text, the blank space still remains. For a time then gatherings e and f containing the N.P., and the Siege of Jerusalem may have been kept permanently available for consultation, and were perhaps set to one side until the gap in Thornton's copy could be made good from a second, more complete copy of the N.P.. Eventually, at the much later stage when he added Melayne in the remaining space in f, and in the opening leaves of g, Thornton's second collection began to take shape. This was probably around the same time as Thornton was adding his "Alexander" unit, and then Sir Perceval, to his other Thornton romances.

Thornton's copy of the N.P. is certainly not the only item in his collection which may have been copied from an incomplete, disarranged, or fragmentary exemplar. However, it is interesting that the only other item where Thornton has also obviously waited in vain for a second, more complete copy of his text, is also preserved in the London MS. This is Thornton's text of Richard, which he copied in gatherings i and k. One of the reasons why this text is defective is because of the obvious physical lacunae in i. However, Thornton's copy also ends abruptly on f.160r at a point corresponding to 1.6381 in Brunner's edition.[12] Thornton then left all of the second column on this page blank, and his copy recommences on f.160v at a point corresponding to 1.6670. Thornton could never have copied just under 300 lines in the remaining space here, but, as Brunner himself noted, the romance of Richard has had a particularly unstable textual history. Moreover, Thornton certainly seems to have made some limited attempt to reserve some space in his copy, presumably because he again recognized that his source was inadequate at this point. The result of his actions are that later readers of his copy of Richard have

had to settle for a defective text which probably reflects some of the deficiencies in Thornton's own source. For a time then Thornton may also have set aside gatherings i and k, and copied other items into separate gatherings. Eventually, he filled the remaining space in k with his copy of the "romance" of Ypokrephum.

Of course, both Thornton romance items in gatherings i-k would have fitted quite naturally alongside other Thornton romances in gatherings A-K. Although they have been copied on paper containing different water-marks, their present context as an isolated pair of "romances" that have been inserted near the end of the London MS is no clear indication of the stage when Thornton assembled this small "romance" unit. It is even possible that Thornton's unfinished copy of Richard and his "romance" of Ypokrephum were either unavailable, or else were simply not selected, when Thornton finally began to assemble his sequence of romance gatherings in the Lincoln MS. Consequently, the gatherings containing these items found a place among the pile of unbound quires from which the London MS was eventually to be formed.

Perhaps other items in Thornton's collection could equally easily have found themselves in a different volume. For example, this category might include Thornton's copy of the Three Kings of Cologne. The paper containing this text seems to have been rearranged and absorbed into gathering h only because over half of Thornton's original quire remained blank. This was then available for use when Thornton eventually needed to add Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass to his collection. A similar fate seems to have befallen gathering I, containing the Awentyrs. On this occasion, Thornton needed extra paper on which to copy Sir Eglamour and so his rearranged quire I ended up in the Lincoln MS. Indeed, this type of radical rearrangement of Thornton's paper may even have affected some of the pages (and some of the items) in other gatherings elsewhere in his collection. Unfortunately, however, it is not always possible to

demonstrate this with any certainty. Nevertheless, we can also say that

where it was sometimes not possible to use all the remaining blank space

in his gatherings, Thornton often simply removed individual leaves as he

required them elsewhere for other purposes. On the other hand, of course,

the present opening texts in each volume (Thornton's copies of the prose

Alexander and the C.M.) seem to have been variously "tailored" (to a

limited degree at least) for Thornton's collection. By this late stage,

many of Thornton's other items had probably already been copied. For

all these reasons then, it seems fair to characterize the final results

of Thornton's compiling activities as an intriguing mixture of obvious

accident and possible design.

1.   For previous notices of the watermarks in the Lincoln Thornton MS, see the New Palaeographical Society's <u>Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts</u>, ser. II (1913-14), plate 45 and text. For notice of the watermarks in the London Thornton MS, see Karen Stern's, "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany," <u>Scriptorium</u> 30 (1976), pp.26-37, 201-18. For a summary account of the watermarks in both MSS, see Sarah Horrall's, "The London Thornton Manuscript: a New Collation," <u>Manuscripta</u>, 23 (1979), pp.99-103, and her recent, "The Watermarks of the Thornton Manuscripts," <u>N and Q</u>, N.S., 27 (1980), pp.385-6.

2.   For recent important work in this area, see chapter II, ns, 42-4. I am also indebted to Dr R.J. Lyall for providing me with copies of some of his work on medieval watermarks. This will appear in published form shortly.

3.   See his article of that title in <u>Studies in Bibliography</u>, 4 (1951-52), pp.57-91. Stevenson was one of the first bibliographers to recognize the analytical implications of the study of early paper.

4.   For a fuller account of the painstaking research work involved in the identification and dating of watermarks, see, for example, Jean Irigoin's recent fascinating "La Datation par les filigranes du papier," <u>Codicologica</u>, 5 (1980), pp.9-36. Obviously the only way in which similar work can be attempted for Thornton's watermarks is by obtaining beta-radiographs of every watermark pair in Thornton's collection. These can then be compared to similar watermarks elsewhere and to the published and unpublished tracings in various European collections. Due to Dr Lyall's encouragement and active involvement in the project this work is now well under way and the necessary beta-radiographs from both MSS have been obtained. I must also gratefully acknowledge here the financial help provided by the Elizabeth Salter Memorial Fund, and by Queen's University Belfast; the practical help and assistance provided by Miss Joan Williams and the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral (who permitted the Lincoln MS to go to London so that the necessary photographic work could be done); and the readiness with which the photographic unit at the British Library undertook a rather lengthy and tedious task.

5.   The only exceptions noted so far are watermark L (where only one example of the watermark now survives in Thornton's collection) and watermark J (where the paper containing this watermark has been manufactured on <u>two</u> pairs of moulds). For watermark J, see also the next note.

6.   Since our work on Thornton's watermarks is still in progress, this figure may have to be revised in the future. In the London MS, for example, a preliminary analysis suggests that gatherings k and l were composed exclusively of the "same" watermark (J). In fact, Dr Lyall has discovered that the J paper in gathering k was composed on a different pair of moulds from the J paper in l. A similar situation may well emerge as some of Thornton's other stocks of paper are examined more closely (such as the ubiquitous watermark E paper), but so far this problem has not arisen.

7.   Various generally similar problems have been discussed by Stevenson and other scholars. See, for example, Dard Hunter's comments in his <u>Paper-making</u> (1957), pp.261-5.

8.   Of course, Thornton need never have used his paper systematically. Other possibilities here are that he sometimes made up his own gatherings and <u>then</u> stockpiled them, or that he eventually dismantled (or rearranged,

or supplemented) the gatherings that he had originally assembled or purchased as his needs changed.

9.   It is also possible to speculate that the mixed nature of gatherings G and P is the result of Thornton returning to his original, much smaller, partly-filled gatherings and inserting additional paper in them. For example the remaining lines of _Octavian_ in G (ff.103-109) may once have been copied into a gathering of eight bifolia composed exclusively of watermark H paper into which Thornton inserted a core of L and C paper. Gathering P may also once have contained a copy of the _Abbey of the Holy Ghost_ (ff.271-276) on a gathering which was originally composed exclusively of watermark C paper. Possibly Thornton eventually rearranged this gathering and also inserted a few scraps of C and N paper at a much later date. These possibilities are certainly worth bearing in mind and Thornton's activities here would certainly not be unprecedented elsewhere in his collection. However, these types of speculation require us to implicitly trust the evidence provided by Thornton's watermarks without other corroborating physical and textual evidence. This is plainly not possible at the present time.

10.   See above n.6.

11.   See Foster's comments in _The Northern Passion_, EETS, O.S., 147 (1916), p.13.

12.   For Brunner's comments, see his, _Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz_ (1913), pp.5, 403 and n.

APPENDIX 1

Contents of the Thornton Manuscripts

In compiling this description of the items in Thornton's collection
I have been especially aided by similar catalogues prepared by Ms Pamela R.
Robinson (unpublished B. Litt. thesis, pp.139-158, 1972); Mr A.E.B. Owen
and Dr D.S. Brewer (Scholar Facsimile of the Lincoln Thornton MS, pp.
xvii-xx, 1975); Mrs Karen Stern ("The London 'Thornton' Miscellany,"
Supplement, pp.214-18, 1976); and Dr Gisela Guddat-Figge (Catalogue of MSS
Containing ME Romances, pp.135-42, 159-63, 1976). Full reference to these
studies, and to the other abbreviated titles used in this list, can be
found in the Bibliography. Where an item has been frequently edited, I
have preferred the most accessible and authoritative editions, especially
those that are based on, or contain useful textual references to Thornton's
copies. If possible, I have used the MS titles of items in Thornton's
collection. The use of an asterisk (*) following such a title indicates
that it has been taken from the explicit of the text in question. Where
an item survives anonymously, or where it now begins acephalously in
Thornton's copy, I have indicated in parenthesis a modern title for the
work in question. Items which were added by a later "non-Thornton" hand
are preceded by the sign (+).

ff.1r-49r

þ^e lyf of gret Alexander conquerour of all þ^e worlde* (the prose Life of Alexander)

Beg.   "... down in to þ^e dyke and thare he felle ..." ("Explicit Vita Alexandry magni coquestoris (sic) Here ende3 ...").

