Karen Pratt / Bart Besamusca / Matthias Meyer / Ad Putter (eds)

The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript

Text Collections from a European Perspective

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Edited with the Assistance of Hannah Morcos

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Cover image: A hermit at work on a manuscript; *Estoire del Saint Graal*, France, *c.* 1315–1325, London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E III, fol. 6^{v}, © British Library Board.

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Introduction

This volume of essays stems from an international conference held in Utrecht in 2013, which rounded off the three-year HERA-funded project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective'.[1] The four principal investigators, Bart Besamusca (Middle Dutch), Matthias Meyer (Middle High German), Karen Pratt (Old French), and Ad Putter (Middle English) undertook to study collections of texts within their manuscript contexts,[2] inspired by the pioneering work of Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript* (Busby 2002).[3] Our premise was that, although modern scholars have tended to read medieval literary works in relatively fixed modern critical editions, medieval readers had a very different experience, for most works were available in multi-text codices, compiled and organised in a variety of different ways. This textual phenomenon proved to be an excellent example of cultural dynamics (one of the HERA research themes for 2010–13), which, when approached from a comparative, European perspective, enabled us to trace common cultural trends in book production and reception, while also uncovering specific regional and local characteristics. Multi-text codices were also fertile ground for analysing the mechanisms by which cultural identities were formed and shared, at community, 'national', and European levels.[4]

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013.

2 Our doctoral and post-doctoral researchers were Gerard Bouwmeester, Daniël Ermens, Gareth Griffith, Hannah Morcos, Rachel Sweet, and Nicola Zotz. We benefited hugely from the guidance of our project advisers Olivier Collet, Richard Trachsler, Florian Kragl, and Paul Wackers.

3 Also influential on our initial thinking was *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Nichols and Wenzel (eds) 1996).

4 We are using the term 'national' loosely to refer to people linked through a shared linguistic culture; see also note 9 below.

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The focus of our research was medieval short verse narratives (works of up to 1,500 lines, including such genres as courtly lays, bawdy *fabliaux*, moral fables, brief romances, saints' lives, and proverbial material). These short texts, which before the advent of print were rarely copied in single-text manuscripts (or at least have rarely survived in them), are intrinsically dynamic, since they move easily *between* manuscripts, shift positions *within* different codices, and migrate from one linguistic context to another. This rich body of material was approached from two interrelated angles: that of the compiler and that of the reader. Although we acknowledge the risks of positing compilatorial intention (which would have been influenced, of course, by manuscript commissioners and scribes), we nevertheless paid much attention to the possible organisational principles which may underlie particular textual configurations.[5] Indeed, 'authors' of multi-text codices can also be viewed as readers of texts, whose own interpretations are made visible by the selection and organisation of text collections. These compilations were in turn read and understood in a variety of ways by contemporary owners and readers of the manuscripts. For this reason, the possible reader experiences encouraged by textual arrangement and juxtapositions featured large in our investigations.

While most of our research consisted of the study of individual multi-text codices, combining codicological, palaeographical, and other forms of physical evidence with the literary interpretation of works in context, we also produced some studies of individual texts, whose transmission was traced across compilations and occasionally across European linguistic borders. Examples of this approach are Gerard Bouwmeester (2013) on Dutch literary treatments of the Nine Worthies and (2016) on the works of Augustijnken; Karen Pratt (2016) on *Beranger au long cul* and on vernacular versions of Pyramus and Thisbe discussed in this volume; Rachel Sweet's forthcoming thesis on the French *Chatelaine de Vergi*; and Nicola Zotz (2014a) on the German *Märe Das Almosen*.[6]

Our research covered both homogenetic codices and composite manuscripts compiled in the Middle Ages. The former were usually planned as a unit and executed in one go, even if items were copied by different scribes; often these production units contain catchwords and continuous folio numbering. Composite manuscripts are those produced over time, through addition, modification, and accretion, as separate production units were bound together,

5 Needless to say, serendipity and exemplar availability were also factors in the construction of text collections. However, this does not mean that compilers were totally devoid of choice.
6 A full list of publications arising from the project can be found on the project website: www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu. Another useful project output offering additional information is our Virtual Exhibition: http://everycodextellsastory.eu.

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forming new kinds of usage units.[7] While all medieval books are susceptible to synchronic analyses (of their physical composition and literary content), many provide evidence for the dynamic evolution of texts and compilations. The contents of medieval books were often subject to change, as items were added to them or existing booklets were bound together and configured anew, but also the texts themselves were modified for novel contexts, and their reception conditioned by innovative juxtapositions. As compilers produced collections for specific readerships and purposes, so texts and their meanings evolved, fashioning new reading communities. In fact, medieval multi-text codices not only reflected cultural needs and identities, they also created networks and cemented new groupings, which could even reach across European linguistic borders.[8]

Our Utrecht conference in 2013 comprised sessions on textual communities, geographic and linguistic variety, author and authorisation, genre, textual dissemination, readership, manuscript typologies, textual affiliations and clusters, and the genesis of compilations. The resulting volume of essays widens the scope of our research to include lyric poetry and prose texts alongside short verse narratives, and adds Icelandic, Italian, and Latin to our French, German, English, and Dutch material.[9] Our deliberations have also been enriched by recent publications on the medieval miscellany (Doležalová and Rivers (eds) 2013; Eckhardt and Starza Smith (eds) 2014; and Connolly and Radulescu (eds) 2015).

We have chosen to use the neutral term multi-text codex to refer to our manuscript compilations because the terms miscellany and anthology have too many negative and positive connotations associated with perceived hetero- or homogeneity respectively (see Boffey and Thompson 1989). Another problem with the word 'miscellany' in particular is that, while some scholars use it narrowly to describe homogenetic manuscripts with varied contents, others use it to describe any manuscript of miscellaneous content, whether homogenetic or composite. Moreover, our primary interest in the short verse narrative means that some truly miscellaneous books, which often contained 'factual', practical ma-

7 For precise codicological vocabulary, see Gumbert 2004 and 2005; Kwakkel 2012; and Denis Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire codicologique* at http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire.

8 Although we found no evidence for identical texts being transmitted together from one European language to another, we did notice similar types of texts and thematic groupings in Francophone, German, Dutch, and English manuscripts.

9 When we refer in this introduction to German and Dutch material, we mean texts in those medieval languages and/or manuscripts produced in those geographical areas. The situation is more complicated for French and English material, however, for the Francophone texts analysed here may have survived in books produced in Britain or on the continent; in other words, French material was not necessarily produced in France. Nor do 'English' manuscripts contain exclusively English material, for the insular manuscripts studied by Ad Putter and Gareth Griffith frequently contain works in Anglo-Norman and other languages, alongside texts in Middle English.

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terial alongside works of religious devotion, fell outside the scope of our research. What all recent scholars working on the medieval multi-text codex have shown, though, is how quickly academic interest has moved away from the manuscript as a repository of information about a particular text and its author, to the medieval book as a cultural artefact which is worthy of study in its own right and enables us to investigate reading communities and interest groups (Woudhuysen 2014: xi).[10]

In the rest of this introduction, we focus on a series of topics illustrated by the contributors to this volume, supplementing their findings with our own research and those of others in the field.

I. The Dynamics of Manuscript Compilation

In many cases the manuscript compilation formed a vital, sometimes transitional, phase in the transmission of short texts. Individual texts or series of texts may well have begun life in booklet form, were then copied into larger, often personal compilations, which were later susceptible to piecemeal copying and reorganisation.[11] The process of composition, collecting, editing, and arrangement is discussed in this volume by Dieuwke van der Poel and Cécile de Morrée. They apply a scholarly methodology for the study of sermon collections to their corpus of devotional lyrics, and in so doing draw conclusions which are valid for the genesis of other types of short work, including verse narratives, arising in different cultural circles. The survival of individual booklets is rare, but examples include Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 127, produced *c.* 1375, which contains a Middle Dutch translation of Martinus Braga's *Formula honeste vitae* in an eight-leaf booklet (Kwakkel 2012) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 111 (second half of the fifteenth century), which contains the French *fabliau* known as 'la robe d'ecarlate' or 'chevalier a la robe vermeille', whose 318 lines are copied on eight folios protected by two leaves as covers. Similarly, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 1430 is a late thirteenth-century booklet containing three Middle High German verse narratives (Meyer 2015: 46–48).

Another potential source of evidence for booklet production is the recurrence of clusters of works which may have circulated independently as booklets and been copied together from one manuscript to another. Paolo Divizia argues in this volume for a contextualised, historically aware reading of individual texts,

10 For excellent recent research on the dynamics of the medieval book and the social lives of manuscripts, see Johnston and Van Dussen (eds) 2015, reviewed by Scase (2016).

11 This process continued well into the early modern period, as demonstrated by Daniel Starza Smith (2014: 17).

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and states that the presence or absence of works in a recurring series is important for identifying textual genealogies. Not only is a sequence of works a textual unit, but it can also evolve, and an understanding of this evolution can enhance the construction of stemmata and improve our editorial decisions. Taking as his main example Brunetto Latini's vernacular translations of Cicero's *Orationes Caesarianae* – *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Marcello*, and *Pro rege Deiotaro* – Divizia extends the scope of this volume into Italian prose works. Of more general significance, though, is his list of conclusions, which are applicable to the study of any sequence of short works copied together. English examples of clusters that could well imply distribution in booklets are the triad *Bevis of Hampton*, *Seven Sages of Rome*, and *Guy of Warwick* in Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.2.38 and the Auchinleck manuscript (Putter and Gilbert 2000: 5, note 10). Nina Hable (2014) demonstrates that in German manuscripts texts by Freidank, Cato, Der Stricker, Der Teichner, and parables from the Barlaam-tradition tend to travel together too, although there is no evidence for a direct relationship between their manuscript transmission.[12]

The importance of the fact that in many medieval books the basic unit of production was not the bound codex but rather the booklet is now well recognised (Robinson 1980; Gillespie 2011) and in analysing manuscripts critics have become more alert to warning signs that what superficially presents itself as a unified book may actually consist of multiple codicological units, sometimes from different places and different periods: a quire or a set of quires may be of a different size; the parchment may be of different quality or the paper from a different stock; the illustrations or hands may vary; the outer folios of a booklet may show signs of wear and tear; the last leaves of the original booklet may be blank (or may have been blank before being enriched with later additions); texts may not be copied across quire boundaries, and so on (Robinson 2008: 51). This phenomenon of individual booklets bound together in a larger volume is illustrated by Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. fol. 22, known as the Comburg manuscript, in which six unrelated manuscripts, written in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, were collected together (Bouwmeester 2013: 352). There is earlier evidence of booklet production concerning French texts in England (Robinson 1980). Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Douce 132 and 137 once formed a collection of booklets with Latin and French texts, as is suggested by the owner's table of contents. One of these booklets

12 Although evidence for copying in clusters is difficult to find, this may well be because so many medieval manuscripts have been lost and our stemmata are not reliable enough to enable us to trace the transmission of groupings.

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consists entirely of Francophone material (three items), including Marie de France's *Fables*, believed to have been copied in Oxford in the 1260s.[13]

A striking piece of evidence from the German tradition is the survival of a manuscript composed of smaller booklets which in two cases still have their individual price marks on them. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 13 clearly binds together eleven distinct booklets written by an unnamed Nuremberg scribe and containing texts by Nuremberg authors. Each booklet has individual covers providing titles, sometimes in rhymed couplets, at the front, and nothing at the back; on pages 69 and 153 the price of the individual booklet is noted on the cover as 'iij creytzer' [three Kreuzer] (Horváth and Stork (eds) 2002: 122 ff. and 148).

German literature thus provides direct evidence for the commercial book production argued for, in an English context, by Tamara Pérez-Fernández, who in her contribution to this volume considers the output of the prolific professional scribe Richard Osbarn, focusing on two manuscripts containing copies of Chaucer's *Troilus*: San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 114, and London, British Library, MS Harley 3943. Despite the obvious differences between these manuscripts – the latter being a homogeneous one-text manuscript containing only *Troilus*, the former consisting of three booklets, the first containing *Piers Plowman*, the second *Mandeville's Travels* and other texts, and the third *Troilus* – the versions of *Troilus* in these two manuscripts show such close similarities with regard to both text and glosses that they must go back to a common exemplar, possibly a copy that was once available as an independent booklet from a commercial bookdealer.

The Middle English miscellanies compiled by the fifteenth-century scribe John Shirley similarly consist of individual booklets, and there is good evidence that these booklets led independent lives before being eventually bound together (Connolly 1998). This is important for our interpretation of late medieval narrative verse. When, for example, in *The Court of Love* (*c.* 1460, 1442 lines long), the anonymous poet (who describes himself as a Cambridge clerk) calls his poem a 'book' in his opening address to his lady: 'To her be all the pleasure of this boke, / That when her like, she may it rede and loke' (ll. 41–42),[14] we need to consider the possibility that 'this boke' refers self-reflexively to the booklet that once contained the item. Indeed, the single surviving copy of the text is part of an independent codicological unit, datable to *c.* 1475, though its original independence is now obscured by the fact that the booklet was bound, in the early

13 The copy of Marie's *Fables* (and *Lais*) in the famous trilingual multi-text codex, London, British Library, MS Harley 978, has been linked to booklet production in Oxford during the same period (see Taylor 2002: 94–99).

14 See Forni (ed.) 2005 for the text.

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sixteenth century, with thirteen other booklets in a manuscript that is now Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.19 (see Mooney 2001 and 2011).

The type of booklet production that we see in the Trinity manuscript and in San Marino, HM 114 may give the misleading impression that composite 'booklet' manuscripts are typically associated with commercialised production involving a professional or semi-professional scribe or a 'team' of scribes, but composite manuscripts come in very different types. A comprehensive typology of composite manuscripts is provided by J. P. Gumbert (2004) in his 'Codicological Units'. One of the most fundamental distinctions he draws is that between composite manuscripts with codicological units that are *monogenetic* (written by the same scribe) or *homogenetic* (originating within the same circle) and composites containing units that are *allogenetic* (imported from elsewhere). The usefulness of these distinctions is exemplified by a number of manuscripts discussed in this volume. Kate Koppy considers the mid-fifteenth century Findern manuscript, Cambridge University Library, Ff.1.6, named after the Findern family that is known to have owned the manuscript in the sixteenth century. This manuscript was the collective effort of over forty scribes, most of them members of the local gentry of fifteenth-century Derbyshire; some of them wrote their names in the manuscript. The term homogenetic describes their home-produced work well, and, because most of its scribes came from the same circle, the Findern manuscript and others like it provide valuable insights into the social world of a very particular milieu. For instance, British Library, MS Harley 913 (*c.* 1330, discussed by Scattergood below), which was compiled by scribes in and around a Franciscan house in Waterford (Ireland), opens a window onto the multilingual culture of this time and place. In the case of Findern, however, the complicating factor is that one of its booklets seems to have been 'outsourced' and to have been copied by a professional scribe outside the inner circle of 'bloggers' (to use Koppy's analogy). The hand that copied *Sir Degrevant* in quire H is noticeably more professional, and this quire appears to have been part of a booklet acquired from a commercial producer: it is 'allogenetic'. A further complication is that the empty space of allogenetic units could become the site of guest texts, and guest texts, like codicological units, can also be either homogenetic (that is, originating from within the same circle) or allogenetic, as in the case of the uninspiring list of the 'parcelys of clothys at fyndyrn' (fol. 70^{r-v}) that someone wrote in the Findern manuscript a hundred years or so later.

The diversity of a multi-text collection is thus not simply a matter of its content but also of its strata. Karl G. Johansson illustrates the point with reference to a multi-text manuscript that is now broken up into three parts: AM 371 4to (in Reykjavik), AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to (both in Copenhagen). Even while recognising the diversity of texts in this codex, scholars have been tempted to impose a unifying logic on it, for example, by calling it an 'encyclopedia'. Sim-

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ilarly the name given to the original manuscript, *Hauksbók*, implies that the book had its origins in the mind of a single person, the Icelandic aristocrat Haukr Erlendsson, who was also one of its scribes. As Johansson argues, however, the first three quires of AM 544 4to are probably allogenetic, and there are indications that they were only bound in with the 'homogenetic' collection copied by Haukr and his associates at a later stage.

II. Material Evidence: *Mise en page* and Paratext

The multi-text codex is the 'natural habitat' of the short verse narrative. Yet multi-text codices preserving these narratives vary considerably one from another. One differentiating factor is the number of short works they contain and the way in which they are transmitted in these books: as filler texts on blank pages at the end of a quire or of a whole manuscript, on its margins (literally the margins of a page or the margins of a manuscript, for example on its flyleaves), at the end of a codicological unit – or as an integral part of a collection of shorter works.

The study of multi-text codices has been greatly enriched by the availability first of facsimiles, and more recently of digitised manuscripts, although the quality and usability of available images differ greatly from library to library, ranging from high-resolution colour images easily accessible by folio number to poor black-and-white microfilm-based images which are difficult to access and not downloadable. Even so, they are an invaluable resource, complementing the information provided by existing printed catalogues and many online databases. Unfortunately, the latter tend to be highly inaccurate regarding the contents of multi-text codices: short verse narratives are often barely mentioned, if at all, and the identification of individual texts is often sketchy. Sometimes the existence of short works can only be glimpsed from lacunae in the catalogue descriptions.

For this reason, the study of the transmission of short verse narratives within text collections involves the analysis of individual codices; and in most cases it is not sufficient to investigate manuscripts online, as the actual composition of the original quires gives important clues as to the history and conception of a codex. A thorough codicological study can yield detailed information about the evolution of a medieval book, and it plays a vital role when reconstructing a fragmentary multi-text codex, as Daniël Ermens demonstrates in his analysis of the Oudenaarde Verse Book below (see also Ermens 2015: 53–141). Indeed, in order to be sure that what we are studying is a medieval book rather than a more recent artefact (clearly a danger with composite manuscripts), a codicological examination is a prerequisite for the literary analysis of individual works and textual groupings in their manuscript contexts.

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Codicological analyses also make possible the recognition of different hands, the identification of scribes and workshops, and the reconstruction of the production history of individual manuscripts (see Johansson in this volume). The detailed description of *mise en page* can also reveal different historical layers of a composite manuscript. Immediately noticeable is one basic function of the *mise en page:* it can create subsections of a manuscript, influencing the reader through the hierarchical arrangement of text and paratext. It can also give the impression of a complete and unified whole, as is the case in many a large-scale collection, where the uniform use of rubrics, illustrations or a programme of initials can create a visual coherence that certainly impacts on the reception of its texts. One such 'miscellaneous collection' is found in the early sixteenth-century *Ambraser Heldenbuch* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nova 2663), whose Arthurian romances, heroic epics, and short verse narratives are unified by the same *mise en page* throughout. Another is the English compilation found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch Selden B. 24, which, despite growing over time, possesses thematic and formal unity (Besamusca et al. 2016: 113). Likewise in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12581, which includes the *Queste del Saint Graal*, Brunetto Latini's *Livres dou Tresor*, the *Quatre Evangiles*, and *Fables Pierre Aufons*, a consistent *mise en page* (to the point that a lyric song is written out as prose) emphasises the overriding didactic function of the works (see Morcos in this volume).

For the larger multi-text codices containing, or consisting solely of, short verse narratives, the study of paratexts is extremely fruitful. When these collections reach a critical number of individual texts, they call for a new system of information retrieval that develops quickly, following established scribal practices from the Latin tradition,[15] but also leading to new ways of presenting vernacular texts. In collections of short verse narratives paratexts quickly become important.[16]

Methods for articulating blocks of text in multi-text codices include blank spaces, paragraph signs, and *litterae notabiliores:* simple initials, rubricated, pen-

15 See Wendy Scase on *ordinatio* in this volume. For the influence of scholastic *lectio* on manuscript production from the thirteenth century onwards, and in particular the copying of related texts together, see Parkes 1976 and Pearse 2015.

16 The following discussion is also relevant to the presentation of story collections whose individual narratives are often marked as separate entities, but subordinated to the whole collective work. For instance, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 23111 has a historiated initial at the beginning of the Old French verse *Vie des Pères*, then red and blue puzzle initials at the start of each tale. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3527, on the other hand, has a historiated initial to introduce each individual tale of the *Vie des Pères* and the other items in the codex (including each miracle of Gautier de Coinci's collection), thus breaking down the boundaries of the story collections and placing as much importance on each tale as on the other texts in the manuscript (Morcos 2014).

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flourished or puzzle initials and, most lavishly, historiated initials. Textual hierarchies can be created through the size and / or richness of these initials, which, when used systematically to indicate the beginning of a new text, can serve important paratextual purposes. Rubricated first lines or, more often, rubricated headings are a form of paratext that can be more specifically related to the actual content of the following text (but not necessarily so, as Matthias Meyer and Nicola Zotz show in this volume). Their primary function still remains the separation of individual texts. Only when groupings grow larger or when whole manuscripts are made up of individual short texts, does the identification of individual texts become important: specific headings as well as specific illustrations can fulfil this function (see the contributions by Van der Poel and De Morée, and Krause in this volume). For example, in the thirteenth-century codex, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837, each of its individual 250 plus items is followed by an explicit (see our Virtual Exhibition at http://everycodextellsastory.eu/) and a later fourteenth-century reader has added incipits, which further delineate the boundaries between texts and identify the following work more or less precisely, although not necessarily by the same title used in the explicit. Although there can be a strong correlation between paratexts as developed by scribes / compilers and paratexual elements within the individual texts (such as prologues and epilogues), these types of information do not always confirm each other. For instance, author attributions may vary with regard to the name given in the rubric and that in the text proper (Besamusca et al. 2016) and an author may use a different generic label for his / her work than that used in a scribal incipit.

Connected to the function of locating texts in manuscripts are codex-specific tables of contents (considered below by Scase and Meyer and Zotz), which either adopt rubricated headings from within the manuscript or contain different titles. Diverse systems of relating tables to texts exist, from simple lists to the numbering of items or the inclusion of actual folio numbers in the tables. These tables can be found either at the beginning or more rarely at the end of a manuscript, they can be produced before copying begins or after the completion of a book. Tables of contents can thus play an important role in the analysis of the evolution of individual manuscripts as well as in exemplar copying, as the relationship between Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 341 and Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 72 shows (Zotz 2014b; Meyer and Zotz in this volume). For tables of contents not only functioned as a guide for readers; when present in an exemplar in a workshop, they could also provide a basis for a future manuscript, enabling commissioners to choose the items they wanted. Moreover, tables (along with text numbering, rubrication, the addition of incipits, explicits, etc.) may have been used to impose order retrospectively on a

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collection of texts which had grown organically, thus giving the reader the impression that they were linked programmatically.

For the modern scholar, tables can provide information on texts that were once present in a manuscript but are now no longer extant due to the loss of folios or quires. Examples of such manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5204[17] and Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 72 (see Zotz 2014a: 272, note 14). The table of contents in Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25545, while post-medieval, presents an earlier order for the text collection than its present arrangement, as the old foliation confirms. This shows that the *Chatelaine de Vergi* (copied on a new quire) was not originally next to the risqué fabliau *Du chevalier qui fist les cons parler*, but was preceded by the proverbs of Seneca and *Li Proverbes au vilain*, which provided a very different context for the courtly narrative's reception. Finally, the table in BnF, f. fr. 24432 is accurate to the extent that it shows that the *Dit des planètes* has been copied twice in the manuscript, but does not contain a reference to the second *Lai d'amour* copied on folio 198va. This is because the second *Lai d'amour* was included later, in folios added to complete the *Tournoiement d'Antecrist*. In this way, information from tables of contents can reveal the stages of composition of a compilation.

Our research, as well as the essays collected here, has shown that the European multi-text codex cannot be studied successfully without paying attention to codicology and the material aspects of manuscript culture, even as it is reductive to consider the physical evidence alone without recourse to literary historical interpretations of individual texts and their co-texts.

III. Organisational Principles Underlying Text Collections

An acceptance of miscellaneity as the norm rather than the exception in medieval books has made it possible for scholars to identify a number of alternative ways in which manuscript compilers perceived and articulated the relationships between texts. Of these, a text's formal characteristics are increasingly being recognised as a factor that influenced the decisions of medieval book producers just as much as content did. In Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1, the large early-fourteenth-century trilingual miscellany discussed by Thea Summerfield, the organising principle that emerges most clearly is the distinction between prose and verse. The texts grouped together at the front of the manuscript are almost all in verse. There are some exceptions to this rule, but these exceptions exemplify the

17 In this case, the table has folios missing, but it does include reference to the final 37 saints' lives from the *Vie des saints* which once opened the codex.

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kinds of pragmatic considerations that invariably played their part in medieval bookmaking. In Ralph Hanna's words (2013: 64), 'like nature, book producers abhor vacuums', and the scribe of CUL, Gg.1.1. set about filling the 'vacuums' between larger blocks of verse texts with short prose texts (see folios 16^{v}, 113^{v}, 120^{r}–121^{v}). By retaining the double-format column he used for copying verse for these prose passages (and for the longer prose texts gathered after the verse section), he nevertheless managed to give the manuscript a coherent appearance.[18]

Attention to form also clarifies the logic of distribution that lies behind another famous multilingual multi-text codex, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86.[19] The received wisdom is that the manuscript was organised on the basis of subject matter, with the first section containing pieces 'with practical application' followed by a second section containing pieces for 'edification and entertainment' (Tschann and Parkes (eds) 1996: xliv). As Marilyn Corrie (1997) has shown, however, the distribution of texts frequently violates this principle, and criteria of form provide a better explanation. In Digby 86, a prose section (fols 1–74^{r}) is followed by a verse section (fol. 74^{v} ff.), and this verse section is in turn divided on the basis of the type of verse: poems in shorter lines come first (fols 74^{v}–168^{v}) and then come poems in longer lines (fols 169^{r}–201^{v}). Such attention to form came naturally to scribes for the simple reason that form impinged on practical questions about the format in which the text should be copied. Should the text be laid out in one or two (and sometimes three) columns? How many lines per page were needed? The Digby scribe coped with these questions by writing out the prose in long lines in a single column, the shorter verse lines in a double-column format, while for the longer lines he reverted to the single-column format.

In the manuscripts associated with the movement of spiritual reform known as Devotio Moderna, form also has a role to play, alongside various other principles. As Van der Poel and De Morrée show in their contribution, sometimes these principles were explicitly articulated by the manuscript producers. Thus in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 185, from the late-fifteenth century, the songs are subdivided into ones for Easter and ones for Christmas, with rubrics explicitly announcing the different parts. In some other manuscripts the songs are grouped according to language. Yet in song manu-

18 As noted by Theo Stemmler (2001: 113), in the case of the scribe of the Harley manuscript (British Library, MS Harley 2253), the 'overriding principle he considered for the arrangement of his material was the distinction between verse and prose'. A French example of a manuscript divided into prose and verse sections is Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 251 (see Pratt 2015: 182).

19 For a facsimile, see Tschann and Parkes (eds) 1996. There is now also a digital facsimile at http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/all/what/MS.+Digby+86?sort=Shelfmark%252CShelfmark%252Csort_order%252Csort_order.

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scripts, too, form mattered. Some compilers group lyric poetry together according to the melody they were to be sung to, and in these groupings similarity of form was a key consideration, since it was compatibility of form rather than of content that made it possible to perform songs to the same melody.[20]

Two other contributions to this volume show that attention to the formal aspects of texts can illuminate the hidden logic of multi-text collections. Focusing on the rubrics used to introduce shorter verse narratives, Meyer and Zotz show that the format of these rubrics, too, can be responsive to the form of the texts they introduce. One of the earliest collections of German shorter verse narratives, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 341, dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, introduces all of its verse items with a rhyming couplet. This not only confers a degree of uniformity on this multi-text codex, it also highlights the fact that, like the rubrics, almost all the verse tales are themselves in rhymed couplets. As recent criticism has made clear (Cooper 2015), the kinds of distinctions which hold for modern books – whether something is a text or a paratext (title, heading, etc.) – are not always easy to make in medieval books; this is particularly so in the case of rubrics that themselves participate in the rhyme scheme of the narratives they announce.

Florian Kragl similarly shows how conscious medieval scribes were of formal criteria. His study of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* (dated 1472) in this volume reveals the extraordinary lengths to which its two scribes went to ensure that the stories they collected were, at least formally, the same. All of the poems in this manuscript are not just in verse but in stanzaic verse, and in the case of *Laurin*, which in all other extant versions is written in couplets, it is probable that one (or both) of the scribes decided to rewrite the work in strophic verse. The scribes also wanted the poems to be around the same length, and remarkably they left direct evidence of their editorial abridgement work in the shape of rubrics such as 'Der new 297, der alt 587 lied' (fol. 43^{r}) [the new one 297, the old one 587 stanzas]. In the course of this HERA project, we have certainly found circumstantial evidence to suggest that works were abridged to provide a better fit for a manuscript,[21] but hard evidence of the kind provided by the scribal annotations in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is rare. To our knowledge, no comparable evidence survives in Middle English, Dutch or Francophone codices, and one of the great benefits of studying multi-text manuscripts from a wider European perspective is that we

20 An example of this phenomenon is the *Carmina Burana* manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660, which groups together Latin and German poems in the same stanza form, with the implication that they were to be sung to the same melody.

21 Examples are the Middle English Life of St Catherine and the chronicle account of King Arthur (*Arthur*) in Wiltshire, Longleat House, MS 55, on which see Griffith and Putter 2014. In Middle Dutch there is the abridged version of Augustijnken's *Dryvoldicheit* in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 385 (see Bouwmeester 2015).

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can become aware of relevant evidence that may not be available in our own linguistic disciplines.

Another possible organising principle underlying multi-text codices or parts thereof is the author (Besamusca et al. 2016). In the French tradition, a good example of an author anthology is the thirteenth-century compilation Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837, which, though it contains works by a number of named poets, gives pride of place to Rutebeuf, who is the only author to be introduced in this manuscript with a dedicated rubric: 'Ci commenchent li dit rustebeuf' (fol. 283^{vb}). In German and Dutch, examples of authors who conferred cultural capital on anthologies were Der Stricker and Willem of Hildegaersberch, while in England (and Scotland) an author name that counted was that of Geoffrey Chaucer: from the fifteenth century onwards scribes and later printers fathered many works on Chaucer which he did not in fact write.[22]

While we have clear evidence that medieval compilers frequently organised their material according to form and in some cases attempted authorial anthologies, many other possible organising principles may be in the eye of the modern beholder. Nevertheless, it is worth investigating groups of works which recur in several manuscripts and which do not seem to be the result of copying in clusters. Reasons why scribes decided independently to copy the same texts together might be thematic or generic similarity, local interest,[23] and / or the formal characteristics already discussed. One such case is the grouping of four short narratives, *Constant du Hamel, Auberee*, *Cortois d'Arras*, and the *Lai de l'ombre*, found in reasonably close proximity in four French *recueils:* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837, 1553, 12603, and 19152. Since these texts do not seem to share the same textual transmission, they must represent the polygenetic clustering of generically different texts, probably encouraged by their similar thematic content and playful questioning of *cortoisie* (Pratt 2017 forthcoming).

This type of polygenetic grouping in German manuscripts has been investigated in much detail by Sarah Westphal (1993: 7–12), who argues that texts were often copied in pairs (dyads), or in *Minne* constellations combining *Minnereden* (discourses on love) with both courtly and bawdy *Mären.* She sees this as a compositional technique that brings short narratives together to create larger

22 Similarly, works are falsely attributed to Jean de Meun as 'auctor' in Poitiers, MS 215 (Pratt 2015: 182).

23 Bouwmeester (2013: 358) suggests that some Middle Dutch Nine Worthies texts were combined with 'specific histories of the area in which the manuscripts were made', i. e. contemporary, locally relevant texts. Scattergood in this volume argues that some of the contents of British Library, MS Harley 913 deal with local issues of concern to its compiler. Westphal (1993: 118) suggests that *Minne* constellations often brought together texts by local authors.

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configurations akin to the longer romances with which they often travel, and these *Minne* constellations frequently appear at the beginning of manuscripts. She interprets this phenomenon as an attempt to present various facets of love in different genres, and in particular to demonstrate the power of love and the empowerment of women. While some of her conclusions as to the intentions of the compiler may be speculative, she nevertheless appears to have identified a textual phenomenon which multi-text codices presented to the reader. Indeed, as we have seen in our own research, dissimilarity of genre or theme does not necessarily imply heterogeneity, for compilations can offer the reader contrasting views on a subject: positive and negative *exempla* both perceived as instructional. This seems to be the case, in particular, in collections of material on women, in which images of good wives can be juxtaposed with those of loose women (see Besamusca 2011a and 2011b; Sweet in this volume; and Zotz 2014a). Similarly, it was not uncommon to juxtapose serious and parodic works, which, though linked thematically, were very different in tone and likely reader response (Stemmler 2010: 118).

This latter point leads us neatly into the potential reader experiences produced by text collections. Clearly, it is important to reflect on both the production and reception of a manuscript: its makers (the scribes, workshops, commissioners), as well as its intended audience, its presumed and actual readers, their activities that are documented in the extant manuscripts as well as the acts of interpretation that these readers might have been introduced to by the ordering of works and the paratexts accompanying texts in medieval books.

IV. The Reception of Multi-Text Codices

It is of prime importance for our understanding of multi-item manuscripts that scholars acknowledge their status as evidence of reception. After all, the text collections they preserve consist, in whole or part, of texts which were composed earlier and circulated independently (sometimes in booklets) before they were copied into multi-text codices. The selection of these texts is, therefore, an act of reception, even though it is clear that the choice of works may have depended on socio-historical and material conditions, in particular the availability (or perhaps better poverty) of exemplars. As we have seen, the arrangement of texts in a compilation and accompanying paratexts is further evidence for the manner in which they were received by the compiler, revealing the way(s) in which he appreciated, classified, and interpreted the individual works.

But what do we know about the recipients of the compiler's efforts? Of course, we cannot know how individual readers responded to a codex; perhaps differently on successive occasions, perhaps depending on whether they encountered

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its contents aurally or visually, whether the book was read continuously, or more likely dipped into in a fragmentary fashion (the latter approach aided by features like text-specific headings and tables of contents). Reading modes are treated in this volume by Sweet, who in her analysis of the *Chatelaine de Vergi* as exemplary narrative notes the shifting horizons of expectation created and then modified when text collections were read initially, then revisited by their medieval owners.

Physical evidence for the reception of texts by contemporary readers is quite scarce, though marginal annotations and glosses provide an indisputable sign of readership. Real historical readers are difficult to identify, but our Virtual Exhibition does offer some examples (http://everycodextellsastory.eu/?cat=18), such as the sixteenth-century readers / owners of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. qu. 2370 (one of whom annotated the manuscript), the scribe / owner of the fifteenth-century Geraardsbergen manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 837–45), who records the birth of his daughter Alyonore on folio 101^r, and Richard Woodville, an owner of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, who in a note in French inside the back cover of the manuscript mentions that he acquired the manuscript in London (http://everycodextellsastory.eu/?p=977).

Faced with the paucity of readerly traces, scholars have sometimes opted for an, admittedly troublesome, detour involving the concept of the implied / intended or ideal reader (cf. Iser 1974). They assume that the compiler of a text collection had a clear idea of his or her audience and geared the selection, arrangement, and copying of the texts towards the social status and interests of this readership.[24] Consequently, scholars look for the reading strategy that is thought to be embedded in the text collection. Applying this methodology, Bart Besamusca argues below that the Middle Dutch text collection in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5 addresses young members of the civic elite. Another Middle Dutch text collection, preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51, was also meant for young readers with an urban background, according to Bouwmeester.[25] Ermens in his essay similarly posits a lay (urban?) setting for the audience of the Oudenaarde Verse Book.

This reconstruction of communities of readers is a point of interest shared by other contributors to this volume. Koppy suggests that the mid fifteenth-century Findern manuscript (Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.6) reflects the collaborative activities of an extensive community of readers, scribes, and authors.

24 Raluca Radelescu uses Pierre Bourdieu's term *habitus* to cover the socio-economic and cultural environment in which these compilations were produced and received (Connolly and Radulescu (eds) 2015: 23–24).

25 Similarly, on the basis of choice of texts and the predominance of a didactic voice throughout the collection, Pratt (2011b) concludes that Poitiers, MS 215 was a fifteenth-century French compilation produced for a young aristocratic male reader.

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Van der Poel and De Morrée discuss the production of devotional song collections in Devotio Moderna circles. In a number of essays the possibility of the gendered readership of multi-text codices is addressed. Koppy, for instance, suggests that the community that created the Findern manuscript consisted largely of women. The contents of the text collection studied by Bouwmeester, are, in his view, designed to include female readers. Similarly, Kathy Krause notes discrepancies between images and texts in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 378 that suggest that the illustrator intended the manuscript to appeal to women as well as men.

In Krause's case study we see the illustrator acting as reader / interpreter of texts. This particular form of reception is also attested in BnF, f. fr. 12581, a manuscript containing a text collection that includes the *Fables Pierre Aufons.* Hannah Morcos observes that the illustrations accompanying the didactic texts, including the historiated initial that introduces the *Fables Pierre Aufons*, stress the transfer of knowledge by a teacher, and, therefore, the instructional / didactic function of the text collection.

Two essays in this volume reflect on the assumed knowledge of the implied audiences of multi-text codices. Connolly shows that John Shirley, the scribe of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, added additional information on the identity of Geoffrey Chaucer and Adam Pinkhurst to a heading ascribing the famous lyric 'Adam Scriveyn' to Chaucer. Although Shirley's author attributions have been dismissed as acts of salesmanship, the rubric in MS R.3.20, 'Chauciers wordes a Geoffrey vn to Adam his owen scryveyne' (p. 367), is credible precisely because it is not what Shirley originally wrote. What Shirley first wrote (as is indicated by the paler ink) is 'a Geoffrey vn to Adam'. Shirley evidently knew to whom he was referring, and did not write his original rubric to capitalise on Chaucer's reputation. He made the later addition 'Chauciers words … his owen scryveyne' for the benefit of readers who did not have the personal knowledge of 'Geoffrey' and 'Adam' that Shirley seems to have had. The evidence thus indicates that Shirley revised the manuscript for circulation amongst a wider audience. For the same reason, he expanded the heading of a poem he copied in London, British Library, Additional MS 16165. As Scase notes, tables of contents can also shed light on the assumed knowledge of manuscript readers. She suggests that the needs of inexperienced readers probably led to the development and provision of tables of contents in English and multilingual multi-text codices.

The intellectual capacities of readers are evidently at stake in the case of multilingual text collections. Manuscripts of this kind are studied by Scase and two other contributors to this volume. John Scattergood discusses the trilingual text collection in London, British Library, MS Harley 913: the scribe copied English, French, and Latin texts. The presence of Latin suggests that its compiler, who seems to have had links with the Franciscan order, was assuming an edu-

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cated readership. In the manuscript studied by Summerfield, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1, we find mostly Anglo-Norman texts, next to English and Latin works. The table of contents occasionally refers to the language of the texts, but omits to mention the Latin. This compilation seems to be targeted at a lay audience, which makes the presence of Latin, and in particular the presence of Latin texts copied in the spaces left blank after the French texts, difficult to explain.

There is no compelling reason why one should equate commissioners of multi-text manuscripts with the readers of the text collections they contain. But, of course, in several instances the first owner of a codex ordered the book or even produced the book himself because he wanted to have a particular text collection at his immediate disposal (see Johansson and Scattergood below). In such cases, the material characteristics of a codex may also point to an implied reader. However, we need to be cautious here. It may be reasonable to assume that, for example, a luxury codex, made with excellent parchment and containing a series of sumptuous illustrations, was designed for a readership one might locate in the higher echelons of society. However, it could well be that subsequent readers belonged to less privileged social groups. And, more importantly, this line of reasoning does not work for the great majority of ordinary multi-text manuscripts. These codices can be imagined in the hands of any medieval reader. Moreover, what was originally a personal text collection, designed for a particular reader, could also be expanded, thus modifying its intended readership.

V. Construction of Meaning – Modern and Medieval Readers

Anachronistic conceptions about the medieval book as a unified artefact are not easy to shake off.[26] As a number of contributors point out, such conceptions are often implicit in the names given to manuscripts. The 'Beatrijs' manuscript, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, is named after the best-known Middle Dutch poem in it, but *Beatrijs* is by no means central to the collection. The programme of decorated initials and the table of contents, as Besamusca shows in this volume, clearly implies a different textual hierarchy, one dominated by Boendale's *Dietsche doctrinael.* If it is not the most famous poem that gives the compilation its name, it is often the longest text in it. The so-called 'Lucidarius' manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51, is named after the lengthy Middle Dutch translation of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium.* Yet Bouwmeester argues that the smaller texts in the codex should not be ne-

26 Matthew Fisher (2016), in his review of Connolly and Radulescu (eds) 2015, warns against apophenia, the tendency to perceive links between unrelated material.

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glected and offer valuable clues as to the likely audience (lay, urban men and women) for which this book was intended. Similarly, according to Krause, the short texts which precede the *Roman de la rose* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 378 offer an interpretative framework for the longer text that follows. These cases underline the challenges offered by heterogeneous multi-text codices to modern readers wont to privilege length as well as unity over diversity.

Studying a text collection in search of an overall meaning has proven to be troublesome. As Derek Pearsall (2005) has argued, scholars have been tempted to over-emphasise the unifying purpose behind the composition of multi-text codices. In an attempt to avoid such overgeneralisation, medievalists sometimes characterise a text collection in very broad terms, such as courtly, religious, clerical, didactic, practical, and so on. Yet these terms rarely cover all items, although they may be valid for sections of a compilation. This is true of parts of *Hauksbók*, which, Johansson argues, may have been organised according to a Christian worldview of geography and history, and while Van der Poel and De Morrée find no overriding criteria for the arrangement of their devotional songs, they do find some material organised according to melody, theme, liturgical calendar, or language. Perhaps, therefore, it is better to focus on the readings encouraged by local manuscript configurations rather than by the book as a whole.

Factors which clearly influence modern critics, and probably also influenced medieval readers, are the length of the various texts and their place in the compilation. Does the first text in a manuscript (which may also be the longest text) establish an interpretative framework for the whole book, thus functioning as a matrix text?[27] Does the presence of a (very) long text amidst short(er) texts mean that readers were invited to focus on the longer work? As we have seen, Bouwmeester and Krause insist on the complementary contribution of the short texts to the meaning of a text collection, and Sweet's research shows that when the *Châtelaine de Vergi* is copied with the encyclopedic *Roman de la rose*, this dyad of texts may have been in a symbiotic relationship, each influencing the interpretation of the other.

27 In the case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch Selden B. 24, the first and longest text, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, introduces themes and formal characteristics which probably influenced the second scribe / compiler's choice of texts as he strove to create an author anthology. However, in a third phase of composition this manuscript became less coherent and the influence of *Troilus* less keenly felt (Besamusca et al. 2016: 113). Yasmina Foehr-Janssens (2005) suggests that the first text in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 837, *Le Dit du Barisel*, establishes an implicit contract of reading, a *prologue-miroir*, and introduces elements of *conjointure* that unify the whole codex.

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Another influential factor must have been a work's co-texts and for this reason, recent critical studies have focused on the possible meanings generated by the juxtaposition of texts (see Collet, Gingras, and Trachsler (eds) 2012). In this volume, the analysis of interrelations is carried out by Pratt on narratives of Pyramus and Thisbe in their manuscript contexts and Sweet on the *Chatelaine de Vergi.* These studies complement those of Besamusca (2011a and 2011b) on Middle Dutch *fabliaux* and *Vergi* narratives respectively; Bouwmeester (2013) on the Nine Worthies in Middle Dutch; Pratt (2016) on the two extant French versions of *Beranger au long cul*; and Zotz (2014a) on the German *Märe Das Almosen.* In all these cases meaning fluctuates according to context because a work's immediate co-texts highlight and reinforce the different messages present in these often ambiguous, polyvalent texts. One should not, however, rule out the influence also of other items copied further away in a compilation, with which a reader may have become familiar over many discontinuous reading sessions. For a person's recent reading material always conditions their response to the next text consumed (see Sweet in this volume). Reading a work in its manuscript context thus enhances scope for interpretation rather than necessarily pinning down meaning.

VI. The Dynamics of the Short Narrative and Story Collections – Mobility and *Variance*

While texts can acquire new meanings simply through their placement in manuscript contexts, alongside co-texts which can either reinforce certain themes or question, even undermine their overt message, works are also fashioned for reinterpretation by being adapted and rewritten, often in quite subtle ways.[28] In most cases, this process will have been invisible to the medieval reader – unless s/he had an intimate knowledge of the source text, of course – but for modern scholars it provides an insight into the production and reception of short narratives. Bouwmeester argues below for the importance of taking scribal *variance* into account when characterising the medieval compilation, in his case Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51 (MS Lu). Not only has the primary text, a Middle Dutch rhymed translation of the *Elucidarium*, been simplified for its target audience, but the short texts that follow it have also been adapted. For example, a discussion of greed containing a reference to the nobility is missing from MS Lu's version of De Weert's *Spieghel van sonden*, perhaps because this text collection was intended for an urban audience. Kragl similarly

28 Recontextualisation and revision are factors also discussed by Zotz (2014a).

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demonstrates that the two scribes of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* not only shortened their sources and provided a uniform structure for each of them, but even went so far as to modify the plot of some narratives. The scribe as editor is a subject also treated by Sweet in her study of three extant manuscript copies of the French courtly narrative *La Chastelaine de Vergi.* By taking into account scribal rewriting, choice of co-texts, and the content of paratext (prologues and epilogues), she demonstrates how different codices offer divergent interpretations of this work as an exemplary tale.

The *Chastelaine de Vergi* also exemplifies another feature of our project: the migration of tales from one linguistic culture to another. The original thirteenth-century French work was adapted into Middle Dutch twice, the Flemish and Brabantine versions probably both dating from the fourteenth century (Besamusca 2011b). The Brabantine poem, which is extant in the famous Van Hulthem manuscript (discussed by Bouwmeester and Pratt in this volume; see also Ermens 2013) preserves the courtly flavour of the French original and extols the virtues of secrecy in love. In this manuscript the *Vergi* is preceded by the tragic love story of Pyramus and Thisbe and is followed by various texts which emphasise the evil behaviour of wicked wives, a probable allusion to the duchess in the *Chastelaine.* Although the exact context of the Flemish work is difficult to pin down given the fragmentary nature of its survival, Besamusca (2011b) argues that its religious co-texts would encourage a different, strongly moral reading: courtly love is a sin.

A strong contender for the most popular pan-European subject-matter treated in short narratives is the Griselda story, which offers exemplary conduct for women in most European languages, but usually in prose.[29] The most widely disseminated *verse* narrative in the Middle Ages was the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. It began as a medieval Latin school exercise in imitation of Ovid, but was quickly adapted into various vernaculars. An influential twelfth-century French adaptation was followed by two stand-alone versions in Middle Dutch and one in Middle High German, although by the fourteenth century the tale is transmitted more frequently in story collections, including the *Ovide moralisé*, Dirc Potter's *Der minnen loep*, Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, and Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris.* A further stage in its dynamic evolution is marked by the extraction of the *Tale of Thisbe* from Chaucer's *Legend* and its inclusion in the Findern manuscript (Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.6, also studied by Koppy), a fifteenth-century compilation probably produced for and read by a gentry community that included women. As Pratt demonstrates, not only is the Ovidian material adapted for new readers and manuscript contexts, but it also acquires new meanings through its juxtaposition with a variety of co-texts.

29 An exception in French is the verse narrative in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 99; in English there is Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale.*

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The *Tale of Thisbe* is not the only short narrative that breaks free from a story collection, as is demonstrated by Morcos (2014). She studies the dynamics of multi-text codices in relation to three story collections: the *Fables Pierre Aufons*, the Old French verse *Vie des Pères*, and the *Fables* of Marie de France, identifying shared compilatory processes such as modification, interpolation, extension, continuation, and extraction. She examines their reconfiguration over time (thirteenth to fifteenth century) and space (insular and continental French manuscripts), noting in particular their ability to incorporate short verse narratives within their boundaries, or to export individual stories to other locations. The role of paratext and *mise en page* (initials, rubrics, illustrations, etc.) is shown to be very influential in conditioning reader responses to these manuscripts, in which the boundaries between individual items within the story collection, and between the story collection and additional items can either be emphasised or downplayed in line with the compiler's overall conception (cf. Divizia's point 11). In this volume she concentrates on the five extant witnesses of the *Fables Pierre Aufons* in their codicological contexts. In particular, the dialectical relationship between moral profit and pleasure, emblematised by the figures of Solomon and Marcoul, is reconfigured in each multi-text codex by the choice of co-texts and the *remaniement* of the story collection itself. Thus, whether we are dealing with individual short narratives or those assembled into larger story collections, the same processes of revision and rearrangement are visible across different European cultures throughout the Middle Ages.[30]

VII. Medieval Text Collections and Modern Critical Categories

In many cases modern critical terminology is challenged by the evidence of medieval multi-text codices. In a culture where anonymous and collective authorship were quite common, the naming of an author covered a variety of functions. Sometimes an authorial name really did refer to a real person, perhaps known to the readership, and sometimes manuscript evidence helped to construct a writer's *oeuvre*.[31] However, in some cases texts were falsely attributed to famous writers, and frequently there is no way of checking these scribal attributions against other forms of evidence. Moreover, an author's name could be used to signify generic or thematic material (e. g. 'Der Stricker' and *Ysopet*), often lending authority to a text which it might not otherwise possess (Besamusca et al. 2016: 118–20).

30 For stories that break free of their collections, see Hable 2014 and Meyer 2014.
31 See, for example, Bouwmeester 2014 on Augustijnken.

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As Kragl demonstrates below, genre is another category we are forced to reassess in light of the evidence from multi-text codices. Texts which modern classification would identify as divergent are often juxtaposed and grouped together in manuscripts, as in the case of the constellations of *Minnereden* and *Mären* studied by Westphal (1993). Also, scribes give works generic labels in paratext and tables of contents which do not tally with our definitions. A case in point is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1553, which refers to the fabliau *Auberee*, and the dramatic work *Cortois d'Arras* as *lais*, thus forcing us to reassess not only what the term *lai* might have meant to a contemporary compiler and reader, but also the evidence for our categorisation of *Cortois d'Arras* as a play (Pratt 2017 forthcoming). As Jauss (1970) argued, genres were not fixed in the Middle Ages and evolved constantly. Moreover, boundaries between genres were particularly blurred through the interplay of 'dominante' and 'interprétante'. It might be preferable, therefore, to think in terms of registers, discourses, and the intergeneric (i. e. generic intertextuality), rather than to attempt to label items generically in a multi-text codex.

In medieval compilations, even the integrity of a text is brought into question when boundaries between what we perceive as individual texts are blurred through the use of or absence of scribal paratext. Moreover, tables of contents may subsume several items under one title, or conversely present one text as many through the inclusion of subsection titles. This leads to some ambiguity over the exact number of items found within a codex, as scholars are at pains to define and identify individual texts, and also grapple with the shifting titles employed by modern critics and medieval rubricators.

The contents of medieval text collections reveal that the distinctions we habitually make between high and low, religious and profane, entertaining and didactic literature are anachronistic, since cultural products of all kinds sit happily together in multi-text codices. This situation is clearly in conflict with our polarised definitions of miscellany and anthology. Certainly, neither modern miscellanies nor anthologies would contain more than one version of a given text, yet this is the case with BnF, f. fr. 24432 (mentioned above), and the two versions of *Trois morts et trois vifs* in BnF, f. fr. 378, treated by Krause. Is this to allow the comparison of versions? Or are these mistakes, since elsewhere we find evidence of scribes not repeating the same material twice when copying from an identifiable exemplar (Besamusca et al. 2016: 109)? We cannot be sure, and must constantly be ready to reassess our taxonomies.

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VIII. The European Multi-Text Codex

The multi-text codex transmitting one or more short narrative is clearly a European phenomenon in the Middle Ages. Moreover, it is a multi-faceted phenomenon. One might argue that each codex is a unique artefact, with its text collection providing a unique set of possible readings. However, it is possible to make some generalisations about these manuscripts, both within linguistic and cultural areas, and across them, although the evolution of these books from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries must also be taken into account. Indeed, the surviving evidence suggests that the heyday of the huge French *recueils* was the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth (Foehr-Janssens and Collet 2010), whereas the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the flourishing of these compilations in England, Germany, and the Low Countries. Similarly, author collections were already appearing in Francophone manuscripts by the end of the thirteenth century, but were not common in England until the fifteenth. Manuscript illumination produced throughout the Middle Ages also tends to be richer and more sophisticated in the extant French examples than in the German and Dutch ones.

It seems that the transmission of short narratives in booklets played an important role throughout Western Europe, although surviving individual booklets are rare and evidence varies between countries. We have found examples of multi-text codices produced in workshops, religious institutions, more rarely in courts (though perhaps some of the sumptuous French examples with unidentified provenance were produced in aristocratic *milieux?*) for a variety of different readerships: lay, religious, noble, bourgeois, male, female, young, old.

Similar types of short narrative and other genres were collected in compilations in all four languages, thus suggesting that these books conveyed a shared Western European culture to their readers, one based on Christian morality, but accompanied by secular, courtly values and tempered with bawdy humour. In the case of narratives about Pyramus and Thisbe, the Chatelaine of Vergi, Griselda, and some comic tales (*fabliaux*), the same material circulated across Europe. We have also found similar compilatory strategies at work in the French, English, German, and Dutch speaking regions, which, of course, overlapped. Texts are often arranged according to similarity of form, author, length, thematic content, and local interest. While some contrasting material seems to have been deliberately juxtaposed in order to encourage debate and reflection, texts which modern critics would place anachronistically in different generic categories seem to have been viewed as unproblematic bedfellows by medieval copyists. Scribes and compilers throughout Western Europe had at their disposal the same mechanisms for imposing a degree of coherence on their text collections, through the consistent use of *mise en page*, initials, rubrics, explicits and incipits, and

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illustrations, and the inclusion of tables of contents; these features no doubt also influenced the reception of their works. Yet, while we find these characteristics in all the languages we have studied, multilingualism mostly characterises manuscripts produced in the British Isles (in addition to contributions by Scattergood and Summerfield below, see Putter 2015). We are very aware that our investigations did not cover the whole of medieval Europe and therefore any general findings would need to be tested against the study of compilations produced in Eastern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, complemented by further analyses of Scandinavian manuscripts. The inclusion of short *prose* narratives would in fact automatically extend research into these areas. Until such studies have been carried out, our conclusions must remain provisional.[32]

Reading a multi-text codex is an on-going game of interpretation. Even clear-cut cases, where we have information about the producer / commissioner and his intended audience, still leave room for surprise. And these compilations offer rich challenges to modern scholars: the search for meaning in what is perhaps only the product of happenstance provides great opportunities for recreating the medieval experience of reading. The best way to gain a deeper understanding of the idiosyncrasies and interpretative difficulties posed by the medieval book is therefore to analyse as many codices as possible – and not to shrink from the difficult, non-standard cases which challenge our categories of analysis. We are in a better position than ever to do this work, with the proliferation of digitised manuscripts and published codicological descriptions.[33] However, nothing beats holding one of these wonderful books in one's hands, thereby sharing with its contemporary medieval owners and readers the excitement of the multi-text codex.

32 It would also be fruitful to continue our interdisciplinary research into the early modern period, during which many of the practices outlined above persisted (see Starza Smith 2016), forming the basis for printed collections of short narratives in prose.

33 Some useful starting points and resources for manuscript research are Les Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge (ARLIMA) (http://www.arlima.net) with their convenient links to digital reproductions, including those available on Gallica; the IRHT's JONAS database (http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr); Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta (https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl); Handschriftencensus (http://handschriftencensus.de); DMMmaps (http://digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org); Consulting Medieval Manuscripts Online (http://www.utm.edu/staff/bobp/vlibrary/mdmss.shtml); Digitized Manuscripts Containing Middle English (https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/digitMSS.html).

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The Patron and the Implied Readership of The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5

In this essay, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, is studied in order to illustrate central research problems related to multi-text codices. It considers the supposed patron of the manuscript, noting that the individual who commissions a codex is not necessarily to be identified with its users. Assuming that the implied readers of a compilation of texts were the decisive factor in shaping its composition, I argue that audience-related features of all the assembled texts should be taken into account. I conclude that the contents of KB, 76 E 5 suggest that this text collection addresses youthful members of the civic elite, both male and female.[1]

Amidst dozens of modest multi-text manuscripts preserving Middle Dutch literature, a single *de luxe* copy catches the eye. This splendid book, kept in The Hague's Koninklijke Bibliotheek under the shelf mark 76 E 5, is often called the '*Beatrijs* codex' by specialists in Dutch Studies. It contains the unique textual witness of this short verse narrative, which is as famous in The Netherlands and Flanders as canonical medieval Dutch texts such as *Van den vos Reynaerde* and *Karel ende Elegast.* However, as will soon become clear, '*Beatrijs* codex' is a misleading name, because what KB, 76 E 5 preserves is, in fact, a collection of works, in which *Beatrijs* does not figure as the core text. In the past, and more prominently in recent times, scholars have discussed the patron and the audience of this multi-text codex, pointing to different social groups and even individuals. Owing to these divergent views on the supposed patron and readers of KB, 76 E 5, the codex and its contents make it eminently suitable as a case study illustrating central research problems related to medieval multi-text manuscripts. On what grounds have particular patrons and audiences been identified? Is it essential to

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013. I should like to thank Jos Biemans, Gerard Bouwmeester, Frank Brandsma, Daniël Ermens, and Paul Wackers for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

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distinguish between the patron and the user of a manuscript? Can we reconstruct the implied readers of a collection of texts? What are the pitfalls?

I. Codex and Content

KB, 76 E 5, measuring 257 mm in height and 190 mm in width, is made of high-quality parchment.[2] The codex consists of ten quaternions. Whereas the last quire lacks two folios, the first gathering is preceded by two added leaves, resulting in: II + 1–9^{8} [72] + $10^{8\text{-}2}$ [78]. A single scribe copied the text in two columns of 37 lines per page in a textualis script. The level of execution is particularly high, which befits a codex that is lavishly decorated, including six historiated initials, border decoration and pen-flourished initials. Thanks to the presence of the Easter table on the verso of the first added leaf, the manuscript can be dated accurately. The table's introduction reads: 'Jnt iaer ons heeren .m.ccc.lxxiiij. es die sondach lettere op .a. ende de mane es prime op .vij.' [In the year 1374 AD, the Dominical letter is 'a', and the new moon is on VII]. As a result of this note, Dutch critics are almost unanimous in their conviction that KB, 76 E 5 was made in or shortly before 1374.[3] There is a little less certainty about the localisation of the codex, albeit that linguistic and textual features firmly point to Brabant, while Brussels, more specifically, is often mentioned in recent publications. I shall return to this issue below.

KB, 76 E 5 preserves a collection of works as presented in the table below (line references, when given, indicate where a text starts or ends on the page. Otherwise a text begins at the top of the folio):

Quire	Folios	Content	Remarks
	I–II	I^{v} Easter table II$^{r–v}$ Table of contents of *Dietsche doctrinael*	 II$^{r–v}$ chapter headings are grouped by means of initials and bracketed
1–5	1–40	1^{r} *Dietsche doctrinael* 7va 'ander boec' 33^{vb} 'derde boec'	1ra historiated initial (17 lines high) 7^{rb} last third of column (12 lines) blank 7va historiated initial (13 lines high) 33va last part of column (7 lines) blank 33^{vb} historiated initial (16 lines high)

2 For an elaborate description of the codex by G. I. Lieftinck, see Verhofstede et al. (eds) 1948: 25–36. See also Deschamps 1972: 70–72.

3 As far as I know, the only divergent opinion was voiced by Jan van Herwaarden, whose textual analysis of *Vanden aflate van Rome* (see below) made him conclude, in 1987, that the manuscript was produced in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, he does not offer an explanation for the Easter table. See the reprint of his article in Van Herwaarden 2005 (83–107, 253–62, in particular 92–93).

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(Continued)

Quire	Folios	Content	Remarks
6	41–48	47^{rb} end of *Dietsche doctrinael* 47^{va} *Beatrijs*	47^{rb} last line 'nota' 47^{va} historiated initial (5 lines high)
7	49–56	54^{va}, line 5 end of *Beatrijs* 54^{va}–54^{b} , line 9 *Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo* 55^{ra} *Tien ghebode* 55^{va}, line 22 *XII articlen* 56^{ra} *Seven werken* 56^{ra}, line 21 *Seven hoeft sonden* 56^{va}, line 33 *Seven sacramente*	54^{va} lines 6–8 blank 54^{vb} last part of column (12 lines) blank
8	57–64	57^{rb}, line 7 end of *Seven sacramente* 57^{rb}, line 8 *Seven gaven* 57^{va}, line 26 end *Seven gaven* 57^{vb} *Aflate van Rome* 61^{ra}, line 10 end of *Aflate van Rome* 61^{va} *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden*	 57^{va} last part of column (11 lines) blank 57^{vb} historiated initial (4 lines high) 61^{ra-b} most part of column a and column b blank 61^{va} historiated initial (6 lines high)
9–10	65–78	76^{ra}, line 15 end of *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden*	76^{ra-b} majority of columns a and b blank 77–78 blank

The second added leaf preserves a table of contents, in the hand of the scribe who copied the whole compilation. This table does not offer a key to the complete contents of the manuscript, but is limited to its first text.[4] A list of chapter titles provides an overview of the subjects which are discussed in the *Dietsche doctrinael* [Dutch treatise on ethics]. Unfortunately, this list is not very helpful for a reader looking for a particular chapter, because corresponding numerals are lacking, both in the table and in the text of the treatise. Doubtless for this reason, the scribe bracketed all chapter titles appearing on the same book opening (see Image 1 on the next page); the accompanying roman numerals in red correspond with the numerals, also in red, indicating book openings, which he noted in the upper margins of the verso sides of folios 1–46. This search tool may not be very sophisticated, but it certainly facilitates selective reading of the *Dietsche doctrinael*.

Readers of KB, 76 E 5 could access the manuscript as a whole with the help of its decoration. The structure of the collection is elucidated by means of historiated initials, which reveal, I would suggest, a division into six parts.[5]

4 See the essay by Wendy Scase in this volume for a typology of Tables of Contents.

5 This view on the structure of the text collection is corroborated by most of the blank spaces in

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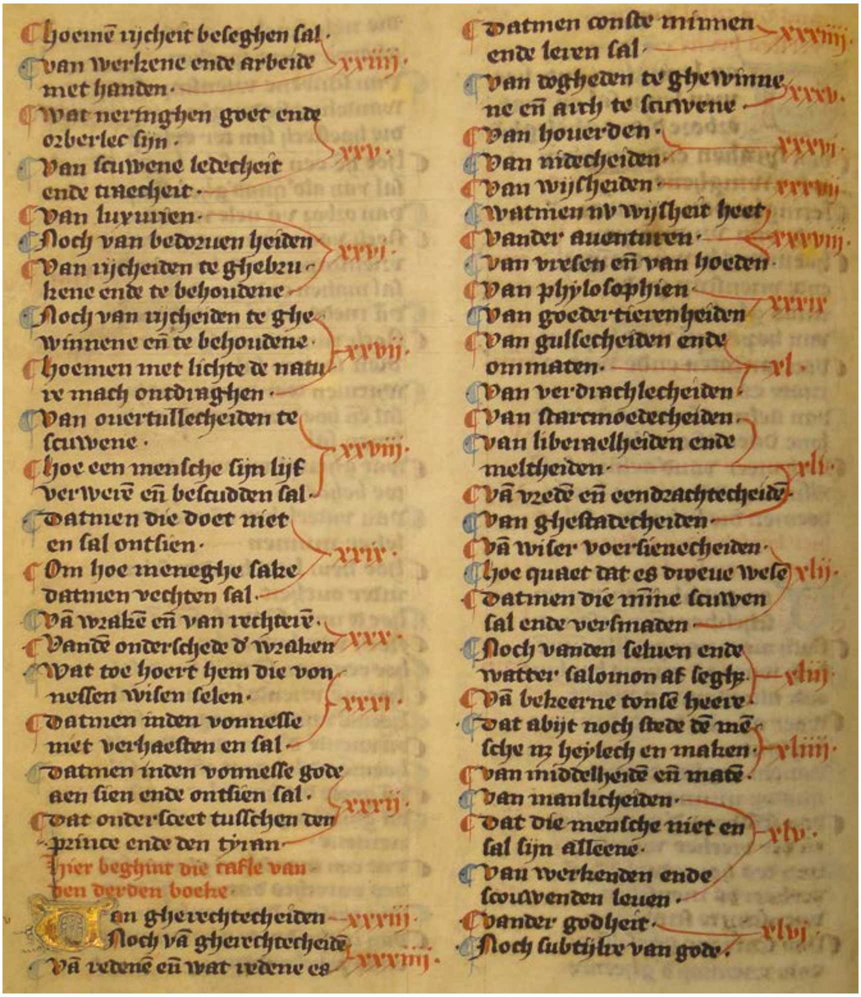

Image 1: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, fol. II^{v}

Three of them mark the beginning of a part of the *Dietsche doctrinael.*[6] On folio 1^{ra}, a historiated initial of 17 lines shows an author holding a scroll, on which 'Dits doctrinael in dietsce' [This is the treatise on ethics in Dutch] is written, and four *auctores* (Seneca, Ovid, Avicenna, and Sydrac) indicating the opening of the *Dietsche doctrinael.* God's hand, appearing from a cloud, offers the author divine

the manuscript (on fols 7^{rb}, 33^{va}, 57^{va}, 61^{ra-b}), with the exception of folio 54^{vb} (here the blank precedes the beginning of the *Tien ghebode*) and folio 47^{rb} (here the *Dietsche doctrinael* ends at the bottom of column b, followed by 'nota' instead of a blank space).

6 For images of the historiated initials see http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/images_text/76+E+5.

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inspiration.[7] On folio 7va, an initial of 13 lines picturing a wise man, who uses a scroll to read aloud to an audience, announces the text's 'ander boec' [second book]. On folio 33^{vb}, an initial of 16 lines showing the Trinity and the symbols of the four Evangelists, indicates the beginning of the 'derde boec' [third book]. The *Dietsche doctrinael* is a Middle Dutch verse translation of the Latin treatise *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma vitae*, composed by Albertanus of Brescia around 1238. This rendition was completed, according to its epilogue, in Antwerp in 1345 (ll. 6650–55), in the thirty-third year of the reign of Duke John III of Brabant (ll. 6660–63).[8] The author of the translation does not name himself, but it has been convincingly argued that the *Dietsche doctrinael* was written by Jan van Boendale, who was secretary to the aldermen of Antwerp and a very productive author.[9]

The remaining three historiated initials are noticeably smaller. On folio 47va, an initial of 5 lines showing a nun kneeling before Mary, who holds the Christ child, marks the beginning of *Beatrijs*, which opens the fourth part of the text collection. This verse narrative of 1038 lines, probably composed in the fourteenth century, features a female sacristan who leaves her convent in order to live with the man she loves, and finds out, on returning after fourteen years of love, motherhood, prostitution, and poverty, that Mary has taken her place and has fulfilled her duties during her absence.[10] This famous adaptation of an exemplum by Caesarius of Heisterbach is followed by various short texts, starting with the *Pater Noster in Dietsche* [*Lord's Prayer in Dutch*], the *Ave Maria in Dietsche* [*Ave Maria in Dutch*] and the *Credo in Dietsche* [*Creed in Dutch*]. These three texts are copied from Jan van Boendale's *Leken spiegel* [*Laymen's Mirror*].[11] They are followed by the Ten Commandments, which are headed by an extensive title: 'Dit sijn die heyleghe tien ghebode die alle menschen die hare beschedenheit hebben van rechte sculdech sijn te wetene ende te houdene. Sonder die welke nyeman behouden en mach sijn' ['These are the ten holy commandments, which all people who are in possession of their faculties are obliged to know and to maintain; without these no one can be saved'].[12] Immediately following the Ten Commandments, and copied under the rubric quoted here, there is one of Seneca's sayings and a short text which compares the 'heyleghe kerke' [holy church] with a ship.[13] The fourth part of the text collection in KB, 76 E 5 is

7 See also Meier 2000: 359–60.
8 I quote the digital edition by Willem Kuiper ((ed.) 1998). See also Jonckbloet (ed.) 1842.
9 See Reynaert 2002. For an overview of Boendale's oeuvre, see Van Oostrom 2013: 142–75.
10 For an edition, see Meder (ed.) and Wilmink (trans.) 1995. For an English translation, see Colledge 1965: 123–87.
11 See Verhofstede et al. (eds) 1948: 33.
12 For an edition, see van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 61–63.
13 For Seneca's sayings, see van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 63. The text on the church has not been edited.

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concluded by five other enumerations: *Die XII articlen des heylichs kerstens gheloefs* [*The Twelve Articles of the Holy Christian Faith*], *Die seven werken der ontfermhertecheit* [*The Seven Works of Mercy*], *Die seven hoeft sonden die contrarie sijn der gratien gods ende allen doeghden* [*The Seven Cardinal Sins, which are Opposed to God's Grace and all Virtues*], *Die seven sacramente der heylegher kerken* [*The Seven Sacraments of the Holy Church*], and, finally, *Die seven gaven des heylichs gheests* [*The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*], ending with a saying by Jerome.[14] It is noteworthy that parts of the *XII articlen*, the *Seven sacramente* and the *Seven gaven* were taken from various texts written by the famous mystic Jan van Ruusbroec (1293–1381), who was living in the vicinity of Brussels when KB, 76 E 5 was produced.[15]

The fifth part of the compilation in KB, 76 E 5 consists of a single text. On folio 57^{vb}, a historiated initial of 4 lines, showing the head of Christ, marks the beginning of the *Aflate van Rome* [*Indulgences of Rome*].[16] This text, which is part of the widely distributed textual tradition of the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, offers a detailed description of the seven most important Roman basilicas, referred to as the 'coninclike kerken' [royal churches], and briefly mentions an additional one ('Sente Eustatius'). These churches granted various indulgences to visiting pilgrims (see Miedema 2003).

The final part of the text collection starts on folio 61va, marked by a historiated initial of 6 lines, showing a king and a wise man holding a scroll. Obviously, they are Alexander the Great and Aristotle, because this sixth part consists of the *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden* [Secret of Secrets], in which 'Aristotiles ende geen ander / Sinen jonghere Alexander / Leerde die werelt berechten / Ende jeghen die sonden vechten' [Aristotle and no one else taught his pupil Alexander to rule the world and fight against sins].[17] In the prologue of this treatise, it is stated that the text was written by Jacob van Maerlant (l. 9). He was a prolific Flemish author, who is thought to have translated the *Secretum secretorum* around 1266 (see Van Oostrom 1996: 135).