M.E.D., Plan, p.65; Manual, I (67).

Ed. J.S. Westlake, EETS, O.S., 143 (1913, repr. 1971).

Fragmentary prose text. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines with spaces left for illumination (unfilled). Begins abruptly.

f.49v

(Pen trials, birth record, and scribbles)

ff.50r-50v

†(Prognostications of the amount of thunder in the months)

Beg.   "Nota þat bytokyns off þ^e element ..." ("... and reste amanges þ^e peple of þ^t rewme þ^r y^t falles In").

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973).

Fragmentary prose text copied in single columns with brief spaces distinguishing the discussions of thunder in each month. A narrow strip of paper now torn from the top of f.50, but only text on f.50v affected by this damage.

f.51r

(Blank except for pen trials and scribbles in head margin)

ff.51va-52ra

†Lamentacio peccatoris (prologue to the Adulterous Falmouth Squire)

Beg.   "All crystyn men þ^t wawks me bye ..." ("Explicit lamentacio").

Index 172; M.E.D., Plan, p.51.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (1881).

Written in quatrains. Copied in double columns with marginal stanza indicators and brackets indicating the quatrain divisions.

f.52v

(Black ink sketches of knights in armour)

ff.53r-98v

<u>Morte arthure</u> (the alliterative <u>Morte Arthure</u>)

Beg. "He (<u>sic</u>) begynnes ... / Now grett glorius godd ..." ("Here endes Morte arthure writen By Robert of Thornton").

<u>Index</u> 2322; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.60; <u>Manual</u>, I (16).

Ed. E. Brock, EETS, O.S., 8 (1865, repr. 1967); Valerie F. Krishna (1976).

Written in alliterative verse. Copied in single columns of punctuated long lines with occasional marginal brackets.

ff.98va-109rb

<u>The Romance off Octovyane</u> (the Northern <u>Octavian</u>).

Beg. "Here Bygynnes ... / Mekyll and littill olde + 3ynge ..." ("amen amen <u>per</u> charyte amen").

<u>Index</u> 1918; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.63; <u>Manual</u>, I (81).

Ed. Frances McSparran (unpublished thesis, 1973, EETS edition forthcoming); Maldwyn Mills, <u>Six ME Romances</u> (1973).

Fragmentary text written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in double columns.

ff.109rb-114va

<u>The Romance Off sir ysambrace</u>

Beg. "Here begynnes ... / Ihu crist lorde of heuen kynge ... " ("<u>Explicit sir</u> ysambrace").

<u>Index</u> 1184; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.50; <u>Manual</u>, I (78).

Ed. James O. Halliwell, <u>The Thornton Romances</u> (1844, repr. 1970); Maldwyn Mills, <u>Six ME Romances</u> (1973).

Written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in double columns.

ff.114vb-122ra

<u>þe Romance off Dyoclicyane þᵉ Emperour + þᵉ Erle Berade of Tholous and of þᵉ Emprice Beaulilione</u> (the <u>Erl of Tolous</u>)

Beg. "Here bygynnes ... / Ihu criste god and lorde in trynyte ..." ("Bothe þaire flesche + þaire bones ...").

<u>Index</u> 1681; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.40; <u>Manual</u>, I (94).

Ed. G. Ludtke (1881, repr. 1970); W.H. French and C.B. Hale, <u>ME Metrical Romances</u> (1930, repr. 1964).

Fragmentary text written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in

double columns. Ends abruptly.

ff.122vb-129vb

Vita Sancti christofori

Beg. "(Her)e bygynnes þᵉ lyffe of þᵉ Story of (S)aynte christofre to þᵉ heryng or þᵉ (red)yng of þᵉ whilke storye langes (gr)ete mede + it be don wᵗ deuocioun / Lordynges if it be 3owre will ..." ("Explicit vita sancti christofori").

Index 1990; M.E.D., Plan, p.76.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (1881).

Fragmentary text written in couplets. Copied in double columns.

ff.130ra-138rb

Sir degreuante

Beg. "Ihu lorde in Trynite ..." ("amen Explicit sir degreuant").

Index 1953; M.E.D., Plan, p.36; Manual, I (97).

Ed. L.F. Casson, EETS, O.S., 221 (1949, repr. 1970).

Fragmentary text written in sixteen-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in double columns with the fourth, eighth, twelfth and sixteenth lines of each stanza in the side margin, and the preceding and following lines in each stanza grouped into clusters of three by brackets. The explicit for Sir Degrevant is repeated on f.138va.

ff.138va-147rb

Sir Eglamour of artasse

Beg. "Incipit ... / Ihu þᵗ es heuens kyng ..." ("amen amen per charyte amen").

Index 1725; M.E.D., Plan, p.39; Manual, I (79).

Ed. G. Schleich (1906, repr. A.S. Cook, 1911); Frances Richardson, EETS, O.S., 256 (1965).

Written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in double columns. Incipit copied twice in main text on f.138va (with slight variations) and also partly repeated in bottom margin of same page.

ff.147rb-148rb

De miraculo beate marie

Beg. "Ihu lorde in trinyte ..." ("amen per charite").

Index 1722.

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Altenglische Legenden</u> (1881).

Fragmentary text written in twelve-line stanzas. Copied in double columns.

ff.148rb-149r

<u>Lyarde</u>

Beg.   "Lyarde es ane olde horse ..." ("Here Endys Lyarde").

<u>Index</u> 2026; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.54.

Ed. Thomas Wright and J.O. Halliwell, <u>Reliquiae Antiquae</u>, II (1843);
Jason Reakes, <u>N.M.</u>, 83 (1982).

Written in couplets. Copied partly in double columns (ff.148rb-148vb)
and partly in single columns (f.149r).

ff.149va-153vb

<u>Tomas Off Ersseldoune</u> (<u>The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of
Erceldoune</u>)

Beg.   "Lystyns lordyngs bothe grete + smale ..." ("<u>Explicit</u> Thomas Of
Erseledownn").

<u>Index</u> 365; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, P.78; <u>Manual</u>, XIII (290).

Ed. J.A.H. Murray, EETS, O.S., 61 (1875, repr. 1973); F.J. Child, <u>English
and Scottish Popular Ballads</u> (1883-98).

Fragmentary text written in quatrains. Copied in double columns.

ff.154r-161r

<u>The awentyrs off arthure at the Terne Wathelyn</u>

Beg.   "Here Bygynnes ... / In kyng arthure tym ane awntir bytyde ..."
("<u>Explicit Liber Explicit Liber</u>").

<u>Index</u> 1566; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.27; <u>Manual</u>, I (30).

Ed. J.F. Amours, <u>Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas</u> (1897);
Ralph Hanna III (1974).

Fragmentary text written in thirteen-line alliterating stanzas. Copied in
single columns.

ff.161ra-176ra

<u>The Romance Off Sir Perecyuell of Gales</u> (<u>Sir Perceval</u>)

Beg.   "Here Bygynnes ... / Lef lythes to me ..." ("amen for charyte/<u>quod</u>
Robert Thornton / <u>Explicit</u> sir Percevell De Gales Here endys þ^e Romance
of <u>sir</u> <u>Per</u>cevell of Gales Cosyn to kyng Arthoure").

Index 1853; M.E.D., Plan, p.65; Manual, I (39).

Ed. James O. Halliwell, The Thornton Romances (1844, repr. 1970); W. H. French and C.B. Hale, ME Metrical Romances (1930, repr. 1964).

Written in sixteen-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in double columns. Text divided into two "fitts" by MS heading on f.164r.

f.176rb

a charme for þᵉ tethe Werke

Beg.   "Say þᵉ charme thris ..." ("Bot away mote þᵘ wende to þᵉ erde + þᵉ stane").

Index 1292; M.E.D., Plan, p.92.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.375 (1.I).