This overview makes it likely that the codex was made in one go: all texts were copied by a single scribe, and nowhere do quire boundaries coincide with textual boundaries. This opinion on the manuscript's genesis is corroborated by the catchwords. Underlined in red, and impossible to overlook, each of them in-

14 For the relevant editions, see Tinbergen (ed.). 1907: 142–43 (*XII articlen*); Tinbergen (ed.) 1907: 146–47 (*Seven hoeft sonden*); Van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 63–64 (*Seven sacramente*); Van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 65–66 (*Seven gaven* and Jerome's saying). The *Seven werken* remains unedited.

15 See Verhofstede et al. (eds) 1948: 33; Ampe 1981, number 34; Janssens et al. (ed.) 1986: 90. For Ruusbroec, see Warnar 2003 and Van Oostrom 2013 (242–54, 261–81).

16 For an edition, see Kist (ed.) 1835.

17 Verdenius (ed.) 1917: ll. 11–14.

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variably marks the end of a quire, and connects it faultlessly with the subsequent quire. However, other codicological features reveal, perhaps, that the codex developed over time.[18] The table of contents refers solely to the *Dietsche doctrinael*, and the historiated initials structuring this treatise are distinctly larger than the other three historiated initials.[19] While stressing the textual hierarchy in KB, 76 E 5, these elements may also indicate that the manuscript was begun as a copy of the *Dietsche doctrinael*, and was subsequently expanded with copies of other texts in various stages. If this was the case, it is important to note that these phases must have followed hard upon each other. Nowhere does the manuscript indicate that these hypothetical stages were not very close together in time. We may assume, therefore, that KB, 76 E 5, whether it was made in one go or not, preserves a collection which was coherently planned.

II. Production and Reception

In his 1948 description of the codex, Lieftinck discussed the localisation of KB, 76 E 5 (Verhofstede et al. (eds) 1948: 35). The high-quality features of the manuscript, and in particular the splendid image of the Trinity and the symbols of the four Evangelists on folio 33^{vb}, suggested to him that the codex could only have been produced in a prominent cultural centre, such as an important city or a monastery which possessed an extensive library. In addition, the presence of various Ruusbroec excerpts in the text collection pointed to Brussels or a religious house outside the city, according to the renowned codicologist. More recently, Erik Kwakkel (2002: 162–75) has considerably strengthened the Brussels localisation.[20] In his view, KB, 76 E 5 was made by a commercial manuscript producer active in that city.[21] Kwakkel substantiates his assumption by pointing to the high level of execution of KB, 76 E 5 and by showing that Brussels accommodated a commercial network of book producers.[22] His chief witness for this network is the stationer Godevaert de Bloc, whose business went into liquidation in 1383. Godevaert may help us find the area where KB, 76 E 5 was

18 Jos Biemans put forward this idea when we were jointly studying the codex *in situ* (March 7, 2014).

19 Since chapter headings of lengthy works could travel independently on scrolls, the table of contents may have been copied as a separate text. See Rouse and Rouse 2011 and Wendy Scase's essay in this volume.

20 See also Janssens 2003.

21 In that context, he convincingly rejects the hypothesis, formulated by Anneke Mulder-Bakker (2002: 73 and 2005), that KB, 76 E 5 was a household manuscript ('Hausbuch').

22 Against the background of commercial book production I wonder if the bold presence of catchwords in KB, 76 E 5 (and other manuscripts, for that matter), so clearly visible to the reader, served as an indicator of quality.

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produced. His shop was located in the Bergstraat, which was presumably the centre of the Brussels book market. As Kwakkel notes (2002:171), the Bergstraat ran opposite the St Gudele Church. This is an intriguing fact, because Ruusbroec served as a chaplain of that church between 1317 and 1343 (the year in which he left the city to spend the rest of his life in the neighbouring Forest of Soignes). As we shall see below, during that period of time Ruusbroec wrote two texts of which we find traces in KB, 76 E 5: *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* [*The Kingdom of Lovers*], written around 1333, and *Vanden kersten ghelove* [*Of the Christian Faith*], which was finished in 1343 at the latest.[23] All in all, it is reasonable to assume that KB, 76 E 5 came into being in the context of a bespoke trade in Brussels: a commercial producer made the book according to someone's specifications.

Who could have commissioned this codex? A wealthy layperson is obviously the vague but safe answer to this question. However, in more recent years scholarly attention has been drawn to an individual. Characterizing *Beatrijs* as a courtly text and pointing to the presence of the mirror of princes the *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden*, in the compilation Theo Meder has suggested that KB, 76 E 5 was ordered by Joanna, Duchess of Brabant between 1356 and 1406 (Meder (ed.) and Wilmink (trans.) 1995: 39–40, 103–04). While Joanna and her husband, Wenceslaus of Luxembourg, promoted French culture at the court of Brabant – Jean Froissart's employment being an excellent example of this pursuit – Dutch and German speaking poets were also well-received guests (Sleiderink 2003 (123–40) and 1993). That Joanna even had a preference for Dutch is suggested by a 1401 expenditure statement. The statement was written in Dutch instead of Latin, the clerk noted, because the duchess wished to read it herself (Sleiderink 2003: 138). There is evidence, furthermore, that Joanna ordered books. In 1375–1376 she commissioned a very expensive prayer book, and in 1377–1378 she bought various books, one of them entitled *tgebet* [the prayer], from the aforementioned Godevaert de Bloc, which she donated to a protégé in the Louvain monastery of canon regulars (Sleiderink 2003: 138–39, and Kwakkel 2002: 172). These facts clearly support the idea that Joanna could have been the patron of KB, 76 E 5 (Sleiderink 2003: 140, and Kwakkel 2002: 172, n. 146).

Obviously, Joanna was not the only wealthy person to appreciate books and texts living in Brussels around 1374. Various book-loving patricians, in particular, are known to us. A manuscript made around 1350 and containing a Middle Dutch translation of Henricus Suso's *Horologium aeternae sapientiae*, for example, was in the possession of a certain Gijsbrecht Spijsken, who in 1388 presented the book as a gift to Rooklooster, a priory located just outside Brussels (Warnar 1997: 101–02, and Van Oostrom 2013: 245). On two occasions, around 1360 and around 1384, another patrician from Brussels, the influential alderman

23 Van Oostrom (2013: 243) lists and dates Ruusbroec's works.

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Jan Taye, requested Middle Dutch translations of large parts of the Bible (Kwakkel 2002: 141–42, and Van Oostrom 2013: 213–14, 217, 239–40). In 1373, the translator, a Carthusian from an abbey near Brussels, Herne, completed a Middle Dutch rendition of the Rule of St Benedict at the request of the Brussels banker Lodewijc Thonijs, who supported the Carthusians financially, and whose brother Jan served as treasurer of the aforementioned church of St Gudele.[24] Like Joanna, patricians such as Spijsken, Taye and Thonijs could have commissioned KB, 76 E 5.

Searching for the patron of a manuscript is an important aspect of studying the reception of a medieval book. However, Joanna's gift of a codex to her protégé reminds us of a serious pitfall: the patron and/or buyer of a codex is not necessarily to be identified with its user(s). The individual who commissioned a manuscript or acquired an already existing one might have intended to read the text(s) him- or herself. But it is just as likely that the codex was meant for someone other than the patron or the buyer. The actual readers are, furthermore, almost always untraceable. We have to content ourselves with their rare marginal notes. Research on the reception of a book heavily depends, therefore, on the analysis of the text(s) which it contains. In addition to codicological and paleographical features which may reveal the intended use of a manuscript and the cultural background of its readers,[25] the texts themselves anticipate reading by a particular (group of) person(s). We may assume that the implied readers of a collection of works were the decisive factor to shape its composition.[26] Reconstructing this audience may be at least as rewarding for our understanding of the use of a book as searching for the patron of the manuscript.

In the case of KB, 76 E 5, the table of contents and the historiated initials indicate that the *Dietsche doctrinael* is the obvious starting point for such a reconstruction. Within thirty years after its composition, the text was considered so important that it could occupy three parts of the six-part compilation. Like its Latin source text, Albertanus of Brescia's treatise, the *Dietsche doctrinael* served as a compendium providing intellectual and moral instruction, based on Seneca, Cicero, and Cato in particular (Reynaert 1994). These lessons in the vernacular, which could be read from the beginning to the end or selectively, as the table of contents suggests, are tailored to a secular audience (Reynaert 2002: 143–44). Joris Reynaert (1992: 467–69) has convincingly argued that the *Dietsche doc-*

24 See Coun 1980 (189–93), Kwakkel 2002 (77–78, 138–42), Van Oostrom 2013 (216–17, 239–40).
25 Erik Kwakkel (2007) has coined the term 'cultural residue' for these codicological and paleographical features.
26 The implied reader is, according to Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (2001: 119), 'a theoretical construct, implied or encoded in the text, representing the integration of data and the interpretative process "invited" by the text'. Cf. also Wayne Booth (1961, 136): 'every book carves out from mankind those readers for which its peculiar effects were designed'.

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trinael's implied readers belonged to the urban cultural and administrative elite. With their civic interests in mind, for example, the translator of the *Dietsche doctrinael* omitted Albertanus's chapter on how to treat servants and most of the chapters on warfare, and added a diatribe against irresponsible aldermen. The chapter 'Van manlicheiden' ['On being male'], which the translator of the *Dietsche doctrinael* also added to his source, confirms that the implied readership of the text was predominantly male (Reynaert 1992: 473). Both Reynaert (1992: 473) and Frits van Oostrom (2013: 139) state that the *Dietsche doctrinael* was written for members of the civic upper class and their offspring.

It should be stressed here that reconstructing the audience as envisaged by an author does not supply us with an indisputable clue as to the readers of copies of his work. A copy was, after all, intended to be part of a new manuscript context, and a new community of readers. This is particularly true for multi-text codices: the secondary audience of the texts which make up the collection might well differ from the primary audiences which each of the authors of the original works had in mind when they were composing their texts. In the case of KB, 76 E 5, we should also investigate, therefore, the audience-related features of the other texts in the manuscript, in spite of the fact that the *Dietsche doctrinael* dominates this collection.

Deviating from its Latin source, the *Dietsche doctrinael* refers various times to Aristotle (Reynaert 1994: 211–13). His name constitutes one of the many links between the *Dietsche doctrinael* and the last text in the collection, the *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden*, which features the great philosopher as Alexander's teacher. In KB, 76 E 5, Maerlant's text is the second treatise offering intellectual and moral instruction. It is noteworthy, in this context, that the Flemish author provided a shortened rendition of his Latin source by omitting from the *Secretum secretorum* many chapters on technical and medical subjects (Lie 1996). As a result, the *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden* is a compendium which strongly focuses on the worldly obligations of (future) 'hoghe heren' [great lords], who serve, or will serve, as 'lansheren' [rulers].[27] In the context of KB, 76 E 5, the combination of *Dietsche doctrinael* and the *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden* offers educational material to the social elite, in particular to young males.

The catechetic texts in the fourth part of the collection are highly interesting with regard to the implied readership of the text collection preserved in KB, 76 E 5. Six enumerations deal with the ten commandments, the twelve articles of faith, the seven works of mercy, the seven cardinal sins, the seven sacraments, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Discussing the *Seven hoeft sonden* [*Seven Cardinal Sins*] in KB, 76 E 5, Tinbergen (1907: 146–47) noted that the text consisted of nothing else but simple definitions of each of the sins. The other enumerations

27 Verdenius (ed.) 1917: ll. 15 and 30.

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convey the same impression, which is corroborated by the way Ruusbroec's texts were adapted in order to fit the collection.

As mentioned earlier, parts of the *XII articlen*, the *Seven sacramente* and the *Seven gaven* were taken from texts written by the Brussels mystic. The fifteen lines of prose which conclude the *XII articlen* were copied from *Vanden kerstenen ghelove* [*On the Christian Faith*], composed in 1343 at the latest. In this short treatise, Ruusbroec explains the twelve articles of faith. Arguing that all believers are part of a holy community, which he compares to Noah's ark, he lists those who stay outside the ark, and will consequently perish:

> Ende dat sijn alle de gene die hen ave deilen ende in enegen poente contrarie sijn der heileger kerken ochte kerstenen geloeve, dat es met valscher leren, met valscen hope, met valscen twivele ende wane; die hope ende troest setten in truffen, in boeten, in drome, in wairsegers, in toeverien, inden duvel te manenne; ende alle die meer eren ende ontsien ochte minnen enege creature dan gode, ende die meer getrouwen ochte hopen in enege creature dan in gode. Dit sijn alle avegedeilde verdorvene lede die niet en leven in enecheit der heileger kerken. (ll. 108–16)

> [And they are all those who cut themselves off and go against Holy Church or the Christian faith in any way, with false teaching, false hope, false doubt and opinion, as well as all those who put hope and trust in trifles and magic formulas, in dreams, in soothsayers, in witchcraft and the invocation of the devil; and all those who honour and fear or love a creature more than God, and who put their trust and hope more in a creature than in God. These are all cut off, rotten limbs who do not live in the unity of Holy Church. (ll. 92–99)][28]

While this passage was copied almost word for word in KB, 76 E 5, the *Seven sacramente* in this codex consists of excerpts which came into being in a slightly more complex way. The text starts with the enumeration of the seven sacraments, combining definitions from a passage of *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* [*The Kingdom of Lovers*], which dates from around 1333. Ruusbroec's accompanying explanations in *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* are lacking in KB, 76 E 5.[29] The continuation of the *Seven sacramente* is taken almost word for word from *Vanden geesteliken tabernakel* [*On the Spiritual Tabernacle*], which came into being around 1350.[30] This second part of the *Seven sacramente* is, in fact, an enumeration, too. Ruusbroec states (ll. 5712–15) that if people approach the holy Sacrament 'wijsleec, begheerleec ende gheesteleec' [wisely, eagerly, and spiritually], they will find in themselves the '.xii. vrochte des gheests die ons sente Pauwels bescrijft ad Galatas' [twelve fruits of the Spirit which St Paul describes for us in his letter to the

28 De Baere et al. (ed.) 1991: 394–95. Compare with Tinbergen (ed.) 1907: 142–43.

29 Compare Van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 63–64 with De Baere et al. (ed.) 2002: 159–65 (ll. 61–39). Around 1362, Ruusbroec discovered that copies of *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* were circulating despite his 1333 ban on the distribution of the text. See Van Oostrom 2013: 242–43.

30 Compare Van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 64 with De Baere et al. (ed.) 2006: 1157–59 (ll. 5712–35).

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Galatians], and continues by listing these fruits. Finally, the *Seven gaven* in KB, 76 E 5 borrows in a highly selective way some phrases from *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* in order to list the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.[31]

If the patron of KB, 76 E 5 and/or the compiler of the text collection did not make use of already existing excerpts, he had intimate knowledge of Ruusbroec's oeuvre. The method of excerption is revealing for the implied readership. No trace of Ruusbroec's complex reasoning remains. These excerpts confirm the idea that the six catechetic texts consist of elementary, straightforward enumerations, which fit the two treatises in KB, 76 E 5.

The same is true for the three texts which follow *Beatrijs* in the fourth part of the compilation. As mentioned earlier, these texts were written by Jan van Boendale. In the second book of his *Leken spiegel*, he included rhymed versions of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo*.[32] While these texts were copied in KB, 76 E 5, Boendale's accompanying notes were omitted. In these passages he explains the texts and accounts for his translation, as the verse form forced him to abandon the word order of the Latin originals. Apparently, the implied readers of the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo* in KB, 76 E 5 were expected to appreciate the presence of these elementary texts in the codex, but were not in need of commentary.

In comparison to the didactic texts which have been discussed thus far, the text which constitutes the fifth part of the collection preserved in KB, 76 E 5 is remarkably descriptive. The *Aflate van Rome* describes the seven most important Roman churches, and lists the various indulgences which were granted there to visiting pilgrims. At first sight, the presence of this text in KB, 76 E 5 may be surprising, but the historical context offers an explanation. In 1300, the plenary jubilee indulgence was first made available by Pope Boniface VII, followed by the 1343 decision of Clement VI to hold the second jubilee year in 1350 and to institute a cycle of fifty years. Owing to the phenomenon of the Jubilee Year, pilgrimages to Rome were particularly appealing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Miedema 2003: 22–23, and Van Herwaarden 2005: 91–92). It follows that a text about the indulgences of Rome was a popular item to include in any text collection which was compiled at the time that KB, 76 E 5 was made. There is no reason to assume, furthermore, that the implied readership of this text was restricted to a specific social milieu, except insofar as only wealthy people could afford to visit Rome.

Whereas the *Aflate van Rome* and similar texts about the indulgences of Rome featured as *passe-partout* texts in late medieval compilations, the presence of

31 Compare Van Vloten (ed.) 1851: 65–66 with De Baere et al. (ed.) 2002: 211 (ll. 584–85), 225 (ll. 749–52), 234 (l. 1070).

32 De Vries (ed.) 1844–1848: Book 2, chap. 41, ll. 12–22; chap. 42, ll. 6–10; chap. 43, ll. 1–32.

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Beatrijs in KB, 76 E 5 is enigmatic. Despite the manuscript's nickname, the story of the transgressing sacristan who is protected by Mary is the odd one out in the collection. According to modern genre distinctions, *Beatrijs* is, after all, the only narrative in the midst of treatises, prayers, and catechetic texts. As a result, the text is of prime importance for our understanding of KB, 76 E 5. Why was *Beatrijs*, an apparent outsider in the collection, included?

Recently, Van Oostrom (2013: 18) has characterised *Beatrijs* as a story illustrating 'hoe een mens zich tussen hemel en aarde verscheurd kan voelen, maar altijd steun kan zoeken bij Maria' [how a human being can feel torn between heaven and earth, but may always turn to Mary for support]. Actually, this description is slightly misleading, because it conceals the fact that the central character is a woman. Anneke Mulder-Bakker (2002: 110–11; 2005: 192–93) may be mistaken in claiming that *Beatrijs* is the centrepiece of KB, 76 E 5, yet she is surely right to stress the presence of a female protagonist. At the beginning of the narrative, Beatrijs is introduced as a 'joffrouwe' [damsel], who is in love with a 'jonghelinc' [young man] 'sint dat si out waren XII jaer' [since they were twelve years old].[33] It would, of course, be wrong to exclude a male audience for this narrative, but female readers and listeners may certainly sympathise far more easily with the young lady's experiences (motherhood, prostitution). In this context, it is worth noting that another female character, the widow who lives next to the nunnery, is of crucial importance for the happy outcome of the events, since she adopts Beatrijs's children (ll. 867–910).[34] In contrast to its source, Caesarius of Heisterbach's Latin exemplum, the *Beatrijs* seems particularly attuned to female readers and listeners.

In his 1948 description of KB, 76 E 5, Lieftinck (Verhofstede et al. (eds) 1948: 35) suggested that the compilation was made for lay brothers, underpinning his opinion by pointing to the catechetic texts in the codex. In recent research, the whole collection of texts has been taken into account. Mulder-Bakker (2002: 111; 2005: 193) has argued that its content is tailored to a rich merchant family. In Van Oostrom's view (2013: 18–19, 139–41), KB, 76 E 5 is a particularly edifying book, used by the civic elite as a kind of 'geestelijke huisapotheek' (19) [spiritual medicine chest]. The foregoing analysis does not focus on the codex's actual audience, but on its implied readership. A shared feature of both the core text, the *Dietsche doctrinael*, and Maerlant's *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden* in KB, 76 E 5 is that they address the members of the civic elite and their young sons in particular. If this was indeed one of the reasons to bring them together in this collection, it is reasonable to assume that Boendale's works and the elementary catechetic texts were included with youthful readers and listeners in mind too.

33 Meder (ed.) and Wilmink (trans.) 1995: ll. 37, 82, 92.
34 I owe this observation to my Utrecht colleague Dieuwke van der Poel.

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With comments on their sex, we reach the limits of reasonable inference. More speculatively, I would suggest that the reason for including *Beatrijs* in KB, 76 E 5 was to appeal to both male and female readers and listeners. The idiosyncratic poem in this collection points to an implied readership which was mixed. The compiler counterbalanced the male-orientated *Dietsche doctrinael* and *Heimelijcheit der heimelijcheden* by incorporating *Beatrijs* in the collection.

This hypothesis lends support to the theory that KB, 76 E 5 was commissioned by a wealthy patron in order to make it available to a family of patricians. Whether the sons and daughters of this family actually consulted the manuscript we cannot know. The least one can say, however, is that KB, 76 E 5 was not frequently read. Marginal notes and dirty spots which would point to a well-thumbed book are conspicuously lacking. It looks as if one of the most famous codices preserving Middle Dutch texts served for centuries as a *de luxe*, high-status object, more valued for its appearance than for its substance.

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Size Does Not Matter: On Characterising Medieval Multi-Text Codices

Scholars characterising medieval multi-text codices often focus largely on the first and/or longest text in the manuscript. My contribution argues that considering the other texts in a codex is essential in order to understand the compilation, acknowledging that neither the size of an individual text, nor its place within the collection solely determines or predicts its relevance for interpreting the compilation as a whole. The idea that what is significant is not the individual text, but rather the interplay between all texts in a compilation is illustrated by an in-depth study of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51.[1]

Medieval manuscripts were not mass-produced: making books by hand was a labour-intensive process, and the creation of each individual book was the result of a conscious decision to make it. This well-known fact does not only hold for the manuscript as a physical object, but also its contents: the texts collected in the manuscript.[2] There might be pragmatic reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of certain texts (such as the availability of texts), but the very fact that a text was included in a manuscript makes it desirable that every individual text should be studied by anyone aiming to understand the book as a whole. Obvious as this principle might seem, it is not commonly observed in medieval literary studies; all too often, scholars studying the aim, function, or principles of organisation of a manuscript depend heavily upon an analysis of the first and/or longest text(s) and assume that these were the most important items in the codex. I believe that to ignore works that are less prominently placed in the manuscript or that are less substantial in terms of length is, at best, to miss an opportunity, and, at worst, to gain a distorted view of the multi-text codex. For, all too often the meaning of a

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013. I would like to thank Paul Wackers, Bart Besamusca, and the other editors of this volume for their extensive comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

2 Obviously, images when present also belong to the contents of a book; in this contribution, however, I shall focus solely on literary / textual aspects.

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medieval text is shaped (or influenced) by all its co-texts, regardless of their length. In this contribution, I intend to show how including smaller works in our research, copied after the more dominant (and often canonical) texts, can improve our understanding of the manuscript and lead to better hypotheses about its uses and functions.

I. The Whole Book: Observations on Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51

The issues raised here will be addressed with reference to one manuscript: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15642–51. This manuscript was made in the Duchy of Brabant in the fifteenth century and contains ten Middle Dutch (more specifically Brabantine) verse texts.[3] The first half of the codex is taken up by one text: the only complete rhymed Middle Dutch translation of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium.* Because of this domination, the manuscript is commonly referred to as the 'Lucidarius manuscript' (hereafter abbreviated to MS Lu). More specific (but far less common) denominations are the 'Rhymed MS Lu' (to avoid confusion with Middle Dutch *Elucidarium* translations in prose), and 'Narrow MS Lu'. The latter name reflects a physical peculiarity of the manuscript, which has the rare relative width of 0.39 (a holster book shape).[4] Another remarkable codicological feature is the thickness of the quires of the manuscript: its 120 folios are divided into only six (regular) quires. Nolanda Klunder, in her monograph on the Middle Dutch *Lucidarius* tradition, connects this feature to the urban chancellery, as clerks in those circles were used to creating and working with thick quires.[5]

The connection between urban administration and MS Lu is supported, according to Klunder, by the many errors made by the scribe of the manuscript. The ten texts are all copied by the same scribe in a cursive script, in one column of 52 lines. The *mise en page* is simple and straightforward: red initials, red titles, red highlighted capitals at the beginning of each line, and most, but not all Latin

3 For dating and localisation, see Biemans 1997: II, 444; Klunder 2005: 26.

4 See Kwakkel 2012: 35, for an explanation of 'relative width', and his whole article for an illustration of how rare this size is. In short: the relative width of books dating from the fifteenth century (calculated by dividing the width of the page by its height) is around 0.7, with minimal divergence.

5 Klunder 2005: 40, 138, 505; Kwakkel 2003, especially 235–39, which explicitly relates the thickness of narrow manuscripts to clerical circles. On the narrow shape of account books (and the relationship between narrowness and accounting), see Bischoff 1986: 45; Guddat-Figge 1976: 30–36; Putter 2000: 4.

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words are underlined in red ink.[6] The script is stable throughout the manuscript, but the number of mistakes made by the scribe (who was also the corrector and rubricator) is, indeed, remarkable. There are many places where he corrects himself by striking out what he wrote, often adding the corrections in the margins. Nevertheless, many errors remain, probably unnoticed by the scribe. Altogether, one easily gets the impression that the scribe did not have much experience copying texts like those in MS Lu, as Klunder states (2005: 138). The connection with an urban environment lies in the assumption that the scribe was professional, given the stability of the script, but more experienced in keeping accounts than copying literary texts.

II. The *Lucidarius* and Beyond: Overview of MS Lu

An analysis of MS Lu offers a perfect illustration of the general statements made in the introduction: the focus on the first and (by far) the longest text in the manuscript has been so prominent that the other (nine!) texts are (at best) mentioned only briefly. In addition, what has been said about these relatively unknown works has generally been based on scholarship that does not specifically address the texts as preserved in MS Lu. In so doing, scholars neglect scribal *variance* and overlook the possibility that texts might be preserved differently in MS Lu from elsewhere. In this section I hope to avoid these methodological pitfalls not only by discussing all of the texts in the manuscript, but also by comparing their versions with those of other extant manuscript witnesses.

Table 1: Overview of the Contents of MS Lu

Text (titles according to rubrics in the manuscript, in diplomatic transcription)	Folios
Dit is die dietsche lucidarius hoe die clerc den meester vraecht ende di meester antwert	1^r–61^v
Hier beghint een goet boec vanden vii dootsonden ende vanden x gheboden	61^v–87^v
Dits van augustiinkens sceepkene	87^v–93^r
Dicta compilation[7]	93^v–99^r
[Dryvoldicheit][8]	99^r–102^r

6 Observations made *in situ* in August 2012.

7 This text has no title in MS Lu; the title in this table will be explained in the discussion of the text below.

8 This text has no title in MS Lu, but scholarship has often referred to it as *De Schepping* (*The Creation*). However, *Dryvoldicheit* makes more sense; the author refers to his text with these words, and two of the four manuscripts preserving the text use this title (see below). *De Schepping* as a common title probably finds its origins in the fact that the *editio princeps* refers to the text with these words (which in turn is probably caused by the fact that the title is missing

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Table 1 *(Continued)*

Text (titles according to rubrics in the manuscript, in diplomatic transcription)	Folios
Dit is van vi vaerwen ende xii outheyden deen metten anderen bediedt	102^r–104^v
Dit is en expositie vanden viere vingheren ende vanden dume	104^v–106^v
Dit is sinte Jans ewangelium alsoet augustijnken gheexponeert heeft	106^v–116^v
Dit is van her hughen van tyberien hoe hi den coninc saladijn ridder maecte doen hem die coninc ghevanghen hadde in sijn lant	116^v–119^r
Hier beghint den a b recht ende auerecht op elc littere een vers	119^r–119^v

The first half of MS Lu is taken up with a Middle Dutch rhymed translation of the *Elucidarium*, here entitled ‘Dit is die dietsche lucidarius hoe die clerc den meester vraecht ende di meester antwert’ [This is the Dutch *Lucidarius:* how a clerk questions the master and the master answers]. From the outset, the rubric thus indicates the dialogue form of the text. This Brussels manuscript is the only one preserving a complete version of the text; the other manuscripts contain only fragments or excerpts.

Table 2: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Rhymed Lucidarius* (including length)

Text 1: *Dit is die dietsche lucidarius hoe die clerc den meester vraecht ende di meester antwert*[9]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 1^r–61^v (edited in Klunder 2005: 385–459)	6332
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 270, fol. 54^r (edited in Klunder 2005: 460)	18
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 116, fols 8^r–11^r (edited in Klunder 2005: 461–64)	143
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS IV 1031 (edited and discussed in Van Dijk 1974)	318

Comparing the Middle Dutch translation with its Latin source, Klunder (2005: 104–05) noticed several striking differences. The translator simplified the content, which is exemplified by his omission of much detailed theological information contained in the Latin source, especially when that information would

from the manuscript used by the editor, while a modern hand wrote ‘Schepping van de mens’ (Creation of Men) in the blank space. This might be prompted by a cursory reading of the opening part of *Dryvoldicheit,* which summarises the Creation.

9 Klunder (2005) discusses the Dutch *Lucidarius* tradition.

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be of interest only to the clergy. The Middle Dutch text seems to be more optimistic: it emphasises, for example, the possibility of living a good enough life on earth before going to Heaven, instead of being condemned to Hell. Yet, although theological subtleties are generally omitted, matters such as the nature of the Trinity are still discussed. Klunder concludes from this that the translation was produced for a lay reader with religious interests instead of for a reader belonging to a religious institution. This idea is supported by a comparison of this translation with other Middle Dutch translations of the *Elucidarium*, which are more concerned either with theological or worldly matters: the *Lucidarius* in MS Lu lies between the two extremes.

The first text after the *Lucidarius* is a mirror of sins entitled 'Hier beghint een goet boec vanden vii dootsonden ende vanden x gheboden' [Here begins a good book about the Seven Cardinal Sins and the Ten Commandments].

Table 3: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Spieghel van sonden* (including length)

Text 2: *Hier beghint een goet boec vanden vii dootsonden ende vanden x gheboden*	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 61^{v}–87^{v} (Jacobs (ed.) 1915)	2724
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS LTK 194, fols 1^{r}–14[10]	2754

Recent scholarship commonly refers to this text as *Spieghel van sonden* (or *Nieuwe doctrinael*), a practice which will be followed here.[11] This text was written in the (early?) fourteenth century by Jan de Weert, a practising physician in the Flemish city of Ypres. As suggested by the title, the text is structured around the Seven Cardinal Sins, the Ten Commandments, and confession:

> In drien pertyën sal ic dit boec deilen in sijn ondersoec. Teerste deel sal beconden vanden VII dootliken sonden, elc geset met haren graden, daer men in sondicht bi mesdaden. Dander pertie sal u leren vanden X gheboden ons Heren, hoe datmen daer tegen mesdoet; daer na sal ic u maken vroet, welc sijn daegelijcsche sonden ende welke die ziele ter doot wonden. Die derde pertye es van drie zaken die den mensche zalich maken, dats biechte, rouwe ende voldoen der sonden die men heeft gheploen. (De Weert 1915: 200, ll. 35–50)
>
> [I will divide this book after its matter into three parts; the first part will tell you about the Seven deadly Sins, each glossed with the degree to which one sins when misbehaving. The second part will teach you the Ten Commandments, and how people contravene them. After that I will teach you what the daily sins are which mortally harm the soul.

10 The Leiden text has not been edited individually, but Jacobs ((ed.) 1915) notes where it differs from the version in MS Lu.

11 Van Oostrom 2013: 132–37. The medieval author refers to his text in these terms as well (ll. 66–71).

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> The third part is about three things that sanctify man: confession, remorse and penitence.']

The text focuses on urban sins: the preferential treatment given to children of wealthy parents, the manipulation of grain quality and prices, and all kinds of adulteration of goods. This focus, in combination with the biographical information about the author and the fact that the text criticises the clergy on various occasions, led Herman Brinkman (1991) to the statement that this text was written with an urban audience in mind. This hypothesis was taken over by Frits van Oostrom (2013: 133), who stated that De Weert tailored his *Spieghel van sonden* to urban life. According to Van Oostrom (2013: 133), De Weert's discussion of *acedia* is illustrative of this statement. Whereas usually in a didactic text like this, *acedia* is understood as sloth in monasteries or laxity in liturgical duties, in the *Spieghel van sonden* it is exemplified by an urban anecdote about a man who is too lazy to work, causing his wife to prostitute herself, after which the man abuses her: all this is the result of laziness! Overall, the world-view projected by this mirror of sins is extremely pessimistic; indeed, it is so gloomy that the literary historian Jozef van Mierlo stated that De Weert must have been exaggerating and should not be regarded as a reliable source of information about the fourteenth century (Van Mierlo 1940: 33; Van Oostrom 2013: 134).

The *Spieghel van sonden* is also preserved in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS LTK 194. The Leiden version is slightly longer than the one in MS Lu. The difference in length is caused by the presence of an epilogue and a more extensive discussion on greed, which are both absent from MS Lu.[12] What caused these omissions is a matter for speculation. Its effect, however, is worthy of note. Basing his argument on the Leiden manuscript, Brinkman noted that De Weert's text was very well suited to an urban audience, yet hesitated to ascribe it definitively to an urban context. This was because of the passage on greed, which explicitly addressed noblemen (Brinkman 1991: 114). Given that the extended discussion on greed and therewith the reference to the nobility is missing in MS Lu, there is no need to uphold Brinkman's hesitation: De Weert's *Spieghel van sonden*, as it is transmitted in MS Lu, would definitely fit an urban audience.

The third text in this collection is the first work written by Augustijnken. In MS Lu it is entitled 'Dits van augustiinkens sceepkene' [This is about Augustijnken's little ship].[13]

12 See the text in italics in Jacobs (ed.) 1915: 220–21, and the thirty lines in the notes (p. 293).

13 The other manuscripts preserve this text under different titles; 'A Valuable Ship made by Augustijnken' (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15589–623) and 'About the Ship' (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 E 2).

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Table 4: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Sceepkene* (including length)

Text 3: *Dits van augustiinkens sceepkene*[14]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 87^{v}–93^{r} (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 105–12)	596
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15589–623, fols 108^{va}–111^{vb} (Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1999: 603–17)	579
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 E 2, fols 56^{ra}–59^{vb} (Kossmann (ed.) 1940: 116–22)	593

In this story, Augustijnken – presenting himself as the narrating 'I' – goes for a walk along the banks of the Merwede.[15] The text reveals itself to be an allegory when Augustijnken finds a little boat, which he uses to reach a tower with a shipyard. At the shipyard, a hundred women are building a ship. Augustijnken is guided by a woman who makes herself known as 'Ontfermicheit' (l. 534) [Mercy], who tells him that the tower is now only defended by Lady Honour, after her seven sisters (with names like Modesty, Loyalty, and Justice) have fled men like Jealousy and Intemperance. Now, Lady Generosity has left the country as well, in the ship called 'Sekerhede' [Certainty]. The text can be read as a warning to those in charge in the contemporary world, which is, according to the author, in decline. This warning becomes explicit in the closing part of the text. First, Augustijnken and Lady Mercy take leave of each other, after which Augustijnken rows back to the city he came from. Having returned, he seeks out the company of men, to whom he recounts his adventures. The way he does so resembles the way an itinerant story teller (whether Augustijnken or someone else reading out Augustijnken's text) might talk to his audience, for listeners are explicitly addressed: 'Ach ridderen, knapen, van hogher aert, die hebben wilt den naem van eren, scaemt u der jamerliker meren, die u vrou Eren ontboden heeft […] Dat es uwer alre scande' (Blommaert (ed.) 1851, p. 112, ll. 560–63, 580) [Ah, knights, squires of noble birth, whoever amongst you wishes to acquire an honourable reputation, you should be ashamed of yourselves for scaring away Lady Honour! […] It is to your shame!].

The fourth text in MS Lu is a collection of moral lessons or dicta. These dicta were taken from Jacob van Maerlant's *Spieghel Historiael* (Berendrecht 1994: 67–68). At the end of the first part of this world history, Van Maerlant incorporates a collection of proverbs which were – in Van Maerlant's day – attributed to Seneca:

14 Hogenelst 1997: II, 78–79 (R99).

15 In MS Lu, no more information about the geography is given; in the other two manuscripts, it is noted that the story begins in Dordrecht (Holland). This is interesting because it is this location, and this location alone that caused Augustijnken to be given the enduring epithet 'van Dordt', 'of Dordrecht'. About this name, see Bouwmeester 2014.

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first, the four Cardinal Virtues are discussed and then there are several chapters with actual proverbs added. Most notably those attributed to Seneca, but also proverbs from Percius, Juvenal, and Statius were included. The focus in these proverbs is on ethical advice (Berendrecht 1994: 55–65). Van Maerlant's Middle Dutch 'Seneca anthology' soon acquired an independent existence.[16] Remains of this anthology are preserved in five manuscripts.

Table 5: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Dicta* Compilation (including length)

Text 4: *Dicta* compilation[17]	
Manuscript	Length
MS Lu, fols 93^{v}–99^{r}[18]	586
Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1374, fols 4^{r}-39^{v}[19]	3097
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1550[20]	300
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15589–623, fol. 137^{v}[21]	10
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 270, fol. 45^{r}[22]	6

There is only one codex that contains the complete anthology, the so-called 'Heber Serrure' codex (Ghent, 1374), in which it comprises around 3000 lines.[23] The compilation in MS Lu is much shorter (only 586 lines).[24] In addition to being abbreviated, the compilation in MS Lu also presents the proverbs in a slightly different order; the compiler re-arranged the selection.[25]

The main difference between the 'Seneca anthology' in MS Lu and the longer version in the 'Heber Serrure' codex is that the first part of the text emphasises Christian virtues above general ethics.[26] This is achieved by selecting and re-arranging items from the anthology, resulting in a stress on the duality of human behaviour: man can be good and bad. By gathering together forty-eight lines

16 A similar thing occurs in the French tradition; see Ruhe 1969.

17 For this part of my contribution, I am much indebted to Renée Gabriël, 'De handschriftelijke overlevering van Senecaexcerpten uit de *Spiegel historiael* van Jacob van Maerlant' (unpublished MA thesis, Nijmegen University, 2008).

18 Biemans 1997: 444–45, MS. 60; Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 113–19.

19 Biemans 1997: 449–50, MS. 63; De Vries and Verwijs (eds) 1982: 411–56.

20 Biemans 1997: 446–47, MS. 61–1; De Vries and Verwijs (eds) 1982: 419–24.

21 Biemans 1997: 448–49, MS. 62; Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1999: 739.

22 Edited in Lyna 1924: 302.

23 Mike Kestemont (Antwerp) and Renée Gabriël (Nijmegen) are preparing an edition of this manuscript. For the moment, Biemans (1997: 448–49) is a useful starting point.

24 While Klunder (2005: 107) and Biemans (1997: 444) suggest that the text is predominantly ('voornamelijk') taken from Van Maerlant, it is in fact completely so; see De Vries and Verwijs (eds) 1982: 522–23.

25 As early as 1863 De Vries and Verwijs ((eds) 1982: xciv) noted (and not without good cause) that the text in MS Lu was different from its source.

26 Bouwmeester 2016: 124–25 contains a more detailed analysis of this text.

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from ten different parts of the anthology, the compilation in MS Lu foregrounds a warning against bad behaviour and interacting with malicious people.[27] Proverbs taken from various parts of the anthology are all related to this warning, even though not all proverbs were originally related to that topic. This newly-created, extensive admonition is in turn incorporated into the passage about the cardinal virtue of moderation. The virtues themselves are not extensively discussed, and general advice about how to behave on various occasions disappears into the background in MS Lu.

The next text encountered in MS Lu is copied without a title, but I will refer to it as *Dryvoldicheit* [On the Trinity], again written by Augustijnken.[28] This time it is not an allegory, but a religious, partially exegetical text. It consists of two parts. In the first part, the Creation is explained as coming from a tree which is rooted in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Everything comes in sevens: there are seven Sacraments, the tree has seven branches and seven flowers, there are seven days, seven planets, seven liberal arts and so on. The second part of *Dryvoldicheit* combines two lists of seven: seven religious authorities (from pope and cardinal down to monks) and seven secular authorities (from emperor and king all the way down to squires). Seven times, the two lists are combined: an emperor and a pope are placed at the same level and so are a king and a cardinal, etc. These pairs, the text stresses, are created to illuminate the Christian world. Both parts of the text contain different sevens, but whereas the first part of *Dryvoldicheit* focuses on the Creation, the second part is devoted to biblical exegesis.[29] Both parts of the text are enriched with Bible quotations from different books of Scripture, but especially from Genesis, the Apocalypse, and St John's Gospel.

Table 6: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Dryvoldicheit* (including length)

Text 5: *[Van der heilger dryuoldicheit vander soen heilge geist eyn schoen gedichte]*[30]	
Manuscript	Length
MS Lu, fols 99^{r}–102^{r}[31]	316
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 1027, fols 153ra–154^{vb}	262
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 385, fol. 51^{v}	152
Nijmegen, GA, Archief van de beide Weeshuizen, MS 953, fols 275^{rb}–279^{vb}	259

27 Lines 81–128 in MS Lu, consisting of the *Spieghel Historiael*, chap. 72, ll. 33–40; chap. 55, 53–62; chap. 35, 29–30, 35–36; chap. 34, 111–12; chap. 36, 59–64, 99–100, 107–18, 147–48, 185–86.

28 This text is discussed extensively in Bouwmeester 2015.

29 The biblical exegesis consists of an interpretation of the candleholders and seals from the Apocalypse (1:13–15, 5:1–8:5).

30 Hogenelst 1997: II, 22–23 (R11).

31 Ms Lu is the only version to have been edited; see Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 120–23.

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When comparing the version in MS Lu with the other extant witnesses, it is interesting to note that its copy is longer. It is clear from the added lines that the secular side of the original text is more developed. In the passage about the emperor and the pope, for example, there is more information about the emperor in MS Lu than there is in the other copies. It is said that he should be a good sword-handler to defend Christianity and especially those who cannot defend themselves, like widows and orphans. At the same time, popes and the papal court are thoroughly criticised because of their behaviour. In the passage about squires, it is emphatically noted that they often show off by demonstrating how well they handle the sword, because they no longer want to be servants. Another observation supporting this pattern is found in the epilogue. In all copies, the text ends with the moral exhortation to undergo suffering as Jesus did, with equanimity and without resistance. The MS Lu version adds that one should calmly accept not only suffering but also good fortune. The general idea is that whatever happens in earthly life, it is wise to remain stoic, but the possibility that good things might happen as well as bad things is found only in this version.

The sixth text of the collection is entitled 'Dit is van VI vaerwen ende XII outheyden deen metten anderen bediedt' [This is about Six Colours and Twelve Ages, one explained by the other].[32]

Table 7: The Manuscript Transmission of the *VI Vaerwen* (including length)

Text 6: *Dit is van VI vaerwen ende XII outheyden deen metten anderen bediedt*[33]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 102^{r}–104^{v} (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 124–27)	274
London, British Library, Additional MS 10286, fols 146^{v}–148^{v}[34]	197*

Divided into seven parts based on the six heraldic colours (tinctures), supplemented by grey (which is omitted in the title), the text discusses the seven ages of man. Each age consists of twelve years. For each period, a typical kind of behaviour is mentioned. The first age of man, for example, is silver, because silver is pure. The second age (12 to 24 years old) is *vert* [green], when one is meant to grow up. The third age is *gules* [red], which gives courage and strength: men will be brave, women will practise chastity. The text ends with an epilogue in which

32 The title this text is given in MS Lu is therefore confusing at the very least, but more likely to be wrong. The London manuscript reads 'Een moy sprake van sesterhande verwe' [A Nice Fabliaux about Six Kinds of Paint/Colour], which is not very correct either.

33 Hogenelst 1997: II, 102–03 (R136).

34 See De Flou and Gailliard (eds) 1895: 193–200. Interestingly, although beyond the scope of the current contribution, this manuscript also contains a Middle Dutch *Elucidarium* translation, albeit very different from the one in MS Lu.

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the audience is explicitly addressed and the lessons from the text are summarised.[35] The core point is the importance of correct behaviour, combined with the notion that the reward for that behaviour will only be given after death: 'Na der doet sal men u gheven / na verdiente loen van leven' (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 126, ll. 237–38 [After dying they will give you what you deserve]. This statement is illustrated by what seems to be a reference to the Nine Worthies: the text warns that even if you think that you will always be as strong and rich as when you are young, you should remember Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne, Constantine the Great, and King Arthur – 'waer mach hi sijn?' (Blommaert (ed.) 1851, l. 248) [And where might he be now?].[36]

The seventh text is a good example of the medieval habit of summarising and presenting the fundamentals of the Christian faith by making use of a very simple (mnemonic) image. In this case, the image is that of the human hand, already indicated by the title: 'Dit is en expositie vanden viere vingheren ende vanden dume' [This is an Exposition of the Four Fingers and the Thumb]. This image is inspired by Psalm 94 (95): 4, which reads 'quia in manu eius fines terrae et altitudines montium ipsius sunt' ['In His hand are the deep places of the earth; the strength of the hills is His also' (King James Bible)]. In the Middle-Dutch short verse narrative, each finger and every individual phalanx represents a virtue or an essential skill. For example, the ring finger stands for *Caritas*, which is divided into love of God, love for fellow Christians and love for and forgiveness of friends and foes. The text ends with the same Bible quotation that it started with, rephrasing the aforementioned Psalm: 'In manus eius sunt fine omnes terre.' By following the lessons taught through the metaphor of the hand, one can learn from this text how to obtain God's grace. The three versions of the text are initially similar; only after the first part do they strongly diverge (Kienhorst and Schepers (eds) 2009: 347). The effect of that divergence is most obviously quantitative, as can be seen in Table 8: the witness in MS Lu is much longer, especially when compared to the Wiesbaden copy.

35 The epilogue is not preserved in the London manuscript, which lacks the final part of the text due to manuscript damage.

36 The Nine Worthies topos was popular in the Low Countries (and might even have originated there); see Bouwmeester 2013. However, Constantine did not belong to the Nine Worthies; this might therefore be an invocation of five rulers from the past, most of whom were also Worthies. It is combined with the *ubi sunt* motif, underlining the vanities of this life.

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Table 8: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Viere vingheren* (including length)

Text 7: *Dit is en expositie vanden viere vingheren ende vanden dume*[37]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 104^{v}–106^{v} (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 128–30)	219
Nijmegen, Jezuïetenbibliotheek Berchmannianum, MS 5000 CC 1, fols 37^{r}–40^{v} (unedited)	176
Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MS 3004 B 10, fols 58va–59^{rb} (Kienhorst and Schepers (eds) 2009: 347–51)[38]	160

This difference in length is not caused by the addition or omission of a particular passage; the Brussels version simply takes more words to convey the same information and is consequently less condensed and easier to understand.

The eighth text in the collection is the third text by Augustijnken, entitled 'Dit is Sinte Jans ewangelium alsoet Augustiinken gheexponeert heeft' [This is St John's Gospel, as expounded by Augustijnken]. It is an exegesis of the first fourteen lines of St John's Gospel. This famous opening of the last Gospel discusses the relationship between the divinity and the Logos, the word which became flesh.[39] In order to 'strengthen our Christian faith', Augustijnken sets out to 'explain/comment upon this Gospel with pleasant teaching' ('Soe willic met sueter leren / Dit ewangelium exponeren / Om tghelove te starken met / Van onser kerstenliker wet' (ll. 9–12, quoted from Van Buuren (ed.) 1994: 9)). He does this in three, repeated steps. First, he cites the passages from the Gospel in Latin; then, he translates them into the vernacular; thirdly, he ruminates on the meaning of the extracts. The result is a lengthy, sometimes mystical, but consistently high-level theological analysis, seldom encountered in the vernacular. The level of difficulty is so high that scholars such as Van Buuren and Lievens have wondered about the audience for which this text might have been appropriate (Van Buuren 1994: 4; Lievens 1964: 224).

Table 9: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Sinte Jans ewangelium* (including length)

Text 8: *Dit is Sinte Jans ewangelium alsoet Augustiinken gheexponeert heeft*[40]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 106^{v}–116^{v} (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 131–42)	1051

37 Hogenelst 1997: II, 103–04 (R137).

38 For further information on this manuscript, see http://www.handschriftencensus.de/21579.

39 The opening of the fourth Gospel is arguably one of the most studied parts of all the Gospels; recent studies include those by Thatcher (2011) and Devillers (2012).

40 There are no seminal publications on this text; the only significant piece was written, but

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Table 9 *(Continued)*

Text 8: *Dit is Sinte Jans ewangelium alsoet Augustiinken gheexponeert heeft*[40]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15659–61, fols 184^r–189^r (text unedited)	927
Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MS 3004 B 10, fols 51^v–58^r (Kienhorst and Schepers (eds) 2009: 316–34)	1043
Egmond, Sint-Adelbertabdij, wo. signature (edited in Lievens 1964)	36*

Readers of the Gospel exegesis in MS Lu encountered the text in its longest form. Of the three manuscripts preserving a finished version of Augustijnken's text, MS Lu contains the most elaborate one. The difference from the Wiesbaden manuscript is minimal. However, a comparison of the copy in MS Lu with the codex often referred to as the 'Willem van Hildegaersberch manuscript' because it contains the collected works of this other Middle-Dutch itinerant storyteller (Brussels, 15659–61) reveals a difference of more than a hundred lines, circa 10 % of the text. This dissimilarity is not the result of changes in the argument, but reflects the fact that some passages present in MS Lu simply do not appear in the Van Hildegaersberch manuscript. These passages are usually redundant to the argument, but contain extra information, or repeat information given more concisely earlier in the text.[41]

The ninth text is a short verse narrative with a long, telling title: 'Dit is van her hughen van tyberien hoe hi den coninc saladijn ridder maecte doen hem die coninc ghevanghen hadde in sijn lant' [This is about Sir Hugh of Tyberia, how he knighted King Saladin when the king captured him in his land]. In this text, the knight-crusader Hugh of Tiberia is taken prisoner by the Islamic leader Saladin. In the prologue, Saladin is interested in knighthood and asks Hugh to knight him. Although Saladin is not a Christian and will therefore never be able to understand or acquire knighthood, Hugh explains to him all the Christian-knightly virtues while having him washed and dressed. Every action and each garment, from sock to hat, represents a virtue. Hugh's explanation to Saladin simultaneously informs the reader of MS Lu about the importance of, for example, scorning impurity, which is exemplified by the shaving of Saladin's beard and hair, and his bath (Willems (ed.) 1842: pp. 97–98, ll. 96–108). In the end, Saladin is so delighted by Hugh's lessons that he arranges his ransom, so that Hugh can return home.

never published, by Dr. A. M. J. van Buuren. He generously allowed me to use his final draft, which is referred to here as Van Buuren 1994 (the year he finished the draft).

41 See, for example, lines 211–14, four lines in which the relationship between the human soul, body, and conscience and memoria, volition, and intellect is summarised.

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Table 10: The Manuscript Transmission of the *Hughen van Tyberien* (including length)

Text 9: *Dit is van her hughen van tyberien hoe hi den coninc saladijn ridder maecte doen hem die coninc ghevanghen hadde in sijn lant*[42]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fols 116^{v}–119^{r} (Willems (ed.) 1842: 93–103)	274
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 29, fols 86^{vb}–88^{rb} (Snellaert (ed.) 1869: 539–49)[43]	290
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. fol. 22, fols 229^{va}–231^{ra} (Snellaert (ed.) 1869: 539–49)	280

An interesting difference between the Hugh text in MS Lu and the parallel transmission in the Oxford manuscript is the focus on Hugh. In the Oxford manuscript we find the rubric: 'Dit es van Saladijn' [This is about Saladin]. The shift in focus appears not only in the title, but also in the text. For example, while the Oxford manuscript contains lines stating that Hugh and Saladin were very happy (ll. 267–68), in MS Lu only Hugh is mentioned. The interest in Saladin in the Oxford MS is also apparent in the text that is copied close to *Hughen van Tyberien*, entitled 'Dit es noch van Saladin' (fols 101^{v}–102^{r}) [This is about Saladin too]. A second difference between the extant copies is that MS Lu is the least elaborated: the other versions have more explicit addressses to the audience and on some occasions more dramatic or evocative wording. MS Lu lacks these elements; undistracted by such rhetorical features, the reader can focus entirely on the moral message.

Table 11: The Manuscript Transmission of the *AB recht* (including length)

Text 10: *Hier beghint den ab recht ende auerecht, op elc littere een vers*[44]	
Manuscript	Length (lines)
MS Lu, fol. 119^{r}–119^{v} (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: 143)	60
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 837–45, fol. 109^{r}–109^{v} (Govers et al. (eds) 1994: 53)	32
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 2559–62, fol. 58^{ra} (edited in De Vreese (1901: 291)	18
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS IV 421, fol. 140^{r}[45]	30

42 Hogenelst 1997: II, 104 (R138).

43 For more information on MS Marshall 29, see http://dutch.clp.ox.ac.uk/?q=project. The content of the manuscript is summarised at http://dutch.clp.ox.ac.uk/?q=project#conten.

44 Hogenelst 1997: II, 35–36 (R30).

45 For an edition, see Rudy 2006: 74, correcting Indestege 1951: 13–14 (and see Mulder 2010: 107, 139 for minor corrections of Rudy).

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The tenth and last text in the codex is an ABC poem, that is, a poem in which the first letter of each stanza, line and/or word follows the alphabet.[46] In MS Lu, each line of the poem starts with a successive letter of the alphabet, as indicated in the rubric: 'Hier beghint den ab recht ende auerecht, op elc littere een vers' [Here starts the AB forwards and backwards, a line on each letter]. What distinguishes this text from most other ABC poems is the presence of four (instead of two or three) abbreviation signs as 'line starters' after the actual alphabet.[47] These abbreviation signs are remarkable, as they are more commonly used in Latin texts than in vernacular ones. In addition, it does not only present the alphabet (with abbreviation signs) in abc order but also backwards (so: a–z, abbreviation signs, z–a), resulting in a text of sixty lines.

The ABC poem in MS Lu inveighs against the sad state of the world. Two other manuscripts preserving this text stress this element in their title: 'Van den abc vele abuse der weerelt' (Brussels, 837–45, fol. 109^{r}) [An ABC about the many evils of the world], and 'Eynen a.b.c. van den state dese bueser werelt' (Brussels, IV 421, fol. 140^{r}) [An ABC about the State of This Wicked World]. Although the title in MS Lu lacks such a warning, the text does not. It starts immediately by fulminating against the vanity of women, the fact that servants do not know their place anymore, and how common adultery has become. The narrator wonders: 'Waer soe is vrienscap, eere ende trouwe / toten evenkersten, als 't wesen soude?' [Where are friendship, honour, and loyalty towards fellow Christians, as it should be?], then he finishes the text with the statement that it is the labourer who is victimised by all this: 'Die arbeyder moet al betalen' (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: p. 143, ll. 39–40, 57) [The labourer has to pay for everything].

III. MS Lu: Characterisation

Klunder (2005: 140–41) states that the coherence of the texts collected in MS Lu is 'obvious': it is didactic, advocating both Christian and general virtues. When she additionally suggests that all texts in the manuscript aim to teach the reader a better way of life, her main point of reference is the *Lucidarius.* Klunder's ideas match those expressed earlier by Jos Biemans (1997: II, 444), the latter referring to the codex as a miscellany with moral texts. Although the 'moralising collection hypothesis' is certainly not incorrect, it is not entirely satisfactory for two reasons: first, it is based upon an deep analysis of only one text and a rather

46 'ABC poem' is therefore a more specific term than 'abecedarium', which is also used for a simple alphabet, without any further text. Middle Dutch ABC poems are studied extensively by Mulder (2010).

47 For a detailed discussion of these abbreviation signs, see Mulder 2010: 94–114. There is an image of MS Lu (G13b in Mulder's classification) on page 100.

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superficial reading of the others, and secondly, it is formulated in such general terms that it is hard to think of a fifteenth-century vernacular manuscript for which this hypothesis is not true. The detailed description of the works (and versions of these texts) copied in MS Lu make it possible to characterise the manuscript in more detail.

The readers of MS *Lu* learn many things, which together prepare them for a good Christian life in a dangerous world. Throughout the collection, the audience is informed about or even warned against those dangers: De Weert's *Spieghel der sonden*, for example, gives a very negative impression of urban life at the time, and the ABC poem closing the text collection also stresses the misdemeanors, pitfalls and temptations of the era. A third example is Augustijnken's ship allegory, in which both the narrating 'I' and the main female character lament the crimes of those in authority. The reader of the manuscript is taught what the world is like, but is also prepared to confront it. Sometimes, the educational elements are quite explicit. Most texts contain rudimentary theological information, presented at an elementary level, which suggests that the intended reader was not highly educated. The material on the Trinity, for example, is treated not only by Augustijnken's text, which deals specifically with this subject, but also by the *Lucidarius*, where it occurs on several occasions, from the prologue onwards.[48] De Weert's *Spieghel der sonden* provides additional theological information. By structuring this information along the lines of the well-known commandments, sins, and confession, the text helps its reader to memorise the information. The same idea lies behind the 'hand allegory', which instructs the reader on how to obtain salvation. Augustijnken's exegesis of St John's Gospel is a third example of theological material, although at a more advanced level.[49]

If one thinks of MS Lu as a codex to learn from, another feature catches the eye: the Latin passages (often biblical quotations) are rubricated, probably by the scribe, mostly by underlining in red as well as other forms of highlighting. These Latin passages are always translated into Middle Dutch. This rubrication probably does not mean that the codex was used to teach or learn Latin, but the combination of highlighted Latin quotations of important, canonical passages from the Bible and their direct translation into the vernacular certainly stimulated users to maintain and perfect their Latin reading skills, while the system of rubrication would have provided readers with a visual aid to memory. The same can be said about the ABC poem at the end of the codex: the primary aim of the text was presumably not to teach the alphabet, but to present new material by means of a system that had already been learned by rote (the alphabet) and by so

48 See *Lucidarius*, 11–12, 15–18 (prologue) and ll. 424, 468, 485, 4900, 6186.

49 Another option is that the text was, for its medieval audience, not as difficult as we, modern readers, tend to think; I shall return to this point.

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doing making the poem memorable. As a whole, the text collection gives its readers the possibility to acquire, maintain and/or enhance their knowledge of the Christian faith, in order to face a world in decline. After reading it, one knows what temptations life might bring, why it is wise to deal with them cleverly and how to do so.

It is virtually impossible to go through this collection of texts without noticing a recurrent sympathy for working people in an urban environment. As has been shown above, the second text in the compilation (*Spieghel van sonden*) gives an extensive account of city life, emphasising urban sins, and variants in the MS Lu version of the poem seem to confirm its 'urban connection'. As Brinkman showed, the passage in the original text urging knights to assist (financially) their kinsmen, to prevent them from becoming marauding knights, is not copied in MS Lu. This omission suggests that MS Lu was not intended for noblemen (Brinkman 1991: 112–15).[50] In the ship allegory, Augustijnken does address the nobility explicitly, but I do not think this contradicts the hypothesis that the text collection was targeted at an urban audience, since the passage in question stresses that its noble addressees are responsible for the sad state of the world: the nobility are misbehaving. A final and explicit sign of sympathy for people not belonging to religious institutions or the nobility is found in the ABC poem. Not only does this text lament the demise of true friendship, the disappearance of solidarity between Christians, and so on, but the concluding lines also make very clear who the main victim of all of this is.

The third theme that links the items in this collection is their openness to the possibility of female readers. This is most obvious in the last text, the ABC poem. It begins with a lamentation about the contemporary behaviour of women, before explicitly addressing them: 'Ghi vrouwen, ende en scaemdi u niet!' (Rudy (ed.) 2006: 74) [You ladies, aren't you ashamed of yourselves?]. There are other, less explicit observations, which are inconclusive on their own but which become more meaningful when they are considered together. For example, the *Lucidarius* opens with eight lines appealing to Mary (Klunder 2005: 385), the prologue of the text on Hugh and Saladin uses 'haer' (her) when the audience is addressed instead of the 'sine' (his) that occurs in the other copies of this text,[51] and the beginning of the epilogue of the text on colours and ages reads: 'O ghi mannen

50 Two other instances of 'invocation of noblemen' in the *Spieghel* are (according to Brinkman) *topoi* rather than actual invocations, and should therefore not prevent an ascription to an urban audience. I am aware that an opposition between 'nobility' and 'urban' is somewhat simplistic, as, in the period and area under discussion, the nobility often lived within the city; urban and noble are therefore not mutually exclusive.

51 Compare, for example, the version in Willems (ed.) 1842: p. 94, l. 7 and that in Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1997: p. 1006, l. 7.

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metten wiven' (Blommaert (ed.) 1851: p. 126, l. 203 [You men and women!].[52] Moreover, it is remarkable that several texts in MS Lu are also preserved in manuscripts which were made for a female readership. The ship allegory, for example, is also found in the The Hague Songbook (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 E 2), which was probably made for Mechteld of Guelders (the Countess of Kleef),[53] and Augustijnken's Trinity text is also extant in two other manuscripts (the Berlin and Nijmegen manuscripts; see Table 6 above), which were probably made by, and certainly for, nuns (Bouwmeester 2015).

A comprehensive, and less superficial reading of MS Lu, with greater attention paid to the nine texts in the second half of the codex, results in a more nuanced characterisation of the manuscript than that proposed by Klunder and Biemans. The compilation is not only moralistic, but often teaches Christian virtues with an emphasis on the relevance of these virtues to an urban context. At the same time, the text collection explicitly addresses women in several texts, warning them against the dangers of urban life. Moreover, stating that the works teach the reader a better way of life is not incorrect, but an in-depth study enables us to be more precise: the *Lucidarius* educates its readers about the world and the history of salvation, and that education is enriched by the other texts – moralised and offered in mnemonic allegories in texts such as Augustijnken's ship allegory and the text on the heraldic colours, for example, but also deepened by Augustijnken's Gospel exegesis, and (thirdly) made concrete in the practical warnings offered by the *Spieghel van sonden* and the closing ABC poem.

IV. To Whom it May Concern: Epilogue on a (Possible) Audience

MS Lu does not contain any information that makes it possible to connect the manuscript to an actual, historical reader. It provides, however, enough evidence to hypothesise on the kind of reader interpellated by this collection. My characterisation of the contents of MS Lu has emphasised three elements: education, urban, and female interest. These three elements give an indication of the readership for which this text collection was probably designed: its intended or ideal readership consisted of people who were not highly educated, including perhaps young readers, from an urban (probably, but not definitely non-aristocratic) background, and included, emphatically, women. An interesting point of reference is the study of London, British Library, MS Harley 3828 by Kathryn M. Rudy (2006). Harley 3828 is a fifteenth-century composite manuscript from

52 There is a remote possibility that this line could mean 'You men with wives', i.e. 'married men'.

53 See Jungman 1990. This ascription has been challenged, but not refuted.

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the southern Low Countries. It consists of five parts, 210 parchment folios in total. Rudy focuses on the third part (fols 17–75), 'a Flemish section […] which I call the Harley *Abecedarium*' (Rudy 2006: 52). It contains many images, depicting, for example, several saints, but also Henry Suso and a classroom scene which Rudy discusses at length.[54] Rudy (2006: 51) connects Harley 3828 to a young, female readership. Her reason for doing so is that she sees contemporary tendencies reflected in the manuscript: 'Prayer books for children, with their distinctive features, were constructed with increasing frequency in the fifteenth century and served their young readers in several ways.' The 'distinctive features' are: '[T]hey first presented the keys for learning the letters by tracing and sounding them, and then introduced prayers in Latin deemed essential for the young reader to master: the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo*.' The aim of a collection like this was educational: 'These tools helped teachers and mothers teach children to read.' Rudy then gives more precise information about the 'tools' involved:

> The images and texts contained in Harley 3828 suggest that pedagogical structures for learning to read Latin, inherited from the earlier Middle Ages, were updated to reflect a new reading style and content: namely, vernacular devotional literature, which was given, above all, to girls (Rudy 2006: 52).

From a codicological point of view, MS Lu and Harley 3828 differ enormously. Whilst the Harley codex is a luxurious and lavishly decorated parchment manuscript, MS Lu is a predominantly paper codex, copied in an efficient but sloppy script and containing hardly any decoration and certainly no illustrations. The text collection preserved in it, however, does resonate with the features mentioned by Rudy. Like Harley 3828, MS Lu contains (and even predominantly so) 'texts that rhymed, made use of clear explanatory or mnemonic images, or were based on the ABC' (Rudy 2006: 52). Also, although MS Lu does not contain any miniatures, the 'textual imagery' is strong, especially in the allegories based on the ship, the hand and the colours. Rudy connected books like Harley 3828 to 'the growing needs of an urban upper middle class of women and children' (Rudy 2006: 51). It is possible to suggest a similar audience for MS Lu, in which women and labourers are explicitly addressed. The fact that the needs of this group of users were mostly served in the nine texts following the *Lucidarius*, illustrates the importance of studying not only the long texts, but also the apparently minor items in a multi-text codex.

54 A table of contents is included in Rudy 2006: 92–94.

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What John Shirley Said About Adam: Authorship and Attribution in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20

The scribe John Shirley copied many short Middle English poems, including several by Geoffrey Chaucer, and is often either the earliest or the only copyist to provide authorship ascriptions. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20 uniquely preserves the single stanza known as 'Adam Scriveyn'. Since the identification of Adam Pinkhurst as the scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, these seven lines of verse, and Shirley's claim that they are addressed to Chaucer's 'own scribe', have received renewed critical attention, and Shirley's reliability has again been questioned. This essay reassesses Shirley's Chaucerian ascriptions, paying close attention to the Trinity manuscript and its later reception.

Adam scriveyn, if ever it thee bifalle
Boece or Troylus for to wryten newe,
Under thy long lokkes thou most have the scalle, [scaly skin disease]
But after my makyng thow wryte more trewe;
So ofte adaye I mot thy werk renewe,
It to correcte and eke to rubbe and scrape,
And al is thorugh thy negligence and rape. [haste] (Benson (ed.) 1987: 650)

In medieval manuscripts texts are frequently presented without titles or authors' names, and where such information is offered it is not always reliable or consistent. Modern readers expect to be given authorial and titular details, but textual scholars sometimes struggle to provide this for medieval works. A case in point is Geoffrey Chaucer's shortest poem: few short verse texts can have received quite as much scholarly attention as this single rhyme royal stanza traditionally referred to as *Adam Scriveyn*, quoted here from the *Riverside Chaucer* (Benson (ed.) 1987), which is where most readers will encounter it. The notion that in these lines Chaucer named his own scribe, and upbraided him for poor workmanship – perhaps seriously, perhaps in jest – has exercised a long fascination amongst critics, and there have been many suggestions regarding the identity of the 'Adam' in question. Early twentieth-century scrutiny of medieval records revealed various individuals with this Christian name. Aage Brusendorff (1925:

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57) noted a Smithfield tenant in the early 1370s with the name 'Adam Chaucer' and wondered whether this might signify that Adam the scribe was a relative of the author. Ramona Bressie (1929: 383) combed through the list of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scribes then being compiled at the University of Chicago and found only one scrivener named Adam: Adam Stedeman, who was employed to write the will of a London goldsmith in 1384. A week after Bressie published her findings in the *Times Literary Supplement* John Manly (1929: 403) wrote to the paper pointing out that another possible contender, Adam Acton, mentioned in the records of the Collegiate Church of St George at Windsor, was actually a limner, not a scrivener. Shortly afterwards Bernard Wagner (1929: 474) spotted a third Adam, Adam Pinckhurst, in the records of the Scriveners' Company. Although 'Adam' might be a surname rather than a forename, no real-life figures with this surname have been suggested. In fact, after this flurry of activity in the late 1920s, attempts to discover 'Adam scriveyn' in the records ceased. Perhaps because no progress was made in identifying Adam, later critics argued that no real personality had been intended, and that instead Chaucer had alluded figuratively to the biblical Adam, the world's first man. This line of interpretation seems to have begun with Russell Peck (1975: 467), who recalled:

> … that other Adam Scriveyn, who gave the names to all the creatures and wrote the first chapter of the book in which we are all characters, whose careless act of negligence and rape [haste] left us all, through that inborn human propensity for error, to labor and scrape out our living correcting mistakes.

It was extended by Robert E. Kaske (1979: 115), who suggested more fully that Chaucer was writing satirically in the tradition of *clericus Adam*, and by Jane Chance (1985: 118), who traced irony and allegory in the stanza and judged it to be 'a highly compressed, humorous account of Original Sin and Redemption'. Other critics such as John Scattergood (1990 and 2006) focused on genre to locate the poem in a long tradition of *Sirventes*, in which creative literary artists chide the transmitters of their art. Having gone quiet for seventy-five years, the matter of Adam's identification was electrified in 2004 with Linne Mooney's announcement at the New Chaucer Society Congress in Glasgow that she had matched the hand of the scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* with that of a copyist who had worked for the Mercers Company.[1] Moreover, since this copyist had signed his name when taking the oath as he joined the Scriveners Company of London in the 1390s, she could name him as Adam Pinkhurst (Mooney 2006). Her discovery fitted neatly with

1 In July 2004 the announcement made the headlines, see 'The Scrivener's Tale: how Chaucer's Sloppy Copyist was Unmasked after 600 Years', *Guardian*, 20 July 2004, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2004/jul/20/highereducation.books.

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the pre-existing belief, derived from *Adam Scriveyn*, that Chaucer had a scribe named Adam, and it seemed that the puzzle of identification was finally resolved.

Although Mooney's celebrated discovery has largely been accepted, since the publication of her 2006 article some dissent has been voiced about her findings.[2] One objection that has been raised against her identification of Adam Pinkhurst as 'Chaucer's scribe' is that her argument is overly reliant on literary evidence (Gillespie 2008: 271). There are no documentary sources which connect Adam Pinkhurst with Chaucer (at least, none has yet been discovered). Instead, a nominal connection is made between copyist and poet by reference to the single-stanza poem, *Adam Scriveyn*, and its suggestion that Chaucer's 'own' scribe, the man responsible for copying *Boece* and *Troilus*, was named Adam. As a consequence there has recently been a heightened level of interest in *Adam Scriveyn*, and a renewed scrutiny of its manuscript context.[3]

If the seven-line poem offers a slender base for the weight of interpretation it has been made to bear, its textual tradition is similarly slim. The *Index of Middle English Verse* (Brown and Robbins (eds) 1943: 120) listed two witnesses, but did not make clear that in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.4.27 the poem is a later addition, copied from Thomas Speght's edition of 1598 by the antiquary Joseph Holland when the manuscript was in his possession around 1600.[4] In fact there is only one fifteenth-century manuscript witness: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20.[5] Here the poem occurs towards the end of the manuscript as it is now constituted, in the penultimate gathering, which is the last one made of paper. It is written on page 367, a recto leaf, where it occupies the bottom third of the page, filling the space left after the conclusion of the previous item; overleaf (p. 368), on the final page of this quire, are two short extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and a Latin couplet.

It might be noted that the text in Trinity, R.3.20 is different in many small respects from that offered by the editors of the *Riverside Chaucer*, who have silently added modern punctuation, regularised the use of 'u' and 'v', and changed the unfamiliar thorn ('þ') to 'th', for the benefit of their undergraduate readers.[6] In manuscript the stanza appears thus:

2 See Fletcher 2007 and 2010; Roberts 2011.

3 Gillespie 2008; Olson 2008; Edwards 2012.

4 This misleading reference has been deleted from the entry in *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (hereafter *NIMEV*); see Boffey and Edwards (eds) 2005.