Written in couplets. Copied in second column of page. Separated from following related item by brief space.

f.176rb

(Another charm for the tooth ache)

Beg.   "Thre gude breþer are ȝe ..." ("Bot awaye mote þᵘ wende To þᵉ erthe + þᵉ stane").

Index 3709; M.E.D., Plan, p.102.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.375 (1.II).

Written in couplets. Copied in second column of page as a second prayer charm.

f.176v

A Charme ffor the t(ethe Werke)

Beg.   "In dei nomine amen ..." ("amen").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.375-6 (2).

Fragmentary Latin item. Copied in single column.

f.176v

Epistola Sancti Saluatoris (Pope Leo's Letter)

Beg.   "hec est Epistola Sancti Saluatoris quam leo papa transmisit..." ("amen").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.376 (3,4).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column with a brief space separating the opening rubric from the prayer charm proper.

ff.176v-177r

(A ME Indulgence and Latin prayer)

Beg. "He þ^t devotely sayse þis Orysone ..." ("amen").

Wells, ch.XI (37); M.E.D., Plan, p.78.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895) pp.376-7 (5).

Rubric written in ME prose, prefixed to a prayer in Latin. Copied in single columns with a brief space separating the opening rubric from the Latin prayer.

ff.177v-178r

A Prayere Off The ffyve Ioyes of owre lady (in) Inglys and of the ffyve Sorowes (Marian prayer preceded by verse prayer tag)

Beg. "(L)ady ffor thy ioyes fyve ..." ("Amen Pater noster aue maria amen").

Index 2099 (prayer tag); M.E.D., Plan, p.78.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.377-9 (6).

A composite text consisting of a ME prayer tag written as single couplet, prefixed to a prayer in ME prose. Copied in single columns (rhyming tag copied as single line of prose) as a single conflated item.

f.178r

Psalmus Voce mea ad dominum clamaui (Latin prayer preceded by ME rubric)

Beg. "Say þis psalme ..." ("amen").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.379 (7).

Rubric written in ME prose, prefixed to a prayer in Latin. Copied in single column.

ff.178r-178v

ffyve prayers to the wirchipe of the ffyve wondys of oure lorde Ihu Cryste

Beg. "Here Bygynnys... / (A)doro te crucem ..." ("amen").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), pp.123-4 (prayer beg. "Deus qui manus tuas").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.379-80 (8).

Written in Latin. Copied in single columns as a single composite item.

f.178v

Oracio in inglys (Prayer for the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost)

Beg. "Now Ihu goddis sonne ..." ("... and graunte me of thy Blyssedhede vertuose lyffynge").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.380 (9).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single column. Separated from previous item by heading and brief space. Ends abruptly after description of the first gift.

f.178v

A Colett to owre lady Saynt Marye

Beg. "Sancta maria Regina celorum ..." ("amen").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.380 (10).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column. Separated from previous item by heading and brief space.

f.178v

Oracio in modo Collecte pro amico

Beg. "Omnipotens sempiterne deus ..." ("... per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum filium").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.380 (11).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column. Separated from previous item by heading and brief space.

f.178v

Antiphona Sancti Leonardi cum Collecta (Prayers to St Leonard and St Eustache)

Beg. "O virtutum domine ..." ("amen").

Cf. York Breviary (1882), cols 668-9 (Eustache), 671-2 (Leonard).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.381 (12).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column as a single item. Separated from previous item by heading and brief space.

ff.179r-189r

the Previte off the Passioune of owre lorde Ihesu (the pseudo-Bonaventuran Privity of the Passion)

Beg. "In nomine Patris et ffilij et speritus (sic) sancti amen here

begynnes ... / Who so desyres to ffynd ..." ("_amen amen amen pur charite_
Explicit Bonauenture de misteris Passionis Ihesu christi").

Wells, ch.XI (32); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.28.

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.198-218.

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns with narrative subsections
indicated by MS headings.

       f.189r

       (A rhyming tag from Rolle's <u>Psalter</u>)

"Of all thynge it is the best / Ihu in herte fast to fest / and lufe hym
ower all thynge."

<u>Index</u> 2616.

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), p.218; cf. H.E. Allen, <u>Writings</u>
<u>ascribed to Richard Rolle</u> (1927), p.403.

ME verse. Copied in single column with the first couplet bracketed
together and the final line written to the right of this bracket. Separated
from the <u>Previte</u> by the formal <u>Explicit</u> of that item and by a very brief
space.

       ff.189r-191v

       <u>Willelmi Nassyngton quondam aduocati Curie Ebor. de Trinitate &</u>
       <u>Vnitate cum declaracione operum dei & de passione domini nostri</u>
       <u>ihesu Christi &c</u> (Nassyngton's tract on the Trinity)

Beg.   "<u>Incipit tractatus</u> ... / A lord god of mygh<u>tes</u> maste ..." ("amen")

<u>Index</u> 11; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.61.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
<u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1896), pp.334-9.

Written in couplets. Copied in single columns with each couplet occupying
a single punctuated MS line.

       f.191v

       (A ME prayer of thanksgiving to Christ)

Beg.   "Lorde gode Ihu cryste godd almyghty ..." ("amen").

<u>Index</u> 1954; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.95.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
<u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), p.363 (I).

Written in couplets. Copied in single column with each couplet occupying
a single punctuated MS line. Separated from Nassyngton's tract by the one
word <u>explicit</u> of that item.

f.191v

(A ME Prayer to God the Father)

Beg.   "Almyghty god in trinite ..." ("amen").

Index 246; M.E.D., Plan, p.87.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.363 (II).

Written in couplets. Copied in single column with each couplet occupying
a single punctuated MS line. Separated from the previous prayer by the
one word explicit of that item.

f.191v

(A ME Prayer to Christ)

Beg.   "Lorde god alweldande ..." ("Amen amen pur charite").

M.E.D., Plan, p.87; Supplement 1950.5.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.364 (III).

Written in couplets. Copied continuously in single column of punctuated
MS lines. Separated from the previous prayer by the one word explicit of
that item.

ff.191v-192r

(Another Prayer to Christ)

Beg.   "Ihesu that diede one the rude ..." ("amen amen amen amen pur charite").

Index 1741, Index 1757; M.E.D., Plan, p.93.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.364 (IV).

A composite ME lyric consisting of a single quatrain followed by one eight-
line stanza. Copied in single columns. With one exception, each line of
verse occupies a single MS line. Separated from the previous prayer by
the explicit of that item.

ff.192r-193v

Of the vertus of the haly name of Ihesu Ricardus herimita super
versiculo Oleum effusum nomen tuum in cantico +c (Encomium
nominis Iesu)

Beg.   "That es on Inglysce ..." ("&c Explicit").

Wells, ch.XI (58); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,

Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp. 186-91 (1).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns.

     f.193v

     Narracio A tale þat Richerde hermet ...

Beg. "When I hade taken my syngulere purpos ..." ("Amen Amen Amen &c
Ihesu þe sone of þe glorious virgyne Now lorde haue mercy one all thyne
amen amen pur charite amen").

Wells, ch.XI (26); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.192 (2).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single column.

     f.193v

     A prayer þat "þe same" Richerd hermet made þt es beried at
     hampulle (A Latin prayer written in a time of persecution)

Beg. "Deus noster refugium ..." ("amen").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.192, n.1.

Written in Latin. Copied in single column.
     ff.193v-194r   (See Erratum, p.448).
     f.194r

     De in perfecta contricione (Two exempla of imperfect and perfect
     contrition, respectively)

Beg. "Rycharde hermyte reherces a dredfull tale ..." ("... and he wt
gret Ioye thanked god").

Wells, ch.XI (27); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.192-3 (3).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single column in punctuated MS lines.

     ff.194r-194v

     Moralia Richardi hermite de natura apis vndi quasi apis
     argumentosa (On the nature of the bee)

Beg. "The bee has thre kyndis ..." ("Explicit").

Wells, ch.XI (28); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.193-4 (4); H.E. Allen, English Writings (1931).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns in punctuated MS lines.

ff.194v-195r

De vita cuiusdam puelle in cluse proptter amorem christi (An exemplum of perfect love of Christ)

Beg.   "Alswa heraclides þe clerke telles ..." ("... Richard herymyte reherces þis tale in Ensampill").

Wells, ch.XI (29); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.194 (5).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns in punctuated MS lines.

f.195r

Richardus herymyta (from the Canticles)

Beg.   "Meliora sunt ubera tua vino ..." ("... quando ab hac luce deus dignetur me vocare &c").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.194, n.7.