5 James (1900–1904: II, 75–82) lists the manuscript's contents; Lyall (1989: 19–20) discusses its physical composition with particular reference to its watermarks. A detailed account of the manuscript is given by Connolly (1998: 69–101). James's catalogue is now available online at http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1373 and a full digitisation of the manuscript is to be found at http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/R_3_20/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=1.

6 In the following transcription from Trinity R.3.20 and other transcriptions throughout this

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Adam . scryveyne / if euer it þee byfalle
Boece or Troylus / for to wryten nuwe /
Vnder þy long lokkes / þowe most haue þe scalle
But affter my makyng / þowe wryt more truwe
So offt adaye. I mot þy werk renuwe /
It to . corect and eke to rubbe and scrape /
And al is thorugh . þy necglygence and rape / (p. 367)

Although the poem was printed in John Stow's 1561 edition of *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, the printed copy may be discounted as an independent witness. Stow owned Trinity, R.3.20: his annotations appear in the margins of the manuscript, and he used it as a partial exemplar when compiling a written copy of John Lydgate's poetry in 1558 (now London, British Library, Additional MS 29729).[7] It seems certain that Stow also used Trinity, R.3.20 as his source when printing the *Adam Scriveyn* stanza three years later:

Adam Scriuener yf euer it the be falle
Boece or Troiles for to write new
Under thy longe lockes þ[o]u must haue the scalle
But after my mockynge thou write more true
So ofte adaye I mote thy werke renew
It to correcte and eke to rubbe and scrape
And al is thorow thy negligence and rape.[8]

It will be apparent that the wording of both manuscript text and printed text is almost identical: aside from spelling variations, and the substitution of 'th' for 'þ', there are only two differences of substance in Stow's version. The first is that Adam is described in the first line as 'Scriuener' rather than 'scriveyn', and the second is that 'mockynge' has replaced 'makyng' (line 4).

The copy of *Adam Scriveyn* in Trinity, R.3.20 is therefore the poem's only witness, and the information given there offers unique insight into its authorship and composition. The manuscript was copied *c.* 1430 but the volume as it now stands is not complete: at some point, possibly when it was in John Stow's possession, it was broken into three parts, of which Trinity, R.3.20 is the third; the other parts survive in the collections of Lambeth Palace and the British Library.[9]

essay, I have retained Shirley's spelling, capitalisation, word division, and use of þ, u/v, and i/j. Abbreviations are expanded and shown within square brackets. Manuscript punctuation is represented diplomatically, with a full stop used for a medial point, and a forward slash (/) for the virgule. In transcriptions of Shirley's running headers an upright stroke (|) is used to indicate how the text breaks across the double-page opening.

7 See Connolly 1998: 182–85.

8 John Stow's edition of 1561, STC 5075, sig. 3R3v, is quoted from the facsimile by Brewer (ed.) 1969.

9 London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS Sion College Arc. L.40.2/E.44 and London, British Library, MS Harley 78, fols 80^{r}–83^{v}.

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When complete, this massive volume began with a Middle English prose translation of Guillaume Deguilleville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, with Chaucer's hymn to the Virgin, 'An ABC', embedded within that text. Then followed a large amount of verse by John Lydgate, including most of his Mummings, many of Chaucer's shorter poems, a substantial number of French ballades and rondeaux, some prose, and some material in Latin. The fact that we have only a single manuscript copy of *Adam Scriveyn*, transcribed some three decades after Chaucer's death, naturally gives rise to doubts about the intrinsic reliability of this text as a source of biographical and historical information. How trustworthy is the attribution of this stanza to Chaucer, given that it only surfaces some thirty years after his death? And how much weight should be put upon its naming of a scribe who apparently worked closely with its author?

Key to this question of authenticity is the status of the manuscript's copier, John Shirley. Shirley was a permanent member of the retinue of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; in the first decades of the fifteenth century he served amongst Warwick's military retinues in Wales and France, and from the early 1420s he is designated as the earl's secretary. By the 1430s Shirley was living in London, in the precincts of St Bartholomew's Hospital, an area where members of the Beauchamp family had houses and old Beauchamp retainers spent their retirement. Shirley's scribal work survives in several fifteenth-century manuscripts, including three significant anthologies of English poetry: London, British Library, Additional MS 16165; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59. Because of the large number of poems by Lydgate and Chaucer that these manuscripts contain, and because the poems' headings frequently contain ascriptions of authorship and details of the circumstances of their composition, Shirley's importance has long been recognised. John Stow regarded him as the careful preserver of this poetry, and in the nineteenth century Frederick Furnivall described Shirley as the 'greatest authority for the authorship of the minor poems of his time'.[10] Walter Skeat (1894–1897 (ed.): I, 25) accepted many of Shirley's attributions when defining the canon of Chaucer's shorter poems in 1894, and almost a century later Peck (1983: 5) described Shirley's attributions as being 'held in highest regard', noting that Shirley's testimony 'upholds the genuineness' of eleven of Chaucer's short poems, including *Adam Scriveyn.*

An alternative, less positive, view of Shirley's attributions was first voiced by John Manly (1913: 226), who commented: 'Is there any instance in which in-

10 For Stow's comments regarding Shirley's tomb at St Bartholomew's, see Fraser 1994: 347; Furnivall 1871.

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formation given by Shirley has, when tested, proved to be correct?'[11] Rossell Hope Robbins (1973: 1062), cataloguing the 'Chaucerian Apocrypha' for *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, described Shirley as 'among the first to link spurious secular poems with the prestige name of Chaucer'. Derek Pearsall (1970: 74), writing principally about Shirley's copies of Lydgate's poems, characterised Shirley's attributions as 'long gossiping headings, like a publisher's blurb, in which he tells something of the provenance of the work and recommends it to the reader'. In relation to reliability this is a neutral comment, and Pearsall (1970: 75) went on to describe the information that Shirley provides about Lydgate as 'invaluable'. 'Gossip', though, carries a whole range of negative associations: gossip is unauthorised, unofficial, and liable to be untrue, or at best a mixture of truth and lies in which the two cannot reliably be separated. This interpretation of Shirley's 'gossiping headings' informs the suggestion by Julia Boffey (1985: 66) that the attributions of some of the French poems in Trinity, R.3.20 to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, might have been 'cooked up' by Shirley himself.

In fact a sort of double-think has long characterised attitudes to Shirley's reliability as a witness. Close examination of the texts that he copied reveals his idiosyncratic spellings (including 'eo' for 'e', and a habit of doubling certain sets of consonants such as 'ch' and 'th'). His texts quite often display a degree of variation from other copies of the same works, with substitutions of different word choices, or the incorporation of doublets; this may even happen between copies of the same texts written by Shirley himself.[12] Various explanations have been offered to account for this maltreatment of text, usually centring on Shirley's imagined great age and consequent infirmity (he was supposedly ninety when he died in 1456). But a line has generally been drawn between Shirley the unreliable copyist and Shirley the invaluable witness. Thus Aage Brusendorff (1925: 234) wrote:

> while the textual value of Shirley's collections is negligible they have a real importance through their notes about the authors. In striking contrast to his careless habits in transcribing texts Shirley practically never wavers in his ascriptions of certain poems to certain writers, and accordingly he becomes an exceptionally important witness in the matter of authorship.

This double-think is deftly summarised by Seth Lerer (1993: 124), who comments: 'Part of the problem, therefore, in assessing Shirley's work is the critical desire to trust his attributions coupled with the editorial desire to dismiss his incorrect transcriptions.'

11 Manly's comment was occasioned by Edith Rickert's discovery of the identity of Sir Philip (de) la Vache, subject of the Envoy to 'Truth'; see further discussion below.

12 For discussion of the duplication of texts between his three anthologies, see Connolly 1998: 153–58.

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Only comparatively recently has there been any attempt to uncouple these opposing desires, and to join attitudes to Shirley together in a different way to claim that Shirley is unreliable *both* as a textual copyist *and* as an ascriber of authorship. Lerer lays the grounds for doing this, with his account in *Chaucer and his Readers* of how a particular image of Chaucer (and Lydgate) was constructed by fifteenth-century scribes such as Shirley. With specific regard to *Adam Scriveyn*, Lerer (1993: 121) claims: 'Shirley may have responded to many familiar things in *Adam Scriveyn*; but he just might have created them, as well.' In other words, Lerer suggests that Shirley (the unreliable copyist) might have been inspired by the figure of the errant scribe, Adam; or, he might have invented that figure for himself. A. S. G. Edwards (1997: 315) has complained about Shirley's 'often egregiously anecdotal rubrics' that are often the main or only source for knowledge of the occasion of the poems in question. He comments: 'The very circumstantiality of detail in some of these accounts has at times been held to lend them authority. And there seems no way of directly challenging what they claim, though they may merit more scepticism than they have generally received'. And with Julia Boffey (1998: 203) he has drawn attention to the fact that a number of 'Chaucerian' texts have *not* been accepted into the canon, despite Shirley's attributions of Chaucer's authorship. Focusing on the poems entitled 'Þe cronycle made by Chaucier', in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, and the 'Balade of a Reeve' and 'The Plowman's Song', in British Library, Additional MS 16165, they comment that 'the actual quality of the information he [i. e. Shirley] transmitted remains largely untested and has not been treated with very much consistency'.

Very recently the question of Shirley's reliability as an attributor has been raised again, this time in relation to *Adam Scriveyn*. This is a radical move, because *Adam Scriveyn*'s place in the Chaucer canon has not previously been questioned; in fact the *Riverside Chaucer* states clearly that 'No-one has doubted Chaucer's authorship'.[13] Lerer's comments about the fifteenth-century invention of Chaucerian authority, in which he contends Shirley played a major role, undoubtedly paved the way for this approach, but it is interesting, if a little perverse, that the move to oust *Adam Scriveyn* from the Chaucer canon has come along precisely at the point when the identity of Chaucer's scribe may have been revealed. In her article 'Reading Chaucer's Words to Adam', Alexandra Gillespie (2008: 275) expands upon Lerer's interpretation of the poem and ponders the possibility that its Chaucerian authorship might not be genuine, but her attention focuses mostly on its heading, which she regards as 'an unlikely choice of title for Chaucer'. Edwards pays closer attention to the poem itself in a short essay

13 Benson (ed.) 1987: 1083, in the Explanatory Notes to the short poems written by Laila Z. Gross. Mize (2001: 352) judges the poem to be an integral part of the Chaucer canon.

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'Chaucer and "Adam Scriveyn"', where he expresses doubts about its authenticity in terms of its verse form and lexis, as well as the dramatic situation that it describes. Yet the force of his argument depends on questioning the reliability of the poem's ascription to Chaucer (which brings us back to the title again), and a sense of 'the uncertain authority of Shirley's attribution' is developed through a series of insistent comments: 'Shirley has not been seen as uniformly reliable as an attributor'; 'a number of poems he ascribes to Chaucer … have never gained canonical acceptance'; 'other poems with which he is associated have excited similar unease in terms of their attribution'; 'there are other grounds for being doubtful about Shirley's attributional reliability…' (Edwards 2012: 135). There is much rhetoric here, but not perhaps much substance. The number of works, both poetry and prose, that Shirley ascribes to Chaucer is, in total, fifteen (if items he copied repeatedly are counted only once), yet the number that have never gained canonical acceptance is only three. Shirley is the sole authority for the attribution of six of Chaucer's shorter poems: 'The Complaint of Mars'; 'The Complaint of Venus'; 'Gentilesse'; 'The Complaint Unto Pity'; 'The Complaint to his Lady'; and 'Adam Scriveyn'. Were we to decide that Shirley's witness was inherently untrustworthy, all of these short poems might have to be expelled from the Chaucer canon.

In order to assess the value of Shirley's claims about 'Adam Scriveyn' it is necessary to look more closely at his other statements about Chaucer. This discussion will be confined to the manuscripts which are written by Shirley's own hand, and will not include those manuscripts thought to be copied from now-lost Shirlean exemplars by the next generation of London scribes.[14] Although these Shirley-derived volumes are important witnesses, they cannot show exactly what Shirley said, since they are at one remove (at least) from their creator, and therefore open to undetectable omissions, alterations, and elaborations by other hands.

BL, Add. 16165's copy of *Boece* is headed 'Boicius de consolac[i]o[n]e prosed in Englisshe by Chaucier' (fol. 4^r). The attribution of authorship could scarcely be clearer: the running headers displayed across the double-page opening read variously: 'Boicius | In prose'; 'Boicius . in prose | By Geffrey Chaucier'; 'Boicius . in prose | By Chaucier'; 'Boicius in prose | By Chauciers a Geffrey'; 'Boycius . de consolac[i]o[n]e | In . proose . by Chaucier'.[15] In the colophon Shirley notes that the text was 'translated by þe moral and famous Chaucyer which first enlumyned

14 For example, British Library, Additional MS 34360 and British Library, MS Harley 2251, copied by the Hammond scribe, and others, such as British Library, MS Harley 7333, which reproduce Shirley's annotations and characteristically long headings; see Connolly 1998: 170–89.

15 This variety of running header is used throughout the text; those cited here are from folios 4^v–5^r, 5^v–6^r, 9^v–10^r, 11^v–12^r, and 89^v–90^r respectively.

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þis lande with retoryen and eloquent langage of oure rude englisshe moders tonge'; and he repeats these sentiments in the volume's verse preface which describes *Boece* as 'Laboured by Geffrey Chaucier / Whiche in oure wolgare [vulgar, i.e. English] hade neuer his pere / Of eloquencyale Retorryke'.[16] The preface names the anthology's major texts and their authors, but notes its other contents only as 'oþer balades moo þer beon' (line 87) [there are more]. Amongst these other shorter works is an incomplete copy of the narrative section of *Anelida and Arcite* which Shirley entitles 'Balade of Anelyda' and describes as 'made by Geffrey Chaucyer' (fol. 256v); yet a mostly complete copy of the complaint section of this poem that occurs earlier in the manuscript is not attributed to him.[17] Neither are the poems 'Balade of Complaint' on folio 256v and 'Prouerbe' on folio 246v attributed to Chaucer, though both have been suggested as his and they continue to appear in editions of his works.[18] These examples are clear-cut; more problematic is the running header 'Balade by Chauc[er]' on folio 244v, set above the second and third stanzas of the poem which began overleaf on folio 244r: 'Hit is no right alle oþer lustes to leese', sometimes referred to as 'Balade of a Reeve'.[19] Further down folio 244v begins another poem, whose first line is 'Of alle þe crafftes oute blessed be þe ploughe' ('The Plowman's Song'); this poem continues onto folio 245r after which there is a space that would accommodate a third stanza, never supplied; folio 245r has no running header.[20] Both poems are entitled simply 'Balade', and neither is attributed to any author, in contrast to the preceding item in the manuscript which is ascribed to 'Halsham Esquyer', and the next English poem which is attributed to Richard, Earl of Warwick. The running header on folio 244v might be interpreted as referring to either poem, but neither has been accepted as Chaucer's work. In terms of the integrity and authority of Shirley's attributions of material to Chaucer, this is the single point where the witness of BL, Add. 16165 is ambiguous.

There are eleven poems ascribed to Chaucer in Trinity, R.3.20 and its now separated partners: 'An ABC' (in Sion College Arc.L.40.2/E.44); 'Complaint unto

16 The colophon is on folio 94r; these lines (29–31) from the verse preface are on folio iiv.

17 The narrative section of *Anelida and Arcite* is the last text in the manuscript, on folios 256v–258v, ending incompletely at line 192 due to the loss of further leaves; lines 66–126 are also missing due to the loss of a leaf between folio 257 and folio 258. The complaint section is copied on folios 241v–243v, with some small omissions and misordering of lines and stanzas.

18 However, 'Balade of Complaint' appears in the marginal category of 'Poems Not Ascribed to Chaucer in the Manuscripts'; see Benson (ed.) 1987: 657 and 660. Skeat ((ed.) 1894–97: I, 1091) decided that 'Balade of Complaint' was by Chaucer but later changed his mind; Shirley's copy is the only witness. The claim for Chaucer's authorship of 'Prouerbe' comes from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 16 and London, British Library, MS Harley 7578, see Skeat (ed.) 1894–97: I, 1191.

19 *NIMEV* 1635, which cites another copy in British Library, MS Harley 7578, fols 15r–v.

20 *NIMEV* 2611; this is the only copy.

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Pity'; and 'Complaint to His Lady' (in Harley 78); and in Trinity, R.3.20 itself: 'Anelida and Arcite' (the complaint only); 'Complaint of Mars'; 'Complaint of Venus'; 'Fortune'; 'Truth' (copied twice); 'Lak of Stedfastnesse'; 'Gentilesse'; 'Adam Scriveyn'.

The copy of 'An ABC' occurs on folios 79^{r}–81^{v} of the now detached first section of the anthology (Lambeth Palace Library, MS Sion College Arc. L.40.2/E.44) where it is part of *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode*, a translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine.*[21] There is no *incipit* or *explicit*, but Shirley has written 'Chauc[er]' in the margin of folio 79^{r}.[22] A second detached section, comprising four leaves that have been individually cut from what was probably the anthology's thirteenth quire, survives as part of Harley 78 (fols 80^{r}–82^{r}). Here Shirley copies *The Complaint unto Pity*, proclaiming Chaucer's authorship in an elaborate headnote: 'And nowe here filowing begynneþe a complaint of pitee by Geffrey Chaucier þe aureat poete þat euer was fonde in oure vulgare to fore hees dayes' [before this time], and in the first running header: 'Balade of pite | By Chaucier' (fols 80^{v}–81^{r}).[23] When this poem ends, on folio 82^{r}, Shirley immediately copies another, *A Complaint to his Lady*, though he does not use that (or any other) title, and the only indication that this is a separate work is that a faint dividing line, punctuated with a small rose-like design, has been drawn before its first stanza.[24] The running headers continue to read: 'þe balade | Of pitee' (fols 81^{v}–82^{r}); 'þe balade of pitee | By Chauciers' (fols 82^{v}–83^{r}); 'þe balade of pitee' (fol. 83^{v}), indicating that Shirley seems to have regarded this (initially at least) as one single work, all by Chaucer. He is the sole authority for this second poem, which survives only in this manuscript, in London, British Library, Additional MS 34360 (a volume known to derive from Shirley's copies), and in Stow's edition of 1561. *The Complaint unto Pity* is more widely attested, in nine manuscripts and Thynne's edition of 1532, but the ascription to Chaucer is found only in this manuscript and its derivative, BL, Add. 34360.

In Trinity, R.3.20 the first item that Shirley ascribes to Chaucer is a copy of the complaint section of *Anelida and Arcite* (pp. 106–11). In contrast to the situation in Shirley's earlier manuscript, BL, Add. 16165, where he ascribed the 'narrative' portion of the poem to Chaucer but not the complaint, here the complaint section is all that is copied, furnished with a lengthy introduction:

21 *NIMEV* 239.

22 Three other manuscripts and Speght's 1602 edition also cite Chaucer's authorship, see Benson 1987: 1185.

23 *NIMEV* 2756.

24 *NIMEV* 3414. The title is that used in the *Riverside Chaucer*.

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> Takeþe heed sirs I prey yowe of þis compleynt of Anelyda Qweene of Cartage. Roote of trouthe and stedfastnesse þat pytously compleyneþe / vpo[u]n þe varyance of daun Arcyte lord borne of þe blood Royal of Thebes . englisshed by Geffrey Chaucier / In þe best wyse . and moost Rethoricyous þe moost vnkouþe metre . coloures and Rymes . þ[a]t euer was sayde . tofore þis day redeþe and preveþe þe sooþe

It is notable that Shirley uses the term 'englisshed' rather than 'made', strongly suggesting that he believed that Chaucer had translated the poem. No source has been discovered, but at least one critic has discerned parallels with French poetry, and the context of Trinity, R.3.20 with its many French ballades and other translated works, would support this supposition.[25] Only one other manuscript ascribes the poem to Chaucer.[26] His authorship is also proclaimed by Lydgate who mentions it in the prologue to the *Fall of Princes*, a poem begun *c.* 1432, not long after Trinity, R.3.20 was copied: 'Off Aneleyda and of fals Arcite / He made a compleynt, doolful & pitous'.[27]

The other seven Chaucer poems occur in two clusters of four (one item, *Truth*, occurs in each cluster). The first cluster occupies most of what is now the manuscript's ninth quire: here Shirley copies 'Complaint of Mars', 'Complaint of Venus', 'Fortune', and 'Truth', unambiguously ascribing all of them to Chaucer. The 'Complaint of Mars' is not so entitled by Shirley.[28] Instead it is introduced with a long prose rubric that describes the poem's content, author, and commission:

> Loo yee louers gladeþe and comforteþe you . of þallya[u]nce etrayted bytwene þe hardy and furyous Mars þe god of armes and Venus þe double goddesse of loue made by Geffrey Chaucier . at þe comandement of the reno[m]med and excellent prynce my lord þe duc John of Lancastre

Furthermore, the running headers consistently refer to the poem as 'þallyance bytwene Mars and Venus'.[29] The only time that Shirley uses the phrase 'Complaint of Mars' is in a subheading, set alongside line 155. As he does not use the term 'complaint' before this point, it is possible that when he uses the term again in the explicit on page 139 ('Þus eondeþe here þis complaint'), he might have been referring only to this section of the poem.

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25 James Wimsatt (1978: 68) detected 'extensive and deeply grounded' parallels between this poem and Machaut's chant royal: 'Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri'.

26 In London, British Library, MS Harley 372, the scribe wrote 'Chaucer' opposite the poem's last line (l. 350). There are thirteen manuscripts, though one contains only an extract, and the poem was also printed by Caxton; see *NIMEV* 3670.

27 Bergen 1924, I, *Prologue* lines 320–21.

28 *NIMEV* 913.

29 Across the openings of pp. 132–33, 134–35, 136–37; the running header on pp. 130–31: 'Parable by | Occleve', refers to Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* which concludes on p. 130.

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The explicit takes the form of a long prose rubric which also doubles up as the introduction to the next poem, the 'Complaint of Venus':

> Þus eondeþe here þis complaint whiche . some men sayne was made . by my lady of york doughter to þe kyng of Spaygne / and my lord of huntyngdo[u]n . some tyme duc / of Excestre / and filowing begynneþe . a balade translated out . of frenshe in to englisshe / by Chaucier Geffrey þe frenshe made . s[ir]. Otes de Grauntso[m]me . knight. Savosyen

The running header to the 'Complaint of Venus' (again it might be noted that Shirley does not use this title), reads: 'Balade made by Chauc[er] | At þe reverence of a lady þ[at] loved a knyght' (pp. 140–41).[30] The poem's explicit (p. 142) reads: 'Hit is sayde þat. Graunso[m]me made þis last balade for Venus resembled to my lady of york aunswering þe complaynt of Mars'. Here certain claims are made more forcefully than others: Chaucer's authorship of the English balade is unambiguously asserted, and the poem's French origins and author are equally clearly acknowledged.[31] The other information given is qualified in both instances by the phrases 'some men sayne' and 'hit is sayde'. Although the Explanatory Notes in the *Riverside Chaucer* (Benson (ed.) 1987: 1081) state that Shirley treats the 'Complaint of Venus' as a continuation of the 'Complaint of Mars', this ignores the separate rubrics and different running headers that he provides for each poem in Trinity, R.3.20.

It is often Shirley's habit to combine the explicit of one poem with the incipit of the next. The explicit to the 'Complaint of Venus' is joined to the introduction of the next item, 'and here filoweþe a balade made by Chaucier . of þe louer | and of dame Fortune'; this is the poem 'Fortune', again, not a title used by Shirley who gives only the running header: 'Dialoge . by twene . þe lover and fortune' (p. 143).[32] On page 144, the running header changes to read: 'Balade ryale. By Chaucer', which metrically might relate to either 'Fortune', which concludes on this page, or 'Truth', which is copied next.[33] Shirley further introduces 'Truth' as 'Balade . þ[a]t Chaucier made on his deeth bedde', a remark much derided by John Manly, who contended that Shirley's failure to copy the poem's envoy showed that he knew little about it. Yet the possibility that more might have followed at this point cannot be excluded; page 144 is the final leaf of the manuscript's twenty-second gathering, and one of the few points in the Trinity manuscript where text and quire endings coincide. The twenty-third quire which now follows also bears an earlier quire number (1, i. e. the roman numeral .i. with

30 *NIMEV* 3542.

31 Oton de Grandson (*c.* 1340/50–1397) was a knight and poet from Savoy; see the entry in the digital *Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge* (*ARLIMA*), http://www.arlima.net/mp/oton_de_grandson.html.

32 *NIMEV* 3661.

33 *NIMEV* 809.

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a long tail resembling a 'j'), and although the catchword on page 144 matches the start of Lydgate's text on page 145, this seems to be a later addition of Shirley's; the page is also patched at the bottom right corner, removing the evidence of any earlier cancelled catchword.

The second cluster of Chaucer poems occurs in what is now the twenty-third and penultimate gathering of Trinity, R.3.20. After the conclusion of Lydgate's 'A Procession at Corpus Christi', Shirley copies 'Lak of Stedfastnesse', 'Truth', and 'Gentilesse', one after the other; then after some other short items he gives one stanza from *Troilus* and, after some other items, finally, 'Adam Scriveyn'. 'Lak of Stedfastnesse' (on pp. 356–57) is introduced elliptically as 'Balade Royal made by oure laureal poete of Albyo[u]n in hees laste yeeres', but the running header across these pages reads more concretely: 'Balades . . by Chauc[er] | made'.[34] The second copy of 'Truth' (pp. 357–58) is described simply as 'Balade by Chaucier', with exactly the same title used for 'Gentillesse' (pp. 358–59); the running header on page 358 (which might refer to either poem), also reads 'Balade . by. Chauc[er]'. It might be noted that the heading that Shirley provided for 'Truth' has been extended by Stow's hand to read 'Balade by Chaucier *on his dethe bede*', repeating information that Shirley gave earlier on page 144. Finally, Shirley quotes a single stanza beginning 'A whestone is no kerving . instrument', to which he correctly gives the heading 'Pandare . to. Troylus', though he does not cite Chaucer by name.[35]

Lastly, in Shirley's latest anthology, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, there are three texts that are unproblematically ascribed to Chaucer: 'Gentilesse'; 'Fortune'; and 'Complaint of Venus'. Shirley's attributions here mostly repeat or echo claims made in Trinity, R.3.20. In Ashmole 59 the copy of 'Gentilesse' is embedded within Henry Scogan's 'Moral Balade' (fols 25^r–28^r); in the margin of folio 27^r Shirley adds the note: 'Geffrey Chaucier made þeos thre balades nexst þ[a]t folowen', meaning that the next three stanzas, inserted as lines 105–25, are Chaucer's poem.[36] Shirley offers rather more information about 'Fortune' in this instance, stating that it is 'a compleynte of þe pleintyff ageinst ageinst [*sic*] fortune translated oute of Frenshe in to Englisshe by þat famous Rethorissyen Geffrey Chaucier' (fol. 37^r).[37] The heading to 'Complaint to Venus' also foregrounds its French origins: 'Here begynneþe a balade made by þ[a]t worþy knight

34 *NIMEV* 3190.

35 These words, spoken by Pandarus to Troilus, occur in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book 1, lines 631–37. Shirley cites the same stanza in San Marino CA, Huntington Library, MS Ellesmere 26.A.13, but there mistakenly attributes it to Gower.

36 Scogan's poem is *NIMEV* 2264.

37 The running headers on fols 37^v–38^r read 'Plentyff & Fortune | By Chaucier'. The envoy on fol. 38^v is also labelled as 'Lenvoye by Chaucyer' though in fact it is a rewriting of the envoy usually found at the conclusion of 'Complaint to Venus'.

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of Savoye in frenshe calde s[ir] Otes Graunso[u]n . translated by. Chauciers' (fol. 43^{v}). Although there are minor differences in what is said, none of these comments change substantially what Shirley has already told us in Trinity, R.3.20. More puzzling is one further piece in this manuscript to which he attaches Chaucer's name. This collection of nine stanzas on folios 38^{v}–39^{v} appears to be a kind of summary of the *Legend of Good Women*, as its lengthy headnote suggests:

> Here nowe folowe þe names of þe nyene worshipfullest Ladyes þ[a]t in alle cronycles and storyal bokes haue beo founden of trouþe of constaunce and vertuous or reproched womanhode by Chaucier.

Skeat (1894–1897 (ed.): I, 53) claimed that the fault here lay with the title: 'It does not really mean that the *poem itself* is by Chaucer, but that it gives a brief epitome of the "Cronicle made by Chaucier" of "the nyene worshipfullest Ladyes"'. Yet Shirley's running header on folio 39^{r-v} also describes the text as 'Þe cronycle made by Chaucier', so it is hard to escape the conclusion that he, unlike all modern critics, believed this work to be the poet's.

I do not accept the general charge of Shirley's unreliability and it seems that most of the time most scholars have been content to accept the information that he offers. For example, Chaucer's authorship of *Boece* is not doubted: even though Shirley's copy (BL, Add. 16165) is one of only two manuscripts that attribute the work to him, *Boece* is nevertheless 'universally accepted as Chaucer's on the basis of internal evidence, early borrowings, and later ascriptions'.[38] There are few instances where Shirley's attributions can be confirmed by other manuscript witnesses, but what he says about authorship or context may sometimes be verified or at least supported by historical fact or evidence that is external to his manuscripts. For example, Shirley's statement that the 'Complaint of Venus' was not an original poem, but a translation from French, and further, that the French was written by Oton de Grandson, knight of Savoy, is substantiated by known historical detail about Oton and the identification of his *Cinq Ballades* as Chaucer's source.[39] Furthermore, if we look closely at all of Shirley's comments, we shall perceive a hierarchy of information in what he says, which varies from a straightforward telling of facts, through neutrally descriptive comments, down to the repetition of hearsay (without necessarily any endorsement). So, in the instance of 'Venus', Shirley introduces the poem confidently with the statement of authorship and translation, but closes it with a more elliptical remark: 'Hit is sayde þat Graunsomme made þis last balade for

38 The other copy is Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 215, where an inscription in a later hand, recently identified as that of William Worcester (*c.* 1415–83), states: 'Istud opus est translatum per Chawcers armigerum Ricardi 2di'; see Wakelin 2002 and Machan 2008. See Benson (ed.) 1987: 1003.

39 See Scattergood 1994 (1996).

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Venus resembled to my lady of York aunswering þe complaynt of Mars'. 'Hit is sayde' is a slippery comment here, paralleled by Shirley's use elsewhere of 'some men sayne' (both implying that he himself does not concur with these claims). Finally, it is sometimes the case that Shirley's witness has been misrepresented. Material copied by Shirley (with no ascription of authorship) has sometimes been included in the Chaucer canon on the basis of some 'evidence' drawn from elsewhere (or even, occasionally, none at all). The very fact that Shirley transcribed a poem seems sometimes to have been taken as an indication that the poem might have been by Chaucer, even when Shirley says nothing about such origins. In such cases, when the material has later been judged inauthentic, Shirley has somehow been blamed for an attribution that he did not make in the first place.[40]

With regard to *Adam Scriveyn* it is instructive to look again at the poem in its manuscript context, and to remind ourselves what it is that John Shirley actually says about it. Alexandra Gillespie (2008: 275–76) and others have rightly pointed out that the heading to *Adam Scriveyn* is not authorial. Instead it is an editorial invention that may be traced back from its formulation in the *Riverside Chaucer*, through the filter of John Stow, to what John Shirley says in Trinity, R.3.20. Thus when the stanza is presented in the *Riverside Chaucer* (the place where most people will encounter it), it is given the heading: 'Chaucer's Wordes Unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn' (Benson (ed.) 1987: 650). The Textual Notes at the back of the *Riverside* record the alternative title offered by John Stow in 1561: 'Chaucers woordes vnto his owne Scriuener' (Benson (ed.) 1987: 1188). Only the Explanatory Notes (also at the back of the book) indicate the form that the heading has in Trinity, R.3.20: 'Chauciers words, .a. Geffrey unto Adame his owen scryveyne'.[41] So buried in the very small print at the back of the *Riverside Chaucer*, are the forms of the heading that were used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but the one chosen to head the actual poem in the modern anthology does not exactly match either of these.

In any case, a careful examination of the appearance of *Adam Scriveyn* on page 367 of Trinity, R.3.20 reveals that Shirley's original heading to the poem was rather different.[42] Instead of writing 'Chauciers wordes a Geffrey vn to Adame his owen scryveyne' all in one go, Shirley originally wrote only the middle section of

40 As, for example, with the two texts 'Balade of Complaint' and 'Prouerbe' in BL, Add. 16165, discussed above. See also the text referred to as 'Chaucer's Prophecy', a group of couplets that circulated in early prints of Chaucer's works under that title; Shirley copied part of this text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, in both English and Latin, but without any reference to Chaucer; see further Boffey and Edwards 1998: 213.

41 Benson (ed.) 1987: 1083; even so the heading is slightly misquoted.

42 For a freely accessible digital image of page 367, see http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/R_3_20/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=1.

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that statement, ‘a Geffrey vn to Adame’. This is apparent from the difference in the colour of the ink – that used for this middle section is paler than the darker ink used for the surrounding words; the paler ink also better matches the ink used in the stanza itself, and in the final stanzas of the preceding poem immediately above. The centred placement of these words ‘a Geffrey vn to Adame’ fits with Shirley’s general practice when offering short headings, of which there are many other examples in this manuscript.[43] Only long, discursive headings are aligned to the left margin; in the case of the most lengthy these may take up several whole lines.[44] So the heading to *Adam Scriveyn* originally read simply:

a Geffrey vn to Adame

and was subsequently changed to read:

Chauciers wordes a Geffrey vn to Adame *his owen scryvene*

What is the significance of this? The significance, it seems to me, is that when Shirley originally copied this stanza he gave it the short heading ‘a Geffrey vn to Adame’ because the information contained there was, for him, entirely sufficient. Shirley himself knew the full identity of both Geffrey [Chaucer] and Adame [Pinkhurst], and he knew this because he had received the poem from a reliable source. The later additions, in a different ink, spell out these identities for a different, less knowledgeable audience. A very close parallel to this may be found in another poem that Shirley copied in BL, Add. 16165. This is a virelay of sixty-one lines beginning ‘I can not half þe woo compleyne’, whose heading offers the information that this was a ‘Balade made of Isabelle, countasse of Warr- and Lady Despenser by Richard beauchamp Eorlle of Warrewyk’ (fols 245^{v}–246^{v}; *NIMEV* 1288). However, close examination reveals that this lengthy heading was originally a curt ‘Balade’: Shirley subsequently added the details of circumstance and authorship using smaller, more cramped letters. In this case too Shirley is the only authority, so there is no means of checking the veracity of the attribution, though, given his long and well-documented association with Richard Beauchamp, there is also no reason to doubt the truth of what he is saying.

The case for Shirley’s reliability (as an attributor of authorship) rests on the assumption that he had ‘some privileged access to information’.[45] In the case of Richard Beauchamp that privileged access was based on personal and contemporary acquaintance, and the same may be said of Shirley’s knowledge of Lydgate. Chaucer was long dead by the time Shirley was copying Trinity, R.3.20, and yet Shirley still offers information about the authorship, historical context,

43 The headings to ‘Truth’ (p. 357) and ‘Gentilesse’ (p. 358) are centred in this way.
44 As with the heading to the complaint section of *Anelida and Arcite* on page 106.
45 Boffey and Edwards 1998: 207, in relation to Chaucer.

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and circumstances of composition of various poems supposed to be by the poet. On what basis was Shirley able to do this? Had he himself known Chaucer? Shirley was reputedly ninety when he died in 1456, and so would have been in his mid-thirties when Chaucer died in 1400. It is chronologically possible that he had personal knowledge of Chaucer, but no documentation exists to corroborate this. Indeed, at present we know of no records that clearly name Shirley prior to his participation in the earl of Warwick's military retinue in Wales in 1403.[46] His association with a London milieu is usually regarded as dating from the late 1420s onwards, and this is certainly the period of his life which is mostly richly documented. However, another document from October 1403 places Shirley not just in Warwick's employment but also in the orbit of London for at least some of his time because he acted as Beauchamp's trusted agent at the Exchequer, responsible for collecting monies to pay the earl's troops at Brecon.[47]

It is usually assumed that Shirley's copying of poems by Chaucer in the 1420s and 1430s in both BL, Add. 16165 and Trinity, R.3.20 depended on a supply of materials from members of Chaucer's family – either his son Thomas Chaucer, or perhaps Alice Chaucer. But it is perhaps more likely, or at least *just as* likely, that Shirley might have known scribes who had worked for Chaucer, and that they might have shared copying materials with him. Until now it has not been possible to sketch the identity of any such Chaucerian scribe, but Mooney's naming of Adam Pinkhurst raises a new possibility in this regard. The latest datable document that she can trace in Pinkhurst's hand is an entry for 1410 in Letter Book I.[48] This raises the theoretical possibility that Shirley and Pinkhurst might have known each other in the first decade of the fifteenth century and perhaps for some years later (no evidence for the date of Pinkhurst's death has been uncovered). Pinkhurst could have been the supply route for Shirley's acquisition of any number of the Chaucerian poems that he copies. If these were items that represented juvenilia (or senilia), which had not been thought worthy of copying until interest in Chaucer reached an elevated state after his death, they might well have existed only in copies made by Pinkhurst which had not been further circulated.[49] Such a scenario would also help to explain why the textual tradition of these shorter poems can now only be traced back to John Shirley. Not, as Lerer

46 Kew, The National Archives, PRO C.81/1358, no. 4b; the document records Warwick's request for letters of protection for his men and names John Shirley amongst the esquires. There are two references to a John Shirley amongst the patent rolls for 1399 and 1400, but I cannot be sure that this is him; see Connolly 1998: 14–16.

47 Kew, The National Archives, PRO E.403/578 m.1, see Connolly 1998: 17.

48 Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 83.

49 The possibility that 'Chaucer's Chronicle' might have been genuinely by Chaucer, but 'prentice work or the product of incipient senility', is allowed by Boffey and Edwards (1998: 206).

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(1993: 121) suggests, because Shirley invented them, but because he was their first point of public appearance, there having been no earlier tradition of copying them. Scattergood has noted that it might be significant that Chaucer's poem about a copyist should be preserved by another copyist, John Shirley, and Lerer (1993) has interpreted this significance as evidence of reader response, claiming that Shirley might have written the poem himself.[50] Yet rather than inferring invention on Shirley's part we might be more alert to the possibilities of exchange and interaction afforded by the multiple environments in which he moved, and principally – in regard to what he might know about Chaucer – his potential knowledge of that network of London scribes whose existence is being brought to light through the work of Linne Mooney, Estelle Stubbs, and Simon Horobin.

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Texts and Transmission in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italian Multi-Text Codices

This essay deals with multi-text codices as synchronic and diachronic structures, which are partly the result of individual choices and partly the result of sedimentation and erosion from copy to copy. If a synchronic approach to miscellanies has been quite common in the past few decades and has on several occasions proved to be profitable, an approach which is at the same time synchronic and diachronic appears to explain the phenomenon of the manuscript miscellany even better, by adding a historical dimension and showing the dynamics of multi-text codices. Examples are taken here from the Italian textual tradition, but this essay aims to provide a general theory which would be valid for other traditions as well.[1]

Whenever we enter a bookshop or library today and ask for a title, we expect to receive an item which, in most cases, corresponds entirely to that title, apart from paratexts: one title, one book. Nowadays, we do have books which contain the *opera omnia* of an author, and we also have anthologies; but, if not exceptional, this format is much rarer. Yet in such cases there is always a clear common thread linking the works, indicated on the cover by the title of the volume. This has not always been the case though. In the late Middle Ages, it was exceptional to have a manuscript containing a single text, for usually only long works were copied in single-text codices. The same practice persisted when print was introduced: early prints were often collections of more than one work. However, it is sometimes hard to understand the reason why such works were copied/printed together.

How does this type of book production affect the philological restoration of the ‘original’ text, the perception of a work, and its transmission and reception? In this essay I shall argue that considering multi-text codices as overall structures is extremely relevant for a contextualised, historically aware reading and reconstruction of individual texts.

The modern approach to ancient texts still tends too often to isolate them from the material context in which they circulated and were read, thus giving rise

1 My special thanks go to Prof. Michael D. Reeve and to the late Prof. Cesare Segre for their valuable advice.

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to both a reductive and misleading impression about their transmission and reception.[2] In the last two or three decades, scholarly interest has been focused on multi-text codices with the intention of discovering the common thread that ties together all the works copied side by side, or that links shorter series (i. e. 'clusters').[3] Such a synchronic approach is interesting when we are dealing with outstanding medieval scholars who commissioned or copied manuscripts themselves, such as Petrarch or Boccaccio, or any other author or intellectual. However, when we are dealing with the everyday practice of copying manuscripts in the late Middle Ages, I believe that scribes and clients who commissioned the manuscripts were usually far less insistent on the nature of the contents, and that the series of works we find in a 'miscellaneous' manuscript is often not exactly what could be considered the result of deliberate, individual choice. Much of it depended on what was available to be copied (Divizia 2009; 2014b; 2016).

It is, in my view, instructive to consider how things worked within a wider framework of textual scholarship not strictly limited to medieval texts written in the vernacular. With regard to classical Latin literary texts, at the beginning they circulated on papyrus rolls, and usually a single work occupied more than a single roll, so that the 'manuscript miscellany' question appears only centuries later, in the Middle Ages, when families of manuscripts had already diverged quite significantly from one another. One could say that this has more to do with the medieval reception of such works, but it has been suggested by textual scholars of classical and medieval Latin texts that the material context – i. e. which other works accompany a text in a multi-text codex – should always be taken into account, for such information may shed light on the textual transmission of the work being studied.[4]

When we look at medieval texts, the 'manuscript miscellany' question is much more relevant, since short texts could enter these codices immediately after they were 'published'. Some of them may even have been disseminated in a multi-text codex right from the beginning. This seems to be the case for the Italian translation of Petrarch's epistle to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, *Familiares* XII 2, the only letter by Petrarch which was translated into the vernacular, most probably within the framework of Coluccio Salutati's so-called 'Florentine civic humanism' and its propaganda, in order to be read side-by-side with the other Florentine writings of political interest that accompany it in all the surviving witnesses, thus suggesting the idea that Petrarch was the noble father of the movement.

2 I shall not deal here with one of the most widespread errors, which is the widely held opinion that it is possible to comprehend a text out of its historico-cultural context, as if writing were detached from reality and other texts.

3 Guida and Latella 1993; Busby 2002.

4 Reeve 1998: 446 and 449. Attention to recurring clusters of works in manuscripts is also paid by Reynolds 1983; and Chiesa and Castaldi 2004–.

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Among classical and medieval Latin scholars as well as experts on the 'canzonieri' (vernacular poetry collections), it is known that the order and the presence or absence of works in a series are important for proving textual genealogies. Editing poems in an order different from the one provided by the manuscripts, or extracting individual texts out of their context, has proven, several times, to be misleading when it comes to the proper understanding of the literary meaning of a text, especially when dealing with *tensos* (i. e. poetic debates between two poets, in which one author states something, and the other replies in the next stanza or in a different poem).

In multi-text codices, the structure (clusters of works and sequences) is relevant both for helping to construct or confirm a *stemma codicum* and for understanding single texts and their reception.[5] Although, in addition to providing a preliminary typological classification, the analysis of structures can lead to the identification of genealogical families in certain circumstances, I do not intend it to be a means of avoiding the difficult task of evaluating single readings through collation, but as a way of providing structural evidence for the recension.[6] A philological approach should always consider the textual transmission in its material context (manuscript and early print miscellanies). A manuscript or early printed multi-item book is not a box containing texts: it is, instead, a structure – or, at least, it can become a structure –, not only in a synchronic, but also in a diachronic sense.

By taking into account the possibility that clusters of works which recur in miscellanies might have been transmitted together – thus regarding them as textual units (what I have called the theory of 'comparative stemmatics', which means that whenever two or more works have been transmitted together in a family of manuscripts, their *stemma codicum* will normally be the same in relation to the shared witnesses of that family, from their first common ancestor onwards, if no contamination has occurred) – four significant results can be achieved (Divizia 2009):

1) It is possible to have a larger portion of text on which to build a *stemma codicum.* (This is very useful when dealing with short works that might have no significant errors, or not enough on which to base a detailed *stemma*);

5 For a few achievements, see for instance Avalle 1977 and Asperti 1995.

6 However, a few exceptions to the macrostructural coherence of interrelated witnesses may sometimes be observed: liminary or paratexts may have a tradition different from that of the core text, or be treated differently by scribes, as happened quite frequently also with rubrics, though for different reasons: while textual traditions of rubrics differing from those of the core text are often the result of involuntary changes of exemplar caused by the work-chain mechanism that was common in professional *scriptoria*, horizontal transmission of liminary texts is more likely to be a deliberate interpolation suggested by the comparison of exemplars belonging to different branches of the tradition if not to different 'editions'. This phenomenon is further investigated in Divizia 2017.

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2) It is possible to track down more witnesses to little-known works by following the transmission of better-known ones which have already been studied. Usually libraries are more aware of the 'famous' works preserved in their manuscript collections, while lesser-known ones might still need to be identified and catalogued;
3) It is sometimes possible to prove the existence of intermediary witnesses that have been lost. If, concerning one or more works, a surviving witness agrees with the readings of at least one other collateral witness which presents that text or those texts as part of a larger monogenetic cluster of works against other witnesses which share the same cluster[7] – thus suggesting that the witness which has only partially preserved the common cluster stems from the same family –, the existence of the common ancestor of the sub-family can be inferred also for those works which have not been copied in that partial witness;
4) It is sometimes possible, based on the tradition of other works which share common witnesses and on the inferred existence of intermediary witnesses, as argued in the previous point, to ascertain the *terminus ad quem* for the date of composition of a work.

Especially with regard to the first theoretical point, while this type of approach is not rare in the textual criticism of classical and medieval Latin texts, it is scarcely ever used in studies of Italian prose literature of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. However, students of Italian poetic anthologies ('canzonieri') are, nowadays, much more aware of this problem than they were before.[8] Concerning the second point, while it is less rewarding for classical philology, the search for unknown witnesses is quite important for late antique, patristic, and medieval Latin and romance studies, since many texts in these disciplines have yet to be edited critically and lists of their extant witnesses provided.

In general, comparing similar sequences of works in manuscript and early printed multi-text books can provide useful results, both for textual criticism and for the history of transmission, which is of utmost importance for the history of culture.

7 The concept of 'polygenetic miscellany' (and, consequently, of 'monogenetic miscellany' and 'monogenetic cluster') is taken from Reeve 2004: 366–67 and note 5: 'By "polygenetic" I mean "likely to arise independently on more than one occasion"'. The concept of monogenesis is not contradictory to the process of erosion and sedimentation mentioned below, since the entire process can be predicated as monogenetic or polygenetic.

8 Only recently has attention to shared sequences in prose manuscripts of Italian literature begun to be paid more extensively, for instance in the publications of De Robertis 1985; Speroni 1994; Divizia 2007; Zanato 2012; Tanturli 2012; and here and there in Ciociola 2001; Ciociola 2003–; Guadagnini and Vaccaro 2010–.

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The foregoing paragraphs have argued that context is relevant ('necessary', I would suggest) for understanding a text and its reception, and that, whenever a cluster of works appears in more than one manuscript, this fact has to be taken into account in any philological approach. The next step in developing a structural-philological approach (both synchronic and diachronic) to multi-text codices involves considering how sequences grow and change (if they do), and to what extent this phenomenon can be used in tracing genealogies and, sometimes, in allowing one to see how literary tastes have changed over time. I must acknowledge the favourable conditions for textual studies of Italian medieval and early Renaissance texts, if only for the large number of witnesses which were produced during that period in Italy and which have been preserved to date, and for the common practice of a stemmatic approach to ancient texts in Italian academia, providing thus a greater chance of seeing how the complex dynamics of manuscript (re)production worked.

What I have been able to observe is that compilers and clients who commissioned manuscripts were led both by tendencies of innovation and conservatism (a sort of inertia) when choosing which works to copy from a model (a multi-item codex or printed book) and which works to add from secondary sources (in turn, also likely to be multi-text manuscripts or printed books). Sometimes a manuscript or printed book is just a replica of its exemplar, sometimes (but less frequently) it is instead a selection of works entirely chosen by a compiler or the client who commissioned the book, most often it is something in between these two extremes. I would say that the theory of diasystems – according to which each transcription of a text establishes a 'compromise between the system of the text to be copied (S_1) and that of the scribe (S_2): $D = S_1 + S_2$' (Segre 1979: 59),[9] a process that recurs in each further copy – yet again has the ability to explain historico-cultural processes of continuity and change, even beyond the purposes for which the theory was originally proposed.

Quite often sequences made up of several works are at least partly, if not completely, reproduced in the copy exactly as they are in the exemplar, so that they become relevant when we analyse the relationships between witnesses. A complex or strange sequence is quite likely to be monogenetic; however, small differences between similar sequences do not provide any information about the direction of the evolution: even if there is, for certain, an older/original sequence and a newer one that derives from the previous one, most of the time the textual scholar is unable to state, initially, which is original and which is innovative. Although such differences are called *indifferent variants*, the term does not imply that they are irrelevant. It only means that they have no independent relevance,

9 The English translation is mine. Apart from Segre 1979, the theory is also developed in Segre 1978 and 1998.

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since it is impossible to judge them in the first phases of recension; however, their distribution among the witnesses has to be compatible with the *stemma codicum* that has been built on the basis of significant errors. In Italian, *indifferent variants* which are considered significant are termed 'lezioni caratteristiche' ('typical readings' of a family): although these 'typical readings' or 'latent errors' are quite common in the actual practice of Italian textual criticism, they nonetheless usually remain unmentioned in manuals.[10]

A case which is fruitful from the methodological point of view is the transmission of the Tuscan vernacular translations of Cicero's *Orationes Caesarianae* – *Pro Ligario* (*PL*), *Pro Marcello* (*PM*), *Pro rege Deiotaro* (*PrD*) – by Brunetto Latini (second half of the thirteenth century, though the witnesses are manuscripts from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, plus an early printed book dated 1568). Its study involves all branches of textual philology and what one might call the 'history of the text' – a kind of prehistory (i. e. the relationship with sources, models, and cultural background), the genesis/evolution (i. e. the field of authorial philology), and the history of the tradition (i. e. the field of stemmatic philology).[11] Brunetto first translated *PL* and then offered it to a friend/patron, adding in an accompanying letter that, if the latter liked it, he could translate more.[12]

Twenty-one witnesses provide only *PL* (first 'edition'?), while ten (nine manuscripts plus the 1568 print) offer the complete series *PL*, *PM*, *PrD* (second 'edition'?), though three of the latter (i. e. two manuscripts plus the early print) provide them in a different order – *PM*, *PL*, *PrD* – which is probably the result of a humanistic reordering based on the chronology of their composition by Cicero.

These speeches by Cicero attracted other Roman matter (such as works by Sallust, Livy, and other works by Cicero himself) into the codices, and one can see the Roman cluster increasingly growing from copy to copy. A few manuscripts containing only *PL* by Brunetto offer a new fifteenth-century translation of *PM* too,[13] and most of these form a family;[14] a sub-family then ascribes the new *PM*

10 Divizia 2011; Reeve 2011.

11 The need for extending the concept of the 'history of transmission' (which, quite often, must take authorial variants into account) is also observed by Varvaro (2012), who enlarges the meaning of the expression to the genesis/evolution of a text, but does not include what precedes the author's creation. I agree with Varvaro's extension of the concept, but prefer to employ a more comprehensive and less misleading label such as 'history of the text', which, in my opinion, should also include sources, models, and cultural background, and serve as the counterpart to 'textual criticism', in the same way that Pasquali's (1934) 'history of transmission' serves as the counterpart to 'textual criticism' limited to the genealogical philology of scribal errors.

12 The text of the letter, edited based on the witness preserved in Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS 633, fol. 66^{r}, is available in Divizia 2014: 25.

13 A recent critical edition of the text has been provided by Berti ((ed.) 2010: 7–18), who rejects

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translation to Brunetto as well.[15] At least two other instances of such an attraction between Brunetto's *PL* and the later *PM* occurred independently (in the family including Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1080 and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Palat. 51, and in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS II II 90);[16] and it is interesting to see, in the case of the last witness, that it was a different hand which added the fifteenth-century *PM* on some blank folios of the manuscript.[17]

In my view the stemmatic method (which deals, at the same time, with both the history of transmission and textual criticism, and which cannot ignore authorial variants) should also take into account the development of sequences.[18] Concerning the birth and growth/evolution of clusters and sequences – apart from the general principle that a miscellany or a complex sequence is quite often a diasystem, in other words a system resulting from a historico-cultural process of sedimentation and erosion performed gradually by the series of scribes who handed the texts down or the clients who commissioned the manuscripts – I have observed, thus far, the following points:

1) A sequence of works with no common thread is likely to be a monogenetic innovation;
2) More scribes (or clients who commissioned the manuscripts) can come up with the idea of clustering works by the same author, or translations from the same author, or works with a similar topic or belonging to the same genre; however, the longer the sequence, the smaller the chances that it is a polygenetic sequence;

the attribution to Leonardo Bruni on stemmatic grounds. Tanturli (2012), reviewing Berti, on the other hand, claims that stemmatic reasons should not be invoked when the alternative is between a name and anonymity, and that since the oldest witnesses which carry the attribution to Leonardo Bruni date to the early 1430s (i. e. some ten years before Bruni's death), such an attribution should not be rejected so quickly.

14 It is worth noting that Berti (ed.) 2010's classification of manuscripts tends too often to resort to the 'eliminatio codicum descriptorum' in order to reduce the number of witnesses, so her stemma will not be described in detail. Yet, even if I do not think that Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DXIX, is the original common ancestor of the family we are dealing with (nine other preserved witnesses plus four lost intermediaries), I agree that the Verona manuscript and those that Berti considers as its descendants share a strong relationship. Detailed evidence that these nine manuscripts are not descendants of the Verona codex will be provided by Lorenzi forthcoming.

15 Here again, Berti (ed.) 2010 considers Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 43.26 as the ancestor of a family including five other preserved manuscripts and three lost intermediaries.

16 The *PM* contains no attribution in these three witnesses.

17 This material will be treated more fully in my article 'Questioni di filologia delle strutture nella tradizione delle Cesariane volgarizzate da Brunetto Latini', which is in preparation.

18 The only attempt to my knowledge that provides a theory covering multi-text codices as structures that are both synchronic and diachronic is Gentile and Rizzo 2004: 405–06, who do not go into details, their core subject being a typological, synchronic definition of the 'humanistic miscellany'.

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3) An opposition between similar sequences is usually an opposition between indifferent variants, which means that, even if it is difficult to identify the relative chronology, there is, for certain, a chronological ordering between them;
4) A different ordering of the same works in a sequence may mean different things, and may even mean opposite things. For example: it can be the result of polygenetic reordering (if there is a discernible organisational principle in the new sequence); it can be a learned intervention (as in reordering a series of works according to their chronology, if known); it can be caused by misbinding;
5) As for the irreversibility/separativity of a sequence, two different phenomena must be taken into account: while it is possible to extract a single work from a sequence and supress all the other ones, it is quite difficult to reorder a series of works according to a lost previous ordering;
6) When making a copy, the more a sequence shows a discernible criterion, the smaller the chances that single works may be shifted, excluded or extracted; however, 'outdated' works may be removed;
7) Series of works lacking coherence are less likely to be preserved in copies;
8) The prestige of a sequence (produced by an author or a compiler or a scribe) seems to play a significant role in the dynamics of preservation/innovation;
9) Between the single work and the entire manuscript collection, there are intermediate sequences which share a common thread – the 'clusters' – which are treated as a unit by scribes and readers (and, hence, are preserved in a block when making a copy, or are excluded entirely or shifted all together);
10) A cluster grows from copy to copy (if it does) with the addition of works sharing the same common thread;
11) Short works and/or those with no title show a tendency to meld together to form a textual unit whose internal divisions are no longer visible, or else simply look like different chapters of a single work, and are treated by scribes and readers exactly as if they were a single work;
12) Under certain circumstances, the process of inserting a work into a sequence or cluster, or that of extracting a work from it, might entail dynamics which are similar to that of inserting/extracting a microtext into/from a macrotext, since the new structure might induce an attempt to harmonise the microtext with the new context, while the dismissal of the macrostructure might necessitate saturating the textual valences of the microtext (the beginning and the end of the work are more likely to be involved in these dynamics). Nonetheless, this is more like the attitude of an author rather than a scribe, and is usually accompanied by other creative textual changes.

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Views on the Oudenaarde Verse Book

The oldest known Middle Dutch multi-text codex is the so-called Oudenaarde Verse Book. The thirty-three leaves which have survived have been a challenge to scholars for nearly two centuries. Whereas the authorship of the texts and the place of origin of the codex were once the main points of interest in publications on this manuscript, the questions as to how the codex was used and who the intended user(s) of this codex may have been, did – until recently – not receive as much attention. In this contribution I shall show how valuable a combination of codicological and textual analyses of the fragments of the Oudenaarde Verse Book can be when addressing these questions.[1]

Innumerable multi-text codices have come down to us without colophons or ownership marks, and much scholarly discussion has therefore been devoted to questions of where, when, by whom, and for whom these manuscripts were made. In this essay, I shall show that by looking at both the textual and material aspects of a multi-text codex without concrete clues about ownership and provenance, it is possible to construct a well-founded profile of its intended function and user. In order to illustrate my approach, I shall focus here on an often-discussed Middle Dutch manuscript, the Oudenaarde Verse Book: a fragmentary multi-text codex, which on the basis of dialect has been localised to the border area between Flanders and Brabant.[2]

After a short overview of the codex, the two most influential hypotheses about the Oudenaarde Verse Book will be discussed. The first hypothesis concerns its

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013. I should like to thank my colleagues Bart Besamusca, Gerard Bouwmeester, and Paul Wackers for their helpful suggestions and Hans Kienhorst for his permission to use his unpublished research on the Oudenaarde Verse Book. The quotations in this paper are taken from Gysseling 1980: I, 402–500 (also accessible on the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* website, www.dbnl.org). Spelling and use of capitals have been adapted to modern standards.

2 The thirty-three extant leaves are kept in the Oudenaarde Stadsarchief (32 leaves – MS 5576) and the Bodleian Library in Oxford (1 leaf – MS Douce 381, folio 13).

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origins, the second its possible function. In the final part of this essay, I shall present the results of my own research. By attempting the first ever reconstruction of the manuscript and considering the manuscript from a comparative perspective, alternative views about the origins, intended user(s) and function of the Oudenaarde Verse Book will be proposed.

I. The Oudenaarde Verse Book

When the discovery of the fragments of the Oudenaarde Verse Book was first made known in the 1830s, Middle Dutch scholarship was still in its infancy.[3] The concept of the 'multi-text codex' was unknown, and no one was in a position to evaluate the significance of these fragments. Dating from around 1300, they would turn out to be the oldest extant witnesses of a Middle Dutch multi-text codex.[4] The 33 leaves, re-used in leather book bindings from the 1530s, were once part of a large and voluminous codex, written in two columns, comprising at least 257 leaves and measuring about 29 cm in height and 22.5 cm in width.[5] Based on the contemporary foliation, we can deduce that we have fragments from different parts of the original codex, apart from the beginning, the first leaf being folio 60 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Overview of the twelve remaining texts from the Oudenaarde Verse Book (including description in English) and the leaves on which they can be found (including a reconstruction of the possible original length). An asterisk signifies a reconstructed folio number, a question mark a number that cannot be reconstructed.

Extant leaves (contemp. foliation)	Reconstruction of original folio range of text	Text	Description in English
60	57–61	*Van der zielen ende vanden lichame*	Middle Dutch *Visio Philiberti*
101	83–104	*Van sente Caterinen*	'Life of Saint Catharine'

3 Désiré-Joseph Vander Meersch was the first to publish on the Oudenaarde Verse Book in 1839 (Vander Meersch 1839). The fragments now kept in the Oudenaarde Stadsarchief were discovered by him. The fragment kept in the Bodleian Library was introduced to Middle Dutch studies only in the 1890s.

4 Fragments of the Middle Dutch translation of *La Vengeance Raguidel* are possible remains of an even older multi-text codex (*c.* 1275), see Kienhorst (1999: 51–52). In contrast to the Oudenaarde Verse Book, however, only one text remains from this codex. The fragments of this codex are kept in two locations: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 3085 and Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS F 26b.

5 The estimation of the original height and width comes from Deschamps 1972: 55. The leather bindings were made in the Sion convent in Oudenaarde.

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Table 1 *(Continued)*

Extant leaves (contemp. folia-tion)	Reconstruction of original folio range of text	Text	Description in English
116*, 123, 124, 127, 131*	105–144	*Van den levene ons heren*	'Life of Jesus'
154, 155, 161	145–163	*Van sente Eustaes*	'Life of Saint Eustace'
165, 166, 169, 170*, 179, 181, 184	163–184ra	*Van sente Aechte*	'Life of Saint Agatha'
184, 185	184ra–188	*Van sente Waerneer*	'Life of Saint Werner'
224, 225, 227, 238, 240, 243	221–243va	*Van sente Marie Egyptiake ende Zosimus*	'Life of Saint Mary of Egypt and Zosimas'
243, 248	243va–248va	*Van der biechten* – Martijn van Torhout	'On Confession'
248, 249, 250, 251	248va–252ra	*Dietsche Catoen*	Middle Dutch *Disticha Catonis*
254, 255*, 256*, 257	252ra–258^{v}	*Van seden*	Middle Dutch *Facetus 'cum nihil utilius'*
?	begins on previous leaf	*Van onser vrouwen lof*	'In Praise of Our Lady'
?	continues on next leaf	*Van onser vrouwen geslacht*	'On the Genealogy of Our Lady'

The extant contents of this codex consist of verse texts, hence the name 'Rijmboek' (Verse Book). For certain texts only a small part remains on a single leaf; others survive in a more substantial fragmentary form, copied on five or more leaves. On the basis of calculations, too complex to present here, we can provisionally reconstruct parts of the codex.[6] Table 1 shows the estimated length (in folios) of all twelve remaining verse texts. If my reconstruction is correct, we know all the texts from folio 83 to folio 188, and from folio 221 to folio 258. That may be approximately sixty percent of the entire contents. We are in the dark about the missing forty percent: folios 1–56, folios 62–82, folios 189–220, and folio 259 to the end are probably irretrievably lost.

The texts can be grouped according to various generic criteria. First, we have five saints' lives (Catharine, Eustace, Agatha, Werner, and Mary of Egypt) and a copy of the popular 'Life of Jesus'. Throughout Europe these saints, who died in the early years of Christianity in the Mediterranean world, were well known in the

6 The reconstructions are based on the length of parallel versions, or (in the case of the saints' lives) on the length of prose versions of the texts. These reconstructions are discussed in more detail in Ermens 2015.

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thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, except for young Saint Werner. He had died – been murdered, supposedly by the Jews – along the River Rhine south of Cologne, in 1287, only a few years prior to the copying of the Oudenaarde Verse Book.[7] We then find two Middle Dutch translations of Latin school texts juxtaposed: the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus 'cum nihil utilius'*. Two subsequent texts concern the Virgin: the first is a prayer, and the second discusses her lineage. Parts of a verse treatise on the importance of confession have also been preserved. According to the epilogue of this text, it was written by Martijn van Torhout, the only author mentioned in the surviving parts of the codex. Finally, on folio 60, we find a Middle Dutch translation of the widespread dream vision *Visio Philiberti*, in which the body and the soul argue over who is to blame for the soul's eternal damnation.

II. Earlier Hypotheses about the Oudenaarde Verse Book

Ever since these fragments were discovered, scholars have been wondering about the possible origins, intended function, and users of the original codex. Of all the hypotheses put forward, two have been crucial for the now generally accepted theories about the Oudenaarde Verse Book. The oldest of these two hypotheses, which I shall call the Ename hypothesis, was formulated in the nineteenth century, and is based on information provided by three extant epilogues. In two of them, we find a date and a reference to the Benedictine abbey Saint Salvator in Ename, situated a few kilometres north of the city of Oudenaarde, on the opposite bank of the River Scheldt. In the epilogues to the lives of Saint Agatha and Saint Mary of Egypt respectively we read:

Agatha

Dit maecti sente Aeghten teren
Na de ghebornesse ons heren
MCC ende VI ende LXXX jaer
TEnamme in sinen cloester daer (*Van sente Aechte*, ll. 756–59)

[He made this in honour of Saint Agatha after the birth of Our Lord 1200 and 86 years in Ename in his monastery over there]

7 For more information on Saint Werner, see Mengten 1995.

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Mary
Dit was ghemaect in ghoeder kenness
MCC ende neghentech jaer
Tote Enamme inden cloester daer
(*Van sente Marie Egyptiake ende Zosimus*, ll. 687–89)

[This was made, knowingly, in 1200 and 90 years in Ename in the monastery over there]

The hypothesis derived from these two epilogues was straightforward: since the author of two texts was a Benedictine monk in Ename, this was a codex copied shortly after 1290 in the same abbey (Vander Meersch 1839: 201). Yet the chances of the manuscript being made in the abbey in Ename are small; apart from the author of the saints' lives, there is no other evidence of scribal activity there in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[8] Nonetheless, some scholars have tried to take this conclusion one step further. They think we can the identify the author of several or even all of the texts in the codex, because of a name mentioned in the third epilogue. This epilogue to the verse treatise about the usefulness of confession states that – the otherwise unknown – Martijn van Torhout was the author of this text:

Dit maecte Martijn van Torout
Die elken mensce noch es hout
Ghode ende siere moeder teeren
Om datter de mensce bi soude leeren
Hoe hi hem ontcombren soude
Van sinen sonden alsi woude
Want leke lieden lettel verstaen
Wat sonden sijn alsi te biechten gan (*Van der biechten*, ll. 109–16)

[This was made by Martijn of Torhout, who (still) has good intentions to help all people, in honour of God and His mother, in order that man should learn how to rid himself of his sins, if he wants to, because lay people barely understand what sins are, when they go to confession.]

Even though there is no corroboratory evidence, Martijn was believed to be a Benedictine monk in Ename, and many texts in this codex were attributed to him. Thus he was thought to be the author of the popular Middle Dutch 'Life of Jesus' and the translator of the widespread Middle Dutch versions of the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Visio Philiberti.* In other words, he was seen as an author with – according to Middle Dutch standards – many texts to his name.[9] It is tempting to

8 Neither Milis (1964) nor Derolez (1994–: VII, 118–19) gives any evidence of scribal activity.
9 While Vander Meersch (1839: 197) introduced Martijn's authorship in the title of the first publication on the Oudenaarde Verse Book, Van Mierlo (1938: 374–75) asserted his authorship even more emphatically. On the debate between Van Mierlo and Beuken over this hypothesis, see Beuken 1939, Van Mierlo 1939 and Beuken 1968: II, 112–19. Van Mierlo (1938: 372–73)

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follow this line of reasoning: in a multi-text codex we find a place of origin for two texts mentioned in two similar epilogues and an author of a third text mentioned in a third epilogue (with resemblances to the other two), and so perhaps all three texts were written at the same location by the same author, and copied into a codex in the same place. But we have to be careful: an epilogue (linking an author or location to a *text*) is not the same as an autograph colophon (linking a scribe or location to a *codex*). In general, as we shall see in the discussion of the second hypothesis too, projecting information from one text onto an entire multi-text codex is problematic, because very often the texts it contains have different origins.

The second hypothesis that shapes our present view of the Oudenaarde Verse Book concerns the possible intended function of the codex. Since the late 1980s three influential scholars, Frits van Oostrom, Fons van Buuren and Hans Kienhorst, have propagated similar ideas about it. In their view, the codex was originally meant as a book for the education of a certain group of people, as a schoolbook, or an instruction book.[10] They all start from the same text: the Middle Dutch translation of the *Disticha Catonis*, a text that was, according to Jacob van Maerlant, already widely known in the vernacular before the Oudenaarde Verse Book was written.[11] Since Latin versions of this text were used in schools, they assume the same setting for the Middle Dutch translation. The prologue of the text in the Oudenaarde Verse Book, which can be found in all Middle Dutch versions of the text, except for the rhyming couplet 'Either in Dutch or in Latin' and the following line (now illegible because of a hole in the leaf), seems to confirm this assumption:

Alle die vroet willen wesen
Der Clerken Boec moeten si lesen
Of in Dietsch of in Latin[e]
Alzo hic […]
Alzi terst [ter scolen gaen]

argues that the monks from Ename had this codex made in memory of their capable brother Martijn. More recently, Gysseling (1980: I, 396–402) kept open the possibility that Martijn was the author or at least the compiler of the codex. Van Buuren (1994: 80–81) speculated that the codex was used by the monks when visiting a convent under their care.

10 Van Oostrom (1989: 20–21) calls it an instruction book for grown-ups; see also Van Buuren 1994: 80–82; Van Buuren (ed.) 1998: 21–25; Kienhorst 1999: 56; Kienhorst 2005: I, 142–43; cf. Wackers 1999: 195 (acknowledging Kienhorst). Other important publications on the Middle Dutch *Facetus* translations are Meder 1992 and 1994. Meder (1992: 321), however, does not believe that the Oudenaarde Verse Book was a schoolbook.

11 Jacob van Maerlant refers to this translation in his *Spiegel historiael*, part 1, book 5, chap. 73, ll. 51–54, written in the 1280s (De Vries and Verwijs (eds) 1863).

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Die hem wijsh[eit doet verstaen]
Vele meer dan en[ech doet][12] (*Dietsche Catoen*, ll. 33–39)

[All who want to be wise should read the Clerk's (i. e. Cato's) Book, either in Dutch or in Latin, as I (…), when they first go to school. It gives them more wisdom than any other book.]

True, the emphasis on 'Dutch or Latin', which only appears in this version of the text, shows that the Middle Dutch translation of the *Disticha Catonis* was used for some sort of educational purposes too, but the lack of an accompanying Latin version makes it unlikely that it was used in a school setting.[13] Nevertheless, both Van Buuren and Kienhorst formulate further arguments to support their hypothesis that the Oudenaarde Verse Book was some sort of schoolbook, two of which are noteworthy. First, Van Buuren points to two Latin codices from Germany which have remarkable similarities with the contents of the Oudenaarde Verse Book. One of them not only contains the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus* '*cum nihil utilius*', but also several saints' lives (including that of Saint Catherine), the *Visio Philiberti*, and a text on confession, while the other includes copies of the *Disticha Catonis*, the *Facetus*, and a prayer to Mary.[14] These Latin codices were definitely used for educational purposes, according to Nicolaus Henkel (1988: 20), because they have been glossed. Secondly, Kienhorst has argued that the large size of the script may be an indication that the codex was read by a group of students together, while placed on a lectern.[15] The large letters would have enabled them to read the text from a distance.[16] The conclusion seems straightforward: the Oudenaarde Verse Book was used in some sort of school setting, because both textually and codicologically there are arguments pointing in that direction. However, in contrast to the Latin manuscripts mentioned above, the Oudenaarde Verse Book is not glossed, nor does it have any room for glosses.[17] In

12 Gysseling's reconstruction of the missing text is placed between square brackets, and is based on parallel versions (which are remarkably stable).