Written in Latin. Copied in single column in punctuated MS lines.

f.195r

Item inferius idem Ricardus (from Rolle's Contra Amatores Mundi)

Beg.   "O quam delectabile gaudium ..." ("... quod me in eternum habere non confido &c").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.194-5, n.7.

Written in Latin. Copied in single column in punctuated MS lines.

ff.195v-196r

A notabill Tretys off the ten Comandementys Drawen by Richerde the hermyte off hampull

Beg.   "The fyrste comandement es ..." ("&c Explicit").

Wells, ch.XI (30); M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.195-6 (6).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

ff.196r-196v

Item Idem de septem donis spiritus sancti Also of the gyftes of the haly gaste

Beg. "þᵉ seuen gyftes of þᵉ haly gaste ..." ("*Explicit*").

Wells, ch.XI (30); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.78.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.196-7 (7).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines with each of the seven gifts enumerated in the side margins by Roman numerals.

f.196v

<u>Item Idem de dilectacione in deo Also of þe same delyte and ʒernyng of gode</u> (Desire and Delight)

Beg. "<u>Ihesus Marie filius sit michi clemens + propecius amen</u> / <u>Gernyng and delyt</u> ..." (&c <u>Explicit Explicit carmen Qui scripsit</u> / <u>Sit benedictus amen</u>").

Wells, ch.XI (30); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.78.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), p.197 (8); H.E. Allen, <u>English Writings</u> (1931).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single column of punctuated MS lines with the main text preceded by a one line Latin tag.

ff.197r-209v

<u>Speculum sancti Edmundi Cantuar. archipiscopi in anglicis</u> ...
<u>The Myrrour of Seynt Edmonde þᵉ Ersebechop of Canterberye</u>
(St Edmund's <u>Mirror</u>)

Beg. "<u>Incipit</u> ... / <u>Videte vocacionem vestram</u> This wordes ..." ("<u>amen expliculum</u> (<u>sic</u>) <u>speculum sancti Edmundi cantuar. archiepiscopi Dulce nomen domini nostri Ihesu cristi sit benedictus in secula seculorum amen</u>").

Wells, ch.VI (5); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.60.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.219-40 (2.I).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

ff.209v-211r

<u>Tractatus de dominica oracione secundum</u> (<u>sic</u>) (ME Tract on the Pater Noster)

Beg. "<u>Pater noster qui es in celis</u> In all the wordes ..." ("&c <u>Explicit Benedicta sit Sancta trinitas amen</u>").

Wells, ch.XI (31).

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.261-4 (3).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

　　　　ff.211ra-211va

　　　　(A ME Prayer to Christ)

Beg.　"Ihesu criste saynte marye sone ..." ("amen Explicit Tractatus
Explicit amen Thornton amen").

Index 1692; M.E.D., Plan, p.93.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.364-5 (V); F.A. Patterson, ME Penitential
Lyric (1911).

Written in quatrains. Copied in double columns.

　　　　ff.211vb-212rb

　　　　(Prayer to the Trinity and to the Virgin)

Beg.　"Fadir and son and haly gaste ..." ("amen Explicit &c").

Index 775; M.E.D., Plan, p.89.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.365-66 (VI).

Written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in double columns. First two
stanzas consist of six lines only.

　　　　f.212rb

　　　　(ME Prayer to Christ)

Beg.　"Ihesu criste goddes sun of heuen ..." ("amen Explicit").

Wells, ch.XI (36).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.367 (VII).

Written in ME prose. Copied in second column of the page in punctuated
MS lines.

　　　　ff.212rb-212vb

　　　　A Meditacione of þᵉ ffyve Woundes of oure lorde Ihesu criste wᵗ
　　　　a prayere in þᵉ Same &c (Latin prayers on the Feast of the
　　　　Exaltation of the Cross)

Beg.　"Adoro te piissime ..." ("amen").

Cf. York Breviary (1882), cols 552-3 (prayer beg. "Deus qui vnigeniti ...");
also Horae Eboracenses (1920), p.174 (prayer beg. "Adoramus te ...").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.381-2 (13).

Written in Latin. Copied in double columns with the Latin hymn followed immediately by two short prayers and grouped under one MS heading.

ff.212vb-213r

a medytacion of the Crosse of Criste w^t a prayere (Latin prayers on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross)

Beg. "O crux frutex ... ("... amen Ihesu pie flos marie peccatorum miserere amen Ihesu Maria Iohannes Nomina digna coli Ihesu coque Maria Iohannes R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus amen").

Cf. F.J. Mone, Hymni Latini (1853), p.152; York Breviary (1882), col.555 (prayer beg. "nos autem ..."); Horae Eboracenses (1920), p.44, n.2 (prayer beg. "nos autem ...").

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.382-3 (14).

Written in Latin. Hymn copied in the second column of f.212v in punctuated MS lines. Accompanying prayers on f.213r copied in single column of punctuated MS lines and grouped under one MS heading.

ff.213r-213v

(ME poem on the transitory nature of earthly things)

Beg. "When adam dalfe and Eue spane ..." ("Sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum amen").

Index 3921; M.E.D., Plan, p.103.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.367-8 (VIII).

Written in six-line stanzas. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

f.213v

(A ME Prayer to Christ)

Beg. "Ihesu criste haue mercy one me ..." ("amen").

Index 1674; M.E.D., Plan, p.92.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.368 (part of VIII).

Written in couplets. Copied in single column with couplet pairs indicated by brackets. Separated from previous poem by Explicit of that item.

ff.213v-218v

A Sermon þat dan Iohn Gaytryge made þe whilke teches how scrifte es to "be" made + whare "of" and in scrifte how many thynges solde be consederide Et est petrus sentenciarum discrecione prima

(Gaytryge's Sermon)

Beg.   "Als a grete doctour ..." ("amen amen amen Per dominum nostrum
Ihesu christum qui cum deo patri + spiritu sancto viuit + regnat omni-
potens deus in secula seculorum amen amen amen").

Index 406; M.E.D., Plan, p.42.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); N.F. Blake, ME
Religious Prose (1972).

Written in unrhymed alliterating lines. Copied as prose in single columns
of punctuated MS lines with narrative subsections indicated by MS headings.

ff.219ra-219v

(A ME Song of Love to Jesus)

Beg.   "Ihesu thi swetnes ..." ("amen Explicit").

Index 1781; M.E.D., Plan, p.93.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.368-70 (IX).

Written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in double columns on f.219r and in
single column on f.219v in punctuated MS lines.

ff.219v-221v

(Of Angel's Song)

Beg.   "Dere ffrende wit þu wele ..." ("Explicit &c").

Wells, ch.XI (56); M.E.D., Plan, p.44.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.175-82 (2); T. Takamiya, Studies in English
Literature (1977).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

ff.222r-222v

(A ME Prayer of Thanksgiving for Christ)

Beg.   "þi Ioy be ilke a dele ..." ("... and come to criste thi frende ...").

Index 3730, Index 229; M.E.D., Plan, p.70.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.370-72 (X).

A fragmentary composite item originally written in quatrains. Copied in
single columns of punctuated MS lines. Ends abruptly.

ff.223r-229r

(Mixed Life)

Beg. "... men þat ware in prelacye ..." ("&c explicit").

Wells, ch.XI (55); M.E.D., Plan, p.44.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.264-92 (4).

A fragmentary ME prose item. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines. Begins abruptly.

ff.229v-230v

(An extract from chs 43-44 of the Scale of Perfection, book one).

Beg. "Wit thou wele dere ffrende ..." ("amen").

Wells, ch.XI (54).

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 20 (1866, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.293-5 (5).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

ff.231r-233v

Of Sayne Iohn þe euangelist

Beg. "Of all mankynde ..." ("amen Explicit").

Index 2608; M.E.D., Plan, p.76.

Ed. George G. Perry, EETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden (1881).

Written in fourteen-line stanzas. Copied in single columns with the ninth and tenth, twelfth and thirteenth lines of each stanza bracketed together in their respective pairs. The eleventh and fourteenth lines of each stanza are copied to the right of these brackets.

ff.233v-236v

(A ME Tract on Prayer)

Beg. "Srayng (sic) es a gracyous gyfte ..." ("... þay make bot lyttill owtwarde myrthe ...").

Wells, ch.XI (34); P. Jolliffe, ME Prose Writings (M.11).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.295-300 (6).

A fragmentary ME prose item. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines. Ends abruptly.

ff.237r-240r

(A portion of the ME compilation <u>Gratia Dei</u>)

Beg. "... mercy habydes + sythen for all ..." ("&c amen").

Wells, ch.XI (35); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.35; P. Jolliffe, <u>ME Prose Writings</u> (M.8).

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.300-5 (7).

A fragmentary ME prose item. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines. Begins abruptly.

ff.240r-250v

<u>De gracia dei</u> (Additional material from the <u>Gratia Dei</u> compilation)

Beg. "<u>Assit principio sancta maria meo</u> Off goddis grace ..." ("... + ay lastand hele to þe wylke hele &c").

Wells, ch.XI (12, 13); <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.35; P. Jolliffe, <u>ME Prose Writings</u> (I.29(a); H.34 (a)).

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.305-321 (8, 9).

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines with narrative subsections indicated by MS headings which divide this portion of the compilation into smaller component parts. Separated from the previous <u>Gratia Dei</u> material by a formal heading and a brief space.

ff.250r-258r

<u>quedam reuelacio A Reuelacyon Schewed to ane holy woman now one late tyme</u>

Beg. "<u>Hic incipit</u> ... / Alle manere of thyng ..." ("amen <u>Explicit tractatus de visione</u>").

<u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.69; <u>Manual</u>, V (325).

Ed. C. Horstmann, <u>Yorkshire Writers</u> (1895), pp.383-92 (15).

A fragmentary ME prose item. Copied in single columns.

ff.258r-259v

(Vulgate Psalm 50)

Beg. "<u>Miserere mei deus</u> ..." ("amen").

Written in Latin. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

f.258v

<u>ympnus</u> (The Latin hymn <u>Veni Creator</u>)

Beg.   "Veni creator spiritus ..." ("amen").

Cf. York Breviary (1882), col.503; Horae Eboracenses (1920), p.47.

Written in Latin. Copied in single column of punctuated MS lines.
Separated from the psalm by a one word heading crushed into the space on
the MS line which also contains the explicit of the psalm itself.

        ff.258v-270v

        Sayne Ierome spaltyre (sic) (St Jerome's Psalter in Latin and
        accompanying Latin prayers and litany)

Beg.   "Beatus vero Ieronimus ..." ("amen amen amen").

Cf. York Breviary (1882), cols 931-33 (litany), also 903, 935-7, 938, 939
(various prayers); Horae Eboracenses (1920), 116-23 (St Jerome's Psalter),
91-7 (litany), 97 n.9, 99, 100 (various prayers).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.392-408 (16).

Written in Latin. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.
Abbreviated Psalter, litany and prayers grouped under single MS heading.
Blank space on ff.269r-269v (perhaps due to a defective exemplar?).

        ff.271r-276r

        Religio sancti spiritus Religio munda (the ME Abbey of the
        Holy Ghost)

Beg.   "Off the abbaye of saynte spirite ..." ("amen Explicit Relegio
sancti spiritus amen").

Wells, ch.VI (46); M.E.D., Plan, p.23; P. Jolliffe, ME Prose Writings
(H.16(c)).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.321-37.

Written in ME prose. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

        ff.276va-277r

        (Extract from the Prick of Conscience, 11.438-551)

Beg.   "The begynnyng es of thre ..." ("... ffull of cayteste and of care").

Wells, ch.XI (4); Index 3428; M.E.D., Plan, p.64; R.E. Lewis and Angus
McIntosh, A Descriptive Guide (E.4).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.372-3 (XI).

Written in couplets. Copied in double columns on f.276v and in single
column on f.277r. Ends without explicit. Remaining space on f.277r used
for pen trials.

f.277va-b

Ista oracio que sequitur est de vij gaudia beate marie virginis
per Sanctum Thomam Et Martirem Cantuariensem archepiscopum edita

Beg.   "(G)aude fflore virgenali ..." ("amen").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), pp.64-66.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.408-9 (17).

Written in Latin. Copied in double columns. MS heading written in single
line across the head margin of the page.

ff.277vb-278r

anoþer Salutacioun till oure lady of hir fyve Ioyes

Beg.   "(G)aude virgo mater christi ..." ("... per eundem Christum dominum
nostrum").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), pp.63-64.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.409 (18).

Written in Latin. Copied in the second column of f.277v and in a single
column on f.278v.

f.278r

ane antyme to þe ffadir of heuen wt a Colett

Beg.   "(B)enedictis et Claritas ..." ("... per Christum dominum nostrum").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), p.98.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.409 (19).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column.

f.278v

Anoþer antym of þe passyoun of criste Ihesu

Beg.   "(T)uam crucem adoramus ..." ("amen").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses, pp.46, 174.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.409-10 (20).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column.

f.278v

a Colecte of grete pardon vnto crist Ihesu

Beg.   "(D)omine Ihesu christi ffili dei viui ...". ("... ad faciem saluatoris nostri Ihu &c Salue sancta facies nostri redemptoris cum tota oracione & versu + colecta &c").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), p.174.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.410 (21).

Written in Latin. Copied in single column.

f.278v

(The "Arms" of Christ's Passion)

Beg.   "Thornton misereatur mei dei / (C)rucem coronam spiniam ..." ("....
per Christum dominum nostrum").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses (1920), pp.176-77.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), p.410.

Written in Latin. Copied in single column with the lines of Latin text
linked in pairs by brackets and the third and sixth lines of each six-
line stanza copied to the right of these brackets. "Thornton" opening
rubric added in head margin.

ff.278v-279r

A preyere to þe Wounde in Crystis Syde Ihesus marie filius sit
michi clemens + propicius

Beg.   "Salue plaga lateris ..." ("amen").

Cf. Horae Eboracenses, pp.83, 175, 177.

Ed. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.410-11 (23).

Written in Latin. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.

ff.279r-279v

Memento Homo Quod Cinis Es Et in cenerem Reuerteris (Erthe
upon Erthe)

Beg.   "Perce michi domine nichil enim sunt dies mei quid est homo quia ... /
Limus Erthe owte of erthe ..." ("... hafe a foulle stynke Mors Soluit Omnia").

Wells, ch.VII (26); Index 704; M.E.D., Plan, p.39.

Ed. George G. Perry, ETS, O.S., 26 (1867, repr. 1973); C. Horstmann,
Yorkshire Writers (1895), pp.373-4 (XII).

Written in quatrains. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines.
Opening Latin tag written in side margin.

f.279v

ffor the Scyatica (Medical recipe and scribbles)

Recipe beg. "Tak a gowpyn full of sawge + als mekyll of rewe ..."

ff.280r-320r?

Liber de diuersis medicinis + primo pro Capite

Beg. "ffor werke and vanytee in þe hede ..." ("... + lay it to þe kankir ..." (f.314v)).

M.E.D., Plan, p.78.

Ed. M.S. Ogden, EETS, O.S., 207 (1936, repr. 1969).

A fragmentary ME prose item. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines. Ends abruptly. Ff.315-320 illegible fragments (end of Liber?).

ERRATUM

(See page 437)

ff.193v-194r

Ympnus quem composuit sanctus Ambrosyus + est valde bonus (Jesus nostra Redemptio)

Beg. "Ihesu nostra redempcio ..." ("amen amen amen pur charyte amen Qui scripsit carmen sit benedictus amen amen In nomine domini Ihesu amen").

Ed. H.A. Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus (1855), p.63.

Written in Latin. Copied in single columns.

ff.3ra-32rb

(From the Cursor Mundi, 11.10630-14933)

Beg.   "... She was + that was sone appon hir sene ..." ("amen").

Wells, ch.VI (1); Index 2153; M.E.D., Plan, p.35.

Ed. Richard Morris, EETS, O.S., 46, 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (1874-93, repr. 1961-6); S. Horrall, The Southern Version (1978; Thornton text to be published in vol. 3, forthcoming).

Incomplete and fragmentary text written in couplets. Copied in double columns with narrative subsections indicated by MS headings and spaces left for future illumination (unfilled). Begins abruptly.

ff.32rb-32vb

(Also from the Cursor Mundi, 11.17111-88; A Discourse between Christ and Man)

Beg.   "Ihesu was of mary borne ..." ("amen amen amen Per charite amen amen Et sic Procendendum ad Passionem domini nostri Ihesu Christi que incipit in folio proximo sequente secundum ffantasium scriptoris").

Index 1786; Manual, VII (2(b)).

Ed. Richard Morris, EETS, O.S., 62 (1876, repr. 1966).

Written in couplets. Copied in double columns. Separated from the previous Cursor Mundi passage by the one word explicit of that item.

ff.33ra-50rb

Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi (The Northern Passion)

Beg.   "Lystenes me I maye ȝow telle ..." ("amen amen per charite and louynge to god þᵉfore gyfe we R Thornton Explicit Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi").

Index 1907; M.E.D., Plan, p.62; Manual, V (303).