13 Bilingual editions (e. g. in Latin and English) can be found in several language areas, and were used to learn Latin. In the Oudenaarde Verse Book, however, – and in all other Middle Dutch codices – only a vernacular version is included.

14 Henkel 1988: 20–22. The two manuscripts are Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2780 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4413.

15 Kienhorst 1999: 56; Kienhorst 2005: I, 143; cf. Wackers 1999: 195 (acknowledging Kienhorst). In fact the average *o*-height for a sample of several leaves is 3.5 mm. The smallest examples are slightly larger than 3 mm while the largest ones only just exceed 4 mm. The two-column page layout does not leave much space for any type of annotation.

16 Kienhorst (2005: I, 143) gives an additional argument for use in a school setting: the *litterae notabiliores* in the Middle Dutch versions of the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus* in the Oudenaarde Verse Book have been applied to highlight the structure of the teaching material. However, these *litterae notabiliores* may be copied from an exemplar and do not necessarily give any clues about the manuscript under investigation.

17 The two-column text area covers approximately 68 % of the page.

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the next section, I shall show that the situation may be a little more complicated than Van Buuren and Kienhorst suggest.

III. A Closer Look at the Oudenaarde Verse Book

Having considered the basic information about the Oudenaarde Verse Book and the critical debates surrounding it, we can now turn to a deeper analysis of the fragments. In this section three topics will be discussed: (1) a reconstruction of the codex, leading to (2) new views on the origins of the manuscript, and (3) on its intended function and user(s).

In its present state, the Oudenaarde Verse Book consists of 29 single leaves and two bifolia, a mere fraction of the voluminous codex it used to be. If we want to gain more insight into the manuscript's constitution and its possible genesis, we need to reconstruct the quire structure. The starting points for this reconstruction are the two remaining bifolia. These two bifolia were both situated towards the end of the codex (as we know from the existing fragments). The first bifolium is 227^238, the second one 250^255. The only way to fit these two bifolia into a regular quire structure is by assuming that they were part of quires of ten bifolia (here called quire Y and quire Z). This is a peculiar number, but any other structure results in irregular quires.[18] And what is more, we can put some of the single leaves together again, and they fit nicely into these two ten-bifolia quires (fols 223–62; see Table 2).

Table 2: Reconstruction of the final(?) two quires in the Oudenaarde Verse Book. The extant leaves are printed in italics; an asterisk means a reconstructed folio number. The complete bifolia are marked in light grey, the single leaves that can be matched together are marked by dark grey.

Bifolium	Quire Y		Quire Z	
1a	223		*243*	
2a	*224*		244	
3a	*225*		245	
4a	226		246	
5a	*227*		247	
6a	228		*248*	
7a	229		*249*	
8a	230		*250*	

18 Tables 5 and 31 in Busonero (1999: 90 and 102), for instance, show how uncommon quires of ten bifolia or more are. They seem only to have been used in thirteenth-century Parisian Bibles.

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Table 2 *(Continued)*

Bifolium	**Quire Y**		**Quire Z**	
9a	231		*251*	
10a	232		252	
10b	233		253	
9b	234		*254*	
8b	235		*255**	
7b	236		*256**	
6b	237		*257*	
5b	*238*		258	
4b	239		259	
3b	*240*		260	
2b	241		261	
1b	242		262	

The middle of the codex can be similarly reconstructed. Some single leaves can be matched with their former conjugate leaves. Leaf 123 easily matches with 124, 161 with 166 and 181 with 186. This seems to reveal a regular structure of five bifolia per quire, but when we take into account that the severely damaged leaves 116 and 131 originally were a bifolium too, five bifolia is not enough.[19] Again, only quires of ten bifolia will produce a regular quire structure (in this case of four consecutive quires: K, L, M and N; fols 114–93).

This reconstruction of several quires leads to two interesting conclusions: (1) the codex may have been larger than suggested by the highest remaining foliated page number (i. e. fol. 257), and (2) the entire codex could not have consisted of quires of ten bifolia since only 29 leaves remain in between the two reconstructed groups.[20] Moreover, the 113 remaining leaves preceding the reconstructed quires cannot be divided into quires of ten bifolia either. This means that, unless the scribe foliating the codex made several mistakes, or unless some leaves were cut out prior to the foliation, there were at least two irregularities in the quire structure.

These irregularities may be an indication that the codex originally consisted of three parts. Table 3, which contains a combination of the quire reconstruction and the reconstruction of the length of the texts (see Table 1), shows that this

19 The remaining parts of the fold of these folia match nicely together. Beuken (1968: II, 103–04) pointed out over forty years ago that these two leaves were part of one bifolium, but he did not pursue the consequences of this reconstruction.

20 The first conclusion is interesting because the Middle Dutch *Facetus* translation lacks only one leaf at the end: folio 258, while the quire reconstruction shows there may have been four more leaves at least (and consequently room for more texts).

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division overlaps with the contents. For instance, there seems to be a clear distinction between the saints' lives: Mary of Egypt, the repentant sinner, is not copied in the same part as the other, martyred, saints.

Table 3: A combination of the reconstructions of the quires and the length of the texts reveals a division into three parts of the codex. The grey lines indicate where the border between two parts is to be found.

Part	**Quires**	**Folios (text)**	**Text**	**Contents**
I	?	1–56	?	
	?	57–61	Middle Dutch *Visio Philiberti*	the consequences of sinning
?	?	62–82	?	
II	I (?)	83–104	'Life of Saint Catharine'	martyr
	J (?–113) K (114–33) L (134–53)	105–144	'Life of Jesus'	'martyr'
	L (134–53) M (154–73)	145–163	'Life of Saint Eustace'	martyr
	M (154–73) N (174–93?)	163–184^{r}	'Life of Saint Agatha'	martyr
	N (174–93?)	184^{r}–188	'Life of Saint Werner'	martyr
?	?	189–220	?	
III	X (?–222) Y (223–42) Z (243–62)	221–243^{v}	'Life of Saint Mary of Egypt and Zosimas'	repentant sinner
	Z (243–62)	243^{v}–248^{v}	'On Confession'	how to obtain absolution
	Z (243–62)	248^{v}–252^{r}	Middle Dutch *Disticha Catonis*	how to live well
	Z (243–62)	252^{r}–258^{v}	Middle Dutch *Facetus*	how to live well
?	?	?	'In Praise of Our Lady'	
?	?	?	'On the Genealogy of Our Lady'	

Even though we cannot but work with reconstructions, Table 3 shows that the boundaries between quires and contents seem to coincide.[21] In addition to the

21 While arguments in support of the division into three parts can be found in Table 4, I am aware that many arguments can be offered against these reconstructions and their combination in Table 3. For instance, I cannot know whether quire N was a complete ten-bifolia quire, since its last remaining leaf is folio 185 (see Table 1). The irregularity in the quire

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contents and the quire structure, several other material features also seem to indicate a tripartite division. This makes it plausible that the codex was produced in three stages. The use of gold, for instance, supports this division. In Part I, we see highlighting of initials and capitals with gold, which is absent in the other two parts, while the differences in the execution of the initials seems to coincide with the division between Parts II (amateurish, see Image 1) and III (less amateurish). A third argument for the production in three stages can be found in the corrections to the text. The emendations in Part I and Part II were added by a different hand from those in Part III. And lastly, the prickings for the columns are irregular. They seem to have been pricked differently in each quire, which indicates that the scribe did not plan ahead too far, but only one quire at a time, thereby producing small differences between the three parts (see Table 4).[22]

Table 4: Overview of the three parts of which the Oudenaarde Verse Book possibly consists, including material differences: highlighting, illuminated initials, gatherings, column prickings and corrections.

Part I	**Part II**	**Part III**
Highlighting in gold	No highlighting in gold	No highlighting in gold
(no remaining initials)	More amateurish initial	Better initials
(quires unknown)	Quires of 10 bifolia	Quires of 10 bifolia
Prickings for columns: 3 – 3 – 1	Prickings for columns: 3 – 3 – 1 and 3 – 3 – 3	Prickings for columns: 3 – 3 – 1 and 3 – 3 – 2
Corrections Hand C	Corrections Hand C	Corrections Hand D

113 fols	Quire K: fols 114–33 Quire L: fols 134–53 Quire M: fols 154–73 Quire N: fols 174–93	29 fols	Quire Y: fols 223–42 Quire Z: fols 243–62

structure (e.g. cut out leaves) could have occurred in this quire and not in the next, as I am assuming. However, this does not necessarily change the outcome, since the border between the two parts can still be identified between the same two quires and the same two texts.

22 Space does not permit further detail here about the prickings and the corrections. Suffice to say that the prickings are made per quire and that the information about the corrections is based on Gysseling 1980: I, 394.

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Based on both textual and codicological observations, a three-stage production process seems plausible, but can we determine in what setting the codex could have been produced? Linguistic analyses of the fragments by Maurits Gysseling ((ed.) 1980: I, 396–402) and Marcel Hoebeke (1987) has shown that the manuscript can with great certainty be located in the southern Flemish Scheldt region. The merchant city of Oudenaarde, conveniently placed near the abbey of Ename, is the most prominent place in this region. With the centre of scribal activity in western Europe shifting from monasteries to towns from the late twelfth century onwards, and since the Oudenaarde Verse Book was copied at the dawn of the fourteenth century, the option of a lay scribe from Oudenaarde should not be ruled out.[23]

Hoebeke has shown that several scribes were active in Oudenaarde and in the neighbouring town Pamele from circa 1300 onwards: they were clerks working in the law courts, the city government, or at the infirmary. There is even evidence of a local centre of professional scribes at least as early as the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Hoebeke 1968, 63–64). It is not unthinkable that there were already professional scribes in Oudenaarde a few decades earlier. Such an environment, in which people could read and write, and where money earned from trade could be spent on luxurious items such as books, seems fertile soil for the production of vernacular manuscripts (in Middle Dutch, or maybe in French). Furthermore, Oudenaarde is situated in the border region between Flanders and Brabant (and not far from Hainaut), a region where Middle Dutch literature started to blossom in the second half of the thirteenth century.[24] One of the main pieces of evidence for this hypothesis is a shred of parchment from a thirteenth-century codex, the only remaining fragment of the Middle Dutch translation of the *Chanson d'Aspremont.*[25] Kienhorst and Mulder have argued that it was written in this border region after the French version was introduced by the French relatives of the lords of Gavre.[26] Their castle in Gavre is situated less than fifteen kilometres north of Oudenaarde and Ename along the River Scheldt.

Considering the material aspects of the codex, we can probably rule out the possibility that it came from the hands of a scribe with much experience in the production of books, even though he clearly had experience in copying texts.

23 For more information about the declining scribal activities in monasteries, see Kwakkel 2002: 35–37 and his footnotes for further bibliography.

24 The border between Flanders and Brabant is the border between the French kingdom and the German empire. Recently, Kestemont (2012) has drawn our attention to this region, in which many Middle Dutch codices and, he argues, many Middle Dutch texts/translations were produced. See also Kienhorst 1999: 65–66.

25 Antwerp, Ruusbroecgenootschap, MS Neerl. 15/1; see www.uantwerpen.be/ruusbroec-bibliotheek > bijzondere collecties > handschriften > handschriften beschrijvingen > Manuscripta Neerlandica.

26 Kienhorst and Mulder 1998: 300–01, footnote 10. For more information on the lords of Gavre and their literary patronage, see Kestemont 2012: 102–03 (and references therein).

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First, as we have seen, the gatherings were made of ten bifolia, when four or six was the more common number. Secondly, the pricking is irregular. Thirdly, as can be seen in Image 1, the scribe marks the beginning of a text in a remarkable way. Rubrics were usually added after the main text was copied, but this is not the case here. At the beginning of the Life of Saint Werner, the rubric in the left hand column runs on in the right hand column, which means that the scribe had already completed the rubrics before he started copying the text. Finally, the scribe chooses unexpected letters for the initials. The Werner initial is the customary first letter of the text, but the initials of the Dutch *Disticha Catonis* and *Facetus* translations are the first letters of the rubrics.

The initials have unexpected shapes, too. The poor quality of their execution is striking, especially the Werner initial: the 'A' is hardly recognizable (see Image 1).

Image 1: detail of folio 184^{r}. The rubrics, initial, and flag at the beginning of the Life of Saint Werner (copyright Bodleian Library)

Furthermore, the gold is added after the colouring of the initials, not the other way around, as was customary. Image 2 shows that the gold is on top of the blue paint.

Image 2: detail of folio 248^{v}. Gold on top of blue paint in the flag at the beginning of the Middle Dutch version of the *Disticha Catonis* (photograph by author, reproduced by courtesy of the Oudenaarde Stadsarchief)

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A closer look at the initials reveals that the Oudenaarde scribe/illuminator imitated an older style of decoration. In a number of thirteenth-century Latin manuscripts from France I have found several examples of decorated initials accompanied by larger sized text (in capitals) within some kind of flag. The Oudenaarde initials look like a simplified imitation of this style of decoration.[27] All these examples seem to point to a relatively inexperienced scribe/illuminator. Compared to the works of other Flemish scribes and illuminators from the thirteenth century who had mastered the skills of producing beautiful books, the Oudenaarde Verse Book and its scribe could be considered amateurish.[28]

Having discussed scribal characteristics and features of the genesis of the Oudenaarde Verse Book, we shall now consider its intended user and function. Because of the presence of the vernacular saints' lives and other religious content, and owing to the supposed connection of the manuscript with the monastery of Ename, it has often been assumed that the Oudenaarde Verse Book was a codex meant for a religious institutional setting, and specifically one in which information was communicated mainly in the vernacular and not in Latin, for instance to groups of devout women or lay brethren. However, it is not clear why they would have been interested in texts like the Middle Dutch translations of the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus*, which provide information on how to live a good secular life.[29] Moreover, would people in such a religious institution really need basic instruction about what to say in confession?

It seems more likely that the texts in the Oudenaarde manuscript (including those with religious content) were of interest to lay people. This can be shown by examining the contexts in which parallel versions of the texts in the Oudenaarde Verse Book occur. The Middle Dutch *Visio Philiberti*, for instance, was copied (in a different translation) in two other multi-text codices: the Van Hulthem Manuscript, and a now fragmentary three-column codex that also contained the Middle Dutch *Chatelaine de Vergi*.[30] The prayer to Mary can also be found in the Van Hulthem Manuscript (Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1999: I, 304–08). The Middle Dutch versions of both the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus* are preserved in the so-called Comburg Manuscript, while a verse text on Mary's lineage is

27 For examples, see De Hamel 1994: 126, and McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle 2011: 314.

28 Examples of pre-fourteenth-century carefully illuminated Flemish manuscripts are Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9411–26 (in French, second half of thirteenth century), and the earlier mentioned fragment of the Middle Dutch *Chanson d'Aspremont*, on which parts of illuminated initials can be seen (circa 1300).

29 Since many monks came from noble houses, it is not unlikely that they brought 'worldly' manuscripts with them when they entered their monastery. In such a case, however, the original intended user and function would not have been institutional.

30 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15589–623 (see Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1999: II, 811–20), and Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1590 (no edition available).

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incorporated into the Geraardsbergen Manuscript.[31] These three complete multi-text codices functioned, according to recent scholarship, in a lay, possibly urban, setting.[32] The occurrence of the texts about Mary and the Middle Dutch *Disticha Catonis*, *Facetus* and *Visio Philiberti* in these multi-item codices, while rarely occurring in manuscripts which were clearly used in a religious institution, makes it plausible that we could also consider a lay (urban?) setting for the audience of the Oudenaarde Verse Book.[33]

At first sight there is one element that does not seem to fit in with this scenario: after the epilogue to the life of Saint Mary of Egypt, a Latin *commemoratio Mariae* was copied by the scribe. It contains the rubricated – and abbreviated – words 'versus' and 'collecta' that make this commemorative prayer look like a text that was used in a devotional setting. Does this short Latin addition point towards use in a religious institution? Not necessarily, because knowledge of Latin was not exclusively restricted to monasteries. Other people, outside the walls of religious institutions, mastered Latin as well. Many people would have been familiar at least with the words from the *Pater noster* or the *Ave Maria*, and other well-known Latin texts. A less widespread Latin text with abbreviations, like this *commemoratio*, would, however, have required a more advanced reader.[34]

The occurrence of Latin in Middle Dutch multi-text codices with a lay (urban) background is not limited to the Oudenaarde Verse Book. There are at least two other Middle Dutch multi-text codices with a lay audience containing Latin texts: the Geraardsbergen Manuscript and the Vanden Stock Manuscript. In the latter manuscript, for instance, we find two Latin prayers to be read before and after a meal, while the former manuscript contains a small number of Latin texts (from one to several lines long) that were to be written next to sculptures and paintings.[35] Apparently some lay readers mastered Latin; consequently the

31 Respectively, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. fol. 22 (Brinkman and Schenkel (eds) 1997: I, 515–50) and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 837–45 (Govers (ed.) 1994: 63–64).

32 Recent publications on these manuscripts and their probable users are: Brinkman 2000 (Van Hulthem); Brinkman 1998 and Brinkman and Mulder 2003 (Comburg); and Reynaert 1999 (Geraardsbergen).

33 The only institutional manuscript with one of these texts is a fifteenth-century Devotio Moderna manuscript, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Dutch 13, containing a third Middle Dutch translation of the *Visio Philiberti* (see Hollander 2013: 145).

34 Unless, of course, this manuscript was intended for a group of lay people who knew this text by heart and venerated Saint Mary of Egypt.

35 The Vanden Stock-Manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 116 (edition in Braekman 1969: 87). For Latin in the Geraardsbergen Manuscript, see Govers (ed.) 1994: 62–65 or the online exhibition *Every Codex Tells A Story*, www.everycodextellsastory.com. For a general overview of codices containing Middle Dutch and Latin texts, see Wackers 1996, 31–39.

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presence of a brief Latin text in a multi-text codex does not necessarily point to a religious institution as intended user.

Around 1300 most Middle Dutch texts would have been read aloud to an audience. The remaining prologues and epilogues of the Oudenaarde Verse Book, most of which are so similar that the influence of a compiler might be suspected, contain indications that the texts in this codex were meant to be read aloud too. They all address the reader directly. In the epilogue to the Life of Saint Werner, for instance, the narrator starts by saying: '[to] All people who are present where this book is read …'.[36] If the codex was meant to be read to an audience, it is not the audience that needs to master Latin, but the person reading the works. Listening to the Latin text, and, if necessary, responding to the reader at the right cue was all that was asked of the audience. The audience and the reader (the actual user of the physical book) therefore could have had different social backgrounds. The audience could have consisted of mainly uneducated lay people while the reader had to be educated in a monastery or an urban school.

The production of the codex in stages gives a final clue about the user and function of the codex. A codex produced in stages by one scribe has to stay in the same place during the entire production process. It is unlikely that the owner would return the quires each time the scribe needed to add a new text. Consequently, the scribe and the owner must have been closely connected, or may even have been the same person. The most obvious place where owner and scribe are closely connected, and use a book for reading to an audience is a community. Religious institutions like the abbey of Ename are communities.[37] However, the Oudenaarde region housed several other religious institutions as well, and communities could also be non-religious, but with an interest in basic religious instruction or edifying texts, such as brotherhoods or guilds. The infirmary run by a religious order, but with lay patients could be considered a community too.

In the preceding discussion previously neglected aspects of the Oudenaarde Verse Book have been highlighted, resulting in some interesting conclusions. First, it is plausible that the codex was produced in several stages and three seem to be distinguishable when we look at the contents and the quire structure. Secondly, it is probable that this codex was copied (and compiled) by a scribe in an urban setting – without experience in making books. Thirdly, although it remains difficult to pin down the intended user and function, it is plausible that the edifying texts in the codex were read by a user literate in Latin to a lay audience within the setting of a community.

36 *Van sente Waerneer*, ll. 5–6: 'Alle de ghene die sullen wesen dar men desen boec sal lesen…'

37 The imitation of the 'initials with a flag' from Latin books may be an indication that the scribe was educated in such a religious institution.

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Conclusion

Even though they amount to only eleven to thirteen percent of the original manuscript, the fragments of the Oudenaarde Verse Book, enable us to reconstruct a provisional image of the entire codex. This new image outlined in Section Three of this essay departs from the hypotheses that were formulated in the past and which were discussed in Section Two. Neither of these hypotheses can be ruled out on the basis of my findings, but they both seem less convincing. The abbey of Ename is only one of the many communities in which the codex could have originated and could have been used, and, if, as I have argued, the manuscript was produced in several stages, the Middle Dutch translation of the *Disticha Catonis* – the starting point for the 'schoolbook hypothesis' – may not in fact have been part of the original plan, for it may have been added at a later stage.

Every manuscript is a unique object resulting from a process of shaping (and reshaping) the codex until it reached the state in which we have come to know it. Some codices have retained their original form, while others have changed (more than once) over time. Therefore, especially when studying multi-text manuscripts like the Oudenaarde Verse Book, produced in several stages, we have to be aware that the present codex may not represent the manuscript the scribe intended to make when he started his work. By taking into account all available material and textual data supplied by a multi-text codex we may be able to come a little closer to answering questions concerning the origins, the scribes, the intended users, and the functions of these challenging representatives of European handwritten culture.

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The *Hauksbók*: An Example of Medieval Modes of Collecting and Compilation

The *Hauksbók*, a multi-text manuscript today divided into three parts: AM 371 4to (in Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Handritasvið), AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to (in Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling), was most likely assembled during the fourteenth century. It is usually assumed that the process was initiated by the Icelandic aristocrat and member of the Norwegian elite Haukr Erlendsson. The book as it is preserved contains a large collection of works written in at least fourteen hands, one of which is considered to be Haukr's own. In this essay I treat the overall structure of the book, but focus mainly on the first three quires of AM 544 4to, which contain what could be characterised as two independent compilations of matter related to Church history and theology, but also a number of single works, among them the Old Norse poem *Vǫluspá*. I suggest that these quires were not necessarily produced on the initiative of Haukr Erlendsson. They could possibly have been part of the material he gathered, but there are also indications that they were bound with Haukr's collection at a later stage. This illustrates how text collections and compilations evolved, sometimes over long periods, and generated new meanings at each stage in the process.

Introduction

Manuscripts have generally in traditional philology and literary studies been considered as containers transporting works, or rather, more or less debased versions relevant only as text witnesses to original authorial works. The container itself, its form and the scribes who produced it have at best been treated as information of interest to the recovery of the archetype or even the original; in themselves they are sometimes even regarded as obstacles to this task. There are good reasons, however, for questioning this view. In recent scholarship the focus has shifted to an interest in the individual manuscript as a communicative act performed by the scribes, illuminators, book-binders, patrons, and so on involved in its production. This shift in perspective opens up new approaches to manuscript culture in general, and the manuscripts containing collections of works, here referred to by the term multi-text codices, are representative of this

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culture to a large degree. In the present essay, a single manuscript, *Hauksbók*, will be discussed from the perspective of the text collection, its form and functions being central to our reasoning. The manuscript as a whole has in earlier scholarship been seen as a compilation made by its patron and possibly the owner of the main hand, the aristocrat Haukr Erlendsson. On closer inspection, it is quite clear, however, that the manuscript represents various stages of production and that its function as a composite carrier of texts was not necessarily established by Haukr Erlendsson himself. In this essay I shall provide an overview of the whole manuscript followed by a more detailed treatment of three quires produced by a couple of anonymous scribes. The part of the composite manuscript produced by these scribes is treated here as having been formed in at least two stages, the original production of two independent booklets followed by the later incorporation of these booklets into the overall structure of the extant manuscript. This understanding of the manuscript as the result of a process of collecting and combining texts in new contexts, re-writing and re-ordering them to suit new needs, will, I argue, further illuminate the dynamics of medieval manuscript culture and its use and re-use of texts.

I. The Manuscript and its Context

The main parts of the manuscript *Hauksbók* were produced in the first decades of the fourteenth century (Stefán Karlsson 1964).[1] The codex preserves a large number of works. The main hand has been tentatively identified as the aristocrat and lawyer Haukr Erlendsson, a man of Icelandic descent who spent most of his life in Norway (see, for example, Jón Helgason (ed.) 1960: vi–vii). Haukr is also generally accepted as the patron of *Hauksbók*, which is relevant for our understanding of the context. There were at least another thirteen scribes involved in the production of the manuscript as we have it today, some of them most likely active after the death of Haukr in 1334, and apparently at the Benedictine monastery Þingeyrar in the northern part of Iceland (see Johansson 2005). It has never been conclusively explained how the manuscript ended up in Iceland, but a plausible explanation could be that it was brought there by Haukr himself during his last visit there in the late 1320s or by a relative of Haukr after his death. The first information about the manuscript is found in a note by the collector of manuscripts Árni Magnússon in the early eighteenth century. At this point it seems to have been bound in more or less the form in which it is extant today, though containing a number of leaves which were copied at the time and have

1 In this essay, in accordance with Icelandic tradition, full personal names will be given in short references.

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subsequently been lost. These copies form the only evidence for the content of the missing leaves (Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson (eds) 1892–96: lviii–lx).

Today the manuscript is divided into three parts, each with its individual shelfmark in the Arnamagnæan Collection divided between Copenhagen and Reykjavik. The first part, AM 371 4to, is kept in Reykjavik, while the two other parts, AM 544 4to and AM 675 4to, are to be found in Copenhagen. The division of the codex into three parts will not be treated further here. The first part contains copies of two works: a version of the so-called *Landnámabók* describing the colonisation of Iceland in the ninth century, and *Kristni saga*, a narrative recounting the Christianisation of the island. The last part, AM 675 4to, contains a Norse translation of *Elucidarius* written in a separate hand which cannot conclusively be related to Haukr (see Jón Helgason (ed.) 1960: vi; Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993: 271). This part is often seen as a later production unit added to the manuscript perhaps without the agreement of the original patron.[2] In the following discussion, the focus will be on the third, and what seems to be the middle part, AM 544 4to, and especially on its first three quires. These three quires were written primarily by two scribes commonly referred to as Haukr's Norwegian secretaries, i. e. they are considered to be Norwegian rather than Icelandic; the other scribes of the manuscript are generally regarded as Icelandic.

Viewing the whole manuscript as it was described by Árni Magnússon, one might conclude that it was a medieval library (Gunnar Harðarson and Stefán Karlsson 1993: 371). It has also been suggested that it forms an encyclopaedia comparable to the ones found in contemporary Europe (Clunies Ross and Simek 1993: 164–66). Yet the order of the collected works does not immediately make sense from the point of view of a modern encyclopaedia, while the description as a library is perhaps more in accordance with our own experience of an anthology formed by the various interests of its owner. A closer look at contemporary European encyclopaedias, however, provides support also for the second suggestion (see Brincken 1969; Ribémont 1997). The seemingly random order of subjects treated does, after all, indicate organisational principles, even if not as stringent as those of our own time. It is also illuminating to compare the content and order of *Hauksbók* to a contemporary encyclopaedic map, such as the *Hereford Map*, with its seemingly disorderly collection of data from Christian history and mythology displayed geographically around the centre of the earth located in Jerusalem and with Paradise at the very top. The order in *Hauksbók* does in many ways resemble this structure, especially the part today known as AM 544 4to.

2 I use the terms *production units* and *usage units* as defined by Erik Kwakkel (2002). The distinctions made by Kwakkel greatly enhance the description and analysis of complex composite multi-text codices such as *Hauksbók.*

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In this part of the codex, the three first quires preserve biblical history, theological speculation, and geography compiled in two individual forms: the first two quires are the work of the first Norwegian secretary and the third quire in its first production unit is the work of the second Norwegian secretary. The end of the third quire contains a couple of shorter production units copied by two scribes, a version of the eddic poem *Vǫluspá*, and finally, of relevance for my discussion here, a map of Jerusalem. These three quires will be analysed in more detail below.

The main body of works collected in AM 544 4to (quires 4 to 14) is to a large extent copied by the hand identified as Haukr. Here we find the pseudo-historical *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta saga*, based primarily on *De Exidio Trojae* by Dares Phrygius and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* respectively, and a number of sagas of Norwegian kings, related more or less closely to the important saga kings Haraldr Hárfagri (ninth to early tenth century), Óláfr Tryggvason (died *c.* 1000), Óláfr Haraldsson (the saint king of Norway, died 1030) and Haraldr Harðráði Sigurðsson (died in 1066 at Stamford Bridge). Quires 4 to 9 cannot with any certainty be seen as an original part of the composite manuscript *Hauksbók*, but we can conclude that they were written to a large extent by Haukr. Quires 10 to 14 are definitely to be considered a coherent unit, as the hands overlap the boundaries of both quires and works, and it can be stated with some certainty that scribes 9 to 13 collaborated with Haukr in the production of this unit, while the last hand of quire 14 (hand 14) can only tentatively be related to the collaborative team of scribes.[3] These scribes are, as already mentioned, all considered to have been Icelandic. In a recent article, I argue that the codex is formed of what was originally booklets containing individual works or small gatherings of works, which would indicate that the codex should in fact be divided into a larger number of production units. These production units were only later bound together in one usage unit. Some later additions should, applying Kwakkel's terminology, probably be labelled secondary production units (Johansson forthcoming).

From the above reasoning it could be concluded that AM 371 4to is the product of Haukr, but it is not certain that it originally formed part of the codex as it was bound when Árni Magnússon received it; it could possibly have existed as an individual booklet over a longer period of time. The larger part of AM 544 4to was definitely produced by Haukr or in collaboration with him. This does not apply to the first three quires: the first two quires formed by folios 1–14, and the third of folios 15–21. The later additions on folios 18 to 21, furthermore, indicate that these three quires had been brought to Iceland shortly after the death of Haukr, as the additions are later and made by Icelandic hands. It could be hypothetically

3 For a recent treatment of the structure of works, hands and quires, see Johansson forthcoming.

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suggested that they by then formed parts of the codex as we now know it, but they could also be seen as additions to the third quire at a time when this formed an individual booklet. With regard to AM 675 4to it must at this point be concluded in accordance with earlier scholarship that we do not know when it became part of the codex or whether it was on the instigation of Haukr.

Most of the middle part of the codex, AM 544 4to, is written by one scribe, presumably the aristocrat Haukr Erlendsson himself. The role attributed to Haukr indicates that he not only functioned as a patron for/commissioner of the manuscript, but also contributed as a scribe. It could be, and has been, argued that a man in Haukr's position would not himself participate in scribal work. The material copied by the hand attributed to Haukr spans a wide selection of text types, from the pseudo-historical and saga texts of *Hauksbók* to a fragment of the Norwegian Law of the Realm and two charters issued by Haukr early in his career in Norway. Of special interest here are the two charters issued in the period 1302 to 1310. Later charters where Haukr is involved are produced by other scribes. This could indicate that Haukr in his early days in Norway did some of his copying himself, while later he would engage professional scribes, both for charters and copying parts of the texts for his library collection. If the attribution of this hand to Haukr is not accepted, we may at least conclude that the scribe was working closely with Haukr and was under his command for a long period of time (see Johansson 2008: 125–26).

If quires 4 to 14 can with some certainty be attributed to Haukr as patron and scribe, this does not apply to the three preceding quires. The two compilations contained in these quires must therefore be seen at the outset as independent production units, copying and collecting older works in what has been named *Heimslýsing og helgifræði* [World description and theology]; quires 1 and 2 and *Heimspeki og helgifræði* [World knowledge and theology]; quire 3.[4] These quires will now be analysed in more detail.[5]

II. *Heimslýsing og helgifræði*

Heimslýsing og helgifræði is written by one scribe across the first two quires. Finnur Jónsson in his edition of the manuscript considered the compilation found in these two quires to have been made randomly and with no obvious order (Jónsson and Jónsson (eds) 1892–96). His contemptuous opinion of this kind of material as 'the learned knowledge of monks' reflects an attitude to the Christian

4 The names are not original, but were provided by the editor of *Hauksbók*, Finnur Jónsson (1892–1896).

5 See also http://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/AM04-0544 for further information.

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material found in Icelandic manuscripts which has prevailed to this day; it is only recently that scholars have realised fully the relevance of this material to enhance our understanding of medieval Norse culture.

Most of the works compiled in *Heimslýsing og helgifræði* are considered by earlier scholars to date from the period around 1200. They therefore in their original context represent a considerably earlier period of Norwegian (or possibly Icelandic) manuscript culture than the one in which they are today preserved. In *Hauksbók* they are gathered and written into a confined production unit of two quires by a hand from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, possibly a bit earlier.[6]

The contents of this section could be characterised as truly miscellaneous for it has often been stated that no particular order can be perceived. The compilation contains translations of works attributed to European authorities such as Isidore of Seville, Honorius of Autun (*De Imagine Mundi*), Peter Comestor, as well as parts of *Elucidarius* (*Lucidarium*). A question that does occur, however, is whether the material could possibly have been ordered in any discernible way. As mentioned above, the form could in some sense remind us of maps like the *Hereford mappa mundi*, as there are some similarities between the ordering of this part of *Hauksbók* and the ordering of material on the map. Bearing this parallel in mind, I would suggest that the contents of the first compilation could be further organised according to a Christian worldview of geography and history. The compilation could therefore be structured as follows:

1. On famous rivers and miraculous springs (fols 1^{r}–2^{r}:9–20)
   i. The Well of Paradise
   ii. The Tree of Life
2. Geography of the world (rivers, lakes, seas; fols 2^{r}:20–4^{r}:7)
   Sermon one: The Fall of Man (*vm þat huaðan otru hofst*; fols 4^{r}:7–8^{r}:12)
   a. Various theological speculations
   b. Classical mythology relating to The Revelation of John
   c. Daniel
3. Noah and his sons (the three parts of the world; fol. 8^{r}:12–8^{v}:7)
4. Peoples of the world (fols 8^{v}:7–9^{r}:31)
   Sermon two: Heretics and pagans (fols 9^{r}:31–10^{v}:27)
5. Four passages from *Elucidarius* (*Lucidarium*; 10^{v}:28–12^{r}:11)
   i. The Cross
   ii. Dreams
   iii. Anti-Christ
   iv. On the Last Judgement
   Sermon three: On Ember days (fols 12^{r}:11–13^{r}:26)

6 For the most recent discussion of this hand, see Jón Helgason (ed.) 1960: x–xi; xii–xiv.

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6. On the rainbow (fol. 13r:26–13v:11)
7. The movements of the sun and the celestial bodies (fols 13v:11–14r:4)
8. Cities of the world and the graves of saints (fol. 14r:5–14v)

This could provide us with what appears to be a logical ordering of the material. I have tried to make the hierarchy more visible by suggesting that the three sermons form a possible structural backbone, ordering the material both spatially and temporally. Before the first sermon there is a focus on the two most important features of Paradise, the well and the Tree of Life. Following the description of the well the text continues to describe the rivers, lakes and seas of the world, and after the description of the Tree of Life, the description of the world after the Fall of Man is provided. The first sermon, *vm þat huaðan otru hofst*, could be said to be placed in a logical position: mankind is forced out of Paradise and into the world of strife and sin. After the first sermon, the world proceeds and the continued lack of faith leads to the flood and the description of Noah and his three sons, who are to be the founding fathers of humanity after the flood. This narrative is logically followed by a description of the peoples of the world. The second sermon treats heretics and pagans. It is followed by excerpts from the *Lucidarium* on the Holy Cross (which is in Christian mythology grown from the Tree of Life, described earlier in the compilation), on the interpretation of dreams, on the Anti-Christ and on the Last Judgement. The third sermon treats the so-called *Embru daga* 'Ember days' and presents readings on their meaning in relation to aspects of the life of Jesus Christ, the apostles and evangelists, and material relevant to Christian observance. This last sermon is followed by short texts on the rainbow, on the celestial bodies and, finally, on the cities of the world and graves/tombs of saints. There seems therefore to be an organisational principle behind this compilation going from the paradisiacal state through a period of strife and sin, during which heretics and pagans rule, to the description of Christianity and its role leading to the Day of Judgement, with its return to a paradisiacal state for the faithful.

III. *Heimspeki og helgifræði*

There is no obvious connection between the first compilation and the second, the so-called *Heimspeki og helgifræði*, based primarily on sources such as Peter Comestor and Jacobus de Voragine. Rather, they seem to be copies of two separate collections compiled at different times and to some extent treating similar subjects, i. e. they should most likely be considered as originally forming two separate production units and could very well have existed as individual booklets. The content of this compilation is not complete; it starts with a lacuna. Fur-

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thermore, the last three leaves of the quire were probably left empty by the scribe of the original production unit. The works copied on these leaves represent later additions, which should be considered as secondary production units. The content of the quire can be ordered as follows:

A. The compilation of the second Norwegian secretary: (fols 15^{r}–19^{v})
   1. The end of a narrative about a servant of God (fol. 15^{r}:1–9)
   2. A conversation between a pupil and his master on the worldly labours of man (fols 15^{r}:9–16^{r}:3)
   3. A treatise on the four elements and their mixture in Man's blood (fols 16^{r}:4–17^{r}:14)
   4. A narrative on Seth's journey to Paradise and on the Holy Cross (fols 17^{r}:14–18^{v}:31)

(Followed by five lines written in a considerably more recent hand (later than 1350): A list of twelve unseemly things in the world, *Tólf heims ósómar*; fol. 18^{v}:31–35)

B. Three leaves containing three separate (secondary) production units:
   1. A map of Jerusalem (fol. 19^{r})
   2. A passage from *De sententia excommunicationis* in translation with a reference to *meistari Goffridus*, Godofridus de Trano (Book 5, ch. 39; fol. 19^{v})
   3. The eddic poem *Vǫluspá* (fols 20^{r}–21^{r})

The ordering of the material in the second compilation is more difficult to discern than that of the first. The focus seems here to be on the life of man and his path to salvation, thereby linking with the last part of the first compilation. The importance of serving the Lord is related to thoughts on the futility of earthly life and the inevitability of death. Seth's journey to Paradise illustrates the hope of salvation; Seth receives seeds from the Tree of Life which will grow into the tree of the Cross. Probably the later addition of five lines containing the *Tólf heims ósómar* corroborates this reading, as the later scribe may have added them to support the message of the older compilation.

The last three leaves of the third quire are highly relevant to the present discussion. On folio 19^{r} there is the drawing of a map of the city of Jerusalem. This map is found in three versions in Norse-Icelandic material. Here it is strategically placed after the two compilations on Christian history, geography and theological speculation. The map does not depict Jerusalem in such a way that it would help a pilgrim to find the location of churches and holy places. Rather it shows the centre of earthly Christianity. But it could also be interpreted as an image of the heavenly Jerusalem, the city where Christians will live in God's

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realm after the Last Judgement. It was possibly intended as an image designed to encourage contemplation on the life to come. And this would relate directly to the two preceding compilations and their descriptions of Christian history, geography and, especially, theology; the image of Jerusalem would therefore most likely have been incorporated into the manuscript in response to the preceding compilations.

The text on folio 19^v is somewhat difficult to understand in relation to the context. Godofridus de Trano's work on canonical law was widely disseminated in the fourteenth century. *De sententia excommunicationis* provides rules for how a Christian should relate to excommunicated people. Perhaps this could be seen in relation to the content of the second compilation, but there is no obvious reason for the inclusion of this short passage here.

The last text of the third quire is of more evident consequence for our understanding of the stages of production as well as of the use of the codex. The Norse poem *Vǫluspá* is generally considered to be a product of the period of formal Christianisation of Iceland, *c.* 1000. In recent scholarship this early dating has been challenged, however, and some scholars would today consider it as participating in the twelfth-century Christian speculation on the Apocalypse (Johansson 2013; Steinsland 2013). In the context of *Hauksbók*, the poem is definitely placed in a Christian context (and one which would support the idea of apocalyptic speculation). *Vǫluspá*, in the form of a vision of a pagan *vǫlva* ('prophetess'), presents a comprehensive overview of the creation of the earth during a mythological age of pagan gods, of the appearance of mankind, the killing of the innocent god Baldr and the subsequent war of the world powers, which leads to the end of the old world and the rebirth of a new earth free of sin; the apocalyptic perspective is strengthened in this version of the poem in relation to the other extant version, something which might be the work of the scribe who copied the text (Quinn 1990; Johansson 2000). If the poem, which was most likely added to the quire at some point after Haukr's death, is seen in relation to the context, there should be little doubt that the scribe understood its relevance for the world-view presented by the two preceding compilations, as well as by the Jerusalem map. When the earth has finally been laid waste by the war between the powers of the world, it sinks into the sea. A new world then appears, lifted up from the sea. The *vǫlva* describes the new earth:

Vǫluspá 59

Sér hon upp koma
ǫðru sinni
iorð ór ægi
iðiagrœna;
falla forsar,

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flýgr ǫrn yfir,
sá er á fialli
fisca veiðir. (*Edda*, p. 14)

[She sees, coming up a second time, / Earth from the ocean, eternally green; / the waterfall plunges, an eagle soars over it, / hunting fish on the mountain. (Larrington (trans.) 1996: 12)]

In this new world the innocent among the gods, Baldr, and his slayer, the blind Hǫðr, will meet again and there will be a golden hall, Gimlé, which reminds us of the heavenly Jerusalem:

Vǫluspá 64

Sal sér hon standa,
sólo fegra,
gulli þacþan,
á Gimlé;
þar scolo dyggvar
dróttir byggia
oc um aldrdaga
ynðis nióta. (*Edda*, p. 15)

[A hall she sees standing, fairer than the sun, / thatched with gold, at Gimle; / there the noble lords will live / and spend their days in pleasure. (Larrington (trans.) 1996: 12)]

These parallels do not necessarily support the suggestion that *Vǫluspá* was created in a Christian context and with Christian connotations. They do, however, clearly indicate that the person who copied (and perhaps also revised) the poem in *Hauksbók* realised the relationship between the descriptions found in the poem and in the preceding two compilations.

One could argue that the first two compilations found in quires 1 to 3 were combined at any stage during the production of the present codex. They could at one point have taken the form of two separate compilations, functioning as two usage units, and were only subsequently forged into one unit with a joint focus on Christian subjects. This may have taken place before they became part of the collection created by Haukr Erlendsson, but it could obviously also have been done at his instigation. The indications that the codex was for quite a long period of time kept in separate booklets could perhaps, however, support the suggestion that these three quires should be treated as separate from the collection created by Haukr Erlendsson.

When the Jerusalem map was added, probably at a rather late point in the history of the codex,[7] this was most likely done in order further to strengthen the

7 See, however, Rudolf Simek 1992, who dates the map to 1305–1307 (p. 123) and 1306 (p. 145).

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Christian focus of the two older compilations. It could have functioned as an illustration of the earthly Jerusalem, as a symbol of the centre of Christendom, but most likely it was also understood as an image of the heavenly Jerusalem.

The eddic poem *Vǫluspá* illustrates the interesting enigmas of late medieval composite manuscripts. It could, hypothetically, have been composed as a pre-Christian response to the emerging Christianity in the late tenth century. In the thirteenth century, a version of the poem was copied with other eddic poems in the so-called *Codex Regius* manuscript (GKS 2365 4to) of the poetic *Edda*. In this manuscript the poem forms the introduction to the mythological world on which Snorri Sturluson based his mythological descriptions in his poetic treatise, the prosaic *Edda*. In *Hauksbók*, however, the scribe places the poem in a new context of Christian lore, arguably based on an apocalyptic understanding of the poem; he reads it as a description of a pre-Christian world-view vaguely reflecting Christian ideas parallel to the one found in the Sibylline Oracles (Johansson 2013). And once the poem was incorporated into the manuscript this reading would be strengthened, so that readers acquainted with the apocalyptic speculations of the later Middle Ages would have seen it as part of a Christian vision. The pre-Christian interpretation from the *Codex Regius* would be replaced by a Christian reading. And this reading would be related also to the map of Jerusalem, i. e. the poem's description of the hall Gimlé in *Vǫluspá* would be seen as a prophetic image of the coming Jerusalem. This illustrates, I would argue, how the compilation of texts and the re-writing of texts and text collections in composite manuscripts was based, on the one hand, on how the texts were understood, while on the other hand the new contexts formed by editors and scribes in this process would change the meaning of the individual texts as they were placed in new contexts.

Conclusion

Traditionally *Hauksbók* as a whole has been attributed to Haukr Erlendsson as both the main scribe and the patron, with the possible exception of AM 675 4to. There is, I argue, good evidence to be slightly more cautious. The first part of the manuscript, AM 371 4to, is clearly the work of the same hand as the main hand in AM 544 4to, but there is no definite indication that the fragments of *Landnámabók* and *Kristinisaga* were written to be part of an encyclopaedic work. On the other hand, there is no evidence pointing to the two works being part of

Simek seems to base his dating of the map on the dating provided for Haukr's contribution by Stefán Karlsson (1964) and without further arguments. The dating will be important for further work on the composition of *Hauksbók* as a codex.

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another manuscript. The middle part of the codex, AM 544 4to, has been the main object of analysis in this essay. To a large extent this part of the codex is the work of the hand identified as Haukr's. The first three quires, however, have no clear connection to the rest of the codex and could very well represent two separate production units incorporated into the codex at a later stage. This would indicate a process of production which could be described as follows:

1) The *Heimslýsing og helgifræði* was produced as a separate compilation
2) The *Heimspeki og helgifræði* was produced as a separate compilation
3) Twelve Unseemly Things in the World (*tólf heims ósómar*; fol. 18^{v}) is a considerably later addition
4) The Jerusalem Map is a later addition, uncertain at what stage
5) *De sententia excommunicationis* is a later addition, uncertain at what stage
6) *Vǫluspá* was most likely added after the death of Haukr, i.e. after 1334
7) The work of Haukr and his collaborating scribes:
   - *Landnámabók* and *Kristni saga* form one production unit (AM 371 4to)
   - The quires 4–14 of AM 544 4to could possibly be divided into two units, 4–9 and 10–14 (and with the later addition of *Cisiojanus* and Seven precious stones and their nature)

On codicological grounds, it appears that the codex was probably not bound into one unit at the instigation of Haukr. Rather, it seems that the parts produced by him or scribes employed by him were produced as booklets and formed a library. The three quires of AM 544 4to where Haukr's hand is not present could have been produced independently. Subsequently, they may either have been in the possession of Haukr and formed part of his library so that they were brought with the rest of the quires to Iceland in the 1330s at the latest or were brought to Iceland separately and only later formed part of the collection which today is known as *Hauksbók*. This collection could have remained in separate quires or booklets for a longer period of time before they were finally bound into one codex. And if this view is accepted, the three quires were deliberately bound with *Hauksbók* proper in order to form a new encyclopaedic collection out of the library of booklets. When the last part of the codex, AM 675 4to, was added, this provided an ending to the manuscript as a whole, which created fruitful interplay with the preceding sections.

Whatever our understanding of *Vǫluspá* at its time of composition, it is obvious that it was read differently in relation to the two preceding compilations and the Map of Jerusalem. My contention is that already at the point when it was re-written in *Hauksbók* this was done in order to strengthen the focus on the Apocalypse, representing a conscious communicative action by the scribe. And this changed the subsequent understanding of not only *Vǫluspá* but all of the texts in the first three quires.

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When the codex was bound, most likely after the addition of *Vǫluspá* in the third quire, the Christian speculation of the three first quires was brought into contact with the pseudo-history of Troy and Britain, as well as with Norse material relevant for the Christianisation of Norway and Iceland and the emergent Christian kingship. It is this codex we all too easily attribute to Haukr and from which we are all too eager to extract his world-view. Yet a closer analysis of the codex as a whole shows that it is the product of binding a collection (or collections) of booklets together at a later point. As the copy of *Vǫluspá* found in *Hauksbók* was most likely made in the Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar in northern Iceland, it would be tempting to suggest that the world-view illustrated by the codex as a whole comes from this milieu. Whatever Haukr's aim may have been in collecting the texts that can be attributed to him or to scribes in his milieu, these texts had by then already been transplanted into a new context and most likely functioned in a different communicative situation. Thus *Hauksbók* provides an excellent example of the dynamics of medieval texts and their meanings, dynamics which are fundamental to the production of multi-text codices in the later Middle Ages.

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The Findern Codex and the Blog *In the Middle:* Understanding Middle English Vernacular Manuscripts through the Lens of Social Media in the Twenty-First Century

This paper articulates a model for examining medieval vernacular multi-text codices which is based on the dynamics we see in the contemporary use of social media, particularly personal blogs. Both media democratise the use of an existing specialised technology, accelerate the development of this technology, and serve as vehicles for the maintenance of social relationships. This model is illustrated with examples drawn from The Findern Manuscript, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.6, and the blog *In the Middle*.

Middle English manuscripts challenge modern students and scholars with the language, the handwriting, and the organisation of texts within the codices. Like modern books, late medieval manuscripts are usually bound and contain texts, but they are fundamentally different from modern books in terms of their production and circulation. In her classic 1942 article, Laura Hibbard Loomis identified 'a notable gap, even in our theorizing, about the early production of vernacular works in England' (595). She then went on to map the concepts of modern publishing onto the methods of production that can be gleaned from the evidence of the Auchinleck manuscript and to posit a lay scriptorium made up of five 'professional scribes working in some sort of a lay bookshop' (599). In 1996, Ralph Hanna noted the impracticality of this desire to understand late medieval manuscript production through the lens of modern print publishing: 'our befuddlement is of our own making: in explaining the past to ourselves, we necessarily adopt our own language' (Hanna 1996: 37). This essay proposes that current social media technologies and patterns of use might serve as a fitter model for understanding the production of late medieval Middle English vernacular manuscripts. As we shall see, both are examples of the democratisation of media technology, and examining manuscripts through the lens of our social media use opens up new opportunities for scholarship and pedagogy.

Both social media and vernacular manuscripts enable texts to participate in the construction and maintenance of group identity through compilation and reading within communities. After making a general comparison between twenty-first century social media and Middle English vernacular manuscripts, I

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shall give a more detailed examination of the quires collected into Cambridge University Library, MS. Ff.1.6, generally called the Findern Anthology. It is my assertion that the texts of the Findern, including the short lyric poems unique to this manuscript, form a more cohesive unit than previous scholarship has suggested, and that the traces of community and collaboration can be seen on its pages. Indeed, the compilation of texts related to a single theme but contributed by many people in the Findern is analogous to the way that blogs are built.

In support of this model, I would propose that there are three important points of comparison between social media and Middle English vernacular manuscripts, each of which will be discussed further in the next section of this essay. The first is the way that both medieval vernacular manuscripts and social media allow the democratisation of a specialised technology. As use of this technology expands, an increasing variety of voices participates in the production, transmission, and consumption of texts. Second, broader use engenders an increase in the pace of the evolution of the technology. Third, each technology becomes a vehicle for the maintenance of social relationships. Of course, like any analogy, this will break down if pursued too far or too rigorously. However, it serves as a useful base of understanding from which to begin.

In the middle of the twentieth century, the ARPANET, a precursor to today's Internet, was a specialised technology used by members of the government, the military, and the scholarly research community to share information and ideas quickly and easily with one another over long distances (Barras 2007). Early adopters of this technology were those groups like scientists and researchers who were already making heavy use of mainframe computers. Within a few short decades, the networking technology percolated down into businesses and education as computers got smaller, cheaper, and more powerful. Since then, this highly specialised technology has evolved to be used in businesses, in schools, in homes, and, these days, in our pockets. Rather than being simply a tool for the analysis and dissemination of scientific and strategic information, the Internet has expanded to become a means of personal communication through the use of electronic mail, file sharing services, and social media.

In the context of this essay, the evolution of the weblog is of particular interest. This social media platform initially began as a list of the websites a person had visited, presented in reverse chronological order (Welch 2003: 23) and meant to be a memory peg and finding aid so that one could visit them again (Jensen 2003: 22). The next step in the evolution of weblog format was the collection of texts published elsewhere with some meta-commentary about why a particular text was chosen or where it came from. Gradually, the weblog, now called a blog, has morphed into a public diary, whose content ranges from personal daily chronicle, to periodic philosophical musings, to family chronicle, to commentary on politics and society.

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Though in theory a blog is a public document that anyone with Internet access may read and respond to, in practice blogs are publicised by word-of-mouth as people recommend a favorite blogger to a friend, link to someone else's blog post on their own blog, or re-post an interesting post to a social networking site like Facebook or Twitter. The interaction that writers have with their readers via comments, links, and responses creates a virtual community encoded in the text they type. Though many blogs are written by a single author, bloggers are increasingly collaborating to create more complex textual spaces through practices like interviews and guest posts. In January 2006, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen created *In the Middle,* a blog mostly focused on professional ideas, but with some personal musings interspersed, and invited contributions from others. By July of that year, Eileen Joy, who had been a regular participator in the comments section of the blog, became first a guest blogger and then a regular contributor. Later that year, they were joined by Karl Steele, and in August 2007 by Mary Kate Hurley, who had been blogging her way through her reading list at *Old English in New York* since April of 2006.

Over time, Cohen's personal blog evolved into 'a group medieval studies blog' as regular commentators and contributors used the space to discuss ideas and practices at the cutting edge of medieval studies: monstrosity, post-colonial studies, eco-criticism. The virtual conversation created by individual posts from contributors has been further enriched by comments from readers to create a community centred on *In the Middle.* For readers and contributors alike, the blog is a place to explore new ideas and to connect with people with the same values and interests within the field of medieval studies. More reader-commentators are added to the community each time someone shares the URL of a post in some other social media platform or brings ideas into conversation in the office or conference room.

Like the Internet in its early days, manuscript codices were a specialised technology in twelfth-century England. The raw materials, the technology of production, and the skills for use were largely confined to the Church and the upper echelons of government. Consequently, these groups had control over both the recording and the dissemination of information. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, early secular uses, like record keeping in courts, guilds, and businesses, put manuscript production and consumption into the hands of a broader demographic.

In her article on 'Literacy', Alison Truelove (2006: 84–85) notes that 'literacy was a necessity rather than a luxury for…gentry families' in a litigious society that placed 'increasing trust in written documentation'. To support this claim, Truelove draws on Michael Clanchy's (1979) assertion that 'lay literacy grew out of bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education and literature' (in Truelove 2006: 86). Thus, literacy, driven by practical motives related to

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record-keeping, business transactions, and legal affairs, spread throughout the ranks of the gentry and the growing class of free tradesmen and merchants. I am arguing that once this skill is present in gentry households, application thereof is not limited to the necessities that drove its acquisition. The practices of reading and writing facilitated the copying of manuscripts for educational and entertainment purposes, as was seen in the twentieth-century expansion of electronic media from specialised professional to personal uses. The application of the manuscript medium to the task of recording and transmitting narratives and songs is reflected in the increased production of manuscripts containing Middle English literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One famous example is London, British Library, MS Harley 2253, a tri-lingual collection of romances, lyrics, and recipes copied by a 'conveyancer producing legal charters', who applied the technology for producing government texts to the production of this collection (Revard 2000: 21). Harley 2253 and other similar codices broaden the application of the technology and tools of writing to the collection and dissemination of texts related to household entertainment.

The present moment of transition from static printed text to electronic text and hypertext shows that technological transitions do not necessarily happen in the neat linear way that we imagine they would. There is not a one-directional causal relationship in which a rise in proficiency with new technology is a precondition that creates demand for texts in the new medium. Rather, increasing proficiency with a technology and the availability of that technology are mutually influential. Thus, concomitant with an increase in proficient use of the technology of manuscript production is a rise in the demand for manuscripts.[1] Although fifteenth-century technological advances in paper production and scribal hands streamlined the process of commercial manuscript production, these advances were insufficient to sate the desires of the growing reading public. The gulf between desire and availability was filled, in part, by the practice of assembling personal books over time by copying borrowed texts. A prime example is Robert Thornton's creation of personal anthologies on paper in the mid fifteenth century. As John Finlayson (2006: 632) notes, the romances in Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 91 are organised loosely into genres and appear to have been collected carefully over time. A landowner, Thornton, uses the literacy skills necessary for the management of his holdings to create his own set of quires and to participate in the culture of book ownership and consumption, thereby claiming the prestige of ownership not by purchasing, but by producing.[2]

1 For a discussion of the changes in the reading public in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, see Loomis 1942: 601, and Gillespie and Wakelin 2011.

2 For a discussion of Robert Thornton himself, see Fein and Johnston 2014. For a detailed analysis of Thornton's collection practices in the London Thornton manuscript (London, British Library, Additional MS 31042), see Thompson 1987.

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Like Robert Thornton's manuscripts, CUL, Ff.1.6 is a collection of secular and courtly verse, including copies of Chaucer's *Parliament of Foules*, the romance *Sir Degrevant*, and selections from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. However, it also contains many short lyric poems, some of which are only attested in this manuscript, and forty-one scribal hands contribute to the sixteen quires of this codex. They range from amateur to professional and produce pages, which vary from messy and slapdash to neat and orderly. Based on analysis of the scribal hands, Richard Beadle and A. E. B. Owen (1978) and Kate Harris (1983) date the production of this manuscript to the mid fifteenth century; however, it is generally known as the Findern manuscript because of its mid sixteenth-century association with the family of that name.

The Findern codex has sometimes been called a miscellany, a term that connotes variety, randomness, and a lack of order. Rather than merely aggregating a literary anthology over time, the many scribes who contributed to this manuscript were, I would argue, reading, compiling, and composing as a community.[3] Despite the variety of scribal hands, of authors, and of metrical forms contained on its pages, this codex is far from miscellaneous.[4] Rather, the texts of the Findern display remarkable thematic focus on love, particularly love from the point of view of women. Because the scribes who contributed to this and other Middle English vernacular collections have left no meta-commentary about the process of production, it is impossible for the modern reader to know why particular texts are included. However, we can say that the inclusion of a text in the Findern is the result of several decisions: to include the text, to modify it (or not), and to place it among the other texts already collected. Thus, the Findern codex is a set of quires that contains texts in their own right but also texts as records of the interactions among the contributing scribes over time.

I am not suggesting close coordination among all of the forty-one scribes whose hands appear in the Findern Codex. That would be unrealistic. However, taken together, Harris's (1983) connection of the personal signatures in the Findern to people living in fifteenth-century Derbyshire and Michael Johnston's (2015) analysis of the mixed professional and amateur hands suggest that the codex was built by people who both purchased available quires and did their own copying and composing.[5] For example, William Lewiston may have been a

3 For a discussion of scribal composition in CUL, Ff.1.6, see McNamer 1991, 2006. For a more general survey of women and writing in Middle English, see Barratt 2013.

4 Cf. Doyle 2006; Kinch 2007; McDonald 2000; McNamer 1991, 2006; and (to a certain extent) Harris 1983.

5 *Mise en page*, consistency of hand within and across stints, variety of hands for different purposes, and grammatical and syntactic accuracy all contribute to the placement of a given manuscript along the continuum from professional and commercial to amateur and personal.

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professional clerk, while Anne Schyrley, Margery Hungerford, Elizabeth Cotton, and Elizabeth Frauncis, whose names appear on folio 109v, are members of interconnected landowning families.[6] The contributions of individual scribes are uneven, with some hands appearing only in single booklets, while others make multiple contributions. The content of scribal contributions also varies. Hungerford (Scribe 4), for example, contributes items which only survive in CUL, Ff.1.6, while Schyrley (Scribe 6) contributes only copies of popular texts by Chaucer and Roos.

The construction of the Findern codex, texts that cross quire boundaries, and evidence of wear on first and last leaves of some quires indicates that the collection probably first existed as unbound quires circulating through the community of readers and scribes as singles or in small booklets. Based on the location of texts within the manuscript and on Beadle and Owen's analysis of gatherings, I have broken down the quires of the codex into booklets in the following way: A, BC, D, E, FGH, IKLM, N, O, P. Quires A, D, E, N, O, and P are complete in and of themselves, containing the beginnings and the ends of their texts. The remaining quires contain texts which cross quire boundaries, but can nonetheless be divided into smaller groups: BC, FGH, and IKLM.

This library of booklets includes copies of texts by well-known authors like Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Hoccleve, and Roos, which also survive in other copies; and the contents and placement of these texts show care and attention to the collection as a whole. In his examination of the manuscript, Ashby Kinch (2007: 733) notes that the compilers tailor the texts they copy to fit the collection by excerpting or adapting them as well as by juxtaposing them with other texts.[7] Nicola McDonald (2000) and Kara Doyle (2006) examine the Findern scribes' adaptation and compilation of 'Thisbe' from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* in order to understand how this text was read by an audience of fifteenth-century Englishwomen in the countryside.[8]

For a nuanced discussion of the distinctions among these terms, see Mooney (2000) and Pouzet (2011).

6 Harris discusses the marriages among these families (1983: 302–03) and connects these names and families with other extant manuscripts (303, 305).

7 Beadle and Owen (1978: xiii–xiv) note that Hoccleve's *Letter to Cupid* appears 'in a mutilated form, with a number of stanzas missing, and those present disarranged'. The missing stanzas at the end of the poem may belong on the theoretical missing leaves at the end of Quire E, but there are also several stanzas which have been moved from the middle to the end. On folio 73r stanza 19 is followed by stanza 30, and on folio 74v stanza 39 is followed by stanza 50. Stanza 20 follows stanza 59 on folio 75v, and stanza 28 is the last of this poem on folio 76r, currently the last leaf of this quire. (Stanzas are identified here by the numbers a later hand has written onto the pages of CUL, Ff.1.6.)

8 See Karen Pratt's essay in this volume for a discussion of the 'Pyramus and Thisbe' material in medieval European literature and manuscripts.

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The short lyrics, which share the pages of the Findern manuscript with 'Thisbe' and *Sir Degrevant*, have received uneven treatment from scholars. Doyle analyzes just one of the twenty-nine lyrics unique to this manuscript, while Kinch merely mentions them in a footnote. In contrast, Sarah McNamer (1991, 2006) focuses on the unique lyrics and draws from them a subset of fifteen, which she suggests may have been composed by women. Using a New Philological approach, Simone Marshall (2007: 348) suggests that the presence of the anonymous lyrics reflects a change in the organisational principle of the manuscript from public to private over the course of the period of its compilation.

While some scholars have referred to the shorter lyrics as 'filler texts,' they do more than just occupy empty space. In the unique lyrics, which are intermingled with the copies of well-known texts throughout the manuscript, the Findern scribes are engaging with the ideas of the copied texts and adapting courtly language to express their own experiences of love (real or imagined). Building on the work of Harris and Rossel Robbins (1954), McNamer posits that the scribes, both named and anonymous, may have been composing the short lyrics as they wrote them into the manuscript in the blank spaces between the published works they were copying. This argument is based on the juxtaposition of the unique lyrics with well-known texts, 'substantive alterations and deletions', linguistic features local to Derbyshire, and the artless sincerity of the poems (McNamer 1991: 282, 283, 288).

Based on the bound manuscript as it now exists, it is difficult to identify the manner in which the copying and composition of the texts in the Findern took place. One option is to take the order of the quires in the current binding as the order of compilation. In this case, the placement of copied texts at the beginnings of most, especially the earliest, quires suggests a project of collecting extant works by well-known authors, with unused space being given to shorter lyrics, some written by the scribes. Quire A contains three excerpts from Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* while Quires B and C contain shorter works by Chaucer and Clanvowe as well as Chaucer's *Parliament of Foules* and six lyrics, four of which are only attested in this manuscript. In contrast, quires that come later in the current binding include more lyrics and fewer long poems by famous authors. Quire N, for example, contains twenty short poems, only six of which are extant in other manuscripts.

Recent work by Johnston (2015) suggests that the collection originally began with the romance *Sir Degrevant,* which appears at the end of Quire G and the beginning of H. The bulk of this romance is copied in Quire H, which displays a more professional scribal hand with neater, more consistent letters and a regular number of perfectly parallel lines per page, features that indicate the scribe's skill. This romance may have originally been part of a two-quire booklet purchased from outside the community of amateur gentry scribes. Harris (1983: 315) makes

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a similar suggestion that the self-contained Quire N was produced separately from the others based on the seven scribal hands and three watermarks which occur only within this quire.

Examination of scribal stints offers insight into the collaborative nature of the compilation of texts in the Findern. At the beginning of Quire F, scribes 16 and 17 make frequent changeovers (Harris 1983: 331), sometimes in the middle of a line, suggesting that these two scribes are working in tandem and are frequently interrupted. One can imagine the quire and the source on a table in the house and the two scribes stopping to copy a few words as they have time. In contrast, Scribes 4 (Margery Hungerford) and 6 (Anne Schyrley) both contribute longer stints to multiple quires, suggesting an extended project with texts added to quires as they circulate through the community around Findern.

The contents and construction of Quire E show the careful thought that went into the selection and placement of texts over the course of the collection process. The five literary selections in this quire cohere as they all speak to the way that women experience love, in particular the challenge of remaining constant despite jealousy and absence (see Table 1).

Table 1

Gathering		**Leaf**	**Watermark from Harris Appendix II**	**Hand as identified by Harris**	**Text**	**Author**	**Text # from Beadle and Owen's inventory**
E		61		Scribe 13 (only item)	'Anelida's Complaint' from *Anelida and Arcite*	Chaucer	20
		62	4				
		63					
	ee	64	5	nicholaus plenus amoris (#14)	'The Tale of Thisbe' from *The Legend of Good Women*	Chaucer	21
		65					
		66					
		67	5				
		68	4	Scribe 15	*The Complaint of Venus*	Chaucer	22
		69v	4	Scribe 11	'My woo full hert this clad in payn'	* McNamer female compostition	23
		70		Mid-16th c.	inventory: 'the parcellys off clothys at fyndyrn'		

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Table 1 *(Continued)*

Gathering	Leaf	Watermark from Harris Appendix II	Hand as identified by Harris	Text	Author	Text # from Beadle and Owen's inventory
	71		Scribe 6	*Lepistre de Cupide*, missing last 20 stanzas	Hoccleve	24
	72	4				
	73	4				
	74					
	75	4				
	76					
	77		missing: Bradshaw's notes posit that the 20 stanzas missing from #24 would fit on four leaves here.			
	78					
	79					
	80					

This quire contains three poems by Chaucer, one by Hoccleve, and a short lyric unique to the Findern. The current analysis will ignore this quire's decidedly non-literary inventory of 'the parcellys of clothys at fyndyrn' (fol. 70^{r-v}), which Harris (1983: 299) identifies as having been written some hundred years after the other texts.

Two of the literary selections in Quire E are concerned with jealousy. The first of these is an excerpt from Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*, which tells the story of Queen Anelida of Armenia's betrayal by her false lover Arcite, a nobleman of Thebes. Scribe 13, however, has chosen to include here only 'Anelida's Complaint,' the section of this complex narrative poem in which Anelida accuses her lover of lacking constancy and describes the suffering he causes her:

> For sorowe and routhe [grief] of your unkyndenesse
> I wepe, I wake, I faste; al helpeth noght;
> I weyve [eschew] joye that is to speke of oght,
> I voyde [avoid] companye, I fle gladnesse.
> (CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire E, fol. 62^{v}, ll. 292–95, Scribe 13, *transcription mine*)

Anelida offers a fairly normal depiction of the lovelorn: she weeps, she cannot sleep or eat, she avoids company. Continuing the same theme, Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus*, the third text in Quire E, presents another depiction of jealousy. Here, the poet has reworked five French ballads into three poems, which shift the narrative voice from the masculine of the original to the feminine, as indicated by

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Chaucer's title.[9] Uncharacteristically, it appears in this manuscript without its usual partner the *Complaint of Mars*. Here it responds to Anelida's description of jealousy with the affirmation that a woman can love in spite of having cause to feel jealous:

> For y so loung haue ben in yowr servise
> That for to lete of [relinquish] wol y neuer assent
> No force [Even if] though Jalousye me torment
> Sufficeth me to sene [see] hym whanne I may,
> And therfore certes [surely] to myn endyng day
> To loue hym best ne shall I neuer repent.
> (CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire E, fols 68^{v}–69^{r}, ll. 51–56, Scribe 15, *transcription mine*)

This passage also suggests that love is a choice. By refusing to assent to the cessation of love prompted by jealousy, the speaker actively chooses to continue loving.

In counterpoint to this topic of jealousy, two of the selections in this quire are concerned with how lovers endure separation. In 'The Tale of Thisbe', Chaucer overtly identifies the nature and experience of love as his topic, noting early in the poem that 'Forbidden love grows tenfold' (fol. 64^{v}, l. 736) and concluding with the sentiment that 'A woman dar and can [love] so wel as he' (fol. 67^{v}, ll. 920–23). The short lyric 'my woo full hert this clad in payn' unites the themes established by Chaucer's poems:

> My woo ful [sorrowful] hert this clad in payn
> Wote natt welle [doesn't know at all] what do nor seyn:
>   Long absens greuyth me so.
> For lakke of syght nere am I sleyn;
> All ioy myne hert hath in dissedeyn;
>   Comfort ffro me is go.
> …
> To hym I woll be trywe and playn [sincere],
> And euyr his owne in serteyn,
>   Tyll deth departe us to.
> My hert shall I neuer ffro hym refrayn
> I gaue hitt hym withowte constrayn,
>   Euer to contenwe [continue] so.
> (CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire E, fol. 69^{v}, ll. 1–6 and 16–21, Scribe 11, *transcription mine*)

The anonymous and possibly female poet here echoes the suffering due to separation described in 'The Tale of Thisbe', but she also echoes Venus and Anelida's

9 The Riverside edition of Chaucer's collected works (Benson (ed.) 1987) references three French ballads (634), but during conversation at the Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript Conference in Utrecht (April, 2013), John Scattergood said that Chaucer draws on five ballads to create his three-part Complaint. See Scattergood 1994: 174–75.

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avowals of continuing love despite the pain inflicted by the lover, though in this case the pain is caused by separation rather than jealousy.

'The Tale of Thisbe' excerpted from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* appears on a smaller quire (Quire ee) inserted into Quire E between 'Anelida's Complaint' and *The Complaint of Venus.* The unique watermark of Thisbe's pages as well as the signature of the scribe, who only contributes this item to the Findern collection, suggests that this booklet may have been created separately (possibly purchased) and inserted. There are three points in Quire E at which this smaller quire could be inserted between other works: after folio 63 (the current location), after folio 69, and after folio 70. Placing 'Thisbe' after folio 63, between the other two poems by Chaucer, keeps all of the works by this author in this quire together, but it interrupts the thematic continuity of 'Anelida's Complaint' and *The Complaint of Venus.* Coherence is restored, however, by the anonymous lyric, which unites the ideas of suffering and constancy. Thus, the constellation of scribal choices that resulted in the placement of these texts in this order creates a harmonious whole, which pairs nicely with the remaining literary element of the quire.

Quire E's final text, Hoccleve's translation of Christine de Pizan's *Letter of Cupid*, offers support to maligned women as the god of love speaks to his subjects concerning the complaints he has heard from gentlewomen about their treatment at the hands of men:

> The ladyes eke compleynen hem on clerks
> That thei haue made bookes of hir [their] defame
> In which despisen thei women works,
> And speken of hem grete reprefe and shame
> And causeles geu hem a wykkede name
> (CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire E, fol. 80^{v}, ll. 22–26, Scribe 6, *transcription mine*)

Cupid's judgment of clerks who 'have made bookis of [women's] defame' draws a contrast between those 'bookes of hir defame' and this quire, which presents women's constancy despite jealousy and separation. The final twenty stanzas of this poem are missing, but may have originally appeared on four folios which are also missing from the quire (Beadle and Owen 1978: xxiii).

In contrast to the simplicity of Quire E, the booklet containing Quires I, K, L, and M contains a set of texts that cross the boundary from one quire to the next, thus linking them. The structure and organisation of texts within this booklet juxtaposes one long extant text with a series of anonymous lyrics mostly unique to this manuscript (see Table 2).

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Table 2

<table>
<tr><th>Gath-ering</th><th>Leaf</th><th>Water-mark from Harris Appendix II</th><th>Hand as iden-tified by Harris</th><th>Text</th><th>Author</th><th>Text # from Beadle and Owen's inventory</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">I</td><td>116</td><td></td><td colspan="3">missing</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>117</td><td></td><td rowspan="3">Scribe 6 Anne Schyrley (118r)</td><td rowspan="18">La Belle Dame sans Mercy</td><td rowspan="18">Sir Richard Roos</td><td rowspan="18">30</td></tr>
<tr><td>118</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>119</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="10">K</td><td>120</td><td>4</td><td rowspan="3">Scribe 25 (only item)</td></tr>
<tr><td>121</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>122</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>123</td><td>9</td><td rowspan="4">Scribe 6</td></tr>
<tr><td>124</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>125</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>126</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>127</td><td>4</td><td rowspan="3">Scribe 25</td></tr>
<tr><td>128</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>129</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">L</td><td>130</td><td></td><td rowspan="5">Scribe 6</td></tr>
<tr><td>131</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>132</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>133</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>134</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>135</td><td>9</td><td rowspan="2">Scribe 26 (only item)</td><td rowspan="2">'Welcome be ye my souereine'</td><td rowspan="2">* McNamer female com-postition</td><td rowspan="2">31</td></tr>
<tr><td>136r</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>136v</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Scribe 27 (only item)</td><td rowspan="2">'Some tyme y louev ye may see'</td><td rowspan="2">*</td><td rowspan="2">32</td></tr>
<tr><td>cancelled</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">M</td><td>137r</td><td rowspan="2">9</td><td>Scribe 9 (ll. 1–2); Scribe 28 (ll. 3–4)</td><td>'Sith fortune hath me set thus'</td><td>* McNamer female com-postition</td><td>33</td></tr>
<tr><td>137v</td><td>scribe 29</td><td>'Now wolde I fayne some myrthis make'</td><td>anon., but attested else-where</td><td>34</td></tr>
<tr><td>138r</td><td></td><td>scribe 4</td><td>'Alas alas and alas why'</td><td>* McNamer female com-postition</td><td>35</td></tr>
</table>

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Table 2 *(Continued)*

Gath-ering	Leaf	Water-mark from Harris Appendix II	Hand as iden-tified by Harris	Text	Author	Text # from Beadle and Owen's inventory
	138^{v}		scribe 30	'Alas what planet was y born undir'	*	36
	138^{v} / 139^{r}		scribe 4	'Continuance / Of remem-braunce'	* McNamer female com-postition	37
	139^{r}		scribe 29	'My self wal-kyng all Allone'	* McNamer female com-postition	38
	139^{v}		scribe 30	'Some tyme y louid so do y yut'	*	39
	140		stub			
	141		missing			
	142					

On Quires I, K, and L appears the entirety of Sir Richard Roos's translation of Alain Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans merci*, then Quires L and M contain nine lyric poems, eight of which are unique to this manuscript (uniqueness is indicated in the table with an asterisk). Five of these lyrics are included in McNamer's group that may have been written by women.

La Belle Dame presents a woman who resists love rather than embracing it with constancy and therefore seems like an odd inclusion in this manuscript. However, it does present the permutations of how men talk about their love with a repertoire of metaphors related to sickness, law, and service. In his effort to elicit the desired response from La Belle Dame, the lover in this poem moves from one metaphor of love to another, discarding them one by one as she resists their force.

The lyric poems in this group of quires might have been penned by the despondent lover of the Belle Dame, but that they lack his tone of complaint. The voices, often feminine, which speak these poems are separated from their beloveds not because the love is unrequited but because of the fickleness of Fortune and the circumstances of life:

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Sith Fortune hath me set thus in this wyse
Too loue yow best callyd be
You to serue and trwly plese
Is my desyr and hertus esse
(CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire M, fol. 137r, Scribes 9 and 28*, transcription mine*)

This verse is typical of the short lyrics in this booklet with its assignment of blame to Fortune, rather than to the beloved. The six scribe-authors display a surprising consistency of metaphoric usage in their depiction of love through the language of service as well as penance.

The female personae of these lyrics also share a sense of determination. They choose constancy in the face of challenges. The Belle Dame's statement of her desire for autonomy is consistent with the lyrics' presentation of women as having agency in their experience of love:

Ladame Also ye shal not dye for my plesaunce
Nor for your hele [health] I cane no suerty make
I nill not [will not] hate myn hert for others sake
Wepe thei laghe [laugh] thei or syng this I warant
(CUL, Ff.1.6, Quire L, fol. 132r, ll. 725–30, Scribe 6, *transcription mine*)

The authors of the short lyrics in this booklet use similar language to that of the courtly conversation in *La Belle Dame sans merci*, but select the language that best represents their experience and use it to express sincerity rather than playfulness.

Scholars disagree on how to interpret this use of courtly language in a provincial context. McNamer (1991, 2003) argues for the local composition of such lyrics in part based on their apparent sincerity, as though the provincial women accept the courtly language at face value. Doyle (2006), on the other hand, argues that the authors are participating in the ludic tradition of Ricardian love poetry. McDonald (2000) also goes for sincerity on the part of the scribe-authors, but she notes that some of the Chaucer texts may similarly be sincere, as Thisbe, for example, is one of the most earnest tales of the *Legend of Good Women.* It is also possible that the Findern authors could be co-opting ludic language for the expression of sincere emotion consciously and purposefully.

Of the nine booklets in the Findern codex, two have been examined here. Each of the others offers ample opportunity for analysing the way that the Findern scribes chose, adapted, compiled, and composed texts which centre on the theme of the experience of love from the woman's point of view. This sort of collaboration challenges the way that we talk about books. In its current form, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.6 is recognisable to us as a book. However, its process of production is far from the way books are created today. Findern is not a miscellany, but nor is it an anthology whose contents were selected and or-

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ganised prior to its production. It might, however, be the record of interactions within the community of readers and scribes who had access to it. One can infer from it that they shared the quires and booklets in order to read, to add more copied texts, and to compose their own texts, in the same way that a blog creates a textual record of the interactions among authors and commentators.

The new perspective on manuscript culture proposed here makes classroom instruction more challenging, particularly if the students are newcomers to the topic. Textbooks such as Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham's *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (2007) do an excellent job of introducing students to the standard processes of manuscript production. However, their focus on clerical copies of the Bible, the mass, the divine office, and books of hours creates a misleadingly monolithic view of manuscript culture. Even in an introductory course, the teacher must expose and explore the alternative paths that Clemens and Graham (2007) gloss over to point out the development of vernacular and literary manuscripts and hands. Furthermore, a more nuanced view of manuscript culture challenges us to interrogate each manuscript in order to glean as much information as possible about the intended audience and purpose of the collection of texts. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Maidie Hilmo, and Linda Olson's more recent *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches* (2012) moves students toward a more nuanced view of manuscript culture by offering a greater variety of codices for examination, but the excerpting required to achieve this variety means that students work with isolated texts and pieces of texts rather than collections.

If, however, we privilege the acts of compilation and arrangement, as demonstrated in this essay, we must view manuscripts as holistic units rather than dissecting and examining the individual texts. The focus of inquiry then shifts to the network of producer-users and away from the model of professional production. My proposed perspective also challenges our assumptions of authorship as a solitary occupation of a single creative person. Findern, with its plethora of copyists and composers, is the creation of a group of people, each of whom contributes their own creativity to a communal project. This creativity may take the form of composition, of adaptation during copying, or of careful placement of copied text. A parallel example from the blogosphere is the *In the Middle* blog, where posts from many contributors and comments from readers influence future inclusions in the blog and create a cohesive whole with multiple authors.

In both Middle English vernacular manuscripts and the modern personal blog, we can see the appropriation of existing technology for a new purpose. The tool used at first by a few specialists for the dissemination of static knowledge becomes a dynamic medium of personal expression for the many. This transformation from tool to medium is not something that the developers of the tool set out to create. Rather, the appropriation occurs as novice users being trained to

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use the tool realise the potential it has as a medium of expression and adapt it to be used in that new way. The new purpose for the emergent technology is dependent upon a refinement of that technology, and a mutually influential relationship exists between the ongoing development of the technology and the expansion of its use.

Social media is by no means a perfect model for the understanding of Middle English vernacular manuscript culture. It is not my purpose to suggest one-to-one correspondences between manuscripts and blogs, but to note the similarities between the rhetorical situations and the functions of these two media in the lives of their producer-users. The blend of commercial and personal production and the collaborative nature of the texts created in our present world of social media lend insight to the modern scholar trying to comprehend the similarly emergent technologies of vernacular manuscripts in England during the high Middle Ages.

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Codifying Genre: The *Dresdener Heldenbuch*

It has become a commonplace in manuscript studies that genre is a fundamental category for the production and, presumably, the reception of multi-text codices. With regard to codex production, genre can intervene in two ways. On the one hand, the idea of genre can be constitutive for the selection and collection of texts for a compilation (or a section of it). On the other hand, it seems plausible that the texts in some cases undergo considerable editorial processes, making them 'fit' the generic programme of the planned book. Both seem to be the case with the *Dresdener Heldenbuch*, written by Kaspar von der Rhön (and a nameless second scribe) in late fifteenth-century Nürnberg. It is obvious that Kaspar von der Rhön and his colleague aimed at a more or less complete collection of heroic poetry, thus producing one of the first voluminous and certainly one of the most famous *Heldenbücher* of the late Middle Ages. And it is also evident that they adapted the texts which they could lay their hands on to construct what – however absurd and grotesque its contents are here and there – might be, at least codicologically speaking, the most coherent collection of German heroic poetry ever produced: the two scribes shorten their texts, they give them a homogeneous formal structure, they even might have changed some of the plots – all of these actions being governed by a precise concept of heroic poetry which could be described as a mere fantasy of codified oral (sung) poetry.

I. On the Dynamics of the Medieval Miscellany

Analysing medieval miscellanies leads us immediately into a crisis of understanding.[1] One can, on the one hand, ask questions concerning the principles governing a miscellany's organisation, the way the texts are put together, or their 'Sitz im Leben'. The results then will be rather simple: a miscellany can, for example, prove to be an author collection that conserves the texts of a single poet, just like modern editions of classic authors do. Alternatively, a miscellany may bring together texts related thematically, generically, or it can, especially in the late Middle Ages, be an *ad hoc* compilation of items ordered and bound together

1 'Miscellany' is being used here neutrally to refer to a manuscript containing multiple texts and does not necessarily imply a lack of coherence.

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at a workshop by a certain buyer. These straightforward descriptions rely heavily on modern categories of literary history – author, theme, genre, purchaser, and so on. The better a miscellany fits into these modern categories, the more precise the description will be; the worse it fits, the less precise the description becomes. However, if one, on the other hand, does not question the guiding principles of a miscellany, but the opportunity it affords us to understand medieval literature, things become complex. In this case, our aim is not to understand a single miscellany or a group of them, but to understand the principles that determine the texts included. Those very same literary-historical categories, which seemed to be stable and reliable for the first approach, become fluid and intangible, and they do so the more a miscellany eludes our seemingly universal standards of literary criticism. Whoever has dealt with medieval miscellanies knows that this is quite normal. There are manuscripts which seem to be 'author' manuscripts at first glance,[2] whose texts are linked not by a real author but merely by authorial attribution.[3] There are also manuscripts which orbit around a distinct theme, for example early Middle High German miscellanies which show a clear theological impetus, but which at the same time neglect their thematic centre of gravity by including some texts that do not fit. And there are manuscripts which collect texts of a single genre – e.g. *Märenhandschriften* –, interspersed occasionally with texts of a completely different genre: a saint's life, a prayer, some songs, and so on. What then is an 'author', a 'genre', what is thematic coherence, what are the possible literary interests of a commissioner, reader or compiler if the only evidence we have undermines our modern categories, at least to a certain extent?

The dynamics of the medieval miscellany are based on the relationship between the two approaches outlined above: for describing miscellanies, we rely on a bundle of concepts which are defined by those very same miscellanies. One might speak of a hermeneutic loop: our ideas concerning medieval authorship, generic configurations, literary activity are based not only on our knowledge of miscellanies; but analysing the latter while using the former will enrich, challenge and modify our conceptual framework.

The few examples already mentioned might indicate that the evidence we find in medieval manuscripts barely challenges modern categorisation. But it does challenge it to some degree, and the closer we look, the more obvious this conflict becomes. Faced with this hermeneutic challenge we soon reach the limits of our understanding: everything is more or less clear, but never entirely so. However, it seems to me that it is precisely this *mise en abyme* of modern understanding

2 For example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 779 with its collection of 'Neidhart' songs; see the online catalogue description with a link to a full digitisation in *Handschriftencensus*, http://www.handschriftencensus.de/7032.

3 On the varied uses and functions of author attributions, see Besamusca, Griffith, Meyer, and Morcos 2016.

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which leads us straight to the very heart of medieval miscellanies in particular or even medieval literary culture in general.

What has been outlined thus far is nothing more than a vague hypothesis, which urgently needs to be illustrated. In the following, the dimensions of this sketchy hermeneutic paradox will be demonstrated. I shall therefore focus on the relationship between manuscript and genre, and my approach will be guided by two questions: first, which aspects of genre determine the production of a miscellany? And secondly, what can we learn about the medieval notion of genre by a close examination of medieval miscellanies? My example will be the so-called *Dresdener Heldenbuch.*[4]

II. The *Dresdener Heldenbuch:* An Authorised Collection

Clearly, the texts in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* are not the product of soaring flights of intellect. Each of the eleven texts preserved in it are extant somewhere else, and philologists agree in every single case that the versions preserved in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* are by far the worst (Kofler 2006: 29–49). Laßberg, in an early nineteenth-century letter to Uhland, qualified the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* as 'wertloses Zeug' [totally worthless],[5] and to my knowledge nobody since then has seriously challenged that verdict.[6] Despite this, the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is the result of planned book production, written by two scribes, one of which remains anonymous, while the other names himself 'Kasper von der roen' and signs his texts with 'kvdr'.[7] And even though we cannot prove it, it seems highly plausible that one of these scribes, probably Kaspar von der Rhön himself, also coordinated the production of the book.

4 The manuscript will be cited from the edition by Kofler, the shortcomings of which (see Millet 2009) have no substantial impact on my argument.

5 Letter dated September 23rd 1820 (Pfeiffer (ed.) 1870: 13). Cf. Kofler (ed.) 2006: 28.

6 See Grimm 2009: 106ff. An excellent example is the verdict of Hermann Schneider: 'Die Bearbeiter fußen z. T. auf guten Quellen, die aber namentlich der Ungenannte [*scil.* der Anonymus] aufs rücksichtsloseste verdirbt, vor allem im Streben nach Verkürzung. […] Formal roh, abgeschmackt und geistlos gibt sich das Meiste und ist dennoch nicht wertlos, weil eine Anzahl von Gedichten in Rezensionen vorliegt, die wir sonst nicht kennen.' (Schneider 1925/26: 478). [The adapters/compilers sometimes base themselves on good sources, which, however, the unnamed (i. e. anonymous) scribe ruins in a most careless way, especially when abbreviating … The majority of it is crude in form, lacking in taste and flair, yet it is not worthless for we have versions of a number of poems, of which we would otherwise be unaware.]

7 Sometimes the abbreviation is expanded, for example 'PMkvdr (per me …)'; the abbreviation is found just once within a text, namely in the a subheading of the *Rosengarten*, fol. 176^{r}: 'Sicut hkvdr', which should be 'sicut hic …'

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III. Empirical Data on the Codex[8]

The *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is Mscr. M 201 in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, hence its name. In fact, it should be called the *Nürnberger Heldenbuch*, as it was almost certainly written there, definitely in 1472, because Kaspar says as much in his explicit to *Laurin* on folio 313^v. The watermarks confirm this statement. Little is known of the history of the codex, except that it was owned by Duke Balthasar von Mecklenburg in the late fifteenth century. We see his coat of arms on the flyleaf.

Its contents are as follows:[9]

Text	Folio(s)	Quire number	Scribe	Watermark[10]
Ortnit	1^r–43^r	I	Anonymous	ox head
Wolfdietrich	44^r–91^r	I	Anonymous	ox head
Eckenlied	92^r–151^r	II	K. v. d. R.	tower
Rosengarten	152^r–191^v	III	K. v. d. R.	tower
Meerwunder	193^r–199^v	insertion into III	Anonymous	ox head
Sigenot	201^r–240^r	III	K. v. d. R.	tower
Wunderer	241^r–263^v	III	K. v. d. R.	tower
Herzog Ernst	265^r–275^v	insertion into III	K. v. d. R.	tower
Laurin	277^r–313^v	III	K. v. d. R.	tower
Virginal	314^r–344^r	IV	Anonymous	ox head
Jüngeres Hildebrandslied	345^r–349^r	IV	Anonymous	ox head

One can see the collaboration of the two scribes and the well-planned macrostructure of the codex:[11] each text starts on a new opening with an image of inferior quality on the left (verso page), and the text starting on the right (recto page). If the preceding text ends on a recto, the corresponding verso-page is used for the image; if it ends on a verso, the accompanying recto-page is left empty,

8 See Kofler (ed.) 2006: 9–22; also Koppitz 1980: 108ff.; Heinzle 1981: 949–51; Kornrumpf 1984: 320ff.; Kofler 2008; Grimm 2009: 97–108, 446–49. Still seminal is Zarncke 1856. See also *Handschriftencensus,* http://www.handschriftencensus.de/6805, with a link to the colour digitisation on the website of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/9933/1/.

9 See the schemes in Kofler (ed.) 2006: 10–11.

10 While the tower appears in just one form, there are several variations of the ox head. The watermarks support the date 1472 (see Kofler (ed.) 2006: 9–10).

11 Millet 2008: 424ff. This conclusion, however, differs from the view of Grimm 2009: 104: 'Die Kollektion wirkt mit ihren teilweise gekürzten, teilweisen längeren Texten, ihren unterschiedlichen Strophenformen (Bernerton und Heunenweise) nicht wie ein geschlossen konzipiertes Ganzes.' [The collection, with its texts – some shortened, some of greater length – and its different stanzaic forms (*Bernerton* and *Heunenweise*) does not give the impression of a carefully conceived whole.]

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with the new text beginning on the verso-side of the empty recto-page. It is worth noting that this rigid system is kept even where two texts are inserted: *Meerwunder* and *Herzog Ernst*, which implies that the producers did know at least a little about the calculation of written space. (Incidentally, these insertions were clearly made during the production of the book, as the two texts are copied by the same scribes on the same paper using the same ink.) The layout is simple: the texts of this rather small codex in octavo are written in one column, each stanza starts on a new line, while the verses are written without line breaks – just as in the majority of *Liederbücher* made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

On the whole, the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is – regardless of its artistic shortcomings – of clear conceptual design, authorised by Kaspar von der Rhön (or whomsoever). It just lacks a title. I have already mentioned that the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* has hardly anything to do with Dresden. Furthermore, it is not entitled a *Heldenbuch* either. Nevertheless it clearly *is* what we nowadays call a *Heldenbuch*, and what was called a *Heldenbuch*, or, more precisely, *der helden buoch*, in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries:[12] the texts the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* contains are basically the same texts we find in the printed *Heldenbuch* of the subsequent decades. Thus, the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is one of the earliest and also one of the most prominent collections of heroic poetry, which were widespread in German-speaking regions during the late Middle Ages.[13]

This implies that the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* provides us with important evidence for contemporary concepts of genre, with regard both to the selection and adaptation of its texts – as it is almost certain that all eleven texts underwent considerable changes when being copied into this manuscript. Textual editing will be discussed below, but first we need to consider how the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* presents heroic poetry in relation to form, length of text, and thematic scope.

IIIa. Form

Each text in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is strophic, using one of four different stanzaic forms (Kornrumpf 1984: 327; Kofler (ed.) 2006: 26–28): the *Bernerton*, the *Herzog-Ernst-Ton*, the *Hildebrandston* and the *Heunenweise*. From a structural point of view, the *Bernerton* and *Herzog-Ernst-Ton* are very similar, as are

12 We should bear in mind that the term *Heldenbuch* can, in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, describe all sorts of 'old' texts, even courtly romances. It seems to be a rather vague umbrella term.

13 For detailed information on the *Heldenbuch* of the late Middle Ages, see Heinzle 1981; 1999: 43–46; 2000: 22ff.

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the *Hildebrandston* and *Heunenweise*. The former are stanzas of 13 lines with a complex *canzona*-style rhyme scheme, the latter form stanzas of 4 lines, rhyming aabb.

The details do not matter here. But what does matter is the fact that the strophic form is surprising at least for one text. Most of the texts in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* share their strophic form with other extant versions of the same texts. *Laurin*, however, does not. One of the most famous epic poems about Dietrich von Bern, surviving in dozens of manuscript and printed copies dating from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries (Heinzle 1999: 145–53), *Laurin* is usually transmitted in rhyming couplets, the typical verse form of German courtly romance. Only the Dresdener *Laurin* uses stanzas to recount the encounter between Dietrich von Bern and a somewhat courtly, somewhat devilish dwarf in the forest of Tyrol. We cannot prove that it was Kaspar von der Rhön, the scribe of the *Laurin*, who is responsible for this singular strophic version. But it does seem plausible that he was, as there is no evidence of a strophic *Laurin*-version anywhere outside of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch*.

The changes that *Laurin* underwent when becoming strophic are drastic, and the Dresdener version is far from what we would call a good, cohesive, coherent text (see Kragl 2013, especially pp. 215–17). It is, in fact, a mess. However, this example indicates clearly that Kaspar von der Rhön, or whoever planned this codex, did not allow any non-strophic text to be part of the collection. What he did include were strophic epic poems, and texts in rhymed couplets provided that they were first rewritten in stanzaic form.

IIIb. Length of Text

Brevity would be a more accurate term than length for this category, because the texts of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* have in common their short or medium length. Their length varies from the shortest ones, the *Jüngere Hildebrandslied* with 29 stanzas in the *Hildebrandston* and the *Meerwunder* in 31 *Bernerton*-stanzas, to the longest, the *Eckenlied*, consisting of 311 *Bernerton*-stanzas, and the *Rosengarten* with 364 *Heunenweisen*. However, compared with courtly romances of the thirteenth century, the Dresdener texts are all fairly short: an average Arthurian romance consists of 10 to 20,000 short lines. The *Nibelungenlied*, the most famous German heroic epic, has nearly 2,400 stanzas in the canonical 1866 edition by Karl Bartsch. In other words, there is no text in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* which could not be read aloud or even sung within one evening at a Nuremberg inn or at the court of the Duke of Mecklenburg in the late

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fifteenth century.[14] It is also worth noting that the two scribes must have been aware of this criterion when producing their book. Not only did they select texts which fitted this quantitative frame, but they also shortened some of those texts which would, judging from other extant versions in other codices, certainly have exceeded the strophic range selected. That Kaspar von der Rhön and his anonymous colleague cared about this issue can be seen in editorial comments the two scribes left below some of their texts.

In particular, the anonymous scribe diligently added rubrics documenting the length of certain texts and/or the amount by which they had been abbreviated. On the *Jüngeres Hildebrandslied* the scribe (?) commented: '29 lied hat das geticht der vater mit dem sun' (fol. 349ʳ) [This poem about father and son consists of 29 stanzas]. The explicit of the *Ortnit* simply states: 'Der new 297, der alt 587 lied' (fol. 43ʳ) [the new one 297, the old one 587 stanzas]. Similarly, in relation to *Wolfdietrich* we are told that 'Der alt hat 700 lied, der new 333 lied'(91ʳ), i.e. 700 versus 333 stanzas – which is not entirely true, as the new version in fact comprises 334 stanzas. Immediately before this, in the last stanza and in black ink, the reader is informed what this is all about:

> drew hundert drei und dreissigk lied hat er hie behent,
> das man auf einem sitzen dick múg hórn an fanck und ent (334, 3f.)[15]

> [It has 333 stanzas here, so that one can hear the beginning and the end in one session.]

And in the last *Ortnit* stanza:

> got sent uns seinen fride. Wolfdittrich kórt hie drauff.
> zwei hundert sibn neúntzigk lide: in so vil hór ich auf. (fol. 43ʳ; 297, 3f.)

> [May God send us His peace. *Wolfdietrich* is the next to come. With 297 stanzas I shall finish [*Ornit*]]

At the end of the *Virginal*, the scribe even inserted his calculation into the last stanza, no longer being a mere explicit (in red ink), but an integral part of the text. Just after Dietrich has successfully passed his difficult wedding night, we read in black ink:

> ein ent hat disses tichtes art.
> got geb uns dort sein wune!
> des altenn vir hundert und echte ist:
> dis hie hundert und dreissigke sein.
> so vil unnútzer wort man list! (fol. 344ʳ; 130, 9–13)

14 Millet (2008: 425) emphasises that even the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* itself is of rather moderate length; among all the *Heldenbücher* of the early modern period it is the shortest.

15 The text is quoted from Kofler (ed.) 2006.

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[This is the end of this poem. May God have mercy on us. The old version has 408 stanzas, this one 130. One reads so many unnecessary words!]

Earlier scholars (for instance Newald 1934/36) concluded that only the anonymous scribe shortened his texts, while Kaspar conserved their original extent, because his texts lack such explicit comments. However, Kaspar was also concerned with the length of two of his texts – the *Wunderer* and the *Laurin* – since he wrote down the stanza count, 215 *lied* and 326 respectively, in red ink at the end. Moreover, the text of the Dresdener *Laurin* is so strange and so different from all the other *Laurin*s we have, that it is unlikely that Kaspar was not the one responsible for it.

So, the compilers of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* seem to have aimed at some sort of quantitative norm. This does not necessarily imply that all the texts have been shortened by Kaspar and his colleague. Some of them fitted without shortening, but others were brutally dismembered. The main victim surely is the Dresdener *Virginal*, which is six to eight times shorter than the other extant versions. The effect in this case is that the Dresdener *Virginal* makes little sense throughout, because the anonymous copyist did not care about narrative coherence at all (Kragl 2013: 379–83).

Despite the carelessness of the two scribes, it is evident that behind the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* lies some concept of form, or even of poetics:[16] it consists of strophic texts, of medium length, none of them being longer than a few hundred stanzas, thus offering handy, singable/performable *Heldenlieder* – heroic songs – to the public of the late fifteenth century (Kofler (ed.) 2006: 33; Heinzle 1981: 950ff.; Miklautsch 2005: 43ff.; Millet 2008: 424ff.).

IIIc. Thematic Scope

The majority of the texts in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* revolve more or less closely around the figure of Dietrich von Bern (Koppitz 1980: 108), who is the main protagonist of German heroic epic. *Eckenlied*, *Rosengarten*, *Sigenot*, *Wunderer*, *Laurin*, and *Virginal* recount his fighting against giants, dwarfs, heathens, dragons, and heroes. *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* are not directly concerned with Dietrich von Bern, but are closely related to his stories and his texts (genealogy, shared motifs, etc.). The same applies to the *Jüngere Hildebrandslied*. On the whole, this is a fairly cohesive group of texts. However, this thematic uniformity is

16 Koppitz 1980: 109: 'Kaspar von der Rhön und sein Mitarbeiter haben nicht einfach die Texte abgeschrieben, sondern sie auch in ihrer "poetischen Physiognomie" verändert und damit vereinheitlicht.' [Kaspar von der Rhön and his collaborator not only copied the texts but changed their poetic appearance, thus imposing unity on them.]

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not as mandatory as the strophic form and the brevity of the texts. The reasons for the thematic scope being much broader are twofold.

First, there is a proliferation of comic elements. Although the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* contains a collection of heroic poetry, a modern reader at least will find it grotesque and burlesque throughout. The *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is grotesque in that it slips into heroic nonsense. It does so by reducing narrative logic to a minimum, presenting characters unaware of their own motivation, who die on multiple occasions, and who act so very brutally and violently that we can hardly take these narratives seriously. To give a modern analogy, imagine John Rambo explaining blue light – it characteristically turns blue, he says – or attacking some fifty tanks bare foot. That is the sort of grotesqueness found in this codex.

While these absurd elements depend very much on the reader's interpretation, there are other comic tendencies in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* which are clearly intentional. For example, in the Dresdener *Virginal* we find the epitome of narrative nonsense resulting from the radical abbreviation of the original story. Nevertheless, the end of the text is enriched by a new motif: the marriage between Dietrich von Bern, the hero, and the dwarf queen Virginal, whom he has saved by slaying numerous heathens, giants, and dragons. This is quite astonishing, because Dietrich as a fictional character does not tend to fall in love or marry women at all. And it is even more astonishing how this marriage is celebrated. Dietrich marries Virginal at her court in the mountains of Tyrol – but the narrator is not interested in the wedding festivities, but in the wedding night, when Dietrich von Bern, hero of all heroes, fails. He proves to be impotent, and it is only on the third night, spent at home in Bern, that he finally manages to become intimate with his wife. Hildebrand, who spies on these scenes lying beneath the nuptial bed, pokes fun at his young leader, thus acting as a commentator on the weird situation. On the whole, the heroic subject is undermined in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch.* Being heroic means acting in a ridiculous fashion, and the great heroes turn out to be nothing more than laughing stocks.

The second reason why the thematic configuration of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is so chaotic is the introduction of two foreigners into the world of Dietrich. They are present in the two texts which have been inserted at a later point into the quire system: the *Meerwunder* and the *Herzog Ernst.* The former is a story of a rapist and man-eater who finally gets slain, the latter is basically a German *chanson de geste*, combined with an abundance of exotic elements. Certainly, neither has anything to do with the other Dietrich epics in the codex, so we have good reason to state that, thematically speaking, the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is really chaotic.[17]

17 This view contradicts that of Koppitz (1980: 108ff.): 'Auch die zwei nicht dazugehörigen

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IV. The Genre Defines the Codex Defines the Genre…

What is heroic poetry? Modern criticism has come up with three broad answers.[18] First, the idea of epic poetry as 'cultural memory': heroic poetry, according to this view, preserves events from the past of a particular ethnic group, providing it with a vague historiography (Höfler 1955; Heinzle 1998; Heinzle 2003/04). Secondly, it embodies the heroic ethos: this is a perspective particularly prevalent in non-academic, popular work on heroic poetry. It is the idea of heroism *eo ipso*, expressed through fatalistic, death-defying, honour-driven protagonists (Haug 1994). *Hildebrandslied* and *Nibelungenlied* are said to be the main German exponents of this variety of epic poetry, which was celebrated in 2007 by Robert Zemeckis in his film *Beowulf.* Here the protagonist and hero Beowulf, after his landing in King Hrothgar's land, says to the local guard: 'I am Beowulf, and I'm here to kill your monster.' A few seconds later, he adds: 'If we die, it'll be for glory, not for gold.' Thirdly, heroic poetry is a phenomenon associated with a particular medium. Thus, according to this approach, heroic poetry is sung for an audience, not just read aloud.[19]

These modern concepts of epic poetry are problematised when we compare them with the phenomenon of heroic miscellaneity embodied by the *Dresdener Heldenbuch.* The *Dresdener Heldenbuch* confirms the idea of epic poetry as cultural memory, but only sporadically in scattered prologues and epilogues (e. g. the prologue of the Dresdener *Laurin*). It toys with the idea of an heroic ethos, but undermines it by making fun of the heroes themselves. While it confirms the idea that heroic poetry is sung poetry, this 'heroic performance' is frozen in a written book containing stanza numbers and other indicators of editorial processes; it has been transferred from a stage to a scriptorium. Moreover, even if heroic poetry – and we have good evidence for this – was primarily to be sung, it need not imply that all heroic songs needed to be shorter than 350 or 400 stanzas and to be composed in just two different types of stanzas. The evidence suggests the contrary.

Be that as it may, the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* offers a more or less contemporary view of heroic poetry, and why should we disregard this judgement in

Werke fügen sich motivisch und stilistisch in den Rahmen der anderen Gedichte.' ['Even the two works which do not belong there, fit well into the thematic and stylistic framework provided by the other poems.'] Millet 2008: 423 assumes that there was – besides heroic poetry – a 'zweite[r] thematische[r] Kernpunkt der Sammlung', consisting of a 'Zusammenführen von Texten mit Ungeheuern und sonderbaren Wesen'. [A second thematic kernel to the collection … bringing together of texts containing monsters and strange creatures.]

18 See Hoffmann 1974; Heinzle 2000.

19 Haferland 2004; Kragl 2013. The aim of such poetry could quite simply be to present stories for entertainment (Millet 2008).

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favour of modern generic concepts? Heroic poetry would then be what the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* presents as such: in sum, short strophic texts.

However, it would be too easy to conclude with this view. After all, we have to bear in mind that the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* is a historic object and that its view of heroic poetry is not universal, but context specific. This is clearly visible when we take a closer look at the texts' diachronic dimension, which leads us back to the problem of understanding with which I began.

First of all, it is evident, that the texts of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* are collected in accordance with a specific compilatory programme; no text was written or composed specifically for this codex. Secondly, it is clear that the process of production did not only involve collecting and copying texts, but also making them fit into the anthology's programme. Kaspar and his anonymous collaborator collected what they considered to be apt, but they also included texts which had to be modified for the *Dresdener Heldenbuch.* What they did was guided by the idea of strophic, short, available texts, and it might have been this idea that led to the incorporation of *Meerwunder* and *Herzog Ernst* (Kornrumpf 1984: 321). They do not travel with heroic poetry in other codices, but they fit the formal characteristics which underlie this book. Yet it is not the inclusion of appropriate texts that is astonishing. Rather, it is astonishing that texts which did *not* fit the formal criteria were included in the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* regardless, although this provoked a great deal of editorial work: *Ortnit*, *Wolfdietrich*, *Laurin*, *Virginal.* If the superficial idea of heroic poetry the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* presents was the dominant criterion for the choice of texts, the *Laurin* and the *Virginal* at least should have been excluded. But they were not, and Kaspar and his colleague expended some effort rewriting them. Thus – and thirdly –, behind the surface of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* emerges a concept of genre which differs from the concept of genre the book initially presents to its reader (or listener) – a deeper, more complex concept, which goes beyond defining heroic poetry as short songs about any conceivable subject matter.

We shall never know what kind of 'generic' concept this may have been, and we cannot but speculate on its nature. But we can use the existence of this underlying concept as a black box in our hermeneutic process. We can, then, at least know for certain that the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* as a 'genre-miscellany' does not simply freeze a ubiquitous generic idea, but that it seizes one such idea and develops it further in a dynamic way. At the same time, different literary categories – form, length, performance, medium, thematic scope – interact in such a way that the fixing of one element creates movement elsewhere. The *Dresdener Heldenbuch* squeezes heroic poetry into a corset of formal patterns but thereby loosens the thematic laces: standardisation in one area leads to flexibility in another. In the end, such an approach produces a pseudo-scientific, precise generic idea, whose neatness is the product of the researcher's (or Kaspar's) imagination. And even if

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heroic poetry was really about performance right from the start, the strophic brevity of the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* seems to be largely absurd and artificially imposed. What Kaspar and his anonymous fellow copyist deliver is not lively heroic poetry, but epic poetry's tragic early modern swan-'screech'.

A cursory survey of the *Heldenbücher* of the late Middle Ages, for example those printed between 1479 and 1590, shows that other generic ideas are at least possible. In the printed *Heldenbuch*, the focus is on thematic coherence. The printed *Heldenbuch* is *de facto* a Dietrich book, and the *Heldenbuchprosa*, a somewhat strange paratext to the printed *Heldenbuch*, makes some effort to strengthen this thematic programme. If we juxtaposed the *Dresdener* and the printed *Heldenbuch*, we would be forced to define heroic poetry as a dynamic interaction between different categories: more or less strophic, more or less short, more or less capable of sung performance, more or less swashbuckling, more or less about Dietrich von Bern, and so on. This is imprecise – what the sciences call fuzzy logic –, and this imprecision is indispensable. Because each attempt to be totally precise would have to privilege one aspect over the others. This would then disturb the fuzzy equilibrium and one would fail, just as the *Dresdener Heldenbuch* fails in its attempt to bring heroic matters to a formal end.

So, what can we learn from the *Dresdener Heldenbuch?* First, a superficial and precise generic idea of heroic poetry, which is quite akin to the naive scholarly approaches of our time. Secondly, the prevailing enigmatic, more complex concept of heroic poetry, which was then covered with a veneer of simplicity. It is this complex, pre-existent idea that is modified and surreptitiously 'codified' by Kaspar von der Rhön and his collaborator: the genre defines the codex defines the genre. And, of course, it is not the clinical precision on the surface of the *Heldenbuch* that we should draw our attention to, but the generic abyss opening up underneath.

What I have tried to show is the following: the dynamics of the medieval miscellany, which essentially is a dynamic interaction between collecting and editing texts, an interaction between interpretation and reinterpretation, leaves a trail pointing to the dynamics of literary concepts – not just that of genre –, whose characteristic vagueness taunts the precision of our scholarly methods. Following that trail, we shall hardly ever be able fully to grasp these dynamics. But we might arrive at a better understanding of why we cannot.

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 378 and the Gendered Visages of Allegorical Narrative

This essay examines the multi-text codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 378 from a codicological and iconographic perspective, arguing for the coherence of the manuscript not only on the codicological level but also in terms of its contents. In addition, the visual dimension, often a unifying factor in manuscript compilation, offers a series of text-image anomalies that raise questions about the role of gender in the construction of the codex.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 378 is an Old French manuscript best known today for preserving one of the earliest witnesses of the *Roman de la Rose*, which forms the second, much longer, section of the codex. Although it contains a series of short narrative poems in addition to the *Rose*, the manuscript has not been studied as a multi-text codex; indeed, scholars have mostly ignored the codex's first section and the texts it contains. The neglect is understandable, as the poems in that section of the manuscript are all rather obscure short *dits* of variable quality, and they fill only twelve folios, compared to the *Rose*'s sixty-two. In addition, Paulin Paris (1840) argued, in his *Manuscrits françois de la bibliothèque du Roi*, that the two sections of the manuscript were originally separate, joined only at a later rebinding. However, by approaching the manuscript from the perspective of the *dits* rather than that of the *Rose*, it becomes clear that the manuscript constitutes a unity not only on the codicological level but also in terms of its contents. In addition, the visual dimension, often an important factor in creating a sense of coherence in multi-text collections, offers a series of text-image anomalies that bring to the fore questions relating to the place of gender in the construction of the codex.

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I. The Codicological Coherence of BnF, f. fr. 378

BnF, f. fr. 378 was produced in the late thirteenth century, probably in (or near) Paris, judging by the language of the scribes (Picard texts, such as Adenet le Roi's *Des trois morts et des trois vifs*, have been made noticeably more Francien) and by the style of the illuminations.[1] Eleven short didactic verse texts fill the first twelve folios of the codex, while the remaining quires contain the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.

Table 1: Contents of BnF, f. fr. 378[2]

1. *Des trois mors et des trois vis* [by Baudouin de Condé], fol. 1^{r}
2. *Le Dit des quatre sereurs*, fol. 1^{v}
3. *La Bible au Seigneur de Berzé*, fol. 3^{v}
4. *Le Dit de la tremontaine*, fol. 6^{v}
5. *Le Dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*, fol. 7^{v}
6. *Le Dis du cerf amoureux*, fol. 8^{r}
7. *La Comparaison du faucon*, fol. 9^{r}
8. *La Comparaison du pré*, fol. 9^{v}
9. *Du roi qui racheta le larron*, fol. 10^{r}
10. *De la brebis desrobée*, fol. 11^{r}
11. *Du sot le comte*, fol. 12^{r}, incomplete at the end
12. *Le Roman de la rose*, fol. 13^{r}, incomplete at the end (fol. 74^{v})

The topics of the *dits* run from religion to morality and from social satire to love, but all are decidedly didactic in tone, and almost all use allegory as their rhetorical device of choice. Indeed, only the *Bible au Seigneur de Berzé* (#3) and the *Dit de la tremontaine* (#4) are not allegories per se, and even they have related, metaphorical elements. For example, the *Dit de la tremontaine* builds on the image of the poet's beloved as being like the North Star (the *tremontaine* of the title) with the poet drawn to her as a needle of a compass is attracted inexorably to the north.

As mentioned above, Paris noted that two different scribes worked on fr. 378; the first copied the first twelve folios while the second copied the *Roman de la Rose.* Based, it would appear, entirely on the existence of the two hands, Paris concluded that the two sections of the codex were originally separate, with the short texts of the first part added later to the *Rose:* 'A partir de ce folio [fol. 13] l'écriture change, et nous devons penser que les douze premiers feuillets n'ont été réunis que plus tard aux autres' (Paris 1840: 256). There is some evidence to

1 Alison Stones, personal communication.

2 The titles in the table are given according to modern usage and spelling, as there is no table of contents in the manuscript. In the text, I have similarly regularised spelling, for example, using 'dit' where the manuscript has 'dis', and for those texts which have them, I have used the standard titles found in the literature in order to minimize confusion as much as possible.

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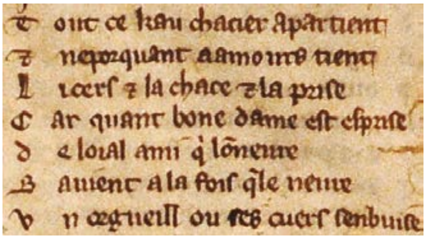
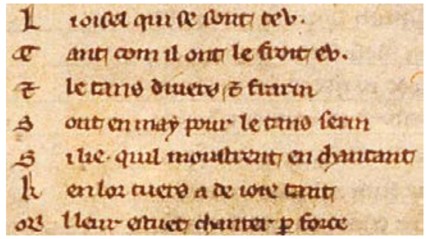
support Paris's position. The hands are indeed different (the second hand is smaller and more elaborate), but they are also very similar in style; for example, the letter 't' as the first letter of a line in both sections of the manuscript shows the same, quite distinctive traits (see Images 1a and 1b).

Images 1a and 1b: comparison of hands.

In addition, the last of the short *dits*, *Du sot le comte* [About the count's fool], is incomplete, breaking off at the bottom of the second column of folio 12^{v}, implying that the manuscript has lost at least one folio at this point. (The poem itself lacks the last approximately 59 lines, or one column of text.) There is a very slight hint of a catchword in the very bottom margin of folio 12^{v}, which suggests a lost quire rather than only a lost folio (see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000300q/f32.item).[3] However, the loss of a folio or a quire obviously need not mean the manuscript as we now have it was not planned as a codicological unit. More significantly, it is apparent that the style and colours of the illuminations and the pen flourishing on the largest initials are the same throughout the codex: compare, for example, folios 1^{v} and 25^{v}. The art historian, and specialist in Gothic manuscripts, Alison Stones corroborates my impression that the illuminations in the two sections of the codex are the work of the same artist. Lastly, the layout of the folios is the same in both sections: the number of lines and columns, and the size of the text block. All of this argues against Paris's conclusion.

The texts themselves share not only a common rhetorical form (allegory, as already mentioned), but also a constellation of didactic subject matters. In this light, we can see the *Rose* as picking up the various thematic threads of the shorter works, combining as it does love allegory, didacticism (both moral and religious), and social criticism often couched in satirical terms. Alternatively, one might see the *dits* as having been included in order to introduce the *Rose* by highlighting certain themes and motifs, thereby setting the *Rose* in a particular context.[4] It is

3 The *Roman de la rose* is also incomplete; the last folio has been lost, some 100 or so lines in the Lecoy edition (Lecoy (ed.) 1965–70).

4 My thanks to Sylvia Huot for suggesting the alternative perspective on the combination of texts in the manuscript. Examining it in this light could provide us with an idea of how the *Rose* (and

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the congruence of rhetorical form and subject matter, accompanied by the codicological parallels in illuminations and decoration, that leads me to propose that the two 'sections' of fr. 378 were part of the manuscript as it was originally laid out.

Having demonstrated the unity of the manuscript as a whole, the remainder of my analysis of fr. 378 focuses on the first section as a collection in and of itself, and more specifically on the relationships between the short texts and the images that illustrate each of them, before returning briefly at the end to the question of the codex as a whole.

II. Text and Image: Gendered Anomalies in the First Section of BnF, f. fr. 378

An unexpected clue to the artist's interests, and perhaps those of the manuscript compiler or patron, is offered by the illumination accompanying the second version of the *Dits des trois morts et trois vifs* (fol. 7^{v}).

The image depicts, in a double scene (see Image 2), the three 'morts' alongside three 'vives' [live women]: on the left a nun flanked by two of the *morts*, and on the right, in a parallel composition, the third 'mort' between two women: one, to the right, in a bright dress, with her hair up in a headdress, while, on the left, the woman wears a simpler garment with her hair in what appears to be a somewhat less formal style, although it is hard to distinguish the details as the images are badly worn. There is nothing particularly startling in this image in itself; its peculiarity only becomes obvious when seen in relation to the text it accompanies: there, the three 'vifs' are very clearly noble *men*, not women, as the rubric notes: '*Cest des trois mors & des trois vis*'. In fact, none of the five complete Old French versions of the allegory of the *Trois morts et trois vifs*, including the text by Baudouin de Condé that opens this codex, contain any female characters.[5]

Such a prominent disconnect between text and image strongly encourages us to look more closely at the miniatures accompanying the other texts in the first section of the codex; when one does so, three similar 'gendered' iconographic

the shorter texts) was being perceived by the compiler, scribe, or patron of this particular manuscript. However, although entirely *a propos* in a collection of essays about manuscript compilations, the topic exceeds the scope of this contribution, which focuses on the text-image relations in the first portion of the manuscript.

5 The different versions have all been edited by Glixeli. As he notes, there is one incomplete stanza of a poem entitled 'Des trois mortes et des trois vives' in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24432, a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript produced in Tournai or its environs. (Glixelli (ed.) 1914) Could there have been some confusion on the part of the artist as to which poem was included in fr. 378?

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Image 2: BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 7v.

anomalies become evident: the images preceding the *Comparaison du pre* and the *Comparaison du faucon* both contain a woman and a man, whereas the texts do not contain any female characters, and thirdly, the image accompanying the *Dit*

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du cerf amoureux depicts a stag and a nun, but, as one might imagine, the courtly love allegory involves no female religious characters.

More specifically, the image for the *Comparaison du faucon* on folio 9r represents a man and a woman caring for two birds of prey – the woman is holding a bird (whose head is difficult to see, but the bird is swallowing the ‘tiroir’ she holds in her other hand), and the man is reaching toward a second bird on a perch (see Image 3).[6]

Image 3: BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 9r.

The text tells of a falcon cherished by a gentleman. The falcon kills other birds without mercy; his master shows him off with pleasure at his court, while, on the contrary, any rooster or chicken that ventures into the court is chased away by the lord. However, after death, the falcon is forgotten and his corpse thrown away, while the chicken provides a sumptuous meal for the lord. The anecdote serves to illustrate a double lesson, first about the dangers of excessive, and facile, love for the outsider (‘home estraigne,’ l. 15), and second about the rich (represented by the falcon) and the poor (represented by the chicken) and their respective treatment on earth and in heaven.[7] In neither anecdote nor lesson do we find any women – unless you count the chicken!

Similarly, and perhaps even more unexpectedly, the image for the *Comparaison du pre* (fol. 9v) depicts a nun and a cleric standing in the woods, by a stream (see Image 4 on the next page). Their hand gestures indicate that they are conversing: she is talking and listening, and he is listening, and perhaps talking as well.[8] The allegory begins with a diatribe against ‘la langue k’a mal dire s’apointe’

6 My thanks to Baudouin van den Abeele for identifying the *tiroir* (a piece of meat given to a bird of prey to train it).

7 In an understatement, the editor of the poem notes ‘Ce dernier développement n’est pas, dans le détail, d’une cohérence évidente’ [this last development is not, in its details, terribly cohe-

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Image 4: BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 9[v].

rent] (Charrier (ed.) 1983). All quotations from the poems in fr. 378 are from my transcription of the manuscript, compared against the various editions, where they exist.

8 His right hand is raised, palm outward, indicating that he is listening. His left hand is holding his glove(s), and this makes it difficult to discern if the fingers are raised, to indicate speech, or not.

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(l. 16) [the tongue which sharpens itself to speak evil] and goes on to enumerate several types of abusive speaker, including the man who 'gete disfame / seur damoisele ou seur dame' (ll. 17–18) [who defames / damsels or ladies], the 'provoires ou prelas' who 'par samblant de devocion / ensaigne la gent et chastie' (ll. 43, 45–46 [provosts or prelates seemingly devout, who teach and chastise the people], but who are in reality the 'plus luxurieus crestiens' (l. 63) [the most lustful of Christians], and finally the 'avocas ou amparliers' who are 'mesdisans' [lawyers or orators who tell lies] before kings and counts in order to obtain as much money as they can (ll. 94–102). The field of the title, which absorbs the good rain and bears fruit while letting the mud and dirty water run off into a ditch, is then compared to the man who hears and understands the 'parole … bone and bien devisee' (ll. 157–58) [word that is good and well spoken], while those who reject the good and retain only the 'ordure' [filth] are like the ditch (ll. 163–68).[9]

Nowhere in the poem is there any mention of a nun. The closest connection is the reference to the lust of the hypocritical *provoires* and *prelats*, who are perhaps being depicted in the miniature via the tonsured male figure, holding gloves. Gloves are an iconographic sign of nobility, but can also carry a strong valence of pleasure, and of lust. For example, in the *Roman de la rose,* Déduit (whose name of course means pleasure) is described as wearing gloves to protect his hands from the sun.[10] However, such a connection does not address the presence of the nun in the miniature accompanying the *Comparaison du pré*, nor the fact that she is speaking to him as the hand position indicates: is she refusing the cleric's lustful advance – the best fit with the text, given its lack of any reference to religious women – or seducing him? Or something else entirely? Before trying to answer these potentially unanswerable questions, there is one last miniature in the first part of the codex to discuss.

The third and last iconographic 'anomaly' in the first section of the manuscript appears in the historiated initial that opens the *Dit du cerf amoureux* (fol. 8^{r}). This *dit* is a mostly conventional allegorical poem developing the metaphor of a stag hunt to represent a lover's pursuit of a lady, with the various elements of the hunt, including each of the dogs used by Love (who does the hunting in this tale, not the lover) glossed as a step in the chase and eventual capture of the lady's heart.[11] Rather unconventionally, however, the Love who leads this hunt is female, consistently referred to throughout as 'bone amours' and 'elle,' rather than the more typical masculine God of Love, such as we find, for

9 To my knowledge, the text remains unedited; I have expanded abbreviations but otherwise made no changes.
10 The best discussion of the connection between gloves and lust in iconography is that of Beate Schmolke-Hasselman (1982).
11 The text has been edited twice, most recently by Charrier ((ed.) 1986), who was apparently not aware of Thiébaux's 1965 edition.

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example, in the *Roman de la rose*. In addition, continuing the gender bending, the beloved lady is represented not by a doe, but by a stag with twelve-point antlers, each representing one of her attributes (goodness, honour, beauty, etc., ll. 70–84).

One would expect to find an image of a stag hunt accompanying this *dit* (which is, by the way, the only historiated initial in the codex), perhaps including a female figure of *Amour*. Were that the case, it could then have been compared, for example, with the image of the God of Love in this copy of the *Rose* (for example, on folio 18r). Instead, in a truly unexpected image, we see another nun, similar in appearance to the one in the miniature accompanying the *Comparaison du pré*, holding the antler of a stag (see Image 5 on the next page). The nun's presence is doubly anomalous: she is a female figure where one might expect a male in the person of the hunter, and a religious figure replaces the secular figure who would logically appear in this image, whether *Bonne Amour*, the lady (although she is already in the image, represented by the figure of the stag), or the lover.

The only other copy of the *Dit du cerf amoureux*, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25566, opens (fol. 220^{v}) with an equally remarkable image, but for very different reasons (see Image 6 below). In this sumptuously illuminated northern manuscript,[12] the artist has remained closer to the text, depicting *Amour* on horseback, accompanied by dogs, chasing the stag.[13] However, where the stag clearly wears a woman's face, the God of Love is a male figure; in this case, the iconographic conventions of love allegory where Amour is usually male, would appear to have trumped the text.

BnF, f. fr. 25566 provides a telling counter-example to fr. 378 in more ways than one, as it contains the only other (extant) copy of several other of the *dits*, including the *Comparaison du faucon* and the *Comparaison du pré*.[14] The images accompanying all three of its versions of *Les trois morts et les trois vifs* are almost identical, depicting men only (see Images 7a, 7b, and 7c, folios 217^{r}, 218^{r}, and 223^{v} respectively).[15]

12 The codex was produced in Arras or Lille, c. 1300. See Stones 2012.

13 The entire manuscript has been digitized. The complete folio can be seen at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001348v/f448.image.

14 Among many other shorter texts, BnF, f. fr. 25566 contains the following texts which also appear in fr. 378: *Dit du cerf amoureux*, fol. 220^{v}; *Du roi qui racheta le larron*, fol. 225^{r}; *Dit du brebis dérobée*, fol. 237^{v}; *Dit du faucon*, fol. 242^{r}; *Dit du pré*, fol. 245^{v}; *Du sot le comte*, fol. 248^{v}.

15 BnF, fr. 25566 includes the *Dit des trois morts* of Baudouin de Condé (fol. 217^{r}) and that of Nicole de Margival (fol. 218^{r}), as well as a third, anonymous version (fol. 223^{v}), which is not the same anonymous text as that found in fr. 378 (Glixelli (ed.) 1914).

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Image 5: BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 8r.

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Image 6: BnF, f. fr. 25566, fol. 220v.

Images 7a, 7b, and 7c: male figures in BnF, f. fr. 25566.

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There is a single male figure in the image that opens the *Dit du faucon* (fol. 242^{r}) (see Image 8) and perhaps most tellingly, the *Dit du pré* (with several other *dits* on either side) gets a stock image of a wise man recounting his tale (fol. 245^{v}), but with no audience (an image never used in fr. 378) (see Image 9).


Images 8 and 9: more male figures in BnF, f. fr. 25566.

This comparison provided by the images from fr. 25566 serves to highlight the originality of the iconographic programme in fr. 378, and to dispel any doubts that the number of women, and nuns, portrayed in its miniatures is not out of the ordinary.

In sum, then, the first section of BnF, f. fr. 378 contains four images depicting women who do not have a counterpart in the accompanying texts: the second version of the *Dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*, the *Comparaison du faucon*, the *Comparaison du pré*, and the *Dit du cerf amoureux*. One instance of a woman in a miniature where there is not one in the text might be explained away as artistic licence; four of them cannot be so easily dismissed. Indeed, a rapid statistical look at the images in fr. 378 (without the *Rose*) only confirms the strong (and unexpected) female presence in the miniatures. Overall, seven of the eleven miniatures accompanying the *dits* include at least one female figure, and in each case she is a significant figure in the scene depicted. The three additional women are those of the *Dit des quatre sereurs* (see Image 10), where the image depicts the four allegorical daughters of God standing before their father (fol. 1^{v}, the standard iconography), the *Dit de la tremontaine* (fol. 6^{v}; see Image 11), in which we see the lyric poet speaking to his lady, and the *Du sot le comte* (fol. 12^{r}; see Image 12) with an illustration of the ailing count in bed with his wife behind him, while their daughter and his brother bar the door to the count’s fool.

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Image 10: female figures, *Dit des quatre sereurs*, BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 1v.

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Image 11: poet and his lady, *Dit de la tremontaine*, fol. 6[v].

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Image 12: mother, daughter, and male figures, *Du sot le comte*, fol. 12r.

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However, the textual content of the *dits* includes considerably fewer women: only three of them present significant female figures: the *Dit des quatre sereurs*, the *Dit de la tremontaine*, and the *Dit dou cerf amoureux* (plus, of course, the *Rose*). Even if we include *Du sot le comte*, the count's avaricious wife plays a minor role, and his daughter's is even smaller. The statistics emphasise once again the multiplication / proliferation of female figures in the miniatures, and that they often appear where they have no textual counterpart. Clearly, some attempt at an overarching explanation is called for.

III. Including Women

The existence of two versions of the *Dit des trois morts et trois vifs* in fr. 378 offers a possible interpretative path to explore. The image accompanying Baudouin de Condé's poem on the opening folio of the manuscript presents the standard iconography: three skeletons in the right-hand frame confront the three noblemen on the left, with the noblemen distinguishable as such by the falcon and swords they carry (see Image 13 on the next page).

The format parallels that of the miniature illustrating the second version of the *Trois morts et trois vifs* (see Image 2 above) clearly linking the two poems iconographically (as well as by title and subject matter, of course). In addition, these are the only two texts in the manuscript with a double column image; all the others have a single image opening the text, even the *Rose* (although it has many other single-column miniatures throughout). The double miniatures thus single out the two texts, calling attention to them and to their parallel images.

The parallel format also suggests an interpretation: the artist (or designer of the iconographic programme) used two sets of images, one 'masculine' and one 'feminine,' to try to convey the idea that all people – men and women alike – are subject to death and need to heed the lessons of the two *dits*. The varied costumes of the three female figures on folio 7^{v} contribute to this view, forming as they do a mini-panorama of female estates (religious, younger and/or poorer, older and/or richer). As such, the images anticipate the *danse macabré* so popular in the later Middle Ages, even as they evoke the very contemporary, thirteenth-century collections of sermons *ad status*.

We might apply the same reasoning to the miniature accompanying the *Comparaison du faucon* (fol. 9^{r}, see Image 3 above) with its male and female falconers, although here the logic is rather less straightforward. Are the man and the woman caring for the birds supposed to represent the lord of the allegory who cherishes the falcon and then throws it away when his interest passes elsewhere? Textually, this would seem the most logical choice, and it would parallel the iconographic interpretation of the *Trois morts* as an attempt to extend the lessons

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Image 13: BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 1r.

of the *dit* to noblewomen as well as noblemen. However, the clothing of the figures in the image does not suggest wealth or lordship; judging by their dress, the two figures seem to represent a male and a female falconer, with no real connection to the specific elements of the *dit.* We are left puzzled as to why the artist chose to depict both a male and a female figure in this miniature.

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Turning to the remaining two *dits*, the images of the *Comparaison du pré* and the *Cerf amoureux* are far removed both from the content of the *dits* and from typical text-image relationships. The text of the *Comparaison du pré* moralises about good and bad speech, condemning 'mauvaises paroles' of various types for their destructiveness, and encouraging the reader/listener to be like the field, to be good hearers of good words. The image accompanying the *dit* (Image 4) depicts a setting that may be meant to represent the field and the ditch of the allegory. However, the trees in the field and the fish in the wavy water seem more appropriate to a *locus amoenus* than to the productive farm field and muddy ditch of the text. (Compare, for example, the image of Narcissus in the *Rose* on folio 17^{r}; see Image 14).

Image 14: Narcissus in BnF, f. fr. 378, fol. 17^{r}.

Given this, and given the gloves the cleric holds, it would appear that the image focuses on the *Comparaison*'s criticism of hypocritical, lustful churchmen. As such, we could apply the same logic as for the second image of the *Trois morts et trois vifs*, and interpret the pair as suggesting that both male and female religious are implicated by the criticisms of the text, a suggestion to which I shall return below.

As already mentioned, we have to address as well the fact that the nun in the image is speaking; given that the image accompanies a text about good and bad speech, we must raise the question of what she is saying. Is she committing a 'mauvaise parole' herself and trying to seduce the cleric? Or is she rejecting the cleric's lustful advances, perhaps 'teaching' him about good versus bad speech? The latter is a tempting reading; but in that case, the nun would be voicing the text, as it were, standing in for the poet/narrator, and there are no instances in the first section of the manuscript of an image depicting a speaker who is not also a character within the narrative.[16] We are left, once again, with the suggestion of an attempt at gender inclusiveness, but also clear intimations of sexual impropriety.

16 None provides, in other words, an 'author portrait' such as is found at the beginning of Jean

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Even more than the nun in the image of the *Comparaison du pré*, the female religious figure in the historiated initial accompanying the *Dit du cerf amoureux* is out of place (Image 5). In relation to the text, is she somehow standing in for *Bonne Amour*, or for the male lover? Since only *Bonne Amour* hunts the stag in the text (the lover remains outside the frame of the allegory), she seems a more likely choice. However, either possibility raises serious gender issues, if we take the stag to represent the beloved lady, as it does in the text of the *dit*; and even if we do not focus on the possible queer readings of image (and text), the historiated initial carries strong sexual overtones, as the nun is holding the stag's antler.[17]

Perhaps an interpretative strategy is to be found by thinking about the images in a wider textual and iconographic context; that is to say, not exclusively in relationship to the text they illustrate, but together with the other texts and images in the manuscript. For example, as I have just explored, all three of these images contain sexually suggestive elements. In addition to the sexual implications of the stag of the *Cerf amoureux*, with the nun holding its antler, the falcons of the *Comparoison du faucon* by themselves carry sexual connotations, which are compounded in the image by the presence of a male and a female figure together in an enclosed space, and the way in which the falcon held by the woman has its head near the rather phallic *tiroir.* Similarly, the setting of the miniature accompanying the *Comparoison du pré* suggests the two religious figures are together in a *locus amoenus*, and once again, one figure, this time the cleric, is holding something (gloves) iconographically associated with lust. Textually, three poems are about love (the *Dit de la Tremontaine*, the *Dit du cerf amoureux* and the *Roman de la rose*), while two denounce lustful priests: the *Comparaison du pré* and the *Bible au Seigneur de Berzé,* which criticizes the monastic orders more generally for not living according to their rules. Moreover, the author of the *Bible* includes religious women in his criticism, focusing exclusively on their sexual mores:

de Meun's portion of the *Rose* (fol. 25) or that we often find, for example, at the head of texts such as Marie de France's *Fables*, or the various verse prayers to the Virgin Mary in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, to cite just three of the numerous examples of such images.

17 I have not been able to find any truly comparable images. Miniatures generally portray the stag in a hunting scene (as, for example, in the image in fr. 25566) or by itself, as in bestiary illuminations. Some depictions of Eustace / St Hubert show him standing, rather than on horseback, looking at the stag (with Christ on the cross in the antlers) but he is always in a position of wonder or adoration. I have found no images where a human figure is shown holding the stag's antler. In addition, the depictions of a woman standing by a stag are all much later; for example, there are quite a number of tapestries showing an allegorical female figure next to (but not touching) a stag.

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Es nonnains a il molt de bien,
S'eles tenissent chasteé
Si comme il estoit ordené,
Qu'eles ont assés de mesaise
Pour Dieu servir e petit d'aise.
Mais eles ont maison plusours
Ou l'en parole molt d'amours
Plus c'on ne fait de Dieu servir. (Lecoy ed. 1938, ll. 308–15)

[For nuns, there is much good, if they remain chaste, as it was commanded, and they have enough discomfort to serve God and have little leisure. But they have many houses where they speak much about love, more than they do about serving God.]

However, as tempting as it might be to extrapolate from this passage in the *Bible* to the nuns depicted in the illuminations, the *Bible* and the *Comparaison du pré* are the only two texts in the manuscript to criticize religious men and women for sexual misconduct, with the exception of Jean de Meun's *Rose.* Similarly, these three illuminations are the only sexually suggestive images in the first part of the manuscript, other than the quite staid couple shown in the miniature accompanying the *Dit de la tremontaine* (see Image 11 above).

It is relatively easy to find connections between two or three (or more) texts in a codex such as this one, whether via iconography or poetic content; however, in almost every case, as here, there are one or more texts or images that do not fit in the category. For example, most of the poems in fr. 378 are strongly didactic, whether the lesson is moral or religious or both (including the *Rose* in Jean de Meun's continuation), but even within such a broad category, there are texts that do not conform to the pattern: in this case, the *Dit du cerf amoreux* is didactic only in a courtly sense and the *Dit de la tremontaine*, while decidedly courtly, is not at all didactic, resembling rather a *salut d'amour*, or a spoken, rather than sung, trouvère love lyric. Conversely, the *Tremontaine* does connect with other texts in the codex via its fairly lengthy denunciation of *losengiers* [defamers] and their destructive speech, and of course with the *Cerf amoureux* and the *Rose* in its focus on love.

IV. Including the *Rose*

How then to approach the collection, and its miniatures, other than simply declaring any attempt at coherent interpretation as failed from the start? For fr. 378, one path is to posit a constellation of motifs (whether textual, formal, or iconographic), all linked to the *Rose* as the codex's major text. We can imagine the manuscript's architect starting with the *Rose*, and then compiling the in-

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troductory portion of the codex as a complement to it.[18] Indeed, as briefly discussed in the first part of this essay, it is the combination of shared thematic and formal features along with codicological elements in fr. 378 that argue strongly that the short *dits* and the *Roman de la rose* were part of the original manuscript. In particular, the conjoining of issues of religious and amatory discourse with allegory provides a small set of overlapping circles that encompasses all of the texts in fr. 378; although somewhat broad in scope, it is a constellation that is indicative of this manuscript and that conveys a sense of the codex as a whole.

Although a comparison of fr. 378 with other *Roman de la rose* manuscripts is outside the scope of this article, a brief look at the other early codices supports the idea that manuscript compilers used elements of the *Rose* to guide textual contents. The majority of the other early manuscripts of the *Rose* contain only the *Rose*, or only Jean de Meun's *Testament* in addition to the *Rose*. Of those that do also include a number of smaller works, several demonstrate a clear, single focus: for example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12594 adds a series of religious poems (the *Miroir de l'ame*, Jean de Meun's *Testament*, the *Miserere* of Reclus de Molliens, and Jean de le Mote's *Voie d'enfer et de paradis*), whereas in Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 526 the *Rose* is preceded by a group of poems on love by Richard de Fournival (e. g. the *Bestiaire d'amours*) and followed by a smaller group of rose-titled *dits* by Baudouin de Condé. Only a handful of manuscripts combine the *Rose* with a less homogenous selection of texts. Perhaps most similar to fr. 378 is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rothschild 2800 (dated by a scribal note to 1329), which includes a fabliau (*du Moigne*), the *Bestiaire divin* of Guillaume le Clerc, the *Dit de la tremontaine*, and the *Lai du conseil*, a poem about love with a significant courtly, didactic component (Huot 1993).

If the *Rose* provides the scaffolding for the manuscript's set of thematic circles, then we would expect that the illuminations in the *Rose* portion of fr. 378 would also contain a multiplication of female figures, and they do, if in a much subtler fashion than in the first portion of the codex. At first glance, the miniatures appear quite canonical, as it were, in their selection and placement, opening as they do with a very typical depiction of the lover in bed, a rose bush flowering behind him and *Dangier* at the foot of the bed holding a club, and continuing with a series of miniatures depicting the non-courtly allegorical figures whose portraits, in the text, are painted on the outside walls of the *verger*. However, a

18 The advantage to such an interpretative strategy, is that it works as well from a reader's perspective, whereby rather than (only) ascribe intentionality to the compiler of the manuscript, we explore how a reader might make connections between the texts and the miniatures in the codex.

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comparison with the images found in other early *Rose* manuscripts,[19] reveals some unexpected traits. In particular, in BnF, f. fr. 378 and only in this codex, *all* of the non-courtly allegorized traits (*Vieillesse, Pauvreté, Tristesse,* etc.) are depicted as women. Given that their names all carry a feminine grammatical gender, one would expect this. However, the contrary is true in the majority of the six early fourteenth-century manuscripts analysed by Alison Stones: they ignore grammatical gender (and convention) to depict three of these figures as men, namely *Vieillesse*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Pauvreté*. Indeed, fr. 378 is the only one of the six to portray *Vieillesse* as a woman (Stones 2014: 240–41). Additionally, fr. 378 also depicts *Raison* as a woman, again consonant with her name's gender; nonetheless, two of the three other early manuscripts that include a representation of *Raison* show a male figure (Stones 2014: 242). Finally, fr. 378 represents *Bel Accueil*, whose name is gendered masculine, as a female figure in both images that include him.[20]

In sum, the multiplication of female figures noted in the first portion of the manuscript continues throughout the illuminations of the *Rose*[21] and although the unusual preponderance of female allegorical figures in the *Rose* portion is only noticeable when one compares fr. 378 to other *Rose* manuscripts of the same era, the repeated presence of women in the miniatures would be evident to anyone looking at the manuscript. This confirms and reinforces the conclusion drawn from the analysis of the images in the first part of the manuscript: fr. 378 displays a programmatic multiplication of women in the miniatures throughout the codex.

V. Overlapping Conclusions

How then does this codex-wide proliferation of women in the illuminations mesh with the idea of a constellation of motifs linking the texts? One possibility is to see the programme of illuminations as its own thematic circle, overlapping and interacting with the other motifs (allegory, religious, and amatory discourse). Such a perspective connects back to my initial analysis of the images accom-

19 My very great thanks to Alison Stones, who shared, in addition to her wisdom about manuscripts, her analysis of the early fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts from the second volume of her magnum opus, which had yet to be published at the time this article was being written. (See Stones 2014).

20 Artists hesitated throughout the Middle Ages between depicting *Bel Accueil* as a man, following linguistic gender, or as a woman, since *Bel Accueil* represents an aspect of the beloved rose/woman. The other early manuscripts that depict *Bel Accueil* also tend to portray this allegorical figure as a woman, although there are several examples of a male figure as well.

21 The illuminations occur only up to the point where Jean de Meun's text begins on folio 25, signalled by the last image in the codex, which depicts Jean writing at a desk.

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panying the two *Dits des trois morts et des trois vifs* as conveying a sense of gender inclusiveness, that women and men alike are subject to death and need to heed the lessons of the *dits*. The multiplication of female figures throughout the manuscript thus diffuses a reading based on a single text-image pairing across the entire codex, subtly, or not so subtly, encouraging readings that include women in the allegorical and discursive foci of fr. 378.