Ed. Frances Foster, EETS, O.S., 145, 147, 183 (1912-16, 1930, repr. 1971).

Incomplete text written in couplets. Copied in double columns with f.41rb and 41v left blank (due to imperfect exemplar?).

ff.50r-66r

Distruccio Ierarusalem Quomodo Titus + vaspasianus obsederunt + distruxerunt Ierusalem et vidicarunt mortem domini Ihesu Christi The Segge of Ierusalem Off Tytus and vaspasyane

Beg. "Hic Incepit ... / In tyberyus tyme that trewe Emperure ..." ("amen amen amen Explicit la sege de Ierusalem R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus amen").

Index 1583; M.E.D., Plan p.72; Manual, I (107).

Ed. E. Kölbing and M. Day, EETS, O.S. (1932, repr. 1971).

Fragmentary text written in alliterative verse. Copied in single columns with text divided by passus divisions on ff.54v, 57r, 60v, 63r.

ff.66v-79v

the Sege off Melayne

Beg. "Here Bygynnys ... / All worthy men that luffes to here ..." ("... Bendis vp þaire engyne ...").

Index 234; M.E.D., Plan, p.72; Manual, I (56).

Ed. S.J. Herrtage, EETS, E.S., 35 (1880, repr. 1973); Maldwyn Mills, Six ME Romances (1973).

Fragmentary text written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in single columns with the rhyming pairs in each stanza linked by brackets, and the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth lines written in the right margin. Text divided on ff.69v and 73r by passus/fitt divisions. Ends abruptly.

ff.80r-81v

(A Hymn to Our Lady; O florum flos)

Beg. "With humble hert I pray iche creature ..." ("amen Explicitt Cantus amen").

Index 2168; M.E.D., Plan, p.97.

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, Archiv, 131 (1913).

Written in eight-line stanzas with Latin refrain. Copied in single columns with marginal rubrics indicating the stanza divisions. Final lines and explicit added in right margin of f.81v.

ff.82r-94r

þe Romance Of Duke Rowlande and of Sir Ottuell of Spayne Off Cherlls of ffrance

Beg. "Lordyngs þat bene hende and ffree ..." ("amen per charite Here Endes þe Romance of Duk Rowland + Sir Otuell of Spayne Explycit Sir Otuell" (in margin: "Charles")).

Index 1996; M.E.D., Plan, p.69; Manual, I (57).

Ed. S.J. Herrtage, EETS, E.S., 35 (1880, repr. 1973).

Written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas. Copied in single columns with

the rhyming pairs in each stanza linked by brackets, and the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth lines written in the right margin. Text divided on f.84v by a fitt division.

f.94r

Passionis Cristi Cantus

Beg. "Hic incipit quedam Tractatus passionis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi in anglicis / Man to reforme thyne Exile and thi losse ..." ("... appon my blody face").

Index 2081; M.E.D., Plan, p.54; Manual, XVI (24).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, E.S., 107 (1911, repr. 1961).

Incomplete text written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in single column with marginal rubrics indicating the stanza divisions. Ends abruptly (a "false start" by Thornton?).

f.94v

+(A short lyric fragment)

Beg. "Exultit celum laudibus / In bathelem in that fare sete ..." ("... for he ys prens / Exultet celum lawdibus).

Index 1471; Manual, XIV (20).

Ed. Karen Hodder (Stern), Archiv, 205 (1969).

Copied in single column mainly in the head margin of the page by a "post-Thornton" hand.

f.94v

+(Another short lyric fragment)

Beg. "Mare moder cum + se ..." ("... þ^t blyssyd chy ...").

Index 2111; Manual, XIV (159).

Ed. Karen Hodder (Stern), Archiv, 205 (1969).

Copied in single column by a "post-Thornton" hand. Separated from the preceding lyric scrap by the Latin refrain of the previous item. Ends abruptly.

ff.94v-96r

(Passionis Christi Cantus)

Beg. "Mman to refourme thyn exile and thi losse" ("Explicit Passio Christi").

Index 2081; M.E.D., Plan, p.54; Manual, XVI (24).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, E.S., 107 (1911, repr. 1961).

Written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in single columns with brackets indicating rhyme scheme and marginal rubrics indicating the stanza divisions. Thornton's second, more complete version of the Passionis Christi Cantus.

ff.96r-96v

(Verses on the Kings of England)

Beg. "Willmo conquestor Dux Normannorum / This myghty Willyam Duke of Normandy" ("... and all wales in despite of alle þaire myghte ...").

Index 3632; M.E.D., Plan, p.56; Manual, XVI (100).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, O.S. 192 (1934, repr. 1961).

Fragmentary text written in seven-line stanzas with each stanza set apart from the others by a brief space and introduced by a MS heading indicating the name of the king with which it deals. Ends abruptly..

ff.97r-97v

(The Dietary)

Beg. "... Be noghte hasty nore sodanly vengeable ..." ("... To all in deferent recheste dyetarye").

Index 824; M.E.D., Plan, p.55; Manual, XVI (34).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, O.S. 192 (1934, repr. 1961).

Fragmentary text written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in single columns. Opens abruptly.

f.97v

(A short Latin aphorism)

Beg. "Post visum risum...." ("... ne moriaris ita").

Walther, II/3, p.904 (72).

Four lines copied in single column of punctuated MS lines. Separated from the previous item by a brief space and by marginal rubric used elsewhere to indicate stanza divisions.

f.97v

(Another short Latin aphorism)

Beg. "lex est defuncta ..." ("... Ius est incarcere tentum").

Walther, II/2, p.721 (95).

Two lines copied in single column and bracketed together as a pair.

Separated from previous item by brief space and by marginal rubric used elsewhere to indicate stanza divisions.

f.97v

(A third short Latin aphorism)

Beg.   "alterius lingue dic ..." ("vix est qui proprie possit habere modum").

Walther, II/1, p.101 (64).

Two lines copied in single column and bracketed together as a pair. Separated from previous item by brief space and by marginal rubric used elsewhere to indicate stanza divisions.

f.97v

A gud Schorte songe of this dete This werlde es tournede vp sodownne

Beg. "To thynke it es a wondir thynge ..." ("... of the variaunce the whilke þat I now see").

Index 3778; Manual, XII (94).

Ed. K. Brunner, Archiv, 132 (1914).

Opening four lines of a fragmentary text.   Copied in single column.   Ends abruptly.

ff.98r-101v

(The Quatrefoil of Love)

Beg.   "In a mornenyng of maye when medowes sall spryng ..." ("... In a mornyng of may when medowes sall sprynge").

Wells, ch.VI (52); Index 1453; M.E.D., Plan, p.68.

Ed. I. Gollancz and M.M. Weale, EETS, O.S., 195 (1935, repr. 1971).

Written in thirteen-line alliterating stanzas.   Copied in pairs in single columns of punctuated MS lines with the tenth, eleventh and twelfth lines bracketed together, and the ninth line of each stanza written in the right margin.

f.101v

(Prayer to the Guardian Angel)

Beg.   "Haile holy spyritt + ioy be vnto the ..." ("amen").

Index 1051.

Ed. K. Brunner, Archiv, 132 (1914); Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XV Century (1939).

Written in couplets. Copied in single column of punctuated MS lines with each line filled by a couplet. Only the change in presentation distinguishes this prayer from the previous item.

ff.102r-102v

(Alliterating Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm 50)

Beg. "Miserere mei deus secundum magnam miserecordiam tuam / God þou haue mercy" ("... all if I falle in fandynges fele ...").

Index 990; Manual, IV (22).

Fragmentary text written in twelve-line alliterating stanzas. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines, each MS line filled by a pair of lines from the poem. Ends abruptly.

ff.103r-110v

(The Virtues of the Mass)

Beg. "Iudica me deus with hole herte and Entere ..." ("amen").

Index 4246; M.E.D., Plan, p.56; Manual, XVI (87).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, EETS, E.S., 107 (1911, repr. 1961).

Incomplete text originally written in eight-line stanzas. The first 71 lines copied in stanza units (the first of 7 lines only) with a brief space between each stanza (ff.103r-104r). The remainder of the text copied in unbroken single columns.

f.110v

a Carolle ffor Crystynmasse (the Rose of Ryse)

Beg. "The rose es the fayreste fflour of alle ..." ("... In plesaunce of þe Rose so trewe").

Index 3457; M.E.D., Plan, p.101; Manual, XIV (436).

Ed. R.L. Greene, A Selection of English Carols (1962).

Written in six-line stanzas with a three line burden. Copied in a single column with the penultimate line in the burden and in each stanza copied in the right margin. The heading copied in the left margin.

ff.111r-119v

(The Three Kings of Cologne)

Beg. "ffor Wynde or Rayne ffor water or colde or hete ..." ("amen Explicit tractatus amen Trium magnum").

Index *31 (Supplement *854.3); M.E.D., Plan, p.78; Manual, XVI (98).

Ed. H.N. MacCracken, <u>Archiv</u>, 129 (1912).

Fragmentary item written in rhyme-royal stanzas. Copied in single columns of punctuated MS lines. Text divided by MS headings on ff.112v and 116r indicating passus divisions. The last twelve lines copied in the side margin of f.119v. Begins abruptly, probably originally began on the first two unnumbered stubs that now precede f.111.

ff.120r-122rb

<u>Cantus Cuiusdam Sapientis</u> ... <u>a lou</u>e<u>ly Song of wysdome</u>

Beg. "<u>Hic Incipit</u> ... / Waste makes a kyngdome in nede ..." ("<u>amen amen</u>").

Wells, ch.VII (11c); <u>Index</u> 3861; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.103.

Ed. K. Brunner, <u>Archiv</u>, 161 (1932).

Written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in single columns on ff.120r-120v and then in double columns for the remainder of the text. Marginal rubrics indicate stanza divisions.

ff.122va-123ra

<u>A song How þat mercy Passeth Rightwisnes</u>

Beg. "By one foreste als I gan walke ..." ("<u>amen Explicit Cantus amen</u>").

<u>Index</u> 560; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.88; <u>Manual</u>, VII (27).

Ed. K. Brunner, <u>Archiv</u>, 132 (1914).

Written in eight-line stanzas. Copied in double columns. Marginal rubrics indicate stanza divisions.

ff.123ra-123vb

<u>a song how mercy comes bifore þ</u>e <u>iugement Doo mercy Bifore thi</u>
<u>iugement</u>

Beg. "There is no creatoure but one ..." ("<u>amen Explicit Cantus amen</u>").

<u>Index</u> 3533; <u>M.E.D.</u>, Plan, p.101.

Ed. K. Brunner, <u>Archiv</u>, 132 (1914).

Written in twelve-line stanzas with a refrain. Copied in double columns. Marginal rubrics indicate stanza divisions.

ff.123rb-124vb

<u>A songe how þ</u>t <u>mercy passeth alle thynge</u>

Beg. "Be weste vndir a wilde wodde syde ..." ("<u>Amen Explicit Cantus amen</u>
<u>Explicit Cantus amen</u>").

Index 583; M.E.D., Plan, p.88.

Ed. K. Brunner, Archiv, 132 (1914).

Written in twelve-line stanzas with a refrain. Copied in double columns with the final stanza crushed into the bottom margin of f.124v. Marginal rubrics indicate stanza divisions.

ff.125ra-163vb

*The Romance Off Kyng Richerd þe Conqueroure

Beg.   "... Lord Ihu Criste Kyng of glory ..." ("amen Explicit ...").

Index 1979; M.E.D., Plan, p.69; Manual, I (106).

Ed. K. Brunner (1913).

Incomplete and fragmentary text written in couplets. Copied in double columns with f.160rb left blank (due to defective exemplar?). Opens abruptly.

ff.163va-168vb

Ihesu Christi ... the Romance of the childhode of Ihesu Criste þat clerkes callys Ypokrephum

Beg.   "Here Bigynnys ... / Allemyghty god in Trynytee ..." ("amen Moralitus dicit in verbis prophecie").

Index 250; M.E.D., Plan, p.48; Manual, VI (311).

Ed. C. Horstmann, Archiv, 74 (1885).

Written in twelve-line stanzas. Copied in double columns with Latin tag appended to one word explicit in part of blank space remaining on f.168vb.

ff.169r-176v

The parlement of the thre Ages

Beg.   "In the monethes of maye when mirthes bene fele ..." ("amen amen Thus Endes The Thre Ages").

Index 1556; Manual, XIII (244); M.E.D., Plan, p.64.

Ed. M.Y. Offord, EETS, O.S., 246 (1959, repr. 1967).

Written in alliterative verse. Copied in single columns.

ff.176v-182v

A Tretys and god Schorte refreyt Bytwixe Wynnere and Wastoure

Beg.   "Here Begynnes ... / Sythen that Bretayne was biggede and Bruyttus

it aughte ..." ("... to þe kirke of Colayne þ^r þ^e kynges ligges ...").

Index 3137; M.E.D., Plan, p.83; Manual, XIII (243).

Ed. I. Gollancz (1920, repr. 1974).

Fragmentary text written in alliterative verse. Copied in single columns until f.181, and then in double columns. Ends abruptly.

The Watermarks in Thornton's Collection

Watermark A.   Bull (cf. Briquet 2804/5, 1438-1446;Beazeley 128-9, 1444).

  London Thornton MS   ff.3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31.

  Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.170, 172, 174.

Watermark B.   Bull's head (cf. Briquet 15203/6, 1437-1445; nearest 15204, 1440).

  London Thornton MS   ff.34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52

  Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 81, 84, 85, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 158, 160, 161, 163.

Watermark C.   Cart (cf. Briquet 3528, 1429-1461).

  London Thornton MS   ff.57, 59, 60, 69, 71, 72

  Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.113, 114, 254, 255, 257, 259, 261, 262, 268, 272, 274, 276, 279.

Watermark D.   Crowned column (cf. Briquet 4398, 1421-1469).

  London Thornton MS   ff.61, 62, 63.

Watermark E.   Fleur-de-lys and dolphin (cf. Briquet 5892/5, 1418-1431; Beazeley 122-3, 1438, 137-8, 1451).

  London Thornton MS   f.73

  Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.76, 77, 80, 87, 88, 91, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 138, 142, 180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 191, 194, 195, 196, 198, 200, 202, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 216, 217, 218, 220, 263, 264.

Watermark F.   Sole of shoe (cf. Briquet 13617/18, 1426-1430).

  London Thornton MS   ff.74, 77, 78, 79, 95, 97, 99, 101, 102, 121, 124

  Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.7, 8, 20, 21, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 168, 176.

Watermark G.   Serpent (cf. Briquet 13625/31, 1423-1456; nearest 13625/9, 1423-1444).

London Thornton MS   ff.80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90

Watermark H.   Hammer (cf. Briquet 11631/4, 1428 (?1410)-1450; nearest
                 11632, 1428).

    London Thornton MS   ff.104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 116, 118, 119

    Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.106, 107, 109, 120, 121, 122, 238, 239, 240,
                 243, 244, 247, 248, 252.

Watermark I.   Crossed keys (cf. Briquet 3867/9, 1420-1458).

    London Thornton MS   ff.125, 127, 128, 130, 132, 136, 137, 138,
                 140, 142.

Watermark J.   Crown (cf. Briquet 4636/47, 1423-1488).

    London Thornton MS   ff.147, 149, 150, 151, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161,
                 165, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 178, 179, 180.

Watermark K.   Crossed axes.

    Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.1, 3, 6, 12, 13, 15, 31, 32, 33, 43, 45, 46,
                 49, 164, 177, 178.

Watermark L.   Bull's head and cross (cf. Briquet 15103/10, 1434-1469;
                 nearest 15103, 1434-1446; Beazeley 147-8, 174-5).

    Lincoln Thornton MS   f.115.

Watermark M.   Circle (cf. Briquet 2921, 1401; sometimes indistinct).

    Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 232, 235,
                 253.

Watermark N.   Catherine wheel (cf. Briquet 13261/68, 1402-1444; nearest
                 13268, 1434).

    Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.269, 270.

Watermark O.   Letter A and cross (cf. Briquet 7900/04, 1385-1442).

    Lincoln Thornton MS   ff.286, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305,
                 306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314.

The Structure of the <u>Cursor Mundi</u> in Its Surviving MSS

<u>Note</u>.

In the following description, the symbol o indicates that a narrative subdivision in the diagram is matched by a MS heading in the main text of, the MS copy in question. The symbol x is used to indicate that the subdivision in the diagram is matched by a heading in the various tables of contents in MSS, G, F and L. The serious physical <u>lacunae</u> which have affected various MS copies are indicated by .... . All line references are to the EETS edition of the poem, edited by Richard Morris.

(Item q^1 is now completely missing, but is described in the table of contents).