While participating in the plethora of women depicted in the illuminations, the nuns in the images accompanying the *Comparaison du pré* and the *Dit du cerf amoureux* also stand out because the disconnection between text and image is the strongest in their case. In the case of the *Comparaison du pré*, the figure of the nun once again 'includes' women in the discussion, here specifically religious women, who are otherwise absent from the text's censure of lustful clerics. The *Dit du cerf amoureux* presents a greater interpretative challenge, given the transgressive aspect of including a nun in a courtly love allegory, as opposed to the critical discourse of the *Comparaison du pré*. Given that the stag represents the beloved lady of the poem, can we see the nun and the stag as representing two possible images of the lady? Although seemingly a bit farfetched, such a reading fits with the tension between the secular and the sacred so evident in Jean de Meun's *Rose*, and in the codex as a whole. In this light, the image – singled out as well by being the only historiated initial in the codex – becomes not anomalous but iconic, encapsulating within its paradox the interpretative possibilities and tensions of BnF, f. fr. 378 and its Venn diagram of thematic and formal motifs.

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How to Name a Story? Rubrics – Headings – Titles

In this essay we shall look at titles given to short stories in German manuscript transmission from two perspectives. First, we discuss several representative multi-text codices and hence very different texts that, for whatever reason, were collected in one book. Second, we examine individual short verse narratives – particularly those with a long history of transmission in the Middle Ages – and consider how they are presented in the manuscripts. In both cases our main focus is the use of titles – individual and/or generic – and their different functions for the transmission of short verse narratives.[1]

One of the most famous poems in the German language, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, reads as follows:

> Über allen Gipfeln
> Ist Ruh',
> In allen Wipfeln
> Spürest Du
> Kaum einen Hauch;
> Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.
> Warte nur! Balde
> Ruhest du auch.[2]

This poem is a philologist's dream. The first version was written in pencil on the wall of a hunter's hut in the Thuringian Woods, and is lost, but there are two copies of this first version, one by none other than Herder.[3] It is also printed – and

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013.

2 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Gedichte 1800–1832* (= Sämtliche Werke I, 2), ed. by Karl Eibl (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1988), p. 65. Longfellow translated the poem as follows: 'O'er all the hill-tops / Is quiet now, / In all the tree-tops / Hearest thou / Hardly a breath; / The birds are asleep in the trees: / Wait; soon like these / Thou too shalt rest' (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by Horace E. Scudder (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893); Bartleby.com, 2011, www.bartleby.com/356/524).

3 The situation is made even more complicated by an unauthorised first printing, but there is no

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this brings us closer to the topic of this essay – for the first time in the edition of Goethe's works that he himself supervised in 1815. There it appears together with another famous poem on the same page. The first text bears the title: *Wandrers Nachtlied*, the second the title *Ein gleiches.* The first title means *Wanderer's Nightsong* – and the second simply *The same.* With this title Goethe created a problem, namely, that the arguably more famous (and better) second poem is just that: a second poem of a set. How should one name it? Its 'original' title is and remains: *Ein gleiches* – the same. One could call it *Wandrers Nachtlied* or *The Second Wandrers Nachtlied*, and both titles make sense, but it is certainly not the title of the poem in the earliest printed editions. In many modern publications (especially those intended for schools) the poem is referred to as *Wandrers Nachtlied* (often without any indication that it was the second of a set). However, a Google search reveals that the title *Ein gleiches*, although in many cases redirecting us to pages talking about *Wandrers Nachtlied*, is gaining in popularity (both in non-scholarly contexts and in research). This title is not wrong, but, by itself, it is meaningless. Maybe it is the fact that *Ein gleiches* nowadays sounds unfamiliar – much more unfamiliar than forty years ago – that explains this usage. In any case, this is an example where a non-title has had no negative effect on the text's popular reception.

What was the situation in the Middle Ages with regard to short verse narratives? In this essay we look at titles, how they are presented, where we can find them, what their function is and how they are related to the transmission of individual texts. One function becomes immediately clear from the Goethe example: a title, even an unimaginative one, fulfils the basic function of separating two similar texts from each other. Thus, *Ein gleiches* functions as a marker of the end of the first and the start of the second poem, while at the same time connecting both poems in content, mood, and general worldview. This basic function can be attributed to medieval titles as well: their basic function was to separate texts. As in modern printed books, this separation can also be effected by other means (for example, through the use of initials or a blank space, to name but the two most obvious ways). It follows that titles were not really necessary for the purpose of text-separation, and one might ask how and why they came to be used in manuscripts.

A second possible function of a title would be to indicate the text's content. A title can give a reader an idea of what to expect from a text encountered in a manuscript. Will it be worthwhile to read or to copy this narrative? Readers would need only to consult the heading of the text to learn what it is about.

need to go into further detail here. For the text of this first printing and the editorial commentary, see Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Gedichte 1756–1799* (=Sämtliche Werke I, 1), ed. by Karl Eibl (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987), pp. 388 and 1072.

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A third function of titles (not always separable from the above-mentioned ones) is the indexing of a story. This would be done in order to be able to recognise it again later or to retrieve it in case one did not remember where the story was located in the manuscript. Such an individualising marker could also function without the text itself as a reference to it, for instance, in a list of texts (as in a table of contents) or when citing it.

In our survey we shall tackle the problem of titles from two perspectives. We shall first discuss several representative miscellany manuscripts and hence very different texts that, for whatever reason, were collected in one book. We shall then examine individual short verse narratives – particularly those with a long history of transmission in the Middle Ages – and consider how they are presented in the manuscripts. Finally, we shall draw some general conclusions about the use and function of titles.

Our initial hypothesis was that the use of titles for short verse narratives developed gradually from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, starting with non-titles and ending with specific titles.[4] However, we were wrong. Medieval manuscripts are never predictable and no development is linear. We will, therefore, discuss our material not in chronological order, but as examples for each of the functions we have established before.

I. Representative Manuscripts

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 5919 is one of the latest collections of short verse narratives, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Its 434 folios transmit a great variety of texts: a cookbook, a heroic epic, and, starting around folio 100, more and more short verse narratives such as 'Mären' (fabliau-style stories), miracles, farces and – most of all – 'Minnereden' (rhymed dis-

4 We shall concentrate on the use of titles and rubrics in manuscripts. Regarding short verse narratives, there is hardly any research into the usage of this kind of paratext. Earlier research focuses mostly on the question of 'authentic' titles (the naming by an author). Accordingly, Schröder (1937: 28) comes to the conclusion that manuscript Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 341 contains roughly twelve authentic titles – thus disregarding the uniform practice we describe below. In general, research into titles in German literature focuses either on generic terms, as in the seminal study by Düwel (1983), or on larger narratives where we can indeed find some authentic titles. Regarding the term *maere* Düwel notes that even in the circumscribed area of Stricker texts there is no systematic use of the term *maere* denoting a specific subgenre (Düwel 1983: 206). Epic texts are the focus of Wailzer's dissertation. She offers, however, not only an overview of the medieval etymology of *titulus*, but also a discussion of the Latin *accessus* and its relation to titles (Wailzer 1997: esp. 92–155). In a different vein, Stolz and Viehauser (2006: 317–51) discuss subheadings in the manuscript transmission of Wolfram's *Parzival*, which at least in part fulfil similar functions to the ones we have described for rubrics of short verse narratives.

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courses on love). In contrast to this diversity, the rubrics in this manuscript, especially those relating to short verse narratives, display a stunning uniformity. Most rubrics read 'ain ander sprúch' [another text] or simply 'ain ander' [another]. Here, the rubrics – all written in red ink – clearly serve as separators between two texts. Goethe's *Ein gleiches* comes to mind. The headings suggest that the following text is similar or at least comparable to the preceding one. On closer inspection, however, all the texts introduced as 'ain ander sprúch' are not all alike. In its etymological sense, *sprúch* simply means something that is spoken, without any further implication of genre or content, which is why we have chosen to translate it with the nondescript word 'text'.

If one reads this codex in a linear fashion, practically nothing helps us to recognise a text before reading it. The question is whether this tells us something about how the manuscript was planned. Can we safely assume that the scribe did not bother which texts he combined? The manuscript's structure, at the very least, seems quite loose. A mistake the scribe made on folio 99^{v} shows how he worked. Here, the beginning of a text (6 lines) is crossed out. Obviously, the scribe noticed that he had made a mistake and should continue with another text. Even this deleted text bears the heading 'Ain ander sprúch' in red ink. This means that the scribe copied both the texts and the rubrics in a linear way.

While for most of the codex it is difficult to see a pattern behind the collection, there is one exception to the standardised rubrics. There are five allegorical texts about colours and love, here listed with their modern German titles:[5]

Fols 234^{v}–236^{r} = *Die acht Farben* [*Eight Colours*]
Fols 236^{r}–239^{r} = *Lob der grünen Farbe* [*Praise of the Colour Green*]
Fols 239^{r}–243^{r} = *Die sechs Farben* [*Six Colours*]
Fols 243^{r}–245^{v} = *Die Heimkehr der gefangenen Geliebten* [*Return of the Captured Beloved*] (fragment)
Fols 245^{v}–248^{r} = *Was Blütenfarben bedeuten* [*What the Colours of Flowers Mean*]

The first text has the standard rubric 'Ain ander spruch'. The second is not marked as an individual text by a blank space or a rubric; in this manuscript, it has to be read as a continuation of *Eight Colours*.[6] The third text again has a rubric, which, after announcing 'Ain ander sprúch', surprisingly, adds a second line: 'der siben farb';[7] here, the scribe not only recognised that the following text

5 See Verfasserlexikon for titles. The texts on flowers and colours are unedited.
6 It may well be that the scribe marked the beginning of this new text by the loop in brown ink he drew in the margin. From our perspective, however, it is still noteworthy that the marking was done neither by heading nor by blank space.
7 The number 'seven' seems to be a blunder on the scribe's part; actually, only six colours are treated in this text (green, red, blue, white, black, and yellow).

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was similar to what he had just written, but he also made the content explicit for the reader.

The fourth text is transmitted without its beginning, probably due to a problem in the source manuscript, and nothing marks the transition from one text to the other. The last text of this grouping again has a rubric: 'Ain ander sprúch von aller lay pluomen'. The only texts about colours and flowers in this manuscript occur in this textual cluster, and only in the case of this cluster do we find informative rubrics.[8] This example illustrates how titles were generated and how they might have worked: when combining similar texts a scribe might have wanted to underline their similarity, and therefore added a title. (Of course, the opposite – the marking of dissimilarity – is also conceivable.)

One final point about this manuscript needs to be made: since short verse narratives tend to have titles quite early in the German tradition, the dearth of titles in this codex, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only constitutes an exception but also suggests that a deliberate decision was made not to use titles. Whatever the patron or scribe intended to do with the manuscript – and we cannot even hazard an educated guess – making it possible for users of this manuscript to retrieve a text in this codex was obviously not part of the original conception.[9] Even so, it is notable that the heading 'Ain ander spruch' predominantly applies to short verse narratives. Nowadays, scholarship tends to make further generic distinctions (are they religious or worldly? are they told in first or third person mode?), but in this manuscript they are all treated equally.

One of the first collections of German short verse narratives is the famous codex Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 341 (first quarter of the fourteenth century). Here, every single text has been given a rubric consisting of a rhyming couplet. For instance: 'Ditz ist ein schönes mere gnuoc / Wie ein munch ein kint truoc' (fol. 141^{r}) [This is a nice enough tale about a pregnant monk]. In this case, the rubric offers a resumé of the tale's content. In addition to this, it reveals the genre of the text by clearly indicating its narrative nature (the word *mere* meaning 'tale', 'story'). This use of titles falls within our description of the function of titles as summaries (the second function as listed above).

Some of the rubrics condense the content in one word, thereby getting nearer to our modern idea of a title: 'Ditz ist von einem Reiger ein mer / Got vber hebe

8 At least as far as short verse narratives are concerned.

9 All this is only true for the rubrics used at the beginning of each text. Surprisingly, this manuscript has been given a table of contents on its last pages. Here, the *sprúche* are specified, which they had to be if the table of contents was to make any sense. Since we do not know when the plan for this table was conceived, we cannot tell whether it is to be seen as a contrast to or as complementary to the featureless headings in the manuscript. The fact that it was added at the end (although extra pages could have been inserted at the beginning) might indicate that it was a later addition to help navigate the codex.

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vns aller swer' (fol. 99r) [This is a story about a heron, God relieve us of all our burden]; accordingly, scholars use the title *Der Reiher* (the heron). In the following example, the identification of text and title is even closer: 'Hie hebet sich an die heidinne / Got geb vns die ware minne' (fol. 111r) [Here begins the pagan woman, God give us true love]; 'die heidinne' seems to offer a useful name for the text.[10] The difference between modern titles and these headings, however, is that they all consist of rhyming couplets. This is important in two ways: first, it confers uniformity on the manuscript (as was also the case with the Munich codex): all the texts are presented identically. In contrast to the Munich codex, however, the Heidelberg manuscript has been copied with the utmost care. The purpose of this codex clearly was to collect a large number and a great variety of shorter verse texts. The fact that someone went to the trouble of putting the rubrics into verse is itself a sign that textual presentation mattered. Secondly, the rhyming couplets reflect the metrical form of all texts gathered in this codex. They may belong to different genres, but the vast majority were written in rhyming couplets. The form of the rubrics takes this into account.

This Heidelberg codex does not contain a table of contents. However, not very long after it was compiled the manuscript served as an exemplar, and the extant copy, apparently made in the same workshop that produced the Heidelberg manuscript, Cod. Bodmer 72, today in Cologny (Geneva), was equipped with a table of contents. It lists all the couplets and numbers them. This table of contents shows the third function titles can have, which is to index a text. Rhymed couplets may not be the most economical way of referencing a text, but they certainly served the purpose of listing all the texts in the manuscript and telling a user where to find them. It is this function of labelling which we can also find in the titles of the next example.

The codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2885, dates from 1393 and contains 68 shorter texts on 215 folios.[11] It has a uniform layout with red rubrics introducing the subsequent texts. None of the rubrics are rhyming couplets comparable to the headings in the Heidelberg codex; more importantly for our present purpose, there are very few rubrics giving Heidelberg-like summaries. One of the exceptions is the rubric introducing the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, 'Von Pyramo vnd Tispe den zwain lieben geschah vil we' (fol. 19v) [This is about Pyramus and Thisbe, two lovers who suffered a lot]. Most of the rubrics in this manuscript are nearer to a modern concept of a title. They summarise the

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10 There are further examples of this kind of title: 'Ditz buch (!) heist vnser frowen klage / Die sol man lessen alle tage' (fol. 22r) [This book is called our lady's complaint which one should read every day]. Not only are there rubrics for single texts, but also for collections of smaller texts: 'Hie hebent sich vnser vrowen gruze an / anderhalb hundert wol getan' (fol. 16r) [Here begin 150 beautiful greetings to our lady].

11 On this codex, see Zotz (2014: 349–72) and Pratt in this volume.

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content, concentrating on the tale's central character and, if necessary, an attribute: 'Daz mer von der alten Mutter' (fol. 47^{v}), 'Von dem haizzen eisen' (fol. 34^{v}), 'Der ritter mit der niderwat' (fol. 18^{r}), 'Von dem ritter mit den Nuzzen' (fol. 41^{v}).[12]

On twenty-three occasions (that is roughly one third of the cases) the rubrics announce a 'mer' (as on fol. 47^{v}), underlining the narrative character of the text; aside from that, there are only a few other genre attributions ('geticht', 'eben pild', 'puch' – which could be translated as 'text', 'allegory' and 'book'). The important thing we want to stress about this manuscript is that, quite apart from the generic attributions, the titles in the Vienna manuscript succeed in labelling the texts in a way that it is easy even for a modern reader to recognise them. These medieval titles are very similar to the ones that modern scholars use for the tales named above: *Die alte Mutter*, *Das heiße Eisen*, *Der Ritter im Hemde* (which is somewhat euphemistic) and *Der Ritter mit den Nüssen.* Apparently, the scribe who copied ÖNB, Cod. 2885 – who named himself Johannes Götschl – used a way of naming texts that foreshadows our modern usage.

II. Individual Short Verse Narratives and their Titles

Our next examples trace individual tales through the transmission process and deal with short verse narratives that date from the thirteenth century (or even earlier): the four short verse narratives by Konrad von Würzburg, one by Dietrich von der Glezze, the anonymous *Schneekind* and some short verse narratives by Der Stricker, who is usually seen as the founder of the genre in German literature. We shall start with Konrad von Würzburg, although Konrad is from many perspectives the most 'modern' case we shall discuss.

Three short verse narratives are attributed to Konrad von Würzburg unanimously, a fourth one, on the basis of manuscript evidence, also belongs to Konrad, although modern scholarship is divided on the matter.[13] We accept the medieval evidence and include it here. Their modern titles are: *Herzmäre* (*Story of the Heart* – treating the eaten heart topos with the subsequent sympathetic death of the lady), *Der Welt Lohn* (*The Wages of the World* – a short narrative about a knight who sees a personification of the World, and, after seeing her worm-eaten backside, embarks on a crusade), *Heinrich von Kempten* (a double historical anecdote about Heinrich and Emperor Otto with his red beard) and *Die*

12 'The tale of the old mother', 'About the hot iron', 'The knight with the underwear', 'The knight with the nuts'.

13 Doubts concerning the authorial attribution go back to Laudan (1908: 158–66). The most recent editor, Grubmüller (1996), leaves the case open.

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halbe Birne (*The Half Pear* – a story about a knight who makes a mistake at a banquet, is publicly criticised for it and avenges himself on his accuser by leading her into an illegitimate sexual relationship with him, which ends in an unhappy marriage). The textual history of Konrad's short verse narratives reveals a relative stability of the titles and modern scholars have come up with roughly the same ideas for the titles of his stories.

Let us start with the *Herzmäre*. The first two manuscripts, chronologically speaking, are Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS A94 (now lost) and Heidelberg, Cpg 341 (see above), both from the early fourteenth century, and the titles of the texts could not be more different. Strasbourg, MS A94 reads 'Dise mere mahte meister gotfrit von strazburg vnd seit von der minnen'.[14] While the thematic content is correct, the author-attribution is not. But as can easily be shown, both are taken from the prologue of the text, which expresses the intention to give an example of perfect love now lost to the world, but to hear about such love is good for lovers, as master Gottfried von Straßburg said – a reference to the *Tristan*-prologue. Someone – the scribe or the compiler of the manuscript – read the prologue and misread the reference to Gottfried as an author-attribution. The correct attribution to Konrad is in the epilogue, which is missing in this manuscript, so no contradiction arises. This title contains not only wrong information, it is, in addition, not very specific, because many short verse narratives are about love. The title in the Heidelberg manuscript is much more catchy and non-generic: 'Ditz mer ist daz herze genant / Vnt tut triwe vns bekant' (fol. 346ra) ['This story is called the heart and tells us about constancy']. 'Heart' continues to be part of the title throughout the tale's medieval transmission and has also become the modern title in an astonishing display of constancy with only minor variations. 'Der hercz spruch' [The tale of the heart] is the title (but with different spellings) in three manuscripts (in two of those as a title above the text and also in a table of contents: Prague, Leipzig, and Berlin).[15] Other variants are 'Der Ritter mit dem herczen' (Munich), 'Daz ist daz hertz mëre' (Vienna).[16] In an individual booklet of the early sixteenth century the text has the title 'Dises büchle haysset der rytter mit dem hertzen / Vnd sagt von grossem kummer vnd schmertzen.'[17]

14 'This tale is by master Gottfried of Straßburg and tells about love' – quoted by Myller ((ed.) 1784: 208).

15 Prague, National Museum, Cod. X A 12; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Apel 8 (both also with a table of contents); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 488.

16 'The knight with the heart', Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 714, fol. 147^{r}; 'This is the tale of the heart', Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2885, fol. 10va.

17 'This booklet is called the knight with the heart and tells about great sorrow and pain', Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nova 2593, fol. 1^{r}.

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The same 'constancy' is shown in the title of another text: *Der Welt Lohn*. This is also a successful medieval title. The first manuscript dates from the time Konrad was still alive: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 16. The manuscript bears witness to an early stage of the introduction of titles in the transmission of Konrad's texts. One section of the manuscript contains Stricker *Mären*, which do not have individual titles, but the whole section has a title: 'Hie hebent sich bispel an / von dem strickaere'.[18] Individual stories are indicated only by red initial capitals, there is no blank space to separate them and since some of the Stricker texts also have red initial capitals within the text, boundaries between texts are either not marked or perceived in any recognizable way or only through textual markers (if and when a reader notices a change in subject, a typical 'first line' or an epimythium). Thus the texts, although clearly multiple when they are read, are represented on the page as one text or as a text group without very clear-cut boundaries, except for whatever is indicated by the initials (the function of which is unclear). The exception is the title for *Der Welt Lohn* by Konrad. This section is marked by a rubricated heading, written not as a line within the body of the text, but written between the two text columns.[19] Since the text also contains an author attribution at its end, it is clear to a reader that it is not a Stricker text, and this may have been the reason it was thought necessary to mark especially its beginning.

Another observation arising from the titles of this text concerns the famous pair of sister manuscripts Heidelberg, Cpg 341 and its copy from the same workshop, Cologny, Cod. Bodmer 72. The title in the Heidelberg manuscript is: 'Ditz buchel heizet der werlt lon / Vnd stet mir fvr ein bon' (Cpg 341, fol. 239va). Someone, a scribe or compiler, had to come up with a rhymed couplet to name the text, but found this challenging. While the rhyme is correct, the sentence hardly makes sense. But the scribe producing the copy realised this and changed the title to : 'Ditz ist von der werlde lon / vnd stet niht vmb ein bon' (Cod. Bodmer 72, fol. 240va). While the first would roughly translate as: 'This small book is about the wages of the world, and I judge it as highly as a bean' (in other words not very high), the second means: 'This is about the wages of the world, and they are worth nothing'. This is in all probability what the first scribe wanted to say but never

18 'Here begin exempla by Der Stricker'; Munich, Cgm 16, fol. 81va, online at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00035330/images/index.html?id=00035330&groesser=&fip=eayaewqeayaeayaewqenxsweayaenxs&no=&seite=164. See also Besamusca, Griffiths, Meyer, and Morcos (2016: 102–06).

19 'Der werlde lon' is written parallel to the initial which marks the beginning of the new text between the two columns; online at http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00035330/images/index.html?id=00035330&groesser=&fip=eayaewqeayaeayaewqenxsweayaenxs&no=14&seite=172.

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succeeded in putting into verse. Here we have evidence of work on titles over time.

There is no need to go into detail about the titles of the other two tales by Konrad because they are very consistent in transmission: *Die halbe Birne* is always called that (or a very close variation on it), and *Heinrich von Kempten* is also quite clear: its medieval title, unlike the modern title, always refers to the emperor, and is a variation on 'Keiser otto mit dem barte' [Emperor Otto with the Beard]. The reference to the emperor is not unimportant. One can explain it by, again, pointing to the beginning of the text, where the emperor is prominently referred to. But we also gain a different, probably more medieval, perspective on the text if we read it with the emperor as its main figure in mind. Differences between medieval and modern titles can thus encourage slightly different interpretations. The medieval title 'Der Borte' [The Girdle], by Dietrich von der Glezze, offers a similar result: this story, roughly from the same period as Konrad's tales, also has a title referring to the central magical object which is very stable in transmission.

This picture of stable titles changes when we look at other texts. *Das Schneekind* – the German version of the famous Latin *Modus Liebinc* – is either given a very 'specific' title, such as 'Daz mer von ainem sne pallenn' (Vienna), or is named rather vaguely 'Von einem kaufman' (Munich).[20] Generic titles become more frequent when one looks at the Stricker texts. Here, we also find specific titles, but the frequency of generic titles rises. This is especially interesting in the manuscripts of the early fourteenth century. We have already discussed the earlier manuscript, Munich, Cgm 16, where there are no individual titles for the Stricker texts. They were probably not judged necessary, since the section of the manuscript containing short verse narratives is not very large – only seven folios – and since it is introduced by a summarising heading (as discussed above). This manuscript stands at the beginning of the transmission of short verse narratives in German; this could also mean that there was not yet an established scribal tradition of how to present short texts as separate entities.

When in the fourteenth century groups of texts grow larger, titles, especially if rubricated, could serve the useful function of subdivision. And, of course, titles help to locate individual texts if these titles are specific. Stricker *Mären* are not treated differently from Konrad's text in the Heidelberg and Cologny manuscripts.[21] Thus, we also find rhymed couplets taking up some important elements from the stories. Let us give just one example: 'Ditz ist ein mere ze

20 'The story of a snowball', Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2885, fol. 126va; 'About a merchant', Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. Ms. 731 (the so-called 'Hausbuch des Michael de Leone'), fol. 85^{rb}.

21 For a general discussion of the transmission of Stricker texts, see Holznagel (1998: 163–84).

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halten / Von drin wunsch gewalten' is the title for 'Die drei Wünsche'.[22] We have also, especially in the case of the fables attributed to Der Stricker, a tendency to rhyme *mer* with *Stricker*. This tendency is visible in the Heidelberg manuscript and is even more pronounced in the Cologny manuscript. We are dealing with a kind of 'signature rhyme' that becomes an important factor in transmission, and that gets transferred to other, later authors like Der Teichner.

Unlike the cases described so far, where we either have no title or specific titles, we encounter another tradition in the case of Der Stricker. The so-called 'Hausbuch of Michael de Leone' (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. Ms. 731) contains a large group of Stricker *Mären*, and here generic titles prevail: *Die drei Wünsche* bears the title: 'Von eim man vnd von sinem wibe' (Der Stricker 1973: 1) – not wrong but very vague. *Das erzwungene Gelübde* (a very specific title in Cpg 341),[23] becomes 'Von einem vnd von sinem wibe' (!) (Der Stricker 1973: 11) [About a [man] and his wife]; *Die eingemauerte Frau* becomes 'Von eime ritter vnd von siner frauwen' (Der Stricker 1973: 50), and so on. Later manuscripts also show titles of this sort. For *Minnereden*, for instance, the situation is comparable with what we have seen in Munich, Cgm 5919.

In conclusion, medieval titles clearly function in two different ways. On the one hand they mark text boundaries. If that is their only function, they serve to mark a distinction within a textual continuum without greatly individualising texts. This is a useful function and perhaps we should not expect more. From this perspective it also makes sense that titles can be prefixed to groups of texts as well as to individual texts. Titles may indicate – as does the heading in manuscript Munich, Cgm 16 discussed above – that groups of short verse narratives should be read as belonging together and as forming a coherent body of texts. While the use of titles for a group of works could be regarded as an early phenomenon in the copying of *Mären*, the transmission of *Minnereden* shows that the practice continued into the Late Middle Ages. Generic titles point in the same direction. Titles such as *Von eim man vnd von sinem wibe* for a Stricker text do not provide insight into an individual story (except insofar as nearly all Stricker *Mären* are about a man and a woman). Rather, they point to an interest in a genre (or a subgenre). On the other hand, we have individualising titles – and these titles, once invented, show remarkable constancy. This latter type of medieval title credits the individual text with possessing an especially novel idea. The use of such titles

22 'This is a tale to tell about three wishes'. Astonishingly, at least in the ATB-edition, the medieval titles are given in the apparatus only (Der Stricker 1973: 1).

23 'Ditz ist ein seltzenes mere / Wie ein man sin wib bat daz si nach sinem tode ane man were' [This is a strange tale how a man asked his wife to be without another husband after his death] (Der Stricker 1973: 11).

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sheds new light on the much-discussed relations between the medieval short verse narrative and the modern novella.[24]

Even if the development of titles is not linear, there are some general statements to be made about the German tradition. The two oldest collections of short verse narratives, Munich, Cgm 16 and Vienna, Cod. 2705, dating from the thirteenth century, do not use titles. They do not even use rubrics or blank space to indicate the end of one and the beginning of another text; sometimes initials are given, but since they are also used to mark the beginning of a new episode, it can be difficult to recognise individual texts in these two manuscripts.

These two examples can explain why titles became necessary, in particular for short verse narratives. Since they were transmitted in greater numbers than, for example, romances, differentiating between them and labelling became useful if not crucial. We may not be the only readers who had trouble using those two early examples of multi-text codices and got lost in them. On the other hand, Munich, Cgm 5919, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, clearly shows that it continued to make sense for some users to collect stories without labelling them. Generic titles like those in the *Hausbuch* occupy a middle ground: they place the genre, not the individual story, in the foreground, while on the other hand guaranteeing something like a specific generic quality – thus, one could compare them with modern phenomena like the 'Alfred Hitchcock Presents' series on American TV.

Cases where the process of naming is reflected in the title are of special interest. If a rubric states that a tale 'heizet' or 'ist genant' [is called], the very process of labelling a story is foregrounded and the text becomes visible as a created entity; it is not merely a mute presence on a manuscript page, but there is an understanding and an awareness that this text is an individual entity and how it is constituted. There is, in the end, only one 'Herzmaere', but there can be – pace Goethe – a whole lot of 'Ein gleiches'.

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24 For this debate within the German tradition, see Heinzle (1978: 121–38); Müller (1984: 289–311); Ziegeler 1985.

25 Further information about all of these manuscripts can be found at http://www.handschriftencensus, which in many cases contains links to digitisations. Digital versions of the Vienna codices can be accessed via the ÖNB search tool HANNA.

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Sens in Dialogue: The Manuscript Contexts of the *Fables Pierre Aufons*

This essay analyses the five extant witnesses of the *Fables Pierre Aufons* in their codicological contexts. The figures of Solomon and Marcoul, introduced into this French verse translation of Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*, are considered here as emblematic of the internal dynamics of the *Fables Pierre Aufons* and are used as a starting point for considering the varied ways these dynamics are aligned in the distinct copies and contexts of this intriguing story collection.[1]

> Delez grant val grant mont,
> Ce dist Salemons.
> Delez grant cul grant con,
> Marcoul li respont.[2]
>
> ['Beside every large valley is a large mountain', said Solomon. 'Beside every large arsehole is a large cunt', Marcoul responded.]

The dialogue between Solomon and his boorish interlocutor descends from a tradition that dates back to the ninth century.[3] The traditional figure of wisdom is challenged by the experiential and shrewd knowledge of his opponent. In the Old French redaction cited above, Marcoul's responses are unapologetically crude in content and tone, primarily generating humour rather than undermining the authority of Solomon.[4] Keith Busby (1999: 154) characterises this popular

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013.

2 *De Marco et de Salemons*, Méon (ed.) 1823, I: 416–36 (p. 436). Méon does not state his source but it is understood to be the copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 25545 (Hunt 2000: 203).

3 See Kemble 1848: 73–83; and Hunt 2000.

4 The numerous copies of this redaction vary in length and content, but are 'united by the nature of Marcoul's contributions, which constitute a crudely misogynistic diatribe based on the vilification of woman presented as "putain" or "pute"' (Hunt: 2000: 204). By contrast, in the contemporary version found only in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français

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redaction as 'emblematic of the kind of tension between different modes of discourse (e. g. the serious and the comic) informing the corpus of Old French literature in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries'. In the *Fables Pierre Aufons*, a thirteenth-century translation of the *Disciplina clericalis*, Solomon and Marcoul are introduced as a pair of stubborn oxen.[5] The oxen do not, however, live up to their namesakes, remaining silent throughout the tale in which they feature. Nonetheless, their invocation allusively gestures to the competing modes of wisdom and the combination of 'the serious and the comic' in this intriguing story collection. In this essay, I shall illustrate how the internal tensions of the *FPA* are affected by its distinct configurations and codicological contexts. The interplay between Solomonesque wisdom and playful Marcoulfian *engin* finds five different elaborations in the extant manuscripts.[6] They range from a large and luxurious continental compendium of pedagogic works to a pocket-sized insular codex with only the *FPA* and a unique sequel on love. The different textual and codicological re-framings reflect and elicit different responses to the story collection. However, before turning to the manuscripts, this essay will begin by looking briefly at the characteristics and the functions of the *FPA*'s internal dynamics.

The *FPA* represent one of two French verse redactions of Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*. Alfonsi's extremely popular twelfth-century Latin compendium consists of a series of proverbs, lessons, and stories, compiled from a wide variety of sources that reflect the rich cultural heritage of its author, a converted Jew from Spain.[7] After the narrator's prologue, the majority of the work is formed of a pedagogic exchange between a father and son or a master and student.[8] Solomon is repeatedly cited as an *auctor*, but does not feature within the narratives or alongside any adversary.[9] His appearance with Marcoul in the *FPA*

19152, the exchange paints 'a picture of contrasting social classes and value systems' (Hunt 2000: 202). Hunt also edits a third French redaction, from an early fourteenth-century English manuscript.

5 The *Fables Pierre Aufons* (hereafter *FPA*) is the title used by the editors of the recent online edition (which is unfortunately no longer operable); see Foehr-Janssens et al. 2006.

6 The contents of each manuscript can be found in Appendix 1. The different configurations of the *FPA* are listed in Appendix 2, using the titles and numbers of tales in Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911. One further manuscript, London, British Library, MS Royal, 16 E VIII, also transmitted the *FPA*, but unfortunately it has been missing since the end of the nineteenth century (Ward 1883: 176–78).

7 On the background and education of Petrus Alfonsi, see Hermes (ed.) 1977 and Tolan 1993.

8 Whilst there is some variation in the labels used to identify the interlocutors, the majority of narratives are recounted by an 'Arab' father to his son.

9 For example, Solomon is cited in the passage before the first tale on cheating wives (IX) and at the very end of the work before the epilogue. The titles and numbers for the individual tales are based on those allocated by Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911. See Appendix 2 for a list of the tales and their order in the manuscripts of the *FPA*.

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offers a particularly loaded example of the redactor's transformative stance towards his Latin source. As well as merging the *Disciplina*'s multiple voices of wisdom into a single pair of father and son interlocutors, he expands the tales, assimilating them to contemporary vernacular genres and their horizons of expectation (Busby 2006).[10]

Solomon and Marcoul feature in the *FPA*'s version of *De aratore et lupo iudicioque vulpi* (XXIII), a tale which exemplifies the redactor's unique elaboration of the *Disciplina.* The increased level of narrative detail and the addition of lively exchanges render the tale approximately twice as long as the equivalent in the insular *Chastoiement d'un père à son fils*, the second independent French verse redaction.[11] In tale XXIII, a ploughman threatens to give his two misbehaving oxen to a wolf as punishment for their disobedience. A wolf overhears his words and demands the promised oxen. A fox then arrives and offers to arbitrate over their dispute. He takes the ploughman to one side and negotiates a bribe of two hens, before telling the wolf that the ploughman will give him a large cheese instead of the oxen. The fox then leads the wolf away and traps him at the bottom of a well by claiming the moon's reflection is the promised cheese. In the *Chastoiement*, the brevity and content of the *Disciplina* are closely replicated.[12] By contrast, the redactor of the *FPA* introduces new details and dialogue:

> Par mautalent et par grant ire
> Les commença mout a maudire
> Et Deu orer et a prier
> Que maus lous les peüst mangier.
> 'Samin,'dist il, 'et vos Marcuel,
> Fait m'avez icest jor grant duel,
> Et je vos ai a Ysengris,
> Le compere Renart, pramis,
> Et il vos ait, quer ma jornee
> M'avez hui tote anïentee.' (3583–92)[13]

> [Out of his ill-will and great anger, he started cursing them, praying and beseeching God that an evil wolf might eat them: 'Samin,'he said, 'and you, Marcuel, today you have

10 Between twenty-four and thirty of the *Disciplina*'s tales are found in the copies of the *FPA*. In certain cases extraneous tales are added from the other French verse redaction, see Appendix 2.

11 On the differences between the *Chastoiement* and the *FPA*, see, *inter alia*, Foehr-Janssens et al. 2006 (especially 'V. Les Traductions françaises') and Uhlig 2012.

12 In the *Disciplina*, the *rustico* states 'Lupi uos comedant!' (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911: 34) [May the wolves eat you!]; in the *Chastoiement* this threat is rendered: 'Mangé vus est li lus!' ('Version B' [= *Le Chastoiement*], Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1922: l. 2610) [May you be eaten by the wolf!].

13 All citations are from 'Version A' [=*FPA*], Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1922.

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> caused me great distress. And so I have promised you to Ysengrin, the associate of Renart. And may he have you, for you have totally ruined my day!']

The *Disciplina*'s unidentified animals are recast as well-known figures from contemporary literature. The artful fox and gullible wolf become the instantly recognisable adversaries Renart and Ysengrin from the *Roman de Renart*.[14] Rather less predictable are the names assigned to the ploughman's silent oxen: 'Samin' and 'Marcuel'. Alongside Renart and Ysengrin, the invocation of this additional pair of adversaries gestures towards the structural function of doubles in the *FPA* and its source. Eberhard Hermes ((ed.) 1977: 31) characterises everything in the *Disciplina* as 'two-sided', identifying '[the] "dialectical" treatment of a theme' as fundamental to the work and at the same time expressing 'the author's critical approach to knowledge'.[15] In the *FPA*, Solomon and Marcoul emblematise the interplay between competing (but complementary) modes of knowledge throughout the collection. On the one hand, authoritative *actants* of scholarly wisdom – represented by the figure of the philosopher (tales XVI and XVII) and king (III) – stand up for the disenfranchised and act for the good of the community. On the other hand, the *engin* of counter-figures – embodied by Renart (IV, VI and XXIII), Nedui the tailor (XX), the cheating wives and their older female accomplices (IX, X, XI, XIII and XIV) – primarily operates on a self-serving level, nourishing physical appetites and personal gains.[16] Yet, the *FPA* maintain the *Disciplina*'s symbiotic relationship between *clergie* and *engin*.[17]

Solomon and Marcoul also allude to the opposing registers in play in the *FPA*. The tone vacillates between the solemn and the burlesque; serious lessons are juxtaposed with comic scenarios. The son is warned against replicating the behaviour of those who fall victim to Renart and his allies. At the same time, we laugh at the downfall of their dupes. In the *Disciplina*, these humorous moments are presented as vital: the pleasure they elicit is positioned not in contradistinction to the didactic goals, but as an essential part of acquiring *utilitas* (Foehr-Janssens 2005). By contrast, in the *FPA*, the profitable becomes inherently pleasurable and vice versa. In the prologue, the book is described as being made from the works of 'noz bons anceisors' (68) [our worthy ancestors], 'Qui el grant sens se delitouent'(69) [who delighted in their great wisdom/knowledge]. At the

14 The *Disciplina*'s version of XXIII is regarded as a potential source for two separate branches of the *Roman de Renart* (branch IV, *Renart et Isengrin dans le puits*; and branch IX, *Renart et Liétart*) (Flinn 1963: 486–88).

15 Yet this operates unobtrusively, in a loosely associative manner.

16 The old lady in XV, however, acts altruistically. See Foehr-Janssens 2005 on how the *engin* of these female protagonists undermines the logic of misogyny.

17 See 'De sapientia' in the *Disciplina* (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911: 7); see also the passage after XV in the *Disciplina* (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911: 22) and in the *FPA* ('Version A', ll. 2489–92).

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same time, the redactor focuses on the appealing narrative content compiled: 'deduiz et beaus fableaus / De genz, de bestes et d'oiseaus' (73–74) [pleasurable delights and enjoyable tales of people, animals and birds].[18] These enjoyable elements are not without moral value: 'Mes saciez qu'il n'i a deduit / Qui ne seit chargiez de buen fruit' (75–76) [But know that a pleasurable delight does not exist which is not laden with good ripe fruit]. The success of their profitable reception is implicitly dependent upon the reader's capacity (and desire) to identify the latent 'buen fruit'. There is thus the possibility that the profitable will go unnoticed. Concerns regarding the 'correct' interpretation of the narratives come to the fore in the exchange between the father and son that precedes the tales on cheating wives. Rather than emphasising the potential blame the storyteller might incur for telling such tales (as in the *Disciplina*), the father worries about how the written transmission and recontextualisation of his stories might affect future readers:

> Fiz, plusors choses te contasse
> De lor engien, si je osasse;
> Mais je vei ben que tu veuz metre
> Tout quant que je te di en letre,
> Si orra teus par aventure
> Mes paroles en t'escripture
> Qui tot a mal atornera
> Ce que solement dit sera
> Por home estruire et doctriner
> Et por saveir sei mieuz garder.
> Si ira el, quer teus orra
> L'engien que l'autres fet avra,
> Qui mauvais essample i prendra
> Et autretel ressaiera. (1149–62)

> [Son, I would tell you many things about their cunning, if I dared, but I see clearly that you want to put everything that I tell you down in writing. And so it is possible that somebody might hear my words through your writing and they might turn to an evil purpose something which will only have been said to educate and to instruct others, and teach them how to behave better. And so it will go quite otherwise; for such a person would hear about the ingenious ruse of another and using it as a bad example would attempt to do just the same.]

The father here epitomises the third 'function' of writing described by Waguih Azzam et al. (2010: 32) in their essay on *mise en recueil:* 'la mise à distance du contexte immédiat de la communication qui démultiplie les possibilités de prise

18 The redactor reduces and omits the wide-ranging sources listed by Alfonsi in the *Disciplina* (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911: 2). On the importance of 'fableaus' in the *FPA* and a summary of the scholarship on its usage here, see Foehr-Janssens 2005: 233–35.

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en compte du message' [the separation from the immediate context of communication, which multiplies the possible interpretations of the message].[19] The reception of the tales in writing, beyond the confines of their (fictionalised) oral exchange, marks the end of the intersubjective role of dialogue in cognition. At the same time, the focus on the reader as opposed to the author demonstrates the redactor's sensitivity to the dialogic processes embroiled in reading and writing. Bearing this in mind, the remainder of this essay will consider what the manuscripts reveal about how the *FPA* were read and (re)conceived, focusing primarily on the textual witnesses of the *FPA* and the items copied in close temporal and physical proximity to the story collection.

The codicological presentation and context of the *FPA* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12581 privileges the pedagogical exchange. This large thirteenth-century compendium transmits some of most popular contemporary didactic works in the vernacular: Brunetto Latini's encyclopaedic *Li Livres dou Tresor*, the Four Evangelists in French prose, the most widely disseminated version of the vernacular *Lucidaire*, the prose *Moralités des philosophes*, and Philip of Novara's *Quatre Âges de l'homme*. The instructive nature of these works is consolidated in the illustrations, which foreground the transfer of knowledge and wisdom, whether by *auctor* or 'teacher'.

The pedagogic function of dialogue is apparent from the first item of the codex, the *Queste del Saint Graal*. In this Arthurian prose romance, various hermits interpret the narrative events in order to enlighten their knightly pupils. Similarly, the vernacular translation of Honorius d'Autun's twelfth-century *Elucidarium* exemplifies the master-pupil dialogue, as does its frequent companion, the *Dialogue entre le père et le fils*.[20] The historiated initial that precedes the *Dialogue* is almost identical to the one that introduces the *FPA*, portraying in both cases the father and son in conversation.[21] In addition to being the only illustrated copy of the *FPA*, fr. 12581 also contains the only copy that is written out as prose. The visual emphasis on the father-son exchange and the *mise en page* together accentuate the story collection's instructive function and assimilate the *FPA* to the accompanying didactic works in prose. Alongside the works formed of dialogue, other texts in fr. 12581 articulate teachings from the per-

19 The other two categories in their taxonomy are communication and the recording of information (Azzam et al. 2010: 32).

20 In the same unit we find Adam de Suel's French verse translation of Cato's *Distiques*, which also includes a dialogue between Cato and his son.

21 The first folio of the *Lucidaire* has been removed so it is not possible to compare it with the other illustrations. The historiated initial at the start of the *Lucidaire* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1036 (fol. 20ra) combines the author portrait with pedagogic dialogue, picturing the master reading from a book on a lectern and a young disciple holding a book by his feet.

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spective of age and experience to an implicit disciple or friend, such as the *Moralités des philosophes,* Philip of Novara's *Quatre Âges*, and the longest work in the codex, Brunetto Latini's *Tresor.* The illustrations that accompany the three books of the *Tresor* add different components to the construction of this author, his authority and function. The first image crystallises the metaphor of knowledge as wealth, depicting the encyclopaedia as the treasure amassed by the author (Roux 2009: 161). The second is a traditional portrait of the author at work and the third pictures him as a teacher before an audience of students. His full name accompanies the third representation, accentuating the pedagogic role of this famous Italian author.

A variety of supplementary shorter items are found at the end of the copying units dominated by the longer works. These include over 60 lyrics, primarily attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, ranging from the *grand chant courtois* to *jeux-partis.*[22] Elsewhere, the dyad of *Des XXIII manieres de vilains* and the *fabliau Des Tresces* introduce elements of social critique, as well as the cruder Marcoulfian voice. Within this dominantly didactic context, space is given to more frivolous literary registers, from the love lyric to the bawdy comic tale.[23] Whilst there are no additional short items at the end of the gathering with the *FPA*, an additional narrative from the *Chastoiement* follows the epilogue: *De regii incisoris discipulo Nedui nomine* (XX) (see Appendix 2). In the context of fr. 12581, this addendum plays a similar role to the shorter items found at the end of the other gatherings. Like Renart in tale XXIII, the tailor's apprentice, Nedui, is representative of *engin.* After being denied his share of honey and bread, he takes revenge on his master and causes him to be beaten. In this copy, the tailor is uniquely renamed 'Deduit', a denomination that transforms the trickster Nedui into the embodiment of pleasure (Foehr-Janssens 2006: 414). Placed at the end of the story collection, the tale offers a Marcoulfian retort to the solemn tone of the *FPA*'s epilogue.

Whereas the shorter elements add diversity to fr. 12581, Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.4.2° 1 is a monotonically sombre compilation of moral and religious pieces. This far more humble manuscript is formed of low-grade parchment with crude reparatory stitches, and is adorned only with large but unrefined red and blue puzzle initials and smaller plain red initials. At least three scribes from the thirteenth century onwards copied the individual codicological units. However, the late medieval binding and the series of alphabetical quire marks indicate that the manuscript has been bound in this form since at least the

22 The lyrics mostly fill the last folios of existing quires, apart from one example in which supplementary gatherings are added to incorporate extra lyrics, which occurs at the end of the copying unit containing the Four Evangelists (fols 312^{v}–320^{v}). Thus rather than being simply 'filler' material, their inclusion appears to be more contrived.

23 Along with the *FPA*, all of these shorter verse items are written as prose.

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fifteenth century.[24] In the Augsburg codex, the *FPA* were originally copied with the *Dit du Corps*, a homiletic apostrophe addressed to the body, written in helinandian stanzas. A six-line-high blue and red puzzle initial introduces the start of the *Dit*, replicating the same style of initial as the one found at the beginning of the *FPA*. Only after the *Dit*, however, do we find 'Explicit' (fol. 89^{vb}), marking the end of the two pieces. Thus whilst the large initial marks the *Dit* as a new item, the explicit conjoins it to the *FPA*. This apostrophe discusses the transience of worldly spoils and the importance of spiritual salvation, themes which are addressed to varying degrees in the *FPA*'s prologue and epilogue. In the *FPA*'s prologue, *sens* is said to assure both 'L'onour du chiel et de la terre' (p. 1, l. 22) [heavenly and wordly honour], and be more durable than material possessions or social status (pp. 1–2, ll. 42–46).[25] Following the eulogy of *sens*, the prologue discusses the fear of God and the hypocrisy of those who superficially practise the faith. In the *FPA*'s epilogue, the accent is placed on the glory of salvation in a sermon-like passage which opposes this world and the next:

> Seignour, merueilleus cange fait
> Qui cest siecle pour l'autre lait,
> Car cil est bons et cist maluais,
> Cist de guerre, et cil de pais.
> Cil est de joie, et cist de plour,
> Cist de haine, et cil d'amour… (p. 55, ll. 29–34)
>
> [My lords, he who leaves this world for the next experiences a wonderful exchange, for the latter is good whilst the former is bad; the former is full of war, whereas the latter is full of peace. The next is joyful whilst this world remains full of tears, and occupied by hatred as opposed to love…]

A further call for God's blessing concludes this witness of the *FPA:* 'Diex nous doinst sa benéichon / In secula seculorum' [May God give us his blessing in the world without end]. In the Augsburg codex, the *Dit* builds on the *FPA*'s epilogue by introducing the soul and the cleansing effects of confession. The apostrophe begins with a condemnation of the body's worldly appetites, echoing the rhyme of 'savoir' and 'avoir' found at the start of the *FPA:*[26]

24 The style of puzzle initial at the start of the *FPA* is very close to the puzzle initials at the beginning of the works in the other units, which suggests their shared provenance.

25 All citations of the *FPA* in the Augsburg codex are taken from Roesle (ed.) 1899.

26 'Qui veut honour au siècle auoir / Premerainemont doit sauoir / Que ne puet a honour venir / Qui ne se velt a bien tenir;' (Roesle (ed.) 1899: p. 1, ll. 1–4) [He who wants to acquire honour in this world firstly must know that it is not possible to achieve honour without living virtuously].

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Corps, en toi n'a point de savoir,
Car tu golouses trop avoir
robes et bons chevax de pris (col. 547, ll. 15–17)[27]

[Body, in you there is no wisdom, for you covet too greatly worldly possessions, clothing and fine, valuable horses]

Worldly preoccupations are not placed in contradistinction to the enduring benefits of *sens* as in the *FPA*'s prologue, but represent a symptom of the body's lack of *savoir* ('tu n'es mis bien apris', col. 547, l. 21 [you are not very clever]). The body's mistreatment of the soul in the second stanza is compared to a brother's harmful disregard of his sister, the body causing the soul's damnation. By the penultimate stanza the relationship takes a different form: the body is likened to a lover, neglectful of his *amie* 'qui doit estre roine et dame' (col. 553, l. 5). Yet, there is the possibility for redemption. The body has the opportunity to confess and save the soul, thanks to God's generous nature: 'Cors, diex est mout plus debonaire / que ne soit ne prevos ne maire,' (col. 552, ll. 17–18) [Body, God is more generous and kind-hearted than any provost or mayor]. God will forgive him who 'et repentans veille estre mais, / et aquitier veut ses mesfais' (col. 552, ll. 26–27) [wishes to be repentant from now on and wants to atone for his sins]. In the *Disciplina*, the final narrative unit *De heremita suam corrigente animam* (XXXIV) includes a similar kind of internal dialogue, in which a hermit addresses his soul in preparation for death. This tale does not, however, appear as part of the *FPA* in the Augsburg codex.[28] The *Dit du Corps* thus offers an alternative to the *Disciplina*'s closing tale at the same time as bringing the contritionist discourse of the post-Fourth Lateran Council decree on confession into dialogue with the story collection.

The Augsburg copy of the *FPA* is also more explicitly religious in tone in comparison with the other copies, in which the sermonising content is primarily limited to the prologue and epilogue. This is most evident in the unique rendition of the *Disciplina*'s *De Mariano* (XXV). This tale is not found in any other copy of the *FPA* and is entirely distinct from the version found in the *Chastoiement.* It recounts the tale of a contemptible king, who calls on the assistance of his council following the revolt of his subjects. Afraid of acknowledging the king's wrongdoing, a group of seven philosophers set out to acquire the advice of the holy recluse, Marianus. They eventually find him and he predicts the king's downfall and imminent death. Four of the philosophers return to find his divination to be true and three others remain to emulate his holy existence. In comparison with

27 All citations are from Bartsch (ed.) 1887.

28 *De heremita suam corrigente animam* (XXXIV) is only found in one manuscript of the *FPA,* Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 219, which borrows the final series of items from the *Chastoiement.* See below and Appendix 2.

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the version in the *Chastoiement*, this copy is closer to the discourse of contemporary pious tales, such as the Old French verse *Vie des Pères*. For example, the king's acknowledgement of his potential sins is elaborated: 'Que por la malvaistié de moi / Par mon pechié et par mon vice / Viegne au regne ceste malice' (p. 47, ll. 26–28) [This evil seems to infect the kingdom through the evil acts I have committed, by my sin and my vice]. The reclusive Marianus is referred to as 'li sains hons' (p. 47, l. 60) [the holy man], and is distinguished from the immoral king's 'philosophers' by his close relationship with God: 'Mais sains espirs li a moustré / De la cose le verité' (p. 48, ll. 64–65) [The Holy Spirit showed him the truth of the matter]. Furthermore, the three wise men who remain with Marianus in his 'ermitage' (p. 48, l. 107) are presented as dedicating their lives to God: 'Se remetent pour dieu seruir / Et pour sa doctrine coillir' (p. 48, ll. 108–09) [They remain to serve God and collect together his teachings]. Whilst illustrating the importance of just leadership, the tale is thus lent greater spiritual resonance. The religious *remaniement* of *De Mariano* combined with the presence of the *Dit du corps* together create a more devotional reading experience of the *FPA*, both solemn and Solomonesque.

The *Dit du Corps* also appears with the *FPA* in the more diverse context of Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 219. In this fourteenth-century codex, considerations of death and salvation are explored from the first item, Helinand de Froidmont's *Vers de la mort*, to the item known by the same name attributed to Robert le Clerc. Such concerns are paralleled in the configuration of the *FPA*, which unusually reinstates the final series of tales from the *Disciplina: De Socrate* (XXVIII, here 'Diogenes'), *De philosopho per cimiterium transeunte* (XXXII), *De aurea Alexandri sepultura* (XXXIII), and *De heremita suam corrigente animam* (XXXIV) (see Appendix 2). Extracted from the *Chastoiement*, these four tales are incorporated after the *FPA*'s conventional epilogue, and offer an interesting example of the cross-contamination of the two redactions. These are followed by a unicum about an annually elected king, associated with neither the *Disciplina* nor the *Chastoiement*. In a lengthy speech, the father concludes this supplementary tale with an allegorical interpretation of its significance. An additional 'epilogue' of six lines then calls on God to be merciful to the 'preudo*m*me' who teaches his son. 'Explicit de pierre aufour' frames these extraneous components within the boundaries of the *FPA*.[29] The additions to the *FPA* thus contribute to the broader contemplation of death and the afterlife in this manuscript compilation.[30] The two short comic items that appear either side of this extended *FPA*, however, propose a different type of interplay with the story collection.

29 For a transcription of these five tales and their conclusion, see Mussafia 1870.

30 It is of course possible that the *FPA* were adapted in this manner prior to the compilation of

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Positioned at the core of the codex, the *FPA* are sandwiched between two *fabliaux, La Bourse pleine de Sens* and *Le Bouchier d'Abeville.*[31] This is the *only* manuscript in which the *FPA* are compiled exclusively with short items and it is also the *only* codex to feature rubrics for the individual tales of the story collection. Two manuscripts of the *Chastoiement* incorporate rubrics for the narratives, and significantly, they also consist of a large number of shorter items, including *fabliaux*.[32] Thus, there appears to be a link between the number of short items and the usage of rubrics to divide up the story collection. In Pavia, Aldini 219, the rubrics underline the narrative content and offer the reader the opportunity to access the stories directly, differentiating the tales from the dialogue. This also encourages the interaction of the tales with the other short items in the codex. Yet, the smaller size of initials underlines the contingent role of the *FPA*'s narratives within the framework of the story collection.[33]

Whilst the narratives surrounding the *FPA* are both comic tales, the first chastises the pleasures of the flesh and the second celebrates them. In *La Bourse pleine de Sens*, rather than the more common topos of a cheating wife – elucidated in the five tales at the heart of the *FPA* – here we encounter an unfaithful *husband.* Following the *Dit des dames*, which outlines nine reasons not to slander women, it adds a positive example of a loyal wife to the debate about women and marriage within the *FPA* and the codex as a whole.[34] A loyal wife asks her philandering husband to bring her a purse 'de sens' from the fair, which plays on the double referent of 'sens' as both 'wisdom' and the Burgundian town, Sens. The lusty merchant only realises the true meaning of her words as the fickleness and materialism of his mistress become apparent, in marked contrast to his wife, who remains constant no matter whether he is rich or poor. Humorous in tone and anti-feminist in message, it promotes marital fidelity whilst chastising material greed and unruly sexual appetites. The value of wisdom over worldly *avoir* in the *La Bourse pleine de Sens* thus offers an alternative prelude to the valorisation of *sens* in the prologue of the *FPA*.

Pavia, Aldini 219. Nonetheless, the resonances of the augmentation are particularly evocative given the broader codicological context.

31 The question of what constitutes a 'fabliau' is an issue that extends beyond the concerns of this investigation. When using this term, I refer to the corpus of texts compiled by the editors of the *Nouveau recueil complet des fabliaux*; see Noomen and van den Boogaard et al. (eds) 1983–98.

32 Paris, BnF, f. fr. 19152 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86.

33 The first initial of the *FPA* is four lines high, which is the same style and size as those found at the beginning of the surrounding short items. Conversely, the initials used for the tales within the *FPA* are only two lines high.

34 The *Dit de bigamie*, added by a later scribe (fols 56r–57r), develops this theme by arguing that it is better for widowers to re-marry than fall into the hands of immoral women.

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In contrast to the conservative moral message of *La Bourse*, the narrative placed after the *FPA*, *Le Bouchier d'Abeville*, is a bawdy and raucous affair that leaves the audience to judge the behaviour of its cast of immoral miscreants. A young butcher looking for a bed for the night calls on a morally corrupt priest. The latter initially refuses, but when the butcher returns with a sheep (stolen from the priest's own flock), he is welcomed to stay and enjoys a feast of meat and alcohol. The butcher beds the young servant girl and the following morning the priest's mistress, seducing both women by promising the (stolen) sheepskin. He then sells the same sheepskin back to its owner, the priest, before leaving the unruly household in mayhem. At the end of this riotous tale, rather than provide a moral, the narrator asks the audience to decide who should keep the sheepskin. Audacious and engaging, it takes the reader away from the morbid considerations that conclude the extended *FPA*, and subverts the allegorical mode of reading applied by the father to the unique tale at the end of this copy. The butcher's quick-wittedness helps him to get away gleefully with theft and deception, sating his desires whilst leaving a path of destruction. *Le Bouchier d'Abeville* thus offers a Marcoulfian retort to the insightful *sens* and Solomonesque critique of greed and lust in *La Bourse*, promoting instead physically-driven *engin*.

In the final two codices, discussed below, the *FPA* are juxtaposed with teachings on love. Whilst they offer practical advice on marriage and women, the *FPA* do not educate on the sentimental side of these relationships. The women in the central series of tales (IX–XI, XIII and XIV) are presented as adulterous wives or guileful old women.[35] The 'realities' of marriage they depict are the love triangles of the *fabliaux* (Nykrog 1973: 60–61). The content of these tales is enough to discourage the son from getting married ('Version A', ll. 2215–18). In the narratives that do portray love (or lust), the amorous content plays a secondary role. For example in *De integro amico* (II), the Egyptian host altruistically gives his wife-to-be to his guest from Baghdad, who has fallen for her. The sentimental experience thus serves to illustrate the depth of the friendship between the two men. In *De canicula lacrimante* (XIII), the suitor recites lyric monologues that would not be out of place in chivalric romance. Yet this is not a celebration of the passions of *fin'amor*. The young wife only accepts his advances because she is afraid of being transformed into a weeping dog, and the tale thus demonstrates how even the most virtuous of wives commits adultery. In this light, additional lessons on love and courtship introduce a body of knowledge absent from the *FPA*.[36]

35 The only example of a woman using her *engin* for good (XV) is disconnected from the context of marriage or amorous relationships.

36 The two thirteenth-century manuscripts which include this amorous content both have associations with religious institutions: London, British Library, Additional MS 10289 is

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Of all the manuscripts that preserve the *FPA*, London, British Library, Additional MS 10289 is the most miscellaneous. Its oldest item is a vernacular history of the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel. Later in the thirteenth century, additional material was copied, including narratives on Christian historiography, a collection of medicinal recipes, and the *Roman des Franceis*, an anti-French satire which depicts King Arthur's defeat of Frollo and conquest of the French.[37] Up to this point, the codex covers local history, Christian historiography, and pseudo-factual content. We then find the *FPA*, followed by two items that mark a shift towards more worldly matters. The first is a piece known as the *Chanson d'Amors* by Robert de Blois, and the second is the *fabliau Jouglet*, added by a later scribe on the final folios. The *FPA* thus occupy a transitional position between historical and factual material, and the texts on love and relationships that follow. This version of the *FPA* does not include the epilogue found in the other copies, but concludes with a unicum that emphasises the importance of the parent-child relationship (see Appendix 2). The son then concludes the *FPA* by praising the tale and its warning against overindulgent parenting. The ending thus leaves the reader contemplating relationships in this world rather than the glory of heaven as in the other copies. Consequently, the conclusion of the *FPA* forms a less controversial bridge to the amorous relationships described in the *Chanson d'Amors.*

Whereas the *Dit du corps* in the Augsburg manuscript builds on the epilogue's spiritual direction, the *Chanson d'Amors* in BL, Add. 10289 introduces a new topic for contemplation. The *Chanson* presents itself as a comprehensive study of love, which is reflected in the title added by a later reader: 'Incipit co*m*pendiu*m* amoris'.[38] Written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, it describes the paradoxical nature of love and its physical and emotional effects on lovers.[39] In this copy, there is no attribution to Robert de Blois, and it thus forms an anonymous supplement to the father-son dialogue of the *FPA*. In three manuscripts, it forms an epilogue to Robert's *Chastoiement des dames.*[40] However, rather than accompany advice directed at women, here it is appended to a work with a male addressee and the content does not contradict this. The projected lovers include

associated with the Norman monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 7517 has possible links with Southwick Priory in Hampshire (see Avril and Stirnemann 1987: 117).

37 In this, the second work by local author André de Coutances, the author concludes the piece with a long denigration of the habits of the French, announcing that his work 'shatters the spears of the Twelve Peers' (Crouch 2011). Immediately afterwards, a different hand has added a list of the twelve peers of France in Latin.

38 There was no original title in the codex.

39 For a transcription of the copy in BL, Add. 10289, see Reinsch (ed.) 1880: 167–70.

40 They are: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837; Paris, BnF, f. fr. 24301; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3516.

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some of the most worthy male figures: 'Li duc et li conte et li rei, / Li plus vallant et li mellor' (134–35) [Dukes, counts, and kings, the most valiant and the best]. Yet, alongside his warnings about love's ailments, the narrator acknowledges that if you 'chastiez' lovers, their passion will only increase (237–40). Thus whilst attempting to improve the behaviour of those in love by promoting courtliness and discretion, the narrator simultaneously underlines the impossibility of his task. Even 'Li plus sage et li meuz apris' (1181) [The wisest and the most learned] fall under its spell. In this respect, the caprices of love are impervious to *clergie*.

The final item in the codex, *Jouglet*, provides a scabrous illustration of the *Chanson's* concluding couplet: 'Ci define d'amors le conte; / Qui mal lor veut, Dex li dont honte' (347–48) [Here ends the tale about love; may God shame whoever wishes evil upon lovers]. In this scatological narrative, a mother asks a jongleur to educate her soon-to-be-married son, Robin, in the absence of a father figure. Whilst on their way to the wedding, the eponymous jongleur Jouglet encourages the naïve groom to eat many pears and then advises him not to defecate on his wedding day. That evening, Robin's new wife notices his discomfort and after realising Jouglet's influence, tells her husband to empty his bowels in the jongleur's room. Robin then relieves himself all over Jouglet's belongings. The next day the jongleur suffers public shame (and a subsequent beating). Jouglet's Marcoulfian acts are thus counterbalanced by the vengeful *engin* of Robin's wife, resulting in the trope of the trickster tricked. As well as uncannily supporting the final couplet of the *Chanson*, *Jouglet* depicts a subversive reframing in BL, Add. 10289 of the well-intentioned paternal instruction of the *FPA*. It illustrates not only the risks of taking the wrong advice but also the consequences for the malicious teacher.

In our final example, the pocket-sized insular codex, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 7517, the amorous teachings appended to the *FPA* take the form of a unique 'art d'aimer' that prolongs and imitates the father-son dialogue to incorporate the subjects of love and then chivalry. Following the *FPA*, which constitute the first part of the codex, the supplementary and imitative sequel is formed of various short narratives and an extended exchange between the father and son on the nature of love (see Hilka 1924a and 1924b). Presented in one column throughout, the two parts were written by the same hand. However, the change in decoration suggests that they were not originally planned to be copied together.[41] Beginning at the start of a new quire, a simple one-line-high red initial marks the start of the sequel, suggesting its supplementary status to the *FPA's* epilogue and final 'Amen' at the

41 The *FPA* are decorated with red and blue pen-flourished initials and paragraph marks. By contrast, the sequel is decorated with simple painted initials, paragraph marks and freestyle marginal illustrations, all in red ink.

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bottom of folio 81^{v}. Before resuming the father-son dialogue, the short prologue swiftly characterises the new subject:

> Enpris ai cest ovre a fere
> E a summer e a chef trere;
> Des plusors amanz vus dirrai
> Ausi cum en escrit trové ai;
> Mes fort est granment travailler
> E pur benfet mal gré aver.
> Ne puit chaler: pur nul envye
> Mes benfez ne lerrai je mye,
> Kar je espeir de mun afere:
> N'est nul a ki ne dei[e] plere.
> Bon ensample puit hom aprendre
> Ki a sage dit veut entendre.
> 'Fiz, si par [aucun] cas avyne
> Ki tu deiz amer meschine…' (1–14)[42]

> [I have undertaken the creation of this work, and its culmination and conclusion. I will speak to you of several lovers as I have found them in writing. It is, however, difficult to work very hard and yet receive ill will in return for good deeds. But I do not care: no malice will ever make me abandon my good deeds, for I hope that my work is pleasing to everyone. Any man who is interested in words of wisdom can learn from good examples. 'Son, if it so happens that you fall in love with a young girl…']

Whilst not explicitly referring to the *FPA*, these lines constitute a brief recapitulation of the work's marriage of pleasure and profit. It even replicates the reading of a line from the *FPA*'s prologue, a variant which is particular to this copy ('N'est nul a ky ne dei[e] plaire' (fol. 2^{r})). This is one of a number of parallels that link the content in the two parts of the codex.

This copy of the *FPA* shares with the anonymous sequel idiosyncratic and interventionist methods of composition. It is one of the most abridged and reworked witnesses of the story collection, with excisions of both the framing dialogue and narrative. In addition, the tales are re-ordered so that the collection begins with III and IV, and then XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, before the vulgate order resumes (see Appendix 2). The composition of the unique sequel takes the 'cut-and-paste' technique to another level. It incorporates material from at least two identified romances: the twelfth-century *Roman de Partonopeus de Blois* and the thirteenth-century *Hunbaut.* Ranging from couplets to longer extracts, passages are selected and rearranged, regardless of the original voice or narrative context. Central to this process of extraction and appropriation is the eradication of any references that might identify the source text (see Collet 2004). Given the high

42 All citations are from Hilka 1924a and 1924b.

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degree of editorial *remaniement* in this copy of the *FPA* along with the compositional techniques revealed in the unique sequel, it is likely that the same enthusiastic individual was responsible for them both.

The compilation of the sequel's traditional topos of love and chivalry with the *FPA*'s framework of 'clerical honour' at first appears a contradictory act. In the *FPA*, *clergie* rather than chivalry is presented as the means of attaining glory (see Foehr-Janssens et al. 2002). Honour is associated with *sens* rather than prowess, as elaborated in the *FPA*'s prologue. Significantly, the tales brought to the beginning of the *FPA* in nouv. acq. fr. 7517 give further prominence to the concept of true nobility and the value of wisdom, echoing the prologue (Foehr-Janssens et al. 2002: 158). In *De tribus versificatoribus* (III) (and its embedded tale *De mulo et vulpe*, IV), the king rewards the poets according to their literary merits, regardless of their social caste. He then recounts the tale of the mule who, when asked about his background, mentions only his uncle, the horse. True nobility is thus presented as deriving from one's own virtues and abilities rather than a privilege of birth. The next three tales (XXII, XXIII, XXIV) underline the transient nature of worldly goods and simultaneously warn against credulity (Foehr-Janssens et al. 2002: 159). Together the five tales foreground the enduring and authentic value of wisdom, which prevails regardless of status or wealth.

Yet rather than contradict the heightened emphasis on true nobility, the sequel begins by echoing the lessons set out in this reordered copy of the *FPA*. The first tale concerns a knight with two *amies*, one rich and one poor (13–96). The poor 'pucele' demonstrates great loyalty to the knight, whereas his rich lady deceives him, proving that it is better to love a poor girl than a rich but disloyal lady (97–100). The message is essentially the same as in the first tales of the *FPA* in nouv. acq. fr. 7517 (III and IV), albeit applied to the context of amorous relationships. In this way, the question of true nobility is transposed from the appraisal of poets to the evaluation of lovers. As the sequel progresses, however, it becomes clear that it is more concerned with literary play and laughter than promoting love and chivalry. The so-called 'bon ensamples' bring together love casuistry, anti-feminist diatribes, and various scenarios typical of romance, including cameos featuring King Arthur and Kay. In some cases the lessons have a clear message, emphasising *inter alia* the importance of loyalty in love or warning against the wiles of women. Yet in other cases there is a distinct *décalage* between the tale and its moral, which undermines the proposed exemplary function of the narratives, suggested by the sequel's own prologue and hypotext, the *FPA*. For example, before the sixth exemplum, the father tells his son that he should always respond to the greeting of any man or woman (963–68). Yet in the narrative King Arthur is ignored by a passing knight, who is not chastised for his behaviour. The arrogant knight even outwits Kay, and the tale abruptly ends with Kay's anger and Arthur's indifference. The concluding moral attempts to reinstate the im-

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portance of the father's lesson, but it is ultimately undermined by the episode's elaboration (1115–18). Within the narrative context, the knight is not condemned for his actions and instead, he has the final word, which results in Kay's shame and anger. In this instance, the 'lesson' appears to function as a pretext for introducing the narrative content rather than the justification of its presence. Similarly, the chivalric adventures at the end of the sequel appear futile and fruitless, ending *in mediis rebus.*[43] Thus there is little to usurp the construction of 'clerical honour' in the *FPA*. The father-son dialogue is imitated at the same time as the *FPA's* dynamics between pleasure and profit are distorted, resulting in a playful engagement with the motifs and ideology of chivalric romance.

The reference to Solomon and Marcoul in the *FPA* not only typifies the redactor's engagement with contemporary vernacular literature, but, more significantly, epitomises the dialectical structure of the story collection, its interplay between *clergie* and *engin*, profit and pleasure. In addition, these two adversarial interlocutors offer a useful framework for exploring the written transmission of the *FPA*. The five extant manuscripts differ as much in their physical form as in their textual content, and each copy and context suggests a unique reading of and response to the *FPA*. Whilst the father-son dialogue is foregrounded in fr. 12581, the re-baptised Marcoulfian tailor 'Deduit' (XX) has the final word in this primarily didactic compendium. In Pavia, Aldini 219, the rubrics set the *FPA*'s narratives in dialogue with the other co-texts, most notably the two *fabliaux* that frame the collection, which promote on the one hand the insightful benefits of *sens* and on the other the physical exuberance of *engin*. The relationship between mind and body at the core of the Pavia codex also comes to the fore in the Augsburg manuscript. In this devotional context, the *FPA*'s solemn epilogue is elaborated upon with an addendum that unequivocally chastises physical and worldly drives in the name of spiritual salvation. In the final two codices, the *FPA* are supplemented with material on matters of the heart, responding to the absence of this type of education in the story collection. These lessons on love, however, prove to be incompatible with the *sens* of Solomon. In BL, Add. 10289, the amorous teachings are characterised on the one hand as an impossible pedagogic act and on the other, as a devious expression of Marcoulfian *engin.* In the case of nouv. acq. fr. 7517, the supplementary father-son dialogue merely functions as a pretext for literary play. Within this small corpus of manuscripts, the compilers thus manifest a broad range of responses to the internal dynamics of the *FPA*, and thereby generate a striking variety of reader experiences.

43 The final tale is incomplete, ending on the first page of the last quire, which suggests that the copying (or composition) came to an abrupt end.

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Appendix 1: Contents of the Manuscripts of the *FPA*[44]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12581 1284 (?) | NE France | Parchment | 429 fols | 300 x 220 mm	
1^{r}–83^{r}	*Queste del Saint Graal*
83^{r}–87^{r}	*Le livre du roi Dancus*
87^{v}–88^{v}	*Chansons*
89^{r}–229^{v}	Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*
230^{r}–232^{v}	*Chansons*
233^{r}–311^{r}	French trans. of Four Evangelists
311^{r}–312^{r}	*Prière de Nostre Dame* [=*A. B. C. de Plantefolie*]
312^{r}–312^{v}	'Devision des foires de Champagne'
312^{v}–320^{v}	*Chansons*
321^{r}–344^{r}	*Lucidaire* (first folio is missing)
344^{r}–360^{r}	*Dialogue entre le père et le fils*
360^{r}–366^{r}	*La Terre de promission* (French trans. of *Fretellus*)
366^{r}–368^{v}	*La Mort Adam*
368^{v}–371^{v}	Adam de Suel, *Caton en roman*
371^{v}–372^{r}	Thibaut d'Amiens, *Priere de Nostre Dame* (attributed to 'li chanceliers de Paris')
372^{r}–373^{v}	*Des XXIII manieres de vilains*
373^{v}–375^{r}	*Des Tresces* (Version I)
375^{r}–375^{v}	*Chansons*
376^{r}–387^{v}	*Moralités des philosophes* (prose trans. of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*)
387^{r}–407^{v}	Philip of Novara, *Quatre Âges de l'homme*
408^{r}–429^{v}	***FPA***

44 The horizontal lines in the table delimit discrete codicological units, both those produced at the same time and place (as in the case of fr. 12581) and independently from each other; the indented bullet points identify items added to a codicological unit at a later stage. In the case of BL, Add. 10289, I have divided the *Roman du Mont Saint Michel* from the later items which were gradually incorporated into the codex after it was copied, and then indented the two items added at an even later stage.

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Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek MS I. 4. 2° 1 **13th c. | NE France | Parchment | 111 fols | 243 x 163 mm**	
2^{r}–42^{r}	Herman de Valenciennes, *Bible de sapience*
42^{r}–61^{r}	Renclus de Molliens, *Miserere*
62^{r}–88^{r}	***FPA***
88^{r}–89^{v}	*Dit du corps*
90^{r}–100^{v}	*Moralités des philosophes* (prose trans. of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, cf. fr. 12581)
102^{r}–105^{r}	*Doctrinal Sauvage*
106^{r}–110^{v}	*La Terre de promission* (French trans. of *Fretellus*, cf. fr. 12581)

Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 219 **Early 14th c. | NE France | Parchment | 89 fols | 269 x 194 mm**	
1^{r}–4^{v}	Helinand de Froidmont, *Les Vers de la mort*
4^{v}–6^{r}	Thibaut d'Amiens, *Priere a la Vierge*
6^{r}–7^{v}	*La Complainte du conte de Flandres*
7^{v}–8^{v}	*La Rendue du conte de Flandres et la departie*
8^{v}–13^{v}	*La Deffiance au conte de Flandres et tout l'estat de l'ost*
14^{r}–15^{r}	*Le Dit des dames*
15^{r}–18^{r}	Jean le Galois, *La Bourse pleine de Sens*
18^{r}–50^{r}	***FPA***
50^{r}–53^{v}	Eustace d'Amiens, *Le Bouchier d'Abeville*
53^{v}–55^{r}	*Lettre que Verité envoia au roi de France*
55^{r}–56^{r}	Satire against the English at time of Edward I (French/Latin)
	• 56r–57r Jehan Pitart, *Dit de bigamie*
58^{r}–62^{r}	*Courtois d'Arras*
62^{r}–64^{r}	*Dit du corps*
64^{r}–65^{v}	Gautier de Coinci, 'La Priere Theophilus'[45]
65^{v}–66^{v}	'L'Anunciation nostre dame'
66^{v}–83^{v}	Robert le Clerc, *Les Vers de la mort*
84^{r}–85^{v}	Short narrative about a young man and King Solomon
85^{v}–87^{v}	*Chevalier à la robe vermeille*

London, British Library, Additional MS 10289 **13th c. | Normandy (Mont-Saint-Michel) | Parchment | 179 fols | 190 x 135 mm**	
1^{r}–64^{r}	Guillaume de Saint Pair, *Roman du Mont Saint Michel*
64^{v}–81^{v}	André de Coutances, *Roman de la Résurrection* (vernacular reworking of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*)
82^{r}–121^{r}	*Vanjance Nostre Seigneur* (= *Titus et Vaspasianus*)
121^{v}–129^{r}	*Secrets de médecine*
129^{v}	Prayer to Saint Nicasius in Latin
129^{v}–132^{v}	André de Coutances, *Roman des Franceis*
	• 132v 12 Peers of France in Latin
133^{r}–172^{r}	***FPA***
172^{r}–175^{r}	Robert de Blois, *Chanson d'Amors*
	• 175v–178v Colin Malet, *Jouglet*

45 This item combines II Prière 37 and II Prière 38 in Koenig (ed.) 1955.

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 7517 13th c. | England | Parchment | 157 fols | 160 x 98 mm	
1r–81v	***FPA***
82r–148r	Sequel (with extracts from *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Hunbaut*)

Appendix 2: Order of Tales in the Manuscripts of the *FPA*[46]

No.	Titles and Numbers of Tales in the *Disciplina clericalis* (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911)		Order of tales in MSS of the *FPA*				
			Add. 10289	**fr. 12581**	**Augsburg**	**n.a.f. 7517**	**Pavia**
1	I. *De dimidio amico*		1	1	1	3	1
2	II. *De integro amico*		2	2	2	4	2
3	III. *De tribus versificatoribus*		3	3	3	22	3
4	IV. *De mulo et vulpe*		4	4	4	23	4
5	V. *De homine et serpente*		5	5	5	24	5
6	VI. *De versificatore et gibboso*		6	6	6	1	6
7	VII. *De clerico domum potatorum intrante*		7	7	7	2	7
8	VIII. *De voce bubone*		9	9	9	5	9
9	IX. *De vindemiatore*		10	10	10	6	10
10	X. *De lintheo*		11	11	11	7	12
11	XI. *De gladio*		12	12	12	9	12b
12	XII. *De rege et fabulatore suo*		12b	12b	12b	10	13
12b	XIIb. *De rustico*		13	13	13	11	14
13	XIII. *De canicula lacrimante*		14	14	14	12	15
14	XIV. *De puteo*		15	15	15	12b	16
15	XV. *De decem cofris*		16	16	16	13	17
16	XVI. *De decem tonellis olei*		17	17	17	14	18a
17	XVII. *De aureo serpente*		18a	18a	18a	15	19
18a	XVIIIa. *De semita*		19	19	18b	16	21
18b	XVIIIb. *De vado*		21	21	19	17	22
19	XIX. *De duobus burgensisbus et rustico*		22	22	21	18a	23
20	XX. *De regii incisoris discipulo Nedui nomine*		23	23	22	19	24
21	XXI. *De duobus ioculatoribus*		24	24	23	21	26

46 Tales that have been extracted from the *Chastoiement* are marked in bold and underlined. Tales unique to an individual copy of the *FPA* have a grey background. This table adapts and builds on the information provided by Foehr-Janssens et al. 2006.

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(Continued)

No.	**Titles and Numbers of Tales in the *Disciplina clericalis* (Hilka and Söderhjelm (eds) 1911)**		**Order of tales in MSS of the *FPA***				
			Add. 10289	**fr. 12581**	**Augsburg**	**n.a.f. 7517**	**Pavia**
22	XXII. *De rustico et avicula*		26	26	24	26	27
23	XXIII. *De aratore et lupo iudicioque vulpis*		27	27	25	27	30
24	XXIV. *De latrone et radio lunae*		30	30	26	30	31
25	XXV. *De Mariano*		35	31	27	31	Ep
26	XXVI. *De duobus fratribus regisque familiari dispensa*			Ep	30	Ep	**<u>28</u>**
27	XXVII. *De Maimundo servo*			**<u>20</u>**	31		**<u>32</u>**
28	XXVIII. *De Socrate et rege*				Ep		**<u>33</u>**
29	XXIX. *De prudentis consiliari regis filio*						**<u>34</u>**
30	XXX. *De latrone qui nimia eligere studuit*						36
31	XXXI. *De opilione et mangone*						
32	XXXII. *De philosopho per cimiterium transeunte*						
33	XXXIII. *De aurea Alexandri sepultura*						
34	XXXIV. *De heremita suam corrigente animam*						
	Additional Tales						
35	The father who gave his inheritance to his daughters						
36	The annual king						

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Shared Exemplars and the Creation of Miscellanies in the Manuscripts of *Troilus and Criseyde*

Several manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* contain many items by various contemporary authors. Prominent among these codices is San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 114 (Ph), a multi-text manuscript that contains *Troilus and Criseyde*, *Piers Plowman*, Mandeville's *Travels*, *The Pistel of Swete Susan* and an excerpt from *The Three Kings of Cologne*. Richard Osbarn, the prolific scribe who copied Ph and whose hand has been identified in five manuscripts, was also responsible for London, British Library, MS Harley 3943 (H2). In stark contrast with Ph, H2 only features *Troilus and Criseyde*, but the textual similarities between the version of *Troilus* copied in Ph and H2 are so pronounced as to suggest the existence of a shared exemplar. However, the absence of the other works in H2 and the disparity in the treatment of paratextual elements point to fundamental differences in the methods of production and in the purposes of each manuscript. This essay will address the ways in which the different scribal attitudes towards late medieval vernacular literature are exemplified in Ph and H2, and how the method of production of each codex determined the nature of the texts it contained.[1]

In the last few years, the approach to the figure of the copyist of late medieval literary texts has undergone a profound shift: for a long time they were deemed as mere – and sometimes unwelcome – intermediaries between authors and readers, and they often took the blame for the textual corruptions of the text during the process of transmission. But with the increasing awareness of the relevance of the modes of manuscript production and their effects on how readers interpreted and received the texts, the significance of the scribes has become ever more apparent.

In general, the identities of the copyists who worked on the production of Middle English literature are still unknown, and hence it is unfeasible to analyse their approach to the texts they copied in the context of their specific historical realities. However, the identification in 2006 of an important Chaucer scribe theretofore unnamed has posited a brand new approach to these professionals,

1 I should like to thank Dr Ana Sáez-Hidalgo for her suggestions and kind help. All the remaining errors in this article are my own.

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whose personal and historical backgrounds influenced the texts copied by their hands and their transmission. Adam Pinkhurst, depicted by Linne Mooney as the recipient of 'Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn'[2] and as the copyist of two of the most authoritative manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*,[3] was in turn a member of the Writers of the Court Letter in London, a scrivener for the Mercer's Company and a clerk in Guildhall (Mooney 2006: 97–138; Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 67–85).

Pinkhurst's multitasking was not unique, and since 2006 other studies have revealed the identity of a number of civil servants behind important literary manuscripts. The books copied by John Marchaunt, John Carpenter, William Ebesham, Thomas Usk, the 'Hammond' and 'Beryn' scribes, or Thomas Hoccleve – all of them clerks working for the City of London – definitely point to a shift in the place of production of literary manuscripts.[4] While many books may have been created in lay scriptoria or bookshops under the supervision of a stationer,[5] the increasing amount of evidence points to other arrangements. Christianson (1989: 96) has highlighted the possibility that freelance scribes organised themselves to tackle specific commissions in smaller locations in the vicinity of Paternoster Row.

Eric Kwakkel (2011: 180) refines Christianson's conclusions, stressing the increasing specialisation of the scribes, 'who monopolised the production of books through guild membership', whilst Mooney (2011: 201) stresses the ad hoc quality of these artisans' arrangements. Thus, the theory that freelance copyists had slowly become the main producers of the works of Chaucer and Gower (Doyle and Parkes 1978) – which had long superseded previous hypotheses that located the origin of the books in specialised scriptoria (Manly and Rickert 1940: I, 72) – is now further grounded on historical facts. The naming of previously unknown scribes allows us to study them as tangible historical identities, and this in turn helps us to draw a more detailed background for the book trade as well as establishing possible relationships between copyists and authors.

Among the newly-identified civil servants working as literary scribes there is one who has enjoyed a certain amount of popularity among scholars on account of his being 'one of the most prolific known copyists of alliterative poetry'

2 For further information on the stanza known as 'Adam Scriveyn', see the essay by Margaret Connolly in this volume.

3 Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392D (also known as the Hengwrt manuscript), and San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS Ellesmere 26.C.9 (the Ellesmere manuscript).

4 See work by Mooney (2000; 2006); Matheson and Mooney (2003); Mosser (2007); and Schultz (1937).

5 Linne Mooney argues that there is no evidence of this happening before the 1450s (2011: 200–01).

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(Hanna 1989: 122).[6] Linne Mooney and Estelle Stubbs have put forward a convincing body of evidence, both palaeographical and historical, to identify him as Richard Osbarn, attorney, an officer of Guildhall, and clerk of the Chamber of the City from 1400 to 1437 (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 18).

For a long time, Richard Osbarn was known as the 'HM 114 Scribe' due to his copying San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 114.[7] But it was nonetheless his work in administrative records that defines his activity as a copyist: he worked extensively, compiling London, Corporation of London Record Office, Cust. 12, Book II,[8] and London, Corporation of London Record Office, Letter-book I and H. Mooney and Stubbs (2013: 24) have also attributed yet another document to Osbarn's hand, London, Goldsmiths' Company Archives, MS 1642, Register of Deeds and Charters. More recently, Helen Killick (2016) has identified his hand in a 1425 common petition to the parliament (The National Archives, SC 8/24/1197). During his lifetime, Osbarn occupied several important posts within Guildhall, all of which put him in direct contact with the archives of the city. As a chamber clerk himself, Osbarn compiled a large part of the *Liber Albus*, adding indexes and tables of contents, and providing numerous finding aids throughout the book (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 11–15, 23).

The daunting task of ordering and organising a codex as complex as the *Liber Albus* may have prepared Osbarn for the job of compiling at least two literary multi-text codices that have survived to our day, and another, single-text manuscript: apart from Ph, he copied London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 491, Part 1, and London, British Library, MS Harley 3943 (H2).

Lambeth, 491 is a codex containing *Brut* (fols 1^r–205^r); *Siege of Jerusalem* (fols 206^r–227^v); *The Three Kings of Cologne* (fols 228^r–274^v); the *Awntyrs of Arthure* (fols 275^r–286^v); and a poem on hunting (fols 287^r–290^v). The outermost and central folios of each quire are made of parchment, while the rest are made of paper. The works are distributed over three booklets. Although the manuscript does not have a date, its contents and the watermarks suggest that it was produced earlier than Ph, probably from the late 1410s or early 1420s.[9]

H2 dates precisely from those decades, and it contains a single text: *Troilus and Criseyde*, copied by four scribes: Richard Osbarn (fols 2^r–7^v, 9^r–56^v, 63^r–67^v); the Exeter College 129 Scribe (fols 71^r–116^r); Hand A (fols 1^r–1^v, 68–70^v); and

6 Orietta Da Rold's work on the material side of manuscript production establishes thought-provoking links between the use of paper and professional scribes who doubled as literary scribes (Da Rold 2011).

7 From now on I shall refer to this manuscript as Ph.

8 Hereafter the *Liber Albus*.

9 Hanna (1989: 123) judged that the inclusion of *The Three Kings of Cologne* in Lambeth, 491 implies that the Lambeth manuscript is earlier than Ph, as a fragment from the same text appears as a complement to Mandeville's *Travels* in Ph.

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Hand C (fols 57^{r}–62^{v}). Osbarn's stint roughly comprises the first three books and the beginning of book IV, and Osbarn worked briefly with Hand C in an attempt to correct the manuscript. Later on, Hand A finished the quire that Osbarn left unfinished (fols 68^{r}–70^{v}) and amended several gaps and mistakes. Hand A and the Exeter College 129 Scribe have been tentatively dated to the 1440s or 1450s (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 32). H2 is made entirely of parchment, and it does not have decoration apart from blue and red initials and some spaces for decorated capital letters. There are no marginalia in Osbarn's stint.

Ph is a modest-looking manuscript containing some of the most popular texts of the late Middle Ages in England: *Piers Plowman* (a B-text with A and C readings: fols 1^{r}–130^{v}); Mandeville's *Travels* (a defective version of subgroup B: fols 131^{r}–184^{r}); *The Pistel of Swete Susan* (fols 184^{v}–190^{v}); a brief excerpt from *The Three Kings of Cologne* (fols 190^{v}–192^{v}); *Troilus and Criseyde* (fols 193^{r}–318^{v}); and an English translation of the *Epistola Luciferi ad Cleros* (fols 319^{r}–325^{v}). Such an arrangement of texts does not intimate a specific type of audience, as it was in tune with the general tastes of the time (Seymour 1974: 142). The manuscript is made of paper quires with inmost and outer bifolia of parchment,[10] distributed over three booklets (Hanna 1996: 285), and it bears no other decoration than some blue and red initials. The marginal and interlinear apparatus in all the works included is written in red.[11] Together with Lambeth, 491, Ph places Richard Osbarn as one of the scribes who most contributed to the dissemination of alliterative poetry (Hanna 1989: 122).

Before he was identified as a Guildhall officer, Richard Osbarn's work was analysed on the basis of his approach to some of the most in-demand Middle English works, and scholars drew a portrait of the scribe that was, in many ways, similar to that of an editor. But opinions are divided; while some scholars underline Osbarn's lack of fidelity to his sources (Chambers 1935: 2, 18; Russell and Nathan: 1963: 212) and his preference for speed instead of textual quality (Seymour 1974: 142), others vindicate his role as a careful and scrupulous copyist, attributing the existence of textual anomalies to deficiencies in the exemplars (Hanna 1989: 126–27; Bowers 2004: 138). The editorial concerns shown in his copies of *Troilus* and *Piers Plowman*, carefully collated to provide the most up-to-date version available, offer a noticeably different image from the hasty scribe Osbarn was initially thought to be and hint at the different approaches he adopted according to the specific works he was copying. J. M. Bowers (2004: 133) likens the features of the *Liber Albus*, with its characteristic 'impulse for locating

10 This arrangement can be found in another *Troilus* manuscript, also dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century: London, British Library, MS Harley 2392 (H4).

11 I am indebted to Vanessa Wilkins, William A. Moffett Curator of Medieval & British Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, and to her predecessor, Mary Robertson, for providing invaluable information about the glosses in this manuscript.

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and archiving diverse texts', to the literary compilations in the manuscripts copied by Richard Osbarn.

Analysing his spelling and script, Ralph Hanna (1989: 123) places Osbarn's origins in south-eastern Essex, and concludes that he developed his activity during the 1420s and early 1430s, probably employed in the London book trade. The particular format of the manuscripts copied by Osbarn and the characteristics of the works he compiled place this copyist, according to Bowers (2004: 144–45), in a position halfway between the scribes who produced luxury codices for the nobility at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the professionals who supplied books for the merchant classes from the 1420s onwards. Richard Osbarn catered for the tastes of merchants, tailors and lawyers – precisely the professionals who would eventually become Chaucer's primary audiences.

All the scholars mentioned above studied the scribe without having definite biographical details about him. But following his identification, Osbarn's work can now be analysed from the point of view of the relationship between the scribes, the guilds, and the London administration, and how they influenced the type and the quality of the texts that were copied at the time.

Osbarn's literary manuscripts serve to exemplify different types of books: on the one hand, H2 is the result of an ambitious project. Without being luxurious, the materials used point to its being intended as a 'bespoke copy for a wealthy Londoner' (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 34). However, Osbarn abandoned the project before finishing it, and the manuscript was only retrieved and completed much later.

In stark contrast to H2, Ph and Lambeth, 491 are both modest codices. The distribution of paper and parchment in both of them and the in-demand status of the works they contained, together with Osbarn's post in Guildhall, led Mooney and Stubbs (2013: 30) to argue that they prove 'the existence of exemplars circulating among the Guildhall clerks' and a makeshift mode of book production that seems to have been the norm during the first half of the fifteenth century, and obviously different from the more organised commercial book trade of the second half of the century (Mooney 2011: 200–01). Boffey and Thompson (1989: 32) also suggested that 'individual texts, or groups of texts, were commonly available as exemplars in discrete sections'. This theory cements Kwakkel's and Christianson's ideas about the production of manuscripts; and yet, it also suggests that a significant proportion of the works of Langland, Chaucer, and Gower were produced by clerks within Guildhall rather than by freelance scribes in independent businesses.

If Osbarn and his colleagues in Guildhall were actively engaged in the copying and dissemination of vernacular texts, keeping books like Ph or Lambeth, 491 may have been to their advantage; such multi-text codices ensured quick access to sought-after works that could be distributed in booklet form among scribes

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and re-copied quickly. In fact, Hanna somewhat supported this idea with his notion that Ph could have been part of a bookseller's stock (1989: 123). However, Mooney and Stubbs (2013: 31) have pointed out that neither Ph nor Lambeth, 491 were actually used as exemplars, as 'no other surviving manuscripts of these texts preserve copies made from Osbarn's exemplars'. Osbarn might have kept Ph for his personal use or that of his close circle (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 31, 134), which could have explained the lack of copies derived from it.[12] But in point of fact, none of the sixteen extant manuscripts of *Troilus* derive directly from one another.[13] This panorama changes slightly if, instead of focusing on the text of *Troilus*, we concentrate instead on its paratextual elements.

Along with the increasing interest in the scribes of vernacular literary texts, the marginalia, which in the past were usually subordinated to the main text, have more recently claimed our attention. In the light of the history of the book and readership, glosses have been proved to show the ways in which late medieval vernacular texts were received and interpreted (Pérez-Fernández and Sáez Hidalgo 2007; Pérez-Fernández 2012).

On occasion, however, using marginalia as a tool for reconsidering the status of a manuscript or for inferring more information about the scribe and his readers is not without its risks, largely because glosses were prone to be changed depending on the copyist's idiosyncratic approach to the text. Notably, glosses seem to have been particularly susceptible to alteration in cases where the authorship of the glosses was unclear: in Chaucer's poems and especially in *Troilus and Criseyde*, where there is no consistent evidence tracing the origin of the marginalia back to the poet,[14] the marginal commentaries were irregularly

12 The multi-text codices compiled by John Shirley, a scribe and bookshop manager who died in 1456, are comparable to those copied by Osbarn. In Shirley's case, he copied and compiled several anthologies that were 'lent and consulted as 'stock copies', rather than owned by any of Shirley's potential audience' (Boffey and Thompson (1989: 287). For further information on Shirley, see the essay by Margaret Connolly in this volume.

13 The complete list of *Troilus* manuscripts with their sigla is the following: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 61 (Cp); Cambridge, St John's College, MS L.1 (J); Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.4.27 (Gg); Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.II.13 (D); London, British Library, Additional MS 12044 (A); London, British Library, MS Harley 2280 (H1); London, British Library, MS Harley 3943 (H2); London, British Library, MS Harley 1239 (H3); London, British Library, MS Harley 2392 (H4); London, British Library, MS Harley 4912 (H5); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 817 (C1); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 181 (Dg); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poet. 163 (R); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 24 (S1); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden Supra 56 (S2); and San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 114 (Ph).

14 Boffey (1995: 12) suggests that two quotations from *Daretis Phrygii Ilias* by Joseph of Exeter, which appear only in manuscripts J and Gg, could derive from Chaucer's original. The rest of the glosses, she argues, are scribal in origin.

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transmitted, and the number and characteristics of the glosses vary tremendously from codex to codex (Benson and Windeatt 1990).

The sixteen manuscripts that contain the poem show varying degrees of interest in marginal commentary, ranging from the abundance of glosses in H4, R, or S1 – with up to 250 glosses –, to the relative indifference of codices such as Cl or Dg. Perhaps owing to their inconsistency, or because it is suspected that Chaucer had little to do with them, the glosses in *Troilus* have been neglected as elements potentially helpful to shed light on some still unresolved aspects of *Troilus and Criseyde* studies. In the following section of this article, I shall argue that marginal annotations, apart from giving us clues as to the early reception of Chaucer's *Troilus*, can, in the case of Ph, become a means of establishing the purpose behind this multi-text manuscript and provide useful information about Osbarn and the modes of manuscript production in late medieval London.

R. K. Root (1916) classified the manuscripts of *Troilus* into three broad textual families according to the revised state of the poem they contained: Root's α family presents a version of the poem before Chaucer's alleged revision of Books I, II, and IV. The manuscripts belonging in this family either omit or misplace Troilus's song (III. 1744–71), soliloquy (IV. 953–1085), and ascent to the spheres (V. 1807–27), and they contain 'readings sometimes apparently closer to *Il Filostrato* and possibly nearer to the composition of the poem' (Windeatt (ed.) 1990: 73).[15] Root's β family encompasses the manuscripts that include the final version of *Troilus*, after the revision of Book III.[16] Finally, the witnesses that present a text in between these states of revision were ascribed to the γ family (Root 1916). Windeatt (1990) contested Root's theory of revisions and suggested a layered composition, thus placing the scribes at the heart of the main changes undergone by the text. Despite this disagreement with Root, Windeatt's subdivisions did not alter Root's in any substantial way, and only the names of the groups were changed: Root's α family became Ph+, his γ group was renamed Cp+, and his β family became R+.[17] Seymour (1992) put forward a different categorisation of the manuscripts organised around smaller subgroups showing conflations and modified states of the text.

The text of *Troilus* found in Ph is a conflation of two textual traditions: the original version copied by Osbarn, which omitted Troilus's song, soliloquy, and ascent, is representative of the Ph+ group. After the text was copied, Osbarn apparently checked his version against an exemplar from the Cp+ family 'akin to H1' and introduced some emendations, and more importantly, added inset

15 The *Troilus* manuscripts listed in Root's α family are: A, Cl, Cp, H1, D, Dg, and S2. S1 and H3 present a composite text, with readings from α and β (Root 1916: 272).

16 J, R, Gg, H5, H4, H2; S1, H3.

17 For clarity's sake, Windeatt's terms will be used from now on when referring to the textual families of the manuscripts of *Troilus*.

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leaves for those passages omitted in the first version (Root 1916: lviii). The result was a version of the poem which has been considered the most complete text by some scholars.

Although written in part by the same scribe, presumably from the same exemplar, H2 was not collated against the Cp+ manuscript. Hanna took this fact as evidence for H2's earlier composition.[18] Mooney and Stubbs, however, argue that Osbarn finished Ph before starting the production of H2, and that he abandoned the latter project when he realised his exemplar was incomplete; the absence of glosses in Osbarn's stint supports this opinion.[19] However, Daniel Wakelin (2014: 261–62) has pointed out Osbarn's clever use of gaps in Ph and H2 to indicate omissions in his primary exemplar, which were supplied later on by Hand C in manuscript H2. This fact would imply that Osbarn had already perceived the deficiencies in his exemplar even as he was copying Ph, something that does not fully agree with the theory that he started working on H2 before he became aware of the faults in his exemplar (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 32).

Of course, the fact that Osbarn found it necessary to check Ph against a manuscript from another textual family evinces the existence of 'a relatively poor archetype' (Hanna 1989: 128) which was not up-to-date. Among the manuscripts representing the Cp+ family there is one that is a suitable candidate to be the exemplar used by Osbarn for his emendations, given the time and place of its composition and the scribe who copied it. Mooney and Stubbs have pondered the idea that it might have been the same examplar used to copy another *Troilus* manuscript, C1. They propose that manuscript C1 was copied by John Carpenter, Common Clerk from 1417 to 1437, and Richard Osbarn's long-time companion in Guildhall (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 86–106). It has been dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was produced for Henry, the Prince of Wales. Furthermore, it is a Cp+ manuscript considered to be an authoritative copy close to Chaucer's own text (Seymour 1992: 108). On account of these circumstances, it would seem plausible that Osbarn, who worked in the same premises as Carpenter when copying Ph, made use of the same exemplar to check his own manuscript. From the point of view of the marginalia, though, the differences are notable. Cl contains only one marginal annotation:

> But O fortune, executrice of wyerdes [fates],[id est destine]
> O influences of these heuenes hye (*Troilus*, III. 617–18)[20]

18 Hanna (1989: 134) did admit the possibility that both manuscripts were being copied at the same time, but did not think it plausible.

19 As for the reasons that led Osbarn to amend Ph and not H2, Mooney and Stubbs (2013: 32) consider that adding new material to the more luxurious H2 would have been more difficult than amending the paper-and-parchment Ph.

20 All quotations from *Troilus* are taken from Windeatt's edition (1990) except where otherwise

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The interlinear annotation in line III. 617 is absent from Ph.[21] It might be assumed that Carpenter did not deem marginal commentaries to be an important part of *Troilus* and thus decided to overlook them, but the literary manuscripts attributed to him contradict this idea, for they contain numerous Latin marginalia to the main text, in this case Gower's *Confessio Amantis.*[22]

In general, the scribes of *Troilus* did not feel the need to copy all glosses: in most cases their transcriptions were patchy, and even the most popular type of annotation in *Troilus and Criseyde*, structural markers, underwent variations from manuscript to manuscript.[23] In spite of this, some glosses remained unchanged through the fifteenth century, and even managed to cross boundaries between textual families. The most striking example of this unusual behaviour is the following group of explanatory glosses:[24]

> And next that, Imeneus, I the grete: Imeneus deus nupciarum
> ffor neuere man was to ȝow goddes holde
> [for never has a man been so indebted to you gods] (III. 1258–59)

> But whan the cok, comune astrologer, vulgarus astrologus
> Gan on his brest to bete and after crowe,
> And Lucyfer, the dayes messanger, lucifer .i. stella matutinale
> Gan for to rise and out hire bemes throwe,
> And estward roos, to hym that koude it knowe,
> ffortuna Maior, that anoon Criseyde, fortuna maior
> With herte soor to Troilus thus seyde, (III. 1415–21)

> O nyght, allas, why thow nyltow [do not want to] ouere vs houe,
> As longe as whan Almena lay by Ioue? Almena mater herculis (III. 1427–28)

Such a cluster of marginalia is uncommon in the manuscripts of *Troilus*, which only adds to the conundrum posed by this apparently simple set of annotations.[25] Ph shares all five glosses with H1 and S1, four with H4 and S2, and one with J. The earliest manuscript that contains the whole set is H1, dated to the first quarter of

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indicated. Likewise, all marginal annotations are transcribed from Benson and Windeatt's list (1990: 36–53).

21 Cl shares this gloss with H4.

22 Further manuscripts copied by him also contain glosses: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.8.19, and Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS 1083/29 (Mooney and Stubbs 2013: 86).

23 Structural markers call the reader's attention to the songs and letters in the poem, which articulate the structure of the work. All the manuscripts of *Troilus* – excluding A, Cl, and H2 – contain at least one of these annotations, which in manuscripts such as D or Cp make up almost the entirety of the marginal apparatus.

24 In Ph, the gloss in III. 1258 is transcribed as 'ymeneus deus nupciarum' [Hymen is the god of marriage].

25 Under that apparent simplicity may lie the key to establishing new connections between some manuscripts of *Troilus* that have been unnoticed heretofore.

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the fifteenth century, and a representative of the Cp+ family.[26] Ph could have been copied during the same period, as Mooney and Stubbs tentatively put forward the year 1419 as its possible date of composition.[27] The rest of the manuscripts that include these marginalia are later, with H4 and J dating from 1425 to 1450, and S2 and S1 more precisely dated to 1441 and 1488 respectively (Root 1914).[28] The text of *Troilus* in S2 also belongs in the Cp+ family, whereas H4, S1, and J are more variable, and either belong to intermediary states or agree with two or even three different textual families (Windeatt (ed.) 1990; Seymour 1992).

As stated above, Osbarn checked Ph against a manuscript from the Cp+ family that, according to Root, was similar to H1. This means that, while the added passages are indeed similar to H1, the rest of the manuscript is not. And yet, the annotations shared by H1 and Ph are not restricted to the added passages, but rather are spread throughout *Troilus*.

An examination of Ph suggests that its marginalia were introduced after the main text was copied.[29] Osbarn did not finish H2, so we are unable to assert whether the glosses were already present in the primary exemplar or not. However, the annotations shared by H1 and Ph – especially those between lines III. 1258 and III. 1428 – suggest that Osbarn could have introduced them at the same time as Troilus's song, soliloquy, and ascent to the spheres, an import from the Cp+ tradition. Although this fact seems to explain almost all the annotations included in the margins of manuscript Ph, there are other, unexplained coincidences that do not fully fit within this pattern.

In line II. 827, Antigone, Criseyde's niece, starts singing a song addressed to the god of love. A structural marker indicates the beginning of the song in seven manuscripts. The most popular variant of this marker appears in the margins of manuscripts D, H4, H5, and S1:

26 H1 is the manuscript that, lacking earlier witnesses, seems to have been the origin of virtually all the glosses that transcend the textual families.

27 As the number of marginalia in H1 is significantly higher than that in Ph (thirty against the twelve in Ph), it is possible that the glosses in Ph came from an earlier, simpler apparatus of annotations that was subsequently enlarged with contributions by other scribes. That would entail a date for the composition of H1 around 1420–1425.

28 There is not much data regarding the place of composition of these manuscripts. Only H4 could possibly be traced back to Guildhall due to the extraordinary similarities between the text it contains and H2, which suggests a close relationship between their exemplars.

29 Most of them are written in red, like the incipits and explicits, and the Latin summary of the *Thebaid* between V. 1498 and 1499. The glosses to *Piers Plowman* and Mandeville's *Travels* also seem to have been copied after the text was completed, since Osbarn had provided gaps for the later inclusion of these elements. Decorative items such as the paraph marks or the brackets linking lines in the poem *Susanna* are also drawn in red ink.

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She seyde, O loue, to whom I haue and shal Cantus Antigone
ben humble subgit [subject], trewe in myn entente (II. 827–28)

In manuscript R, the structural marker remains the same, but it is written in English ('The songe of Antigonee'). S2 retains the reading 'Cantus Antigone', but then includes a brief summary of the song's main topic, making the annotation a blend between a structural marker and a subject annotation:[30]

She seyde, O loue, to whom I haue and shal Cantus antigone
Be humble subiecte and trew in myne entent de amore (II. 827–28)[31]

Unlike the other manuscripts, which keep the name Antigone, Ph modifies it in order to accommodate it to the version that appears in line II. 824:

Til at ye last Anteigne the shene [shining]
Gan on a troian lay to syngyn clere
That hit an hevyn [heaven] was to here Cantus Anteigne
She seyd love to whom y have and shal de Amore
The humble soget [subject] trewe in myn entent (II. 824–28)

This version of the name 'Antigone', rarely used in English, also appears in several lines of the text in H2. This challenges the idea of a momentous scribal blunder, and suggests that the name 'Anteigne' was present in the exemplar that Osbarn used when copying both Ph and H2. The similarity with the variant in manuscript S2 is remarkable. Even considering the fairly simple nature of this annotation, it is noteworthy that two manuscripts belonging to two different textual families should use the same words to summarise the passage. This is further supported by other marginal annotations that Ph has in common with other manuscripts.

Ph shares all but two glosses with S2.[32] All of them can be traced back to an earlier manuscript except for 'lamentacio Criseide' which, unlike the group of glosses discussed before, appears for the first time in Ph:

Allas, quod she, out of this regioun lamentacio Criseide
I, wodul wrecche and in-fortuned wight (IV. 743–44)

This annotation comes right after a stanza that is transposed in H3, Gg, J, and Ph, all Ph+ manuscripts.[33] However, except for Ph, none of those codices contain 'lamentacio Criseide', which is nonetheless included in S2 and H4, two manu-

30 I use the term 'subject annotations' to refer to marginalia that indicate the specific topic dealt with in a particular passage from the poem. They are the equivalent to Carl James Grindley's 'Topics' (2001: 82–3).

31 This quotation is a transcription from manuscript Ph.

32 The only annotations in Ph that do not appear in S2 are 'Nota' (II. 750) and 'fortuna maior' (III. 1420).

33 H3, Gg, J, and Ph move lines IV. 750–56 and place them between IV. 735 and 736.

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scripts from different textual traditions. Likewise, S2 omits lines IV. 708–14, which is a very idiosyncratic feature of pure Cp+ manuscripts, and yet it goes on to transcribe a carefully decorated 'lamentacio Criseide' some lines afterwards. Owing to the nature of this gloss – it does not seem to reveal more than a superficial understanding on the part of the scribe of the text and its rhetorical characteristics – its appearance in three different manuscripts may be explained by the existence of three scribes with the same sense of the textual and rhetorical aspects of the poem. But, as previously stated, Hanna (1989: 127) supported the idea that the scribe of Ph was 'generally fastidious about the text he did receive'. That he copied faithfully the materials he had at hand with no intention of embarking on any commentary of the text is further proved by the scarcity of unique glosses in Ph. However, the same can be said of S2: while it contains more glosses than Ph, its scribe seemed no more interested in writing marginalia of his own than the scribe of Ph was, and Seymour (1992: 114) considered him 'a verbatim copyist'.[34]

As for H4, its many glosses are mainly the result of the scribe's own interest in providing a marginal apparatus to *Troilus and Criseyde*, but they are also a collection of annotations from other manuscripts given the many marginalia it shares with other codices.[35] One of the many explanatory glosses it contains is in Book III. 1010:

> That ialousie, allas, that wikked wyuere [viper] .i. serpens

Ph and H2 present a modified version of this line, which includes a misspelling of the word 'wyuere':

> That ialousie, alas, that wikkid serpent wathere[36]

Although this annotation is not included as a marginal element 'per se' in Ph or H2, its paratextual origin is evident, as in its current position it disrupts the rhythmic pattern and alliteration of the line in its attempt to clarify the meaning of the corrupt 'wathere'. In all probability, it originated as an interlinear gloss in one of the ancestors of Osbarn's exemplar and was then incorporated into the line either because it was thought to be a correction, or because there was not enough interlinear space left for including it. H4 is the only manuscript to incorporate the explanatory 'serpens' even when it presents the correct 'wyuere',

34 Only two marginal annotations which seem to be original in S2 are the source and quotation glosses 'Lucanus' (II. 167) and 'Cato' (III. 294).

35 H4 contains 284 glosses, of which 94 are shared with other manuscripts; thirteen of them are shared with S2, and nine with Ph.

36 The line is a transcription from manuscript Ph. H2 reads 'That ialousie, that wikkid serpent wythir'. Osbarn may have omitted the original 'alas' in an attempt to eliminate the two extra syllables introduced by the addition of 'serpent'.

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and together with Ph, H4 is the only one to mix this unique Ph+ element with the Cp+ group of five glosses. It is not the only example of such a process, and it reinforces the already strong links between Ph, H2, and H4.[37]

It is difficult to trace the dissemination of these annotations; the loss of manuscripts and exemplars and the perception of the glosses as peripheral elements, prone to be overlooked, hinder this task. Nevertheless, the considerations above allow us to discern a possible pattern of transmission. Since Ph was completed and checked against an exemplar from the Cp+ family – the textual family of S2 –, the origin of all the glosses they have in common could be that missing copy-text. This is a reasonable possibility, judging by the popularity of the glosses in H1, one of the most important examples of the Cp+ textual family and which seems to have established the pattern of annotation for many other *Troilus* manuscripts. But the variants of 'Cantus Antigone' in Ph and S2, the inclusion of 'lamentacio Criseide', which did not occur in other Cp+ codices before S2, and the explanatory '.i. serpens' in H4 all point to Ph's important position in the transmission of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

The format of the three manuscripts may also be a central factor in the establishment of links between them: Ph, H4, and S2 are the only *Troilus* manuscripts made of paper with inner and outer parchment bifolia. Their size is also similar,[38] as is their *mise-en-page* and general aspect. The austerity of their design and the materials employed suggest that Ph, H4, and S2 could have been conceived as copy-texts to be distributed, perhaps by the quire, to the scribes. This is further indicated by Osbarn's work in another modest text collection, Lambeth, 491, which shows that he worked in an environment that allowed him easy access to different vernacular literary works.

The format of these manuscripts ensured the swift circulation of exemplars in a social and historical milieu populated by civil servants such as Richard Osbarn, John Carpenter, John Marchaunt, or Adam Pinkhurst. The existence of several copies of *Troilus and Criseyde* within Guildhall is attested by the differences between Ph and H2, copied by Osbarn, and Cl, copied by his fellow at Guildhall Carpenter. As a consequence, Guildhall turns out to be an important centre for the production of Middle English literature, a place where the number of manuscripts used as copy-texts was sufficiently high so as to keep within its walls at least three different copies of Chaucer's *Troilus*. The number of exemplars circulating at the same time implies a notable demand for Middle English texts, suggesting that, contrary to some earlier scholarly views, the production of these texts must have been less ad hoc as it involved quite sophisticated organisation

37 Other examples can be found in lines V. 8 ('auricomus sol'), and V. 1107 ('laurigerus laurer').
38 They are smaller than all the other extant copies of *Troilus and Criseyde*, see Mooney, Horobin and Stubbs: http://www.medievalscribes.com.

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involving many scribes. As for Ph's possible use as part of a bookseller's stock, its influence on other manuscripts down the line – especially H4 and S2 – suggests that manuscripts intended as exemplars (piecemeal or bound together) could have been present some decades before 1450, the date which Mooney (2011) identifies as the beginning of the organised commercial production of vernacular literary manuscripts in London.

The marginal annotations in Ph exemplify, perhaps more than in any other manuscript of *Troilus*, the different mechanisms of annotation and copying of literary texts in fifteenth-century England. First, they show the scribe at work collating the glosses, probably at the same time as he was collating the poem, and reveal the dynamic process whereby exemplars, little by little, accumulated multiple contributions from different scribes. Secondly, they display the evidence of remote textual ancestors that surface in the form of marginalia and that can provide, if not a complete outline of manuscript relationships, at least the suggestion of distant affiliations overlooked until now.

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The Dynamics of the European Short Narrative in its Manuscript Context: The Case of Pyramus and Thisbe

In this essay the development of the Pyramus and Thisbe material is traced from its Ovidian origins via medieval Latin rhetorical exercises, adaptations in French, German, and Dutch and its eventual inclusion in late medieval story collections, notably Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris.* Finally, the dynamics of this universal love story is illustrated by the recontextualisation of Thisbe's tale in the Findern manuscript. Attention is paid not only to the meanings generated by new rewritings but also to the manuscript context of each successive version, and consideration is given to possible compilatorial intentions as well as the ways in which its co-texts might have conditioned its reception.

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries the French-, German-, Dutch-, and English-speaking areas of Europe shared a common literary culture manifesting itself, most obviously, in the adaptation of short and longer narratives into different languages.[1] Most of these stories originated in French, but some had Latin sources, and in the later Middle Ages Italian short narratives also proved influential.[2] Several fabliaux and lays have survived in a range of European vernaculars, some as independent analogues, others based on earlier sources in a different language. Few of these tales, though, appear in all of the relevant languages, and it is for this reason that I have chosen to study medieval adaptations of Ovid's *Pyramus et Thisbe* in French, German, Dutch, English, and Italian.[3] It is

1 The Spanish and Scandinavian/Norse material is not included here as it lies outside my field of expertise and was not part of our HERA-funded project: the Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu). Italian material was also excluded from our research, which concentrated on verse rather than prose narratives, but some reference will be made here to Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris.* This publication has resulted from the project, which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013.

2 Dempster (1932) argues that some material adapted into Dutch may have come from Italy or Germany, in the form of both written and oral sources, and that we must not overestimate the role of French in the dissemination of these short narratives.

3 See Schmitt-von Mühlenfels (1972) for a survey of its medieval reception history. The *Chas-*

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likely that this tale became so widely disseminated in different vernaculars because it was the favourite subject matter for school exercises in Latin rhetoric (Glendinning 1986), unlike Ovid's *Narcissus*, whose protagonist appeared frequently in the European love lyric, but had only one independent full-length tale devoted to him, in French.[4] One wonders if the lack of a strong female protagonist sealed the fate of this story, for the most popular exemplary figures in medieval culture seem to have been women (Griselda, Dido, Medea, Thisbe, and the Chastelaine de Vergi, to name but a few). Tragic texts were also favourites, perhaps because they had the potential to create pleasurable pathos, eliciting sympathy from their readers/audience. *Pyramus et Thisbe* also lent itself to Christian moralisation, as successive authors hint at the lovers' own contribution to their downfall, most obviously through their double suicide.[5] So, although the lovers are exemplary in their loyalty to each other and inability to live apart (cf. Tristan and Isolde), and although we can sympathise with them as victims of passion and misapprehension, the moral ambiguity inherent in this tale made it rich in potential for vernacular writers. In the following, I shall analyse the varying interpretations placed on this subject matter by different European writers composing their own freestanding versions of *Pyramus et Thisbe*. Our focus will be on the morals drawn by narrators; the allocation of blame/responsibility for the tragic outcome; the relative narrative agency of the male and female protagonists; the conception of love, and the role of religion and metamorphosis in the story. These textual analyses will then be enriched by considering the role of manuscript context and paratext in the reception of these works. Finally, we shall analyse the link between *mise en recueil* and literary compilation by tracing the further evolution of the material when located in story collections with their narratorial frameworks. For the transmission and dissemination of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe is a dynamic process, developing from an element in a story collection, via independent works, to reintegration into other frame narratives. However, the story of its evolution does not end there, for some late medieval manuscript compilers freed it from its new frameworks, placing it with other cotexts in yet more innovative readerly contexts.[6]

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telaine de Vergi material, analysed by Emil Lorenz (1909), is not such an ideal candidate, there being no full-length medieval versions in either German or English.

4 *Narcisus et Dané* is found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837; Paris, BnF, f. fr. 19152; Paris, BnF, f. fr. 2168, and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 257. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2770 is a copy of BnF, f. fr. 2168. BnF, f. fr. 837, fr. 19152, and Berlin, Hamilton 257 contain *Piramus et Tisbé* too, and the latter two witnesses share the same textual tradition for the French *Narcisus.* John Gower also treats Narcissus in his *Confessio amantis*, Book I, ll. 2275–2366.

5 In fact, though, the implications of their suicide for their salvation are underplayed in most of the texts analysed here.

6 The *Chastelaine de Vergi* had a similar development from individual French narrative to story

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I. Ovid's *Pyramus et Thisbe*

In the context of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid's story of Pyramus and Thisbe not only attempts to explain a natural phenomenon, but also exemplifies love's hold over its victims. The power of love is made explicit in Leuconoe's words which follow this narration, for, she claims, even the sun fell in love. Several small details such as the fact that the children were equally beautiful (perhaps suggesting soulmates), that their parents' prohibition of marriage was unreasonable (Thisbe later calls them wretched) and that their rendez-vous was at a tomb, redolent of death, might suggest that Ovid saw the young lovers as innocent, tragic victims of mischance, as Thisbe claims. Counter to this, though, is the self-recrimination we find in Pyramus's acceptance of responsibility for Thisbe's *fausse mort*, while the young girl sees herself, along with Love, as the cause of Pyramus's destruction. Yet there is nothing here approaching the later Christian moralisations of this story, which is deeply pagan in its explanation of the colour of the mulberry tree's fruit as a memorial to the lovers, granted by the gods. Finally, one should note that although Thisbe arrives first at the tomb, for love made her bold, elsewhere there is gender equality in the Ovidian version: both lovers find the crack in the wall and both decide on a rendez-vous. While it is possible to read Ovid's tale as tragi-comic, and Chaucer, not to mention Shakespeare, may well have exploited this comic potential (see McKinley 2011, discussed below), in France, Germany, and the Netherlands *Pyramus et Thisbe* was received overwhelmingly as a tragedy.

II. Medieval Latin Adaptations of *Pyramus et Thisbe*

There are over four hundred manuscripts containing the *Metamorphoses*, though none earlier than the eleventh century. Since, as far as I am aware, Ovid's *Pyramus* was not copied independently into a multi-item codex, there is no scope for studying the work in its manuscript context as a stand alone Classical Latin tale. However, there are seven known medieval Latin adaptations of the Ovidian tale, dating from the twelfth century onwards, and it is instructive to examine the texts with which they were copied in order better to understand their function and possible reader reception.

collection through its inclusion/mention in the *Chevalier de la Tour Landry* and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (Day 7, tale 70). The former was adapted into German and English in *Der Ritter vom Turn* (1485) and Caxton's *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* (1483) respectively, and the Chastelaine makes an appearance in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (III, 10), Bandello's *Novelle* (Part IV, story V), and Dirc Potter's *Der minnen loep* (Book II, 430ff.).

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The most important context for these school exercises is rhetorical. Three versions of *Pyramus et Thisbe* are by the rhetoricians Matthew of Vendôme (PT I, twelfth century), Gervase of Melkley (PT III, *c.* 1200) and by a certain Dietrich/ Thedoricus (PT IV), while a further four, PT II, V, VI, and VII, are by anonymous authors.[7] On the whole they appear in manuscripts containing *artes poeticae:* for example PT I by Matthew of Vendôme follows Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 895, fols 91^{v}–93^{v}.[8] Four of the manuscripts (Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 511 (V.8.14); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 25187; Leningrad/St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Cod. Lat. Q.XVII.18 (now lost);[9] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 622 Helmst.) contain two rhetorical exercises on the Pyramus material. For example, in the Hunterian manuscript (fols 136^{r}–138^{r}) a *Pyramus* poem (PT III) by Gervase of Melkley follows immediately after his *Ars poetica*, in which he had included examples drawn from PT III to illustrate various rhetorical devices. No doubt for comparative purposes, PT II is copied later in the same codex, grouped with short mythological poems based on several stories from the *Metamorphoses* (Moser 2004: 164).

Along with rhetorical handbooks, these independent *Pyramus et Thisbe* adaptations also travel with classical material, and, perhaps significantly, with works on women and fortune. For example, in the fifteenth-century manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 237 (fols 121^{r}–128^{v}), PT VI is sandwiched between *Probra mulierum* (fols 115ff.) and *De rota Fortunae* (fol. 128^{v}), perhaps thereby emphasising how lovers place themselves at the mercy of fortune.[10] In this codex the Pyramus and Thisbe explicit is in German verse (Munich, Clm 237, fol. 128^{r}–128^{v}):[11]

7 See Glendinning (1986) for a list of texts and manuscripts in which they appear. He was unaware, though, of the presence of a second Pyramus and Thisbe poem (which I have numbered PT VII) in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 25187: 'Dulcis amice veni' (see Halm, Laubmann, and Meyer 1881: 166). I have retained the roman numbering of versions proposed by Glendinning.

8 These two texts are in the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century part of this composite manuscript; see *The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1116. I am very grateful to Suzanne Paul for help with this manuscript.

9 My thanks to Natalia Elaguina for supplying me with the correct shelfmark and informing me that this manuscript, which contained PT V as well as a text entitled 'Theadicus de amore Tisbes et Pirami' (PT IV) on folios 247^{v}–263^{r}, was returned to Poland in 1922, where it was destroyed during the Second World War.

10 See Halm, Laubmann, and Meyer 1892: 59–61.

11 In the following I have retained the scribal layout first in verse, then as if in prose. I am very grateful to Nicola Zotz for checking this colophon and helping with its translation.

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Explicit piramus von der hubscheit
Wy czweyen liben dick komt leyt
Von ires herczen grunde
Dy nicht von munde zu munde
Mogen clagen iren gebrechen / Dick muß daz ir hercz zu (sic) sthechen / Dy nicht an einander mogen gesyn / Glaube mir uf dy trewe myn / Kommen sy dan eyns zu samen beyde / So streichen sie uber dy wilden heyde[12] / In gesche auch liebe ader leyde, etc.

[Here ends Pyramus, the courtly story which tells how suffering often comes to two lovers from the bottom of their hearts if they cannot lament their misery in person [literally 'mouth to mouth']. It will often pierce the hearts of those who cannot survive without each other. Believe me, on my word of honour, if they do come together one day, they will rush off across the wild heath, whether this brings them joy or sorrow, etc.]

Similarly, in the fifteenth-century manuscript, Munich, Clm 25187, PT V and VII are copied with rhetorical treatises, one of which is by Horace, but also with the pseudo-Ovidian comedy *Pamphilus*, suggesting that the author Ovid might have been one organisational principle lying behind this codex. In addition, this manuscript contains a selection of short Latin poems on themes such as the merits of love (versus wine), envy, sirens, fortune, and a moral dictum about Cupid driving men mad.[13] It therefore seems to supply the Pyramus and Thisbe material with both a rhetorical and an erotic context. This is also true of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which contains the school texts *Theodoli Ecloga* and *Disticha Catonis*, material on Troy and on Alexander the Great, a work entitled 'Filo seu carmen amatorium ad modum romanzarum' [Filo or a song of lovers in the style of romances] (Heinemann 1884–1903: II, 84) and a pilgrim's manual, followed by PT IV and V, the latter juxtaposed no doubt for ease of comparison. Although this rhetorical context is unique to the medieval Latin versions of this narrative, its transmission with material on women, fortune, and didactic texts is replicated in the vernacular manuscripts, as we shall see.

The different versions emphasise different aspects of the story (Glendinning 1986: 68, note 41): PT I and II underline the pathos of the Ovidian tale, presenting the protagonists as alter egos;[14] PT III is unfinished, and therefore contains no

12 While the heath may be a metaphor for unbridled passion, it is interesting to note that the German adaptation discussed below is the only work to mention a 'heide' (l. 145).

13 It is interesting that the German *Pyramus und Thisbe* is juxtaposed with a text opposing the virtues of love and drink, *Minner und Trinker*, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2885.

14 PT I ends with a rhetorical flourish on the reader's ideal response to this sad story – weeping: 'Flendo legat lector lacrimans lacrimabile triste/Tristiciam fletum flebile poscit opus' (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 895, fol. 93^{v}) [In mourning let the reader, shedding tears, read of the tearful, sad <event>: A mournful work demands sadness <and> mourning]; see

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moral; PT IV ends on a *memento mori*; while V and VI are cautionary tales, exhorting their readers to avoid the behaviour of rash and foolish lovers. This range of narratorial responses is also evident in the vernacular adaptations.

III. *Piramus et Tisbé:* a Twelfth-Century Courtly French Poem

The twelfth-century French *Piramus et Tisbé* shares with its medieval Latin near contemporaries a desire to rhetorically amplify the material of the source.[15] In particular, this is achieved through the addition of what modern critics might call Ovidian love casuistry (the analysis of emotion through the description of amorous symptoms, structured here by the metaphor of Cupid's arrow (ll. 33–40), lengthy monologues containing internal dialogues, and reciprocal lamenting enhanced by parallel syntax), although much of this is not present in the rather unembellished Ovidian hypotext. One of the most striking features of the French adaptation is the greater role it gives to Tisbé. She is the one who finds the chink in the wall and attracts Piramus's attention by placing her belt through the hole. In her conversation with Piramus, she chides him, claiming that her love is greater than his (513 ff.) and it is she who suggests the meeting, as if a voice had given her the idea in a dream. She anticipates Piramus's tardiness and arrives at Ninius's tomb first, inspired to bravery by love. Sitting on the marble edge of the fountain (646) Tisbé prepares to tease Piramus for being late (650). However, instead of attracting criticism for potential wantonness, the heroine is presented as superior to her lover, who, as in Ovid, accepts responsibility for her death, blaming himself for arriving too late (746). Thus Piramus's implicit tardiness in the Latin source is rendered more explicit in the French adaptation. Although not developed further by the narrator, this theme is taken up in some later moralisations, in particular by Gower.

The tragic deaths of Piramus and Tisbé are explained by the French poet as the necessary outcome of their deep, passionate love, which conquers all: 'Si fete amour a mort le simple!' (773, cf. 861) [Such is the love that caused this hapless youth's death!]. Their fates are sealed by 'mesaventure' (676) and fortune (679), and although the narrator regrets that Tisbé did not emerge from under the tree when her lover arrived (690), this exclamation serves more to intensify the impending, inevitable disaster than to apportion moral blame on the young girl. Similarly, there is intense dramatic irony when Tisbé, not wishing to disappoint her lover, eventually returns (781). So, when Piramus, at death's door, opens his

James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1116.

15 Quotations and translations are taken from Eley (ed.) 2001.

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eyes on hearing her lament (882), and has time before dying only to ask how she has managed to return from the dead (887), the effect is truly pathetic.[16]

There is no Christian condemnation of suicide when the lovers kill themselves, the French poem seeming to make little distinction between invocations of the Christian God (178–80) and references to Venus, the god of love (189, 202). It is the pagan gods who answer Piramus's prayer by allowing his blood to turn the mulberry fruit black (774 ff.). However, it is Tisbé who makes all the arrangements for their afterlife, asking their parents for a joint tomb before she stabs herself, falls on his body, and kisses him like a true lover, 'veraie amie' (905). The overriding effect is one of pathos rather than moral judgement, and their love, though passionate, is truly mutual, even courtly, as Thisbe presents herself as a vassal of love: 'Tel fief tieng je de mon ami' (297) [This is the fief I hold from my love]. They seem to be destined to be together, being not only of equal beauty, but the same age in this version too (l. 17), though sadly union is achieved only in death.[17]

Given the overridingly tragic interpretation placed on the subject matter by the adaptor, it is interesting to consider whether compilers of multi-text codices were able to affect the reception of *Piramus et Tisbé* through their choice of co-texts. The French work is extant as a freestanding text in three multi-item codices: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837 (late thirteenth century); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 19152 (1260–70), and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 257 (late thirteenth/early fourteenth century) (see Eley (ed.) 2001: 7–8). In a further nineteen manuscripts it has survived as part of the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé*, into which it was copied wholesale, with the addition of a moralisation.[18] It is interesting to note that the Old French *Narcisus et Dané* is found in all the manuscripts which contain an autonomous *Pyramus et Tisbé*, but in no case does it appear close enough to the other Ovidian tale for there to be any hint of compilatorial intent.

16 While some might find this detail tragi-comic, there is little else in the poem to encourage laughter, and so I am minded to view Piramus's naivety as part of the tragedy.

17 In the following, we shall see that the French work influenced later treatments of the Pyramus material; see Van Emden (1975: 195) for a list of nineteen innovations made by the French poet to his Ovidian source which serve as trace elements in later traditions. However, the textual relations between versions are highly complex and detailed analysis of them lies outside the scope of this essay.

18 The *Ovide moralisé* will be examined later in the context of Pyramus and Thisbe's re-incorporation into story collections.

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IV. Manuscript Contexts for *Piramus et Tisbé*

Although the version of *Piramus et Tisbé* in fr. 837 is incomplete at the end (*c.* 50 lines are missing), someone has written in a post-medieval hand at the bottom of folio 99^{v}: '.Manque icy un feuillet; ainsi il ne faut point y chercher la fin du fabel de Pyrame et de Tysbe, ni le commencement du fabel intitulé Le lunaire que Salemons fist' [A folio is missing here and so there is no point in looking for the end of the story of Pyramus and of Thisbe, nor the beginning of the story entitled 'The Lunary written by Solomon'], so its immediate context is fairly well-defined. The Ovidian adaptation is preceded on folio 95^{v} by the *Regrets notre dame*, whose explicit 'expliciunt les regres nostre dame' is followed immediately by a fourteenth-century annotator's titulus: 'de piramus et de tisbe'. The paratextual information tells us nothing about how the work might have been read in this manuscript, but the work's immediate co-texts *are* interesting. Huon le roi de Cambrai's *Regrets* is a strange text to place next to *Piramus et Tisbé*, except that a large part of it is in the female voice, and the Virgin Mary's lament contains a series of apostrophes, addressing her son, the Holy Cross, and death, before the work finishes with moral instruction in the voice of the author/narrator. Therefore, it would be its rhetorical form rather than content that it shares with *Piramus et Tisbé*, whose monologues are rich in apostrophe (see, for example Piramus's speech addressing various parts of the wall, lines 450–89). The text that follows the Ovidian adaptation might retrospectively emphasise the role of fortune in men's lives, for *Le Lunaire que Salemons fist* (fols 100ra–104^{rb}) is a work supposedly written by Solomon for his son advising him what to do and what to avoid on each day of the lunary month. After that, however, we find another religious work, *De Dieu et de Nostre Dame* (fols 104^{rb}–107va), before the Ovidian *Narcisus et Dané* (fols 107va–112^{rb}) appears. So, although some of the immediate co-texts of *Piramus et Tisbé* may have resonated with its medieval readers, one cannot argue that the massive multi-item codex which is fr. 837 exhibits an obvious principle of organisation followed by the compiler, and these juxtapositions may simply be fortuitous. Ovidian material is not grouped together and religious texts mingle with more secular ones on love. The *fabliaux* it contains are also juxtaposed with more courtly material. For example, the *Chastelaine de Vergi* is sandwiched between a pious tale of repentance, *Le Dit du Barisel* and the fabliau *Estormi* about three lecherous priests, a faithful wife, and a nephew who is duped into disposing of three bodies. It is difficult to justify the choice of these bedfellows, and it is likely that fr. 837 is a library of texts which were copied when they became available, rather than a carefully organised anthology (cf. Collet 2005).

Fr. 19152 (formerly Saint Germain fr. 1239) is another huge multi-text codex dating from the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries. *Piramus et Tisbé* is

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item forty-eight and is found with Ovidian and courtly material. It is preceded by an *ars amatoria* in French, whose rubric reads 'Ci com*en*ce de ovide de arte' (fol. 93ra) and it is followed by a manual of social and moral advice intended primarily for the nobility, introduced by the rubric 'Ci *con*mence doctrinal de lati*n* en roumanz' (fol. 101ra). *Narcisus et Dané* is found eight items later, on folios 117^{rc}–120^{vc}, so like the compiler of fr. 837, this one did not gather all the Ovidian material together. While the rubric 'Ci c*on*mence de piramo et de tysbe' (fol. 98ra) is too neutral to influence reception, the text in this manuscript does contain a rather religious ending:

Baise la bouche par grant cure
Tant com sens et uie li dure
Se demonstre ueraie amie
Il est feniz cele est fenie
Iluec morust. en tel senblant
Sassanblerent li dui amant
Ditest amen chascun par non
Que dieus lor face uoir pardon
Et nos face redemption
Et nos otroit beneicon
Amen (ll. 782–91; Eley (ed.) 2001, p. 127)

[She kisses his mouth carefully for as long as she remains sentient and alive, thus behaving like a true lover. He has passed away, and she has passed too, dying there. In this way the two lovers were reunited. Let everyone say amen for them by name so that God truly forgives them and grants us salvation and his blessing. Amen][19]

So although Tisbé is an example of a true lover, the narrator asks us to pray for God's forgiveness, for the lovers and for ourselves, thus suggesting that their passage into heaven might be problematic. In this manuscript, therefore, the Christian doctrine contained in the *Doctrinal Sauvage*, which follows immediately, might have served as a useful corrective for anyone reading the story of Piramus and Tisbé's immoderate love.

The late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century manuscript Berlin, Hamilton 257 contains no rubrics. *Piramus et Tisbé* is item ten and is separated from *Narcisus et Dané* in this defective manuscript by at least twenty-five items. The version here is heavily abbreviated and suppresses the lyric sections. Its ending, though, emphasises the loyalty of the lovers, rather than their possible sinfulness:

Tant com li dure sens et uie
Se demoutre ueraie amie
Ici fenist des .ii. amanz

19 Translations of Eley's diplomatic transcriptions are my own.

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Com lor leal amor fu granz
Explicit (ll. 592–95; Eley (ed.) 2001, p. 143)

[As long as she remains sentient and alive she behaves like a true lover. Here ends the tale of the two lovers, and how great their loyal love was]

Read in this codex in light of the preceding fabliau, *Le Prestre teint*, *Piramus et Tisbé* offers a more positive example of amatory behaviour than that of the lascivious priest. Or, it could add to the positive reputation of women as illustrated by the faithful wife in this fabliau, who, with her husband, gets her revenge on the priest by dyeing him in a vat and nearly castrating him. *Piramus et Tisbé* is followed by the bawdy comic tale, *Le Valet aux douze femmes*, in which a young man who was hoping to have twelve wives soon discovers that one is quite enough. A connection with the Ovidian tale is hard to discern, unless one perceives both works as depicting the fatal effects of consorting with women. In fact, the context of the *Chastelaine de Vergi* (item 24) in this manuscript is no more illuminating, unless one decides that its immediate co-texts (*Plaine borse de sens* and *La Dame escoillee*), which share the theme of sexual excess, imply moral criticism of the Chastelaine's version of courtly love. On the other hand, these different representations of women may have supplied contrasting narratives with the intention or at least effect of provoking debate amongst readers of the Hamilton manuscript.

V. The German *Pyramus und Thisbe*

The next corpus of texts to consider is the Germanic adaptations of the Ovidian hypotext. I shall treat the High German version first, as this is dated to the first half of the fourteenth century (Schirmer and Worstbrock 1989: 929), while the Dutch versions, surviving in early fifteenth-century manuscripts, are likely to be later compositions. The German *Pyramus und Thisbe*, whose language exhibits some Alemannisch features, has survived in two Bavarian manuscripts: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2885, folios 20ra–24ra (copied between 22 April and 4 July 1393, see the colophon on folio 213^{v}) and Innsbruck, Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Cod. FB 32001, folios 14va–17ra (completed in 1456, see the colophon on folio 88^{v}).[20] The Innsbruck manuscript is a close relative of Vienna, Cod. 2885, although *Das Schneekind* has been moved forward into third

20 See Schirmer and Worstbrock 1989, cols 928–30, and for an edition, see Haupt (ed.) 1848. Bartsch 1851: lx–lxvi, gives a list of references to Pyramus and Thisbe in German literature and other related languages. Sadly, the translation into Middle High German of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* undertaken by Albrecht von Halberstadt in the early thirteenth century, has survived only in fragments, and we do not have the Pyramus and Thisbe section.

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position and there are some extra texts towards the end (Zotz 2014: 352–53). Since *Pyramus und Thisbe* occurs in both codices as item 10/11, surrounded by the same short narratives, we have only one manuscript context to take into account.

The German narrator of *Pyramus und Thisbe* announces from the very beginning that his true story, based on written and oral sources (ll. 15, 48), is about the power of love (7–8, cf. 106), which brings about the death of the protagonists. In a *laudatio temporis acti* he laments the fact that his contemporaries do not practise true love 'guote[r] minne' (18) and true loyalty. The fact that the children are born on the same day (35) and are superior to all others suggest that they are made for each other and their burgeoning love is ruined only when people start to gossip at court (45). Their love, although a compulsion (374–80): 'diu minne kan niht mâze hân' (374) [love is by definition immoderate]), is also presented in courtly terms, with 'frouwe' Thisbe calling Pyramus her 'âmîs' (111). This courtly conception, possibly influenced by the French tradition, might explain why the German adaptor has modified his Ovidian source where gender roles are concerned.[21] Although, as in Ovid, many of the protagonists' actions are joint: they both lament (54–76), both notice the chink and talk through it (90), Thisbe is nevertheless the more proactive: she speaks first, asking Pyramus for advice, since in her view men are cleverer than women (111 ff.). However, her lover denies having a superior intellect and instead asks her to advise him, treating her rather like a courtly *domna* (124–25).[22] Hence Thisbe suggests a rendez-vous on the heath (145), by a tree near a wood (141).[23] Adopting the feudal vocabulary and exaggerated hyperbole of the courtly lover, Pyramus approves Thisbe's advice and becomes her vassal in love (159; cf. *Piramus et Tisbé*, 297). The ending offers a particularly idealised version of courtly love: neither protagonist being able to live without the other, Thisbe prays to God for a joint grave and a sign (418) that the lovers have been forgiven. This sign, in the form of a divine miracle (470),

21 Perhaps the most striking innovation, though, which I have found in no other version, is that Pyramus is given the opportunity to kill the lion before committing suicide. This fight is depicted on a capital in the choir of Basel Cathedral, along with an image of Pyramus and Thisbe impaled together on his sword, and Thisbe lamenting the death of Pyramus. For images, see http://www.landeskunde-online.de/rhein/staedte/basel/muenster/pyramus.htm and http://non-scholae.blogspot.co.uk/2012/11/pyramus-und-thisbe-ein-fund-im-basler.html. The lovers are also portrayed impaled together on a fragment from the tympanum of the Abbey of Saint-Géry au Mont des Boeufs, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cambrai. The carving, which includes a man hiding in a tree, suggests that the iconography associated with the Tristan legend has been merged with that of Pyramus and Thisbe. See *Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index*, https://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=28929.

22 This dependence on Thisbe, which begins in the French tradition, is gently mocked in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, in which the heroine is presented as more active than the hero.

23 See note 12 above. The heath is a location ubiquitous in German poetry.

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involves the mulberry tree from now on bearing red fruit rather than black and emitting a sweet perfume (426–28, another German innovation). Moreover, a grape vine grows over their shared grave, and on further investigation is shown to be growing out of the bodies of the two lovers, joined in death. This conception of love is reminiscent of courtly versions of the Tristan legend, in which the lovers' union in death is symbolised by horticultural imagery, which the German author may have taken from Gottfried von Straßburg.[24] Another possible Tristan allusion is Thisbe's claim that anyone who has known love must be moved by her predicament (373) – perhaps an evocation of the 'edele[n] herzen' (*Tristan*, 233) [noble hearts] Gottfried's ideal audience would possess? In these subtle ways the German poet manages to provoke a tragic response in his extradiagetic audience (Murdoch 1983: 231).[25]

In order to facilitate the emotional response of pity there is little moral condemnation of the lovers, who appear to hold both pagan and Christian beliefs. In their laments, they call on God (62, 192) as well as on the goddess of love Minne (67) or Venus (137), yet at their deaths, when the fate of their souls is at stake, prayers seem to be directed exclusively at the Christian God. Nevertheless, there is no mention of the difficulty of suicides entering heaven. Some culpability for tardiness is attributed to Pyramus by the narrator (214), who prophesies that the young man will have cause to regret setting out after Thisbe (184), and by Thisbe (190), who wonders where he is. Pyramus later blames himself for Thisbe's death and regrets the day he was born (231, 276), yet Thisbe, echoing his words, equally blames herself for emerging too late (344, 398). Rather than representing a serious attempt to assign responsibility for the disaster, these details simply enhance the mutuality of their love and the tragedy of the situation, which is ultimately blamed by Thisbe on the 'huote' (395) [close keeping] placed on them by their parents. The narrator's final prayer 'got mache uns mit fröuden alt' (488) [may God give us long and happy lives] may warn readers against following the extreme example of Pyramus and Thisbe, but also reminds us that they were very young victims of the power of love.[26]

This interpretation is supported by the rubrics in the Vienna and Innsbruck manuscripts. The former has, on folio 19^{v}, 'Von Pyramo vn*d* Tispe den zwain

24 Gottfried clearly thought the Pyramus and Thisbe material was appropriate subject matter for Tristan, who, on his arrival at Mark's court, impresses everyone with a lay 'de la cûrtoise Tispê / von der alten Bâbilône' (*Tristan*, 3616–17 (Krohn (ed.) 1980)).