Biblical History

(a)	Prologue	(1-270)	Describes items a-l (271-24970)
(b)	1st age	(271-1626)	Creation^{OX}, Fall^{OX}, Cain and Abel^{OX}, Seth's quest^{OX}.
(c)	2nd age^O	(1627-2314)	The Flood^{OX}, Noah's sons^{OX}, Babel^X.
(d)	3rd age^O	(2315-7860)	Abraham^X, Isaac^{OX}, Jacob^{OX}, Joseph^X, Moses^{OX}, Saul^X.
(e)	4th age^O	(7861-9228)	David^{OX}, Solomon and Captivity of Judah^X.
(f)	5th age	(9229-12751)	Birth and childhood of Virgin and Christ^{OX}.
(g)	6th age	(12752-21846)	Baptism of Christ^X, His Ministry^X, Passion (and Discourse), Harrowing of Hell^X, Acts of Apostles^X, Assumption of Mary^X, Apostolic Times^X, Finding of the Cross^X.
(h)	7th age	(21847-23908)	Day of Doom, Anti-Christ^X, Signs of Doom^X, Heaven and Hell^X.

Additional Material

(i)	Prayer to the Virgin	(23909-23944)
(j)	Sorrows of Mary^X	(23945-24658)
(k)	Apostrophe to St John	(24659-24730)
(l)	Festival of the Conception of the Virgin^{OX}	(24731-24970)
(m)	Exposition of the Creed	(24971-25102)
(n)	Exposition of the Pater Noster^X	(25103-25402)
(o)	Prayer to the Trinity^X	(25403-25486)
(p)	Prayer to the Hours of the Passion^X	(25487-25618)
(p^1)	Song on the Five Joys of our Lady	(25619-25683)
(q)	Book of Penance^X	(25684...25766)
(q^1)	(Purgatory of St Patrick^X)	...

Biblical History

(a)	Prologue	(1-270)	Describes items a-l (271-24970)
(b)	1st age	(271-1626)	Creation°, Fall°, Cain and Abel, Seth's quest°.
(c)	2nd age°	(1627-2314)	The Flood°, Noah's sons°, Babel°.
(d)	3rd age°	(2315-7860)	Abraham°, Isaac°, Jacob°, Joseph, Moses°, Saul.
(e)	4th age°	(7861-9228)	David, Solomon, Captivity of Judah.
(f)	5th age°	(9229-12751)	Birth and childhood of Virgin and Christ°.
(g)	6th age°	(12752-21846)	Baptism of Christ, Christ's Ministry, Passion (expanded) and Discourse, Harrowing of Hell, Acts of Apostles, Assumption of Mary°, Apostolic Times, Finding of the Cross°.
(h)	7th age	(21847-23908)	Day of Doom, Anti-Christ, Signs of Doom°, Heaven and Hell.

Additional Material

(i)	Prayer to the Virgin	(23909-23944)
(j)	Sorrows of Mary°	(23945-24658)
(k)	Apostrophe to St John	(24659-24730)
(l)	Festival of the Conception of the Virgin°	(24731-24970)
(m)	Exposition of the Creed	(24971-25102)
(n)	Exposition of the Pater Noster°	(25103-25402)
(p)	Prayer to the Hours of the Passion	(25487-25618)
(o)	Prayer to the Trinity	(25403-25486)
(q)	Book of Penance°	(25684-29547)

(Fragmentary quires rearranged so that folios form original order:

ff.37-50; 1-12; 13-15; 16-24; 25-36; begins abruptly at 1.18989).

<u>Biblical History</u>

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(g)   6th age   (18989...21846)   Acts of the Apostles, Assumption
of Mary, Apostolic Times, Finding
of the Cross.

(h)   7th age   (21847-23908)   Day of Doom°, Anti-Christ, Signs of
Doom, Heaven and Hell.

<u>Additional Material</u>

(i)   Prayer to the Virgin   (23909-23944)

(j)   Sorrows of Mary°   (23945...24658)

(k)   Apostrophe to St John   (24659-24730)

(l)   Festival of the Conception of the Virgin (24733-24968)

(l^1) Prologue, Ratio quare, and the first thirteen homilies of

the <u>Northern Homily Cycle</u> (for the four Sundays in Advent,

Christmas, the Sunday after Christmas, Epiphany, the five

Sundays after Epiphany and the Purification).

(Fragment)

Biblical History

(a)	Prologue	(1-270)	Describes items a-1 (271-24970)
(b)	1st age	(271-1626)	Creation[OX], Fall[OX], Cain and Abel[OX], Seth's quest[OX].
(c)	2nd age[OX]	(1627-2314)	The Flood[OX], Noah's sons[OX], Babel[O].
(d)	3rd age[OX]	(2315-7860)	Abraham[OX], Isaac[OX], Jacob[OX], Joseph[X], Moses[OX], Saul[X].
(e)	4th age[OX]	(7861-9228)	David[OX], Solomon[O], Captivity of Judah[X].
(f)	5th age[OX]	(9229...12751)	Birth and childhood of Virgin and Christ[X].
(g)	6th age[OX]	(12752...21846)	Baptism of Christ[OX], His Ministry[X], Passion[X], Harrowing of Hell[X], Acts of Apostles[OX], Assumption of Mary[OX], Apostolic Times[OX], Finding of the Cross[OX].
(h)	7th age[OX]	(21847-23908)	Day of Doom, Anti-Christ[OX], Signs of Doom[OX], Heaven and Hell.

Additional Material

(i)	Prayer to the Virgin	(23909-23944)
(j)	Sorrows of Mary[OX]	(23945-24658)
(k)	Apostrophe to St John	(24659-24730)
(l)	Festival of the Conception of the Virgin[OX]	(24731-24970)
(m)	Exposition of the Creed[OX]	(24971-25102)
(n)	Exposition of the Pater Noster[OX]	(25103-25402)
(o)	Prayer to the Trinity[O]	(25403-25486)
(p)	Prayer to the Hours of the Passion[OX]	(25487-25618)
(q)	Book of Penance[OX]	(25684-27900)
(q[A])	Cato's Morals	(Appendix IV; 1-378)

(Begins abruptly at 1.10630; <u>Cursor Mundi</u> Passion section omitted).

<u>Biblical History</u>

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(f)   5th age   (10630-12751)   Early life of Virgin and Christ°.

(g)   6th age°   (12752-14914)   Baptism of Christ, His Ministry°,

(17111-17188)   Discourse.

<u>Additional Material</u>

(g¹)   The <u>Northern Passion</u>.

(<u>Cursor Mundi</u> Passion section replaced; 7th age partly replaced).

<u>Biblical History</u>

(a)	Prologue	(1-270)	Describes items a-1 (271-24970)
(b)	1st age	(271-1626)	Creation^o, Fall^o, Cain and Abel, Seth's quest^o.
(c)	2nd age^o	(1627-2314)	The Flood^o, Noah's sons^o, Babel^o.
(d)	3rd age	(2315-7860)	Abraham^o, Isaac^o, Jacob^o, Joseph, Moses^o, Saul.
(e)	4th age^o	(7861-9228)	David^o, Solomon, Captivity of Judah.
(f)	5th age	(9229-12751)	Birth and childhood of Virgin and Christ^o.
(g)	6th age^o	(12752-21846)	Baptism of Christ, His Ministry, Passion^o, Harrowing of Hell, Acts of Apostles, Assumption of Mary, Apostolic Times, Finding of the Cross.
(h)	7th age	(21847-22004)	Day of Doom, Anti-Christ^o.

<u>Additional Material</u>

(h^1) <u>Prick of Conscience</u> extract.

(h^2) Chaucer's <u>ABC to the Virgin</u>.

MSS T, H AND L

(Table of Contents in L).

<u>Biblical History</u>

(a)   Prologue   (1-270)   Describes items a-l (271-24970)

(b)   1st age   (271-1626)   Creation^{ox}, Fall^{ox}, Cain and Abel^{ox}, Seth's quest^{ox}.

(c)   2nd age^{ox} (1627-2314)   The Flood^{o}, Noah's sons^{o}, Babel.

(d)   3rd age^{ox} (2315-7860)   Abraham, Isaac^{ox}, Jacob^{ox}, Joseph^{x}, Moses^{ox}, Saul.

(e)   4th age^{ox} (7861-9228)   David^{ox}, Solomon, Captivity of Judah.

(f)   5th age   (9229-12751)   Birth and childhood of Virgin and Christ^{ox}.

(g)   6th age   (12752-21846)   Baptism of Christ, His Ministry^{x}, Passion^{ox}, Harrowing of Hell, Acts of Apostles, Assumption of Mary^{ox}, Apostolic Times, Finding of the Cross.

(h)   7th age   (21847-23908)   Day of Doom^{ox}, Anti-Christ^{ox}, Signs of Doom^{ox}, Heaven and Hell^{x}.

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