25 See also Murdoch (1983: 224), who compares Matthew of Vendôme's treatment of Pyramus and Thisbe as alter egos to Gottfried's portrayal of Tristan and Isolde, and Glendinning (1986: 74), who places this concept in the tradition of Ciceronian *amicitia*.

26 However, as we shall see below, this final prayer has probably been added by the scribe of the Vienna manuscript, and then copied verbatim by the Innsbruck scribe (perhaps via an intermediary). This means that it was not part of the author's original conception, unless this adaptation was deliberately composed for the Vienna codex.

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lieb*e*n geschah vil we' [about Pyramus and Thisbe, two lovers who suffered great woe] and similarly Innsbruck, folio 14va, reads: 'Von pyramen vnd von tispe den czwain lieb*e*n geschah gar wee'. The tragedy is reinforced in the Innsbruck manuscript by an image of Pyramus impaled on his sword (fol. 14^{v}), while opposite (fol. 15^{r}) is an almost symmetrical portrait of the dying Thisbe. However, the nature of *Pyramus und Thisbe*'s co-texts in the two extant manuscripts renders the meaning of the German adaptation more ambiguous, perhaps more playful, than its rubrics might suggest. It travels with *Mären* (short, often comic stories) and *Minnereden* (didactic works on love), and its immediate co-texts in the Vienna manuscript are *Die Wette* (fols 18^{v}–19^{v}) and *Minner und Trinker* (fols 24^{r}–26^{r}).[27] The latter is a dialogue witnessed by the narrator, in which two men profess the virtues of being either a lover or a drinker. As is usual in these debate poems, there is no resolution, but in the Vienna manuscript the rubric suggests that this is a jolly tale (fol. 24^{r}): 'Von dem ludrer un von dem Minner ain gut mer' [An entertaining story about a reveller and a lover] – thus creating a playful, comic context for *Pyramus und Thisbe*, while also questioning the virtue of being a victim of love's power. The preceding tale, *Die Wette*, offers the popular medieval plot involving husbands betting on their wives' virtue and putting it to the test. Although the recent memory of *Die Wette* might predispose a reader of the following Ovidian tale to note Thisbe's fidelity to her lover, the tone of these two co-texts seems to jar with the German adaptor's tragic conception of the Piramus and Thisbe material.[28]

Indeed, Zotz (2014: 352) argues that these manuscripts show no particular overall organisation.[29] She notes that unity is conferred on this collection of rather disparate material mainly through formal features: the use of titles in red ink and of rhyming couplets placed at the end of most of the works, employing conventional phrases to impose closure.[30] Noting that the rubric for the first poem is presented as if it were the title of the whole collection, she argues that 'Hye hebt sich an die gut geselschaft' might imply that this compilation is intended for the entertainment of a company or group of people, an idea which becomes formalised in the frame narratives of Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Zotz 2014: 357). As we shall see below, the com-

27 For a list of contents, see *Handschriftencensus*, www.handschriftencensus.de/4213.

28 It is intriguing to note that in the fifteenth-century manuscript, Munich, Clm 237, the Latin PT VI is similarly juxtaposed with a text on testing women: *Probra mulierum*.

29 It is instructive to compare the Innsbruck and Vienna manuscripts with Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 104, a fifteenth-century miscellany of somewhat similar texts, which contains the Ovidian *Hero und Leander* (fols 46ra–49ra) and *Minner und Trinker* (fols 125va–126va) along with comic and didactic works; see *Handschriftencensus*, www.handschriftencensus.de/4209.

30 The Innsbruck scribe has retained these features and added illustrations, which further unify the collection.

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position of story collections in the later Middle Ages were one means of imposing some sort of order and meaning on material often transmitted earlier in a haphazard fashion in multi-text codices.

VI. The Two Dutch Adaptations

Two fourteenth-century medieval Dutch adaptations of Pyramus and Thisbe have survived. One is a fragment (the beginning is missing) in Meuse-Rhenish found in the early fifteenth-century Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 922, folios 1^r–3^v. However, the folios containing the remains of *Piramus* were not originally part of the first quire of the present-day manuscript. Prior to its restoration they were loose sheets (Oosterman 2007: 10).[31] It is therefore not possible to reconstruct the work's original codicological context. The other Dutch Pyramus text appears as item 159 in the famous Van Hulthem manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15589–623) on folios 155^r–156^v (also dating from the early fifteenth century).[32] Although this poem is complete, it appears to be a much abbreviated version of a source shared with the more rhetorically amplified Berlin text (Faems 2011: 100). Since abbreviation is not necessarily a feature of the Brussels codex (for example, its copy of the Brabantine *Vergi* would have been about the same length as the incomplete Flemish version found elsewhere (Besamusca 2011)), we cannot be sure that this shortened Pyramus text was made specifically for its context in Van Hulthem. However, in the following, I shall consider whether some of the differences between the two versions might be explained by its being copied within a cluster of texts on idealised love in the Brussels codex. According to Besamusca (2011: 259) it is followed by two love songs (nos 160–61), in which the poet presents himself as a loyal lover, and we then find the Brabantine *Vergi* (no. 162), which shares with *Pyramus en Thisbe* the theme of dying for love and the suicide of at least one of the protagonists (since the Chastelaine dies of a broken heart, which is not technically suicide). This tragic theme, full of pathos, is emphasised by the rubric given to *Pyramus en Thisbe* in Van Hulthem: 'Van tween kinderen die droeghen ene starcke minne, een ontfarmelijc dinc' (fol. 155^r) [About two children who experienced a great passion – a pitiful thing].

Given the fragmentary nature of the Berlin version (henceforth *B*), it is not easy to draw overall conclusions about the nature of the two texts. Faems (2011: 81–82) argues that *B* is more religious than Van Hulthem (*VH*), which is true to a certain extent, but we cannot know whether the Berlin text once contained an

31 I am very grateful to Gerard Bouwmeester for supplying these codicological details.

32 This important Dutch text collection is also mentioned by Bouwmeester in this volume.

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equivalent to lines 12–20, in which pagan gods endow the young lovers with various qualities, and in which Cupid is even presented as the source of charitable works.[33] However, there does seem to be some evidence that *VH*, during its quite radical abbreviation of its exemplar, has increased the pathos and attenuated some of the details which allow a slightly more moralising interpretation, and this may provide evidence of modification for a new manuscript context.

In *VH* (ll. 25–29) the youngsters are presented as ideal lovers and victims of misfortune, which, according to the narrator, befell them too soon. He intervenes frequently with exclamations and rhetorical questions (39–41) and addresses the audience directly (62), all features designed to involve the reader and increase the sense of impending doom.[34] The descriptions of the lovers' suffering may owe something to the French tradition of the story. Also, as in *Piramus et Tisbé*, Tysbee seems to be the driving force behind the action: she sees the chink first (56), and in the conversations in which she tests Piramus's fidelity, she claims to love more deeply (cf. French *Piramus*, ll. 36, 513) warning against the spies and envious (cf. French version, 279–80) who surround them (123, 132). Tysbee is the first to lament, and is presented as a victim of Love's attack (the terms 'begrepen' (*B*) and 'ontsteken' (*VH)* in line 160 imply Cupid's dart) as she curses the wall's impenetrability (161). Piramus, who thinks the god of Love has abandoned them (185), yet hopes to pluck the fruit from Love's tree (189–92), even asks Tysbee for advice, claiming that women are wiser than men (194), but at this point she is less proactive than her French and German counterparts, needing reassurance that her lover will not abandon her once they have consummated their love.[35] Thus Piramus comes up with a plan, choosing for their meeting, not a funerary monument with its associations of death, but a *locus amoenus* fit for love. Interestingly, it is *B*, with its amplification on various trees and plants growing between wood and river, that gives the fullest description of this earthly paradise (225–36).[36] Yet, despite the couple's hopes, they will not be plucking the fruits of their love (189–92). Tysbee rises first (the Dutch adaptors have added the detail

33 All references are to Verdam (ed.) 1877.

34 Lines 1–65 have not survived in the Berlin manuscript, so it is not possible to tell how the Rhenish author treated this part of the story.

35 The relationship between the German and Dutch versions here is not clear, for although they both share the motif of a protagonist claiming to be less clever than their beloved, there is some switching of gender roles.

36 Although the addition of cedar and palm trees to the compulsory mulberry tree adds to the exotic nature of the location near Babylon, one also finds rather Germanic lime trees, as well as lilies, wild roses and other flowers which have not been definitely identified: 'Aculeyen' and 'agulgouden' (233) (perhaps a prickly plant and a type of aloe?).

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that she is guarded by women), her bravery being attributed to love (257), as in Ovid's text and the French version.[37]

Narratorial commentary during the ill-fated attempt at a meeting is interpreted by Faems (2011: 95) as mild moral condemnation, which she finds more frequent in the Berlin manuscript. However, in my view, the narrator's comment that Tysbee will regret not returning to the spring (288–90, *B* only) has a similar effect to the narrator's pathos-creating interjection in the French version (l. 690, mentioned above). Similarly, when Piramus kills himself, the narrator of the Berlin manuscript criticises Love for being so unmerciful towards her subjects, then regrets that Piramus did not wait a little longer until Tysbee returned (327 ff.). While it is possible to discern criticism of the rashness of lovers, one might also argue that they are being presented as victims of an overwhelming passion inflicted upon them. *VH*'s narrator, on the other hand, blames Love's impatience, wondering what grievance Love had against Piramus to treat him so. In both cases, though, the tragic outcome is put down to bad luck and ill timing, an interpretation strengthened by Tysbee's own assessment of the situation in her lament on finding Piramus. In both versions, but especially in *B*, she blames bad luck, 'ongheval' (377–88; cf. 'onghevallich', 397).

Perhaps in an attempt to produce a more courtly version for the new manuscript context, *VH* omits the gory details of how Tysbee's mouth bleeds when she fervently kisses Piramus (393), although there is still plenty of gore left in this story. It ends with Tysbee expressing the hope that their souls, whether in bliss or torment, will remain together for eternity. They are given no memorial on earth, either in the form of a shared tomb or through the metamorphosis of a mulberry bush. In lamenting the suicides of such young people (422–29), the narrator encourages his readers to be similarly sympathetic, and our final image of the lovers' souls is together in 'der mynnen rijcke' (430) [the kingdom of love], in which couples attain eternal bliss. It is true that the (rather conventional) veracity formula and source reference in *B* 436, 439 may imply the narrator's scepticism concerning the authenticity of the events (Faems 2011: 82), yet the Berlin version nevertheless asserts that martyrs to love will rightly be seated on loves' throne, and *VH* similarly places the couple with love's martyrs. The versions diverge, however, at the end, for while *VH* expresses the wish that true lovers will all reach this lovers' paradise, *B* encourages us to pray to God to be shown the correct road to heaven – a formula invoking the biblical strait gate, and reminiscent of the religious ending of the French poem in fr. 19152 and the prayer in the German adaptation's two-line rhyming colophon.

37 Tysbee's behaviour more than that of Piramus seems to be justified by love; see line 345, in which the power of love overcomes fear in the young woman.

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Clearly, *B* ends on a more Christian note than *VH*, and does contain more religious allusions than *VH* (see, for example, the two references to the Christian God in 75–76, which have no equivalent in *VH*). However, the suppression of the narrator's comparison of the lovers with a pilgrim who feels more tired after a short rest than before (141; to my mind a very unusual simile to refer to the dissatisfaction of lovers when they are allowed only a small taste of love) and of the reference to the devil in Tysbee's lament (166 – perhaps here the removal of an uncourtly element) may just be the result, pace Faems (2011), of *VH*'s abbreviating technique. For it should be noted that there *is* a reference to Christian mass in both versions (153; although this may really just denote the time of day, the equivalent to dawn in the Ovidian hypotext) and *VH* retains the comparison to the eremitical life of the lovers' situation halfway between life and death. Perhaps the only significant difference is that Piramus calls himself 'sondich' [sinful] in *B* and 'elendich' [wretched] in *VH* (311) when he thinks he has caused Tysbee's death. Thus, while both versions contain some elements which naturally transpose the subject matter into a medieval Christian work, this does not mean that the overall interpretation of the story, in particular in the more amplified Berlin text, is strongly condemnatory of secular love.[38]

The Dutch versions of this material have given us further examples of the rhetorical and interpretational ingenuity of medieval writers. While there are no specifically Dutch elements in these poems (apart, perhaps from the lime trees), the Ovidian material has been transformed to incorporate the very medieval concept of the religion of love. This theme fits particularly well with the context of the poem in *VH*. Indeed, for this codex the exemplar of *Pyramus en Thisbe* shared by *B* may well have been modified to fit better with *VH*'s courtly, secular co-texts, making 'Van tween kinderen' an appropriate companion piece for the *Vergi*.

VII. The Later Story Collections: Organising Disparate Material into a Meaningful Whole?

As we have seen, during the Middle Ages the tale of *Pyramus et Thisbe* became detached from its context within the *Metamorphoses*, becoming a popular standalone narrative. However, its inclusion in multi-item codices meant that it also acquired new co-texts which could influence the way it was received. However, the majority of the manuscript contexts in which the French, German, and Dutch adaptations are found, while giving the reader food for thought, certainly do not impose authoritative interpretations on the somewhat ambiguous subject matter.

38 For a different view on the Berlin manuscript, see Faems 2011: 96.

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The next stage in the dynamic evolution of this Ovidian story is its incorporation into story collections, a literary development which may even have been encouraged by the popularity of manuscript compilations. However, we shall now consider the extent to which this process of anthologisation cements its meaning, turning *Pyramus et Thisbe* into a Barthesian *texte lisible* rather than a *texte scriptible.* In fact, this love story, which in the autonomous versions tended to be met with narratorial sympathy rather than strong moral judgement, elicits a range of positive and negative interpretations when included in larger narrative wholes.

Perhaps for modern readers, the most unusual moralisation of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe is provided by the early fourteenth-century French story collection the *Ovide moralisé.*[39] The author begins (ll. 219 ff.) by emphasising, as in Ovid, that the story is one of metamorphosis, but admits that what follows is a work by another author, which he has copied wholesale, without changing anything. The narrative proper (229 ff.) comprises the twelfth-century *Piramus et Tisbé*, with the addition at the end of lines claiming that each of these true lovers did not wish to enter heaven without their beloved and were willing to commit suicide to this end. According to their wishes, their parents buried them together and the fruit of the mulberry bush turned from white to black. There is no hint of moral condemnation here, thereby preparing us for the positive Christian allegorisation (1176 ff.): Piramus's blood represents Christ's blood spilt during the crucifixion as well as that of subsequent Christian martyrs. The lion is the devil, who devours Christian souls, and Tisbé is the 'amie au Creatour' (1260).[40]

A similarly structured work in French, owing a great deal to the practices of biblical exegesis, is Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (*c.* 1400). The whole work represents the goddess Othea's (Athena or Prudence's) moral teaching in the form of a letter to the fifteen-year-old Hector of Troy. Christine's retelling of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe is the 'glose' illustrating her 'texte' number xxxviii, which warns against acting too quickly before you have ascertained the truth.[41] So Piramus's suicide is seen as a rash act based on misapprehension. This moral is repeated in the ensuing 'allegorie' which, rather than give a truly allegorical, i. e. spiritual interpretation, provides further moral instruction by claiming that the

39 References to the *Ovide moralisé* are to De Boer (ed.) 1915–18: II, Book IV, 219 ff.).

40 This is similar to the allegorical interpretation given in the fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum:* 'Iste juvenis est dei filius…' [this young man is the son of God]; see the extract from the edition by Hermann Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), p. 633, no. 231, app. 35, in G. A. van Es (ed.), *Piramus en Thisbe. Twee rederijkersspelen uit de zestiende eeuw* (Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink, 1965, p. 293; *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren*, www.dbnl.org/tekst/cast005gava01_01/cast005gava01_01_0016.php.

41 References are to Parussa (ed.) 1999: 253–55.

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role of parents is to correct their children, and ends with the biblical exhortation to honour your father and mother.[42]

John Gower, in his *Confessio amantis* (dated 1386–90) reads the story of Pyramus and Thisbe (Book III, ll. 1330–1493) in a similar way to Christine.[43] For him Pyramus's actions illustrate the vice of 'folhaste': he draws his sword 'sodeinly….In his folhaste' (III, 1427–29). This rash response may also be foreshadowed by Gower's innovative assertion that Pyramus and Thisbe make the hole in the wall themselves (III, 1379–80). The tale is told in Book III of the *Confessio*, which is about five types of wrath, and it seems as if the young couple exemplifies rather loosely the fourth and fifth kinds: impetuous aggression and murder.[44] The moral, drawn by Venus's confessor Genius, is: 'Bewar that of thin oghne bale / Thou be noght cause in thi folhaste' (III, 1496–97) [make sure that you do not bring about your own downfall through overhasty action]. Although Heinrichs (1990: 49) finds this moralisation 'so obtuse as to be wryly amusing', suggesting that Genius's teaching may be parodic, this moral is supported by the text itself, and Gower is not the only author to draw it.[45]

Criticism of youthful passion in general originates in the early medieval commentaries on Ovidian material. Heinrichs (1990: 61 ff.) notes that in particular the heroines of classical myths were associated with the vice of lust. Alan of Lille claims that Pyramus and Thisbe rebelled against the laws of nature by preferring immoderate sensual love to virtue; Jean de Hauteville uses the lovers as examples of the temptations of lust. In the thirteenth-century Italian antifeminist poem *Proverbia quae dicuntur super natura feminarum*, Thisbe is listed along with Helen, Pasiphae, Dido, and Medea as the cause of love madness in her male beloved. The prologue of the thirteenth-century Dutch religious text *Vanden levene ons Heren* mentions Pyramus 'hoe hi siin leuen / Omme minne verloes' (15–16) [how he lost his life because of love] in the context of warnings against reading secular rather than religious literature.[46] In the late fourteenth-century *Echecs amoureux* the mulberry fruit turning from white to black is a sign, according to the chaste goddess Diana, that love is bitter (Heinrichs 1990: 202–03), and this negative moralisation is taken up by an anonymous author (formerly

42 Christine clearly knew the French adaptation of Ovid, for she takes from it the distinctive detail that a serf tells Tisbé's mother of their love; see Van Emden 1975: 195, no. 2. She may well have read the poem though in a manuscript of the *Ovide moralisé*, as her reference to the lion vomiting the entrails of its prey onto Tisbé's wimple (p. 254, l. 39) is reminiscent of the *Ovide moralisé*, IV, 1249.

43 References are to Peck (ed.) 2003.

44 Gower also exploits Ovid's Narcissus in Book I (ll. 2275–2366), which treats overweening pride.

45 Compare the Dutch poem (327–37), whose narrator laments the fact that Piramus did not wait to obtain firm evidence of Tysbee's death before killing himself.

46 For the text, see Beuken (ed.) 1968.

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thought to be Lydgate) in the dream vision allegory *The Assembly of Gods* (*c.* 1478–83):[47]

Of *thilke* [that same] woful deth noyous,
Ryght wonderful and ryght pitous
Of Piramus and of Thesbe,
Both y-borne in oo Cyte.
For love thise yong[e] folkys two
Had so moche sorwe and wo,
Lych [Such] as Ovide kan wel telle (3959–65).[48]

Not only are the fruits of the garden of pleasure shown to be bitter, but Piramus is also blamed for his tardiness ('slouthe', 3988), and Thisbe, we are told, stays too long in the cave (3974–75), suggestions also made more subtly by the German (l. 214) and Dutch (l. 290) adaptors.

In direct contrast to these warnings against sexual love, we find Pyramus and Thisbe (along with the Chastelaine de Vergi) exemplifying good love in Book 2 of Dirc Potter's *Der minnen loep* [*The Course of Love*], 961–1166 (dated 1411–12). The tragic couple represents lovers of the first-degree because their love was not consummated, which Potter considers to be a great pity: 'waerlich yammer was ende schade' (II, 960; see Faems 2011: 101). The narrator's praise of their pure young love is hyperbolic and they are presented as victims of love's suffering, united only in death:

Och hoe edel ende volmaect
Ende van alre zwacheit naect
Was die liefte van desen paren,
Die in haren reynen jonghen jaren
Storven doer der minnen quael
Ende sijn ghedoot mit enen stael. (1125–30)[49]

[Oh, how noble and perfect, devoid of all weakness, was the love of this pair, who in the purity of their young years, died from the pangs of love and met their deaths by one sword.]

While Potter suggests that his contemporaries might be overhasty in their desire to reach the higher, more physical degrees of love (reminiscent of the German adaptor's *laudatio temporis acti*, 8–24), he does not impute this fault to Pyramus and Thisbe, unlike Gower.

The story collections we have considered thus far treat Pyramus and Thisbe as a couple. However, two of the most famous retellers of this story, Boccaccio and

47 See Chance (ed.) 1999, introduction.
48 For an edition, see Sieper (ed.) 1901.
49 For an edition, see Leendertz (ed.) 1845–47 and for an introduction to the work, see Van Buuren 1979.

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Chaucer, choose a framework which (theoretically at least) highlights the heroine, and the very placement of this material within the context of the ubiquitous debate about women in the Middle Ages raises the possibility of highly ambiguous, not necessarily serious treatments of these 'exemplary' females. This playful ambiguity is reminiscent of that created by the copying of this Ovidian story alongside antifeminist material (such as fabliaux) as well as texts in praise of women in French and German multi-item codices. Moreover, such odd juxtapositions are found most incongruously of all in fourteenth-century ivory caskets habitually given as wedding presents, which portray Pyramus and Thisbe next to a depiction of Phyllis riding Aristotle, the epitome of the wise man brought down by a woman.[50]

The story of Thisbe, maiden of Babylon, is incorporated into Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* (1355–59) as chapter 12, sandwiched between the Amazon queens Martesia and Lampedo, who behave in manly fashion to the extent that they kill most of the men they come into contact with, and the Argive queen Hypermnestra, who disobeyed her father by refusing to murder her husband, although the latter did eventually kill his father-in–law as prophesied. Chapters 12 and 13 seem to be linked through the themes of fortune and the importance of propagating the human race.[51]

Despite the emphasis in the story collection on famous, not necessarily virtuous women, Boccaccio follows Ovid in presenting Pyramus and Thisbe acting together, except of course that Thisbe, perhaps because her love was greater than his, arrives at the meeting place first. Although there is no pathos-creating direct speech in this highly abbreviated form of the tale, the narrator nevertheless expects a tragic response from his readers, unless, he says, they are made of stone. The lovers, as we have frequently seen, each blame themselves for the death of the other, but the narrator exonerates their youthful passion, admitting that it is a sin, but one that could have been resolved by allowing them to marry. The villain of Boccaccio's retelling is wicked, envious fortune, who sins against Pyramus and Thisbe, and he also condemns their parents, who impose harsh imprisonment upon them. It is difficult to tell if Boccaccio's final argument, which stands in the tradition of Genius from the *Romance of the rose*, is meant seriously: youthful passion, he says, has to be tolerated because once mature it enables the perpetuation of the human race!

It has been argued (McKinley 2011: 207ff.) that Ovid's *Pyramus et Thisbe* is a tragi-comic or at least bathetic text, the humour being created through the details

50 For French boxes, dated 1330–50 and 1310–30 respectively, see 'Box Front with Scenes of Alexander and Pyramus', The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, at http://art.thewalters.org/detail/39333; and 'Casket with Scenes from Romances', The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, at http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464125.

51 For an edition, see Zaccaria (ed.) 1967. No line references are given, but the text is short.

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of Pyramus's thrashing limbs and the simile of the gushing pipe, not to mention the hyperbolic apostrophes to various inanimate objects.[52] McKinley (2011: 209) claims that Gower removes these elements by following the more serious version in the *Ovide moralisé.* Chaucer, on the other hand, in his treatment of Thisbe in chapter 2 of his *Legend of Good Women* (dated 1386), lines 706–923, privileges the Ovidian hypotext: 'Naso seith thus' (725).[53] He may well have exploited the comic potential in his primary source, retaining the humorous details mentioned above: 'conduyt' (852) and beating heels (863), and adding the address of the wimple (847–49).[54] This could be seen as in keeping with his less than serious project to write the *Legend of Good Women* in penance for his treatment of Criseyde in his earlier *Troilus and Criseyde* (see his prologue to *LGW*, 332). The whole work is a ludic, rhetorical apology to women (Mann 1991), whose playfulness is particularly apparent in the narratorial commentary at the end of Thisbe's tale and in Chaucer's treatment of the heroine.

Ignoring the superior agency of Thisbe in the French tradition and choosing instead to return to Ovid's presentation of gender equality, Chaucer has both lovers finding the crack in the wall (744) and both deciding on a rendez-vous (778).[55] It is of course imperative for the plot that Thisbe leaves first, out of desire to see Pyramus, we are told. The fact that she is 'ywympled subtillye' (797) may well be suggestive of the antifeminist topos of woman's greater cunning, supported by the narrator's lament at this point, that she betrays her relatives in order to follow a man whom she barely knows (798), implying a daring disregard for social convention and female honour.[56] Thisbe's final lament also contains a certain amount of self-criticism (905–09) in that she prays not only that God

52 In light of McKinley's argument, one might conclude that there is humour too in Boccaccio's retention of the Ovidian detail of Pyramus's feet thrashing on the ground.

53 The text is quoted from Cowen and Kane (eds) 1995: ll. 706–923. In fact, Chaucer, probably knew Boccaccio and the French tradition (see Delany 1994: 125, who notes his use of the French term 'covenant' in line 790), taking from them what was useful for his conception of the subject matter. Shakespeare's humorous play within a play in a *Midsummer Night's Dream* probably owes something to this Chaucerian approach, although humorous parodies of the story, especially the 'fausse mort', can also be found much earlier in Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain* (*c.* 1180), in which the lion, thinking that Yvain is dead, nearly commits suicide with his lord's sword (Reid (ed.) 1967: ll. 3506–25).

54 It is very difficult to judge how lines like 'This woful man that was nat fully deed' (883) might have been received by Chaucer's contemporaries. No doubt, just like modern readers, medieval Pyramus and Thisbe consumers would have been susceptible to a comic or tragic response according to their mood. Even narratorial commentary was not authoritative and could have been read seriously or ironically.

55 Doyle (2006: 254) sees this as a positive feature conveying gender equality and making Thisbe less of a victim. This may be so, but one cannot ignore the fact that Chaucer has preferred Ovid's (or even Boccaccio's) approach rather than the French poet's more active portrait of the heroine.

56 Doyle (2006) plays down this element, seeing it rather as a possible criticism of Pyramus.

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should send lovers better fortune than Pyramus and Thisbe enjoyed, but that no noblewoman should place herself in such an 'aventure', i.e. at the mercy of fortune, as she had done. Although Thisbe offers herself as an example of fidelity in love, the narrator finishes the tale by emphasising the loyalty of Pyramus, returning only in the last line to the eponymous heroine's equally exemplary behaviour.

The introductory rubrics of many of the manuscripts containing Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* (for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 346, folio 11^{v} and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 638, folio 58^{v}) present Thisbe as a martyr of Babylon. This underlines Chaucer's invocation of the saints lives and 'martyrs to love' tradition in his *Legend*, while perhaps missing his humorous intention. Indeed, his inclusion of Pyramus and Thisbe in his ostensibly profeminist story collection, instead of closing down all other avenues of interpretation, merely opens them up.[57] And in fact, the journey of the Ovidian tale from Latin story collection via autonomous courtly versions in various vernaculars to late-medieval, often moralising, story collections, does not stop here. For two of Chaucer's 'good women', Dido and Thisbe, go on to experience an independent existence in other manuscript contexts. The former's tale is copied under the rubric 'The complant of Dido' in the late fifteenth- early sixteenth-century miscellany, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 86 (fols 113^{r}–119^{v}), between 'Colyn Blowbols Testament' and 'The romance of Landavalle, or Launfal'.[58] Thisbe is included in the famous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century compilation the Findern manuscript, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.6, which, scholars argue, was partially compiled by and made for women readers (Doyle 2006: 231).

Any discussion of the tale of Thisbe and its co-texts in the Findern manuscript is complicated by the fact that this manuscript evolved probably over fifty years from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, and that this extract from the *Legend of Good Women* is a late insertion into Quire E (fols 64^{r}–67^{v}) copied on two bifolia by an unidentified 'nicholaus plenus amoris' (Cowen and Kane (eds) 1995: 7–8). While Kate Harris (1983) argues that the anthology grew by accretion, Ralph Hanna (1987) argues for separate booklet production. Whatever the manuscript's genesis, though, it seems that at least one compiler/reader decided that the tale of Thisbe (item 21) was an appropriate addition to Quire E (Harris 1983: 316), which contains a group of five 'feminine' texts, three of which are by Chaucer: 'Anelida's Complaint' from *Anelida and Arcite* (item 20) and *The Complaint of Venus* (item 22), followed by the unique lyric 'My woo full hert this

57 Especially if one takes into account the possible tensions between the poet's avowed aim in his prologue and the treatment of the various women in the collection.

58 Quoted from Macray 1878: column 30.

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clad in payn', a female-voiced lament for her absent lover (item 23), and Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* (item 24).[59]

Significantly, modern scholars have arrived at a range of different interpretations of the tale of Thisbe when read with its Findern co-texts, which suggests that the reading experience of medieval consumers may also have been varied, the variety enhanced by the fruitful associations created by this anthologisation. According to Doyle (2006: 255), one response, adopted by McDonald (2000) and Meale (1999), is to emphasise the multiple female 'complaints' in the codex and to see Thisbe as a victim. Another, is to see her within the network of items debating the role and nature of women. This approach assumes a readerly sophistication normally associated with courtly consumers of literary works, and which argues against seeing the provincial readers for whom the Findern manuscript was prepared as naive and incapable of appreciating the playfulness of Chaucer's writing and the dialogic connections between items. A third way builds on Florence Percival's view (1998) that Chaucer fluctuates between pathos and humour in his *Legend of Good Women*, thereby tending to discourage a unifom reading throughout the whole work. Thus, while Chaucer plays sophisticated gender games in his prologue to the *Legend*, and treats some of his 'heroines' with irony, his tale of Thisbe may be one of his least ironic (Doyle 2006: 252).[60] After all, Thisbe does not have a strong reputation in literary tradition for destroying men through her love, and Chaucer allows her to speak for herself in an extended lament at the end. Moreover, there is little narratorial criticism of her, although the overall project announced in the prologue is somewhat undermined by including a faithful male lover in her story. Rather than being a passive heroine, she is active, wielding Piramus's sword. Thus, in Doyle's view, she may have been included in this anthology as an example of a strong woman. This idea may be supported by the scribal innovation (changed later from 'sche' back to 'he') in the Findern codex, for the last line of the tale in this codex presents Thisbe as a direct role model for female readers: 'A woman dar and can as wel as sche' (923) [A woman might dare and do as well as she]. Whatever one's reading, the variety of modern critical responses to Thisbe's tale in the Findern manuscript provides an excellent example of how multiple new possibilities of interpretation were created for medieval readers by extracting her narrative from Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and inserting it into a multi-item codex.

59 See the discussion of this manuscript by Koppy in this volume.

60 My interpretation earlier differs somewhat from Doyle's in that I paid more attention to the retention of details from the Ovidian hypotext, thus emphasising Chaucer's humour. However, such critical disagreement simply reveals the inherent ambiguity of the *Legend of Good Women* and the rich possibilities it offered for reading Chaucer's women.

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Conclusion

There are many reasons why the Pyramus and Thisbe material was so popular in Europe during the Middle Ages. In Latin it offered a convenient rhetorical exercise for schoolboys. As an exciting tale of young love, it elicits from the reader the usual pathos we feel for noble, inexperienced people who attempt to ignore societal prohibitions, but who are ultimately brought down by bad luck and the misinterpretation of ambiguous signs. Each author has stamped his/her own individual style on the material, thereby nuancing its interpretation, yet interestingly, they have on the whole avoided adding culturally and geographically specific details to the Ovidian plot.[61] Perhaps the narrative's popularity owes something to its historical and geographical alterity. It tells a universally relevant story set in an almost mythical past, and in a Middle-Eastern location which for European vernacular writers represented the origins of *translatio studii*, their inherited literary culture.[62] Transformed into highly mobile short narratives in different vernacular languages, the Piramus and Thisbe material appears in some of the most important multi-text codices in medieval Europe, mostly in random collections of stories, occasionally in more organised anthologies or in manuscripts which contain groupings of similar material, such as the Dutch Van Hulthem manuscript. In some cases, reception of this story may have been conditioned by the juxtaposition of similar or contrasting co-texts, although the majority of the codices discussed here seem to represent collections of disparate material, perhaps personal libraries produced serendipitously by accretion. It may indeed have been a desire for greater order, found in embryonic form in the more highly organised manuscripts with local groupings of items, that eventually gave rise to the immensely popular story collections of the later Middle Ages, in which the meaning ascribed to the story of Pyramus and Thisbe was to some extent imposed by an overarching interpretative framework. However, interpretation of this morally ambiguous narrative was hard to pin down, if indeed this was really the aim of the authors of story collections. For in many cases, the individual tales were placed in fruitful tension with their new contexts and moralisations. Perhaps it is for this reason that Chaucer's Thisbe, already open to multiple readings within the metanarrative of the *Legend of Good Women*, broke free from it in order to enjoy another rich existence in a new context.[63] What is

61 Apart from the obvious Christianisation of the material, we find only reference to a (European) lime tree in the Dutch version and a heath in the German (145).

62 Adaptors are also at pains to authorise their story by referring to written sources, sometimes naming Ovid, and by including veracity claims.

63 See Hannah Morcos's essay in this volume and her 'Dynamic Compilations: Reading Story Collections in Medieval Francophone Manuscripts' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's

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not in doubt is that the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe is an ideal example of the dynamics of the medieval short narrative in its manuscript context.

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'Looke this calender and then proced': Tables of Contents in Medieval English Manuscripts

This essay investigates tables of contents in Middle English or multilingual manuscripts of insular provenance. It describes the various systems used by book producers and later compilers and users to discover and locate material in manuscript codices and emphasises the importance of distinguishing between tables belonging to a single work and those designed for a particular codex. It demonstrates that tabulation practices have much to reveal about production processes and the actual and anticipated needs of readers. It argues that the needs of inexperienced readers and the problems they faced in using vernacular or multilingual multi-text codices shaped the development and provision of systems of tabulation. Whereas previously scholastic practices of *compilatio* and *ordinatio* have been considered key influences on the development of information retrieval apparatus, these new kinds of readers and books, the essay argues, were also important factors in this history.

> O ye my lordes when ye be holde
> This boke or list it to unfould,
> Or ye y*e* leues turne to rede,
> Looke this calender and then p*ro*ced.
> For ther is titled compendyously
> All y*e* storyes hole by and by.
> […]
> And for I haue but shorte space
> I must y*e* lyttler ou*er* pase. (London, British Library, Additional MS 29729, fol. 177^{v})
>
> [Lords, before you turn the leaves and start reading this book, at this calendar take a look: the titles of the stories appear in a list; only the short works have been missed.]

Thus John Shirley begins his rhyming list of contents in Additional 29729 (fols 177^{v}–178^{v}), which is just one among many experiments with the table of contents in manuscript books for medieval English audiences beyond the schools and universities.[1] As a list of some of the contents of a book he has made that is also

1 I edit lightly and translate loosely. For an edition of Shirley's calendars, see Connolly 1998: 206–11. For further discussion and references, see the penultimate section of this essay. The

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designed to ingratiate himself with his readers, display his literary knowledge, and make sure the volume is returned to him, Shirley's 'calender' (fol. 177^{v}) is perhaps one of the more attractive and literary exponents of the medieval English table of contents. But it shares with many other examples a capacity to shed light on the dynamic relations between book producers, production, readers, and reading practices in the manuscript age. However, despite their ability to disclose these dynamics, tables of contents have received relatively little attention from manuscript scholars. This neglect is regrettable, especially in the context of manuscript dynamics, since study of the compilation, transmission, and uses of tables of contents has much to reveal, both about the production and reception of individual manuscripts and about the development of practices of reading and of information retrieval and use. The making and use of the table of contents beyond the scholarly environments of the universities and religious orders, and the relationships of the scholarly practices to those associated with books aimed at readers beyond the library or lecture hall are particularly neglected areas. This essay will focus on tables of contents in Middle English or multilingual manuscripts of English provenance and their contexts, drawing some comparisons with vernacular manuscripts of continental, mainly French, provenance. Using a selection of examples associated with various kinds of manuscript, I propose to offer a framework for the analysis of tables of contents and some suggestions regarding their relations with changing practices of book production and consumption.

Tables of contents have previously been considered in relation to modes of arranging material that developed in association with new habits of reading and study that emerged in scholarly environments around the middle of the thirteenth century. We have learned from this work that finding-devices are a particularly sensitive index of ways in which codicological developments can be shaped by intellectual and social change. According to M. B. Parkes (1991: 54), in late antiquity, copies of ancient texts divided into books (i.e. major divisions) and chapters are found, in which the chapter headings are brought together at the beginning of each book, but it was not until the thirteenth century that chapter headings were all arranged in one place as a table. Parkes associates this development with the practice of imposing a new *ordinatio* on material to support the quick and easy retrieval of information. Besides tables of contents, the apparatus provided could include side-references, chapter summaries, and alphabetical indexes, and the processes associated with *ordinatio* could also involve imposing new structures and divisions on texts that did not originally have them. Parkes's work complements that of Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse. They locate the

text is in the hand of the sixteenth-century historian John Stow. Margaret Connolly's essay in the present volume focuses on John Shirley.

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origins of the provision of indexes and other information retrieval apparatus in the production of a verbal concordance for the Bible *c.* 1260 and the adaptation of the methods used for this project to the production of finding aids to support retrieval of information from patristic writings. Application of these methods to patristic texts was carried out under the direction of Paris-educated Robert Kilwardby, after he became prior provincial of the English Dominicans *c.* 1261 (Rouse and Rouse 1990: 222). The Rouses' brilliant essay '*Statim invenire*' (Rouse and Rouse 1982) demonstrates how new developments in finding-aids responded to social change, and how new techniques were more likely to develop in association with the production of a new genre than in relation to traditional texts and practices. So, for example, while the study of scripture continued to use the order of the biblical text as a way of arranging and locating passages from patristic commentaries, it was the new genre of the collection of *distinctiones*, developed for preachers, that saw the adoption of alphabetical order (Rouse and Rouse 1982: 212–16). The idea that we should look to non-traditional practices and to social change to understand innovation in book production informs the present essay.

A relationship between scholastic textual apparatus and information retrieval systems in manuscripts produced by or for those beyond academic schools of theology has been proposed but here the picture becomes sketchier. Rouse and Rouse comment that the alphabetical index was first used by theologians before quickly spreading to use by the professions, 'demonstrant son utilité aux avocats, médecins et administrateurs ecclésiastiques ou séculiers' (Rouse and Rouse 1990: 219) [demonstrating their usefulness for lawyers, doctors and ecclesiastical or secular administrators]. Parkes offers the example of a copy of *De legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie* (otherwise known as *Bracton*, a Latin account of English law composed in the 1250s and attributed to Henry Bracton), for which a table was supplied in the later thirteenth century.[2] There are numerous examples in fact: of the forty-seven manuscripts of *Bracton*, twenty-five are described as having a 'table of contents' or a 'kalendar'.[3] Cambridge, MA, Harvard Law School Library, MS 1, for example, a Worcestershire manuscript (perhaps from the Cathedral Priory) of *c.* 1300 has, in the first pages of the codex (fols 3^r–5^v), what is more accurately described as an alphabetical index to *Bracton* and other items in the codex with folio references in roman numerals.[4] The story of the application of scholarly apparatus to purposes beyond the schools has particularly little detail, however, with respect to vernacular examples of English provenance.

2 Parkes 2008: 73; he refers to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 222.
3 My count is based on the list of manuscripts and the descriptions of the Ames Foundation.
4 For a discussion of provenance, see the Ames Foundation description. This description links to the Harvard Law School Library digitised copy of MS 1.

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Parkes (1991: 65) suggests that glosses and highlighting of proper names in manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman* are examples of where 'features of the apparatus' can be found in 'well-produced copies of vernacular texts which do not presume an academic readership'. Vincent Gillespie (2011), George Keiser (1991, 1995), and Elizabeth Dutton (2008) are among those who have also identified the influence of scholastic practices in Middle English text and book production.[5] This essay will argue that scholastic methods were not the only driver of innovation: the needs of inexperienced users of vernacular multi-text codices also motivated and shaped practices of tabulation.

I. A Codicological Approach to Tables and their Relations with Scholastic Systems

While previous studies have suggested the impact of scholastic method on the provision of apparatus in English books beyond the academy, we still lack a unifying framework for analysing and writing a history of finding aids across the various kinds of manuscript and genres of text in which they are found. Worse still, we lack any list of manuscripts of English provenance with medieval tables of contents.[6] A starting-point of course is manuscript catalogues, but they are unreliable guides for the identification of tables for three reasons. First, they do not always include tables in their lists of contents; second, the terms *index*, *table of contents*, and *calendar* are not always used with consistency and discrimination between the kinds of table;[7] and third, catalogue entries do not reliably specify the scope of tables relative to the codex as a whole. For a model we must turn to the brief history and analysis of finding-aids in French manuscripts of continental provenance by Geneviève Hasenohr (1990). According to Hasenohr, in French manuscripts the habit of gathering rubrics together to make a table of contents became common in the period from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century. Didactic and historical texts were first to receive tables (Hasenohr 1990: 277–80). Whatever the type of table, it is usually on specially prepared leaves or in a separate quire, arranged in two columns, and with various means of making the entries stand out, such as highlighted first lines and initials or, exceptionally,

5 See further in the next section.

6 Indeed, we lack a list of medieval manuscripts of English provenance. It is to be hoped that projects to federate online research resources coupled with computer-assisted tools for creating unique entity identifiers will eventually help us to make headway with this problem.

7 This problem is found in the secondary literature more broadly. For example, the apparatus at the beginning of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1 is a table of contents, but it was published as an 'index' and that erroneous designation has persisted in the secondary literature: see Serjeantson 1937 and cf. Scase 2013.

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alternating red and black or red and blue titles. Modes of reference to the text are rudimentary; often there is not even a running number, and reference to folio numbers is rare, developing from the fifteenth century. Many examples seem to have been provided by readers rather than scribes. The present examination of insular manuscripts aimed at the reader of Middle English or multilingual manuscripts beyond the schools will attempt to establish some of the most important parameters for analysis and discrimination on the basis of examination of selected examples, elaborating on and modifying Hasenohr's typology and categories of analysis.[8] While this essay will show that the English pattern conforms to that identified by Hasenohr for the French manuscripts to some extent, it will also show that the insular picture is one of variety, experimentation, and change both across the corpus and, often, within individual codices.

In her brief survey of tables of contents in continental French vernacular manuscripts, Hasenohr (1990: 277–79) states: 'il importe de distinguer entre tables générales, embrassant le contenu du volume dans sa totalité, et tables individuelles spécifiques de chaque oeuvre' [it is important to distinguish between general tables, which cover the complete contents of a volume, and individual tables relating specifically to each work]. I propose to apply and develop this distinction in relation to English examples. I will use the term *codex-specific table* for tables that are specific to a particular physical codex and the term *non-codex-specific table* for those that could be reproduced in any number of copies of a text regardless of the number and size of the folios in the manuscript in which it is copied.

Many examples of texts with 'built-in', non-codex-specific tables of contents are fifteenth-century religious treatises in Middle English prose. A striking example is the fifteenth-century *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, also known as *Fervor Amoris*, a text much indebted to the mystical works of Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, all of whose complete-text manuscripts have the same complex apparatus of a 'kalender' at the opening of the manuscript in which chapter headings are listed in order and given a letter of the alphabet.[9] Location of chapters in the work is facilitated by corresponding rubrics that provide the letter and heading. Gillespie (2011: 141) suggests that the organisation and apparatus are original with the author. Connolly (2008: 265) draws a parallel with Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. The table in Love's *Mirror* presents the division of the text into days; each day is followed by the chapter

8 Hasenohr divides finding-aids into three categories: 'Lettrines, rubriques, titres courants' [initials, rubrics, running heads]; 'tables des matières' [tables of contents]; and tools to assist consultation of volumes that are structured according to some rational or formal principle, such as indexes, concordances, and directories. For her typology of tables, see below.

9 This statement about the manuscript transmission is based on the critical edition (Connolly (ed.) 1993).

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headings for that day, though the chapters are numbered sequentially throughout. Along the same lines, though somewhat simpler, structurally, is the *Chastising of God's Children*, whose material – much of it compiled from earlier devotional treatises such as *Ancrene Riwle* – is ordered into twenty-seven chapters that are tabulated at the beginning of the text (Bazire and Colledge (eds) 1957: 91–94). There is space here for only one more example. In the *Orcherd of Syon*, a Middle English translation of *The Dialogue* by Catherine of Siena made for Bridgettine nuns at Syon Abbey not long after 1420 (the date of the first professions at Syon),[10] the translator has provided the text with a complex and extensive prefatory apparatus comprising two prologues and a 'kalender'. The calendar brings together all of the rubrics of each chapter to comprise a chapter-by-chapter summary. Location of the material in the text is facilitated by the numbering of parts and chapters.

Practical books from the period are also commonly equipped with tables of contents and some systems are specific to the text rather than the codex. Cross-reference from table to text is facilitated by running item numbers in roman numerals in the *Forme of Cury*, a later fourteenth-century collection of culinary recipes in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 7. The 144 items are clearly listed in a spacious table on folios 1^{r} to 11^{v}, each item being locatable in the text by means of a corresponding roman numeral in the margin. A similar system of running numbers applies in Manchester, John Rylands Library, Chetham's MS Mun.A.3.127, a later fifteenth-century collection of medical recipes. The running number system in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 404, another collection of medical recipes, was employed with less success; the final folio of the table (fol. 3^{r}) exhibits several attempts at correction, for example the insertion of omitted items.

Scholars have related these practices to the scholastic traditions of ordering and finding material studied by Rouse and Rouse, and Parkes. Gillespie has used some examples of the application of apparatus to Middle English devotional and pastoral works as evidence for the reading process associated with such works, noting that the apparatus 'acquires its philosophy and practice from the application of formal scholastic techniques to the vernacular book' (2011: 137). Dutton (2008: 42–43) argues that Julian of Norwich applied Kilwardby's method of organising and summarising patristic writings in the long version of her *Revelations*. Providing an overview of 'practical books for the gentleman', Keiser notes that 'in later medieval England, even scribes without clerical education were regularly incorporating finding-devices developed by scholars and preachers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – and were superimposing them in books previously copied without such devices' (1999: 475; cf. Keiser 1995).

10 See Hodgson and Liegey (eds) 1996: vi–vii.

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Codex-specific tables may superficially appear similar to their non-codex-specific cousins but they are entirely different in their operation and, I suggest, their relation with the history and processes of book production. Their use may also be distinct. Codex-specific tables are very varied in terms of comprehensiveness and ease of use. They may be selective according to some overt or implicit principle. Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1, a large multilingual (Anglo-Norman, French, Middle English, Latin) miscellany of pious and scientific material made *c.* 1330, includes a table of contents copied by the scribe of the rest of the volume.[11] The table is selective. Its rubric reads 'En iceste liure contienent tauntz de Romances cu*m* ci apres sunt nottez [?] et escritz' (fol. 6^{r}) [In this book are contained as many vernacular works as are hereafter recorded and listed]. The table carefully distinguishes material 'en engleis' [in English] (e.g. 'Liure de la passioun nostre seignur ih*es*u crist en engleis') from that 'en fraunceis' [in French] (e.g. 'Pater noster en fraunceis') and, it appears, from that 'en romance' [in the vernacular] (e.g. 'Credo in deu*m* en romance'), but omits entirely the texts in Latin. London, British Library, MS Harley 273 is an early fourteenth-century multilingual (Anglo-Norman, Latin, Middle English) miscellany that includes a psalter, prayers, a chronicle, and medical recipes. A fifteenth-century hand has added a rudimentary table of contents. This is simply a list of ten items with the incipit 'In isto lib*ro con*tine*ntur*' (fol. 217^{v}) [In this book are contained].[12] Similarly rudimentary is the table of contents of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 669*/646, a collection of Pseudo-Bonaventuran and Rollean material. This table lists the 'bokys' [books] in the codex, giving the count of chapters of one of the works and its language; briefer items are not listed at all (see Perry 2010). At the opposite end of the spectrum is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, the massive later fourteenth-century compilation of Middle English religious prose and verse known as the Vernon manuscript. The first quire contains five three-column pages of rubrics (fols i^{r}, col. a – iii^{r}, col. b, modern foliation). The table varies in its provision according to the variation in the density of rubrics in given texts. Some items are omitted altogether.[13]

Modes of reference in codex-specific tables vary considerably, ranging from the rudimentary to the elaborate and experimental. What unites the methods, however, is that they all refer to the physical codex in which the table is found. The most basic system uses item order; the table lists contents in the order in which they appear in the codex. In CUL, Gg.1.1 the texts are listed in the order in which they appear in the manuscript and no other means of finding them is provided. In

11 CUL, Gg.1.1 is the subject of Thea Summerfield's essay in the present volume.
12 A post-medieval hand has added 'Contenta in isto volumine om*n*ia inedita'.
13 Some omissions appear to relate to lack of access to all of the material rather than selectivity on the part of the compiler. For a detailed analysis, see Scase 2013.

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Harley 273 no means of locating the contents in the codex is provided apart from order, with the exception of an added title for the first item: 'The savter in french' (fol. 1v*). The reader of Gonville and Caius, 669*/646 has only the order of the list and the rubrics to help him or her locate the items in the codex. Shirley's calendar in London, British Library, Additional MS 16165, uses order of items supported by running heads in the volume.

A clear advance on the use of item order and rubric or even order and running heads is that of numbering leaves. Examples become frequent in the fifteenth century, suggesting that Hasenohr's observation that in continental French manuscripts cross-reference by use of folio numbers is a rare and late development may also apply to insular vernacular manuscripts. A fifteenth-century collection of Middle English sermons in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS English 109 uses folio numbers in its table of contents (fols 1r–2v). The leaves of the sermons are numbered in arabic numerals preceded by 'fo.' on the top right of the recto. London, British Library, Additional MS 33381, a composite manuscript of mainly Latin and some Middle English religious material, has been foliated in arabic numerals in a fifteenth-century hand and a corresponding table of contents for the whole volume supplied (fols 10v–11r, modern foliation): 'In isto libro co*n*tinetur subscripta' (fol. 10v) [In this book are contained the following items].

An alternative to the system of numbering leaves with a running number was that of numbering book openings. The Vernon manuscript uses roman numerals placed on the top left of versos. It is clear from the table of contents that the numbers refer to book openings rather than folios. It is hard to find parallels for this system. London, British Library, Additional MS 22283, commonly called the Simeon manuscript, has roman numerals at the top left of the left-hand page of the opening and since it was evidently made in close relation with Vernon may have shared its mode of reference to contents. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain as the manuscript is fragmentary and we do not know if it had a table of contents. Other examples of the system of numbering book openings are found in some of the manuscripts of continental provenance described by Hasenohr (1990). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 17115, a thirteenth-century compendium of French religious texts, opens with a comprehensive table of rubrics (fols 1r–3v), each being followed by the number of the opening on which the text begins, in roman numerals. All rubrics appearing on the same opening are bracketed in the table. Within the text, the opening numbers are written in the middle of the top margin of the rectos, again in roman numerals. Running heads also assist the finding of material. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 17177, a thirteenth-century manuscript of largely historical material, has an extensive double-column table of rubrics on folios 1 to 12. Again the numbering (in roman numerals, placed top right of the rectos) refers to openings. Opening numbers are also used in part of a com-

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pendium of Middle Dutch didactic and religious texts, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 E 5, which was probably made in or near Brussels *c.* 1374. Here the system applies to the first item only, the *Dietsche Doctrinale*, a translation of *De amore et dilectione Dei* by Albertano of Brescia. As with BnF, f. fr. 17115, rubrics that appear on the same opening are bracketed.[14] It is possible that examples of numbering by opening have been overlooked, since only careful comparison with a table can enable one to distinguish it from folio numbering. The increase in the number of online digital surrogates may serve to hasten identification of manuscripts using this system.[15] Thomas Fayreford's medical miscellany, London, British Library, MS Harley 2558, compiled in the fifteenth century, uses both book opening numbers and folio numbers in its table on folio 12^r–12^v.[16] Having two competing systems running simultaneously – whether in one codex or generally in the books available to a reading community – of course was a recipe for confusion, but it is not clear why the system of folio numbers came to prevail over that of the numbering of book openings.

Although they are very varied, and although they overlap in some ways, the two types of table, as we have seen, vary fundamentally in their relation with the codex. Codex-specific tables generally relate to manuscripts that contain more than one work and they seek to offer a conspectus of and finding aids for the items in a volume. It is notable that texts with non-codex-specific tables may be the only item in a codex.[17] The non-codex-specific system worked best when the work of which it was a part was the only item in a codex; once there was more than one such work and system in a codex there was the risk of confusion. The problem of two confusable sequences of chapter numbers in one codex of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* is solved in London, British Library, MS Harley 6579, a manuscript containing Books One and Two, by the provision of a tab that protrudes from the fore-edge of the leaf on which the second book begins.[18] Where a work with an internal system of reference is included in a multi-text codex, the problem of confusion could also be avoided to some extent by the placing of the text-specific table at the beginning of the work to which it refers. For example, Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* Book One and *Epistle of Mixed Life* in the Vernon manuscript are

14 I am indebted to Renée Gabriël for this information. On this manuscript, see also the essay by Bart Besamusca in the present volume. See p. 44 for an image of fol. II^v.

15 But only if digitisers refrain from the common practice of omitting the edges of leaves, and hence potential evidence for numbering systems, from their scans.

16 The opening numbers refer to folios 72–75; after folio 75 folio numbers are used. The opening numbers are in roman numerals on the top right of the rectos.

17 For example, Michael Sargent ((ed.) 1992: lxxvi) notes that the standard presentation of Love's *Mirror* is a manuscript with no other contents and with the text preceded by a table of contents.

18 In this example, the table of chapter summaries and numbers occurs at the end of the codex, on folios 141–143.

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immediately preceded by their own tables of chapter headings and numbers. The table of contents for the whole codex selectively records the rubrics under the appropriate book opening numbers.[19] There are other examples of hybrid systems. London, British Library, MS Harley 629, a later fifteenth-century luxury manuscript of the *Life of Our Lady* by John Lydgate, has a comprehensive table of contents.[20] Like the texts discussed above, the table of contents includes chapter headings numbered in roman numerals. Location of the headings in the codex is assisted by the provision of the titles and their numbers in rubrics. The apparatus is therefore comparable with the apparatus that is internal to a work. There is, however, some overlap with codex-specific methods: location of chapter numbers is assisted by running heads. The tabulation of contents in CUL, Gg.1.1 is rather less successful in combining several systems. Some of the texts listed in the codex-specific table of contents on folio 6^{r} have their own contents lists. That for the *Lumière as lais* is a list of numbered chapters and chapter headings (fols 1^{r}–5^{v}). The text of the *Lumière* proper, however, does not begin until folio 21^{v}, while several texts intervene between the chapter list and the text, including the codex-specific table in which the text is listed. *L'Image du Monde* also has a list of part and chapter numbers, and contents, though in this case it directly precedes the text (fol. 346^{r}–346^{v}). The numbering of the parts and chapters of this text is not, however, carried over to the rubrics that appear in the text.

It is possible, I suggest, that the two different systems of tabulation developed in symbiotic relation with developments in book production. While the non-codex-specific table is demonstrably an exponent of the scholastic methods associated with *ordinatio* and *compilatio* and the rearrangement of material to permit easy retrieval of information, the codex-specific table is closely related to the problems posed for readers by the multi-text codex, where the selection of texts and the order of items could be – and often were, to judge from numerous surviving examples – entirely arbitrary.[21] I shall develop this suggestion in the next section.

19 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols iii^{r}, 343^{r}, 353^{v} (modern foliation).

20 For a survey of textual divisions and corresponding finding apparatus in manuscripts of this work see Keiser 1995.

21 For attempts to develop methods of discerning organisational principles in Middle English multi-text volumes, see for example Nichols and Wenzel 1996 and Hardman (ed.) 2003. Hasenohr (1990: 279) notes in passing that 'tables générales' became proportionally less common in fifteenth-century French manuscripts when the number of manuscripts being produced increased and the number of 'recueils composites' decreased, but she does not pursue this connection.

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II. Tables of Contents, Production Processes, and Reading Practices

Both codex-specific and non-codex-specific tables have much of value to tell us about the production and reception of the manuscript books in which they appear. When we analyse tables in relation to production processes and reading practices, moreover, we can in some cases glimpse the development of systems and the ways in which readers and scribes have engaged with fluid and sometimes competing systems. The textual divisions of the *Orcherd of Syon* text in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 162 do not correspond with the calendar: the text has 170 chapters numbered consecutively whereas the calendar refers to seven parts each of five chapters. Either this represents an earlier version of the system of reference or, suggest the editors, a later scribal improvement (Denise 1958: 277–78; Hodgson and Liegey (eds) 1996: viii). The tradition for Nicholas Love's *Mirror* also reveals, perhaps, an ongoing process of compilation and structuring. In translating and adapting the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* for English-reading audiences, Love transformed quite considerably the chapter and days of the week structure of his source (Sargent (ed.) 1992: xxx–xliv). However, despite Sargent's assertion that this is the standard format, six manuscripts out of forty lack the fore-matter that tabulates the new structure.[22]

While collation of manuscripts of works with non-codex-specific tables can yield glimpses of ongoing processes of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, close examination of codices with codex-specific apparatus has as much if not more to yield, for while the non-codex-specific apparatus provides evidence of transmission, the codex-specific apparatus provides information about the production history of the codex in which it appears. For practical reasons, a codex-specific table of contents could not be made until, at the earliest, late in the process of production of a manuscript, once the contents had been assembled and the order of quires determined and, for systems using folio or book opening numbers, once numbering had been carried out, at least in draft. The creation of tables and the application of referencing systems could, however, occur much later than the copying of the texts. BL, Add. 33381 appears to have acquired its table of contents when it was compiled from earlier materials in the fifteenth century: the hand that copies the table of contents on folio 13^{r}–13^{v} also provides in-text rubrics and catchwords to determine the order of assembly of the quires.[23] The table in early

22 See the list and brief descriptions in Sargent (ed.) 1992: lxxii–lxxxv. In my count I have disregarded eight fragments and eight acephalous manuscripts.

23 For example compare the rubric 'Incipiunt meditaciones' (fol. 42^{v}) with the catchword on fol. 42^{v}; the hand of the meditations text is earlier.

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fourteenth-century Harley 273 dates from the fifteenth century.[24] The hand that numbered the saints in the table of contents of the fifteenth-century *South English Legendary* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 463 and numbered the leaves, also in arabic numerals, is considerably later than that of the text – perhaps as late as the seventeenth century.

The examples discussed in the previous paragraph are all what we might call closed systems; they were devised to accommodate the material to hand and the needs of a user or users with known needs, whether close to the time of production or at any time afterwards in its reception history. Open-ended systems are rather different: they were devised to enable the work of compilation and access to information to continue. The properties of an open-ended system can reveal much about the process, sequence, and purposes of the collection and compilation of material, as well as the changing needs of successive compilers and users. For example, a table in Thomas Fayreford's medical miscellany was designed to accommodate an open-ended process of acquisition and copying of material (fol. 12^{r}). Items added as fillers are added to the table of contents out of sequence and the open system of tabulation can reveal the sequence of additions.

Their physical properties often suggest that tables were produced separately from the main production processes. The table at the end of Harley 273 appears to be on a singleton as does that at the beginning of Bod. Lib., Laud Misc. 463 (fol. 1).[25] There are examples of tables copied on bifolia separately from the main production campaign. In the Shirley manuscript, BL, Add. 16165, the text is on paper (apart from one leaf at the end of the volume), but the calendar is on a vellum bifolium, whose leaves are of smaller size than the paper leaves (fols 2–3). Possibly Shirley's other calendar, copied by Stow, was similar: notably both of Shirley's calendars have 104 lines, a length possibly designed to fit neatly on a bifolium.[26] Some tables have quires to themselves. The extensive table of contents that opens the Vernon manuscript is in its own quire, as is the table of sermons at the beginning of John Rylands, Eng. 109. Both the Vernon and the John Rylands, Eng. 109 examples are in different hands from the main text, also indicating that

24 Part of this manuscript was copied by the earlier fourteenth-century scribe responsible for London, British Library, MS Harley 2253.

25 The binding is too tight for us to be absolutely sure.

26 The pages in BL, Add. 16165 vary in numbers of lines; folio 255 (a balade) has 38, folio 256^{r} (a stanza, an envoy, and a quatrain) has 20 plus two headings: Shirley appears to vary the *mise-en-page* according to the material to be copied. The position of the calendar in Stow's exemplar and its function there are not absolutely certain as the exemplar has been dismembered and is now in three parts: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS Sion College Arc.L.40.2/E.44; and London, British Library, MS Harley 78, fols 80^{r}–83^{v} (see Connolly 1998: 69–101); these parts do not include the calendar. Stow heads the piece 'Kalendare of John Shirley w*hich* he sett in y*e* beginninge of his booke' (BL, Add. 29729, fol. 177^{v}).

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the tables were produced separately from the main production process. It is possible that tables were written on separate leaves or quires rather than on leaves set aside for the purpose as part of the main production campaign because they were sometimes designed to be used as separate hand-lists rather than bound into the codex to which they refer. The incipit of the Vernon table specifies the name of the book for which it provides the titles, a statement that would be unnecessary if the table was meant to be bound into the codex.

Surprisingly, the practice of separate production of tables even occurs in examples of non-codex-specific tables, such as the calendar in the copy of the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* in London, British Library, MS Sloane 1859, which occurs on a singleton (fol. 1ʳ).[27] It is clear too from overlaps that the chapter titles and letters in the text were applied after the text was copied and decorated.[28] Similarly suggestive of later, separate production, the leaves used for the table in the *Scale* manuscript, London, British Library, MS Harley 6579 are smaller than those of the main text and the hand also (fols 141–143). It is hard to know how to explain separate production of tables that were apparently integral to their texts. Possibly the apparatus was not as uniformly integral as we might think, and scribes had to procure other exemplars to supply it on occasions. Or perhaps a continued tendency to regard tables in the tradition of the scholastic *tabula* dictated this production method. Parkes (1991: 62) gives examples of the earlier scholastic practice of compiling tables separately from the works to which they referred and Hasenohr (1990: 280) notes that tables in French manuscripts can be in separate quires, both general tables and tables for individual works. This practice may be linked with the phenomenon, observed by Richard and Mary Rouse (2011), of the transmission of rubrics as independent lists, sometimes on rolls.[29]

As we have already seen, manuscripts can contain various systems of tabulation and reference. A variety of systems within a codex may indicate a succession of experiments and perhaps changing challenges and needs. In the margin beside the first few lines of Shirley's autograph calendar in BL, Add. 16165, a slightly later hand has supplied a rather more practical list of contents. Neither rhyming nor including other information, this list serves the user who just wants to know what texts are to be found in the volume: 'Boicius [Boethius] in p*ro*se / Of Nichodeme / Þe mastre of þe game / Þe dreme for lovers / Þe Ruyle of preestis / Þe compleynt of a lover /Þe compleynte of anelida / It*e*m XII oþer litel balades / complaintes *and* Rou*n*delles' (fol. 1ʳ). Medical manuscripts are

27 The manuscript is bound too tightly to see the quire divisions but they can be deduced from the catchwords.

28 For example, the heading for 'P*ar*fite love' overlaps decorative penwork on folio 21ᵛ.

29 I am grateful to Karen Pratt for drawing this essay to my attention.

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particularly good examples of codices that lay bare the problems of organisation and information retrieval collectors of medical texts faced and the varying solutions they adopted. London, British Library, MS Harley 2347 is a very well-used little collection of Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English medical material of various dates from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Several works have been prefaced by tables that summarise their contents and use arabic running numbers as finding aids (e. g. the 'tabula' on fol. 27 refers to fols 28–43). It looks as if many readers have attempted to organise the material in the fifteenth-century Latin and Middle English medical manuscript London, British Library, MS Harley 2380. A double-column table of rubrics on folios 1^{r} to 5^{v} has had its paraph marks overwritten with arabic numerals by a later hand. Arabic numbers in the text do not however clearly relate to this system. Elsewhere marginal notes are used to locate material on particular subjects (e. g. 'oculus', fol. 65^{r}). Remedies for fistula are numbered 1 to 6 on folio 66^{r}.

While we can infer the backgrounds and changing needs and priorities of compilers and users from systems of tabulation of contents, in some cases indications of these are provided by meta-textual evidence. Metatext ranges from the technical vocabulary used to refer to tables to, in some cases, lengthy user instructions. Terms used for tables include: *calendar* (e. g. *Contemplations on the Dread and Love of God* in Sloane 1859, fol. 1^{r} and Shirley and Stow, BL, Add. 29729, fol. 177^{v}); *tabula* (e. g. Harley 273, fol. 217^{v} and John Rylands, Eng. 7, fol. 11^{v}); *tituli capitulorum* (e. g. BL, Add. 33381, fol. 13^{r}, and the Middle English *tytles* in the Vernon manuscript, fol. i^{r} and in the *Chastising of God's Children*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 41, fol. 136^{v}), and *rubriche* in the *Scale* manuscript, Harley 6579 (fol. 141^{r}). Some of the terms used for tables are suggestive of the cultural relations of the practices in vernacular manuscripts. They are not unequivocally scholastic. *Kalender* is attested in the meaning 'table of contents' in two fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman texts; essentially it denotes a list.[30] *Titles / tituli* may be associated with captions for images as well as referring to brief summaries of a text (Scase 2013: 119).

Headings can be extremely laconic, for example 'Tabula' in Harley 2347 (fol. 27^{r}–27^{v}), and 'in isto lib*ro* *con*tine*ntur*' in Harley 273 (fol. 217^{v}). We might infer from metatext of this kind that the apparatus was provided by a compiler or reader (and the two functions overlap as should be clear from previous discussion) for their own use or for readers already accustomed to systems of information retrieval. Other manuscripts include discursive instructions that suggest an expectation of use by less experienced readers and anticipation of their needs. The codex which lay readers were more likely to encounter than any other, the Book of Hours, was not customarily furnished with a table of contents.

30 See the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* n. d.

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The reading practices associated with *horae* were such that tables were not required. Users of books of hours relied on images, and no doubt on personal familiarity with a codex, to navigate its contents.[31] Many readers of the vernacular multi-text codex therefore were perhaps unfamiliar with navigation apparatus. Compilers and copyists evidently felt that there was a need to provide guidance on the use of apparatus. The continental French examples are particularly user-friendly. The table in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 19271 is headed: 'Cy comence la table des liures q*ui* so*n*t contenuz en cest volume. Et come*n*t on trouu*er*a le comme*n*cemens de chascun liures par les feuilles qui so*n*t nombrez' (fol. 1r) [Here begins the table of the books that are contained in this volume. And how one will find the beginnings of each of the books by the leaves that are numbered]. That in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 444, a fifteenth-century devotional manuscript, prefaces its extensive table of contents with a detailed explanation of how it should be used: 'Par ceste table cy pourrez vous trouuez [*sic*] en general toutes les choses qui sont contenues en cestuy liure ainsi co*m*me elles sont mises en ordre de degre en degre selon le nombre que vous trouuerez icy et ou liure par tout' (fol. 1r) [By this table here you can find in general all the things that are contained in this book thus, as they are arranged step by step according to the number which you will find here and throughout in the book].[32]

Some insular manuscripts take similar opportunities to instruct the reader, and close reading of headings suggests that they often offer guidance on the relation between the table and the text that takes into account whether the table is specific to the codex or just to a text. After the end of the *tabula* in a *Forme of Cury* comes a statement that explains the relationship between the material in the table and that in the main text: 'Þys table conteneþ in noumbre of dyuers potages [stews] and dyu*er*se met*us* [dishes] and soteltees [culinary delights]: an hundret foure score *and* fourtene . *and* here sewyng [following] þe fourme of the ensaumple telleþ how a man schal make he*m*' (John Rylands, Eng. 7, fol. 11v). A heading to the table of contents in the medical compilation John Rylands, Chetham's Mun.A.3.127 (fol. 2r), explains that this is a general list of contents for all of the items in the codex organised in descending order, beginning with the head. *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* explains that the letters cross-

31 Cf. Rudy 2010: n. p. 'Readers did not read their books from cover to cover, but rather read individual texts. Books of hours were not foliated or paginated, and readers found their desired text with the help of the decoration, which marks the beginnings of new texts.' For an excellent survey, see Wieck 2005. Morgan (2008: 306) notes that the Book of Hours had become 'the most common prayer book of the laity' by 1400. Duffy (2006: 4) describes it as 'the most popular book of the late Middle Ages'.

32 Manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France mentioned in this essay can be consulted at gallica.bnf.fr except for fr. 19271.

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refer from the table of chapter headings to the *following* text: '[T]his shorte pistel that folowith is diuidid in sondry maters and eu*er*yche mater by himselfe in titles as this kalender shewith with dyuers letto*ur*s in þe maner of a table' (Sloane 1859, fol. 1ʳ). The incipit to the table in *Chastising of God's Children* also makes the relation of table and text clear: 'Heere bigynneþ þe kalendar eiþer þe table of chapitels of þis tretys heere aftis suyng' (Bazire and Colledge (eds) 1957: 91). The translator of the *Orcherd of Syon* takes the opportunity of two prologues, one before and one after the calendar, to explain how the table of chapter summaries works. In the first he explains that the organisation of the text into seven parts, each with five chapters, is his own and he allegorises the table as a plan of a 'fruytful orcherd' (i.e. the text) in which the thirty-five chapters are likened to thirty-five 'aleyes' (paths): 'in maner of a kalender here I wole schewe ȝou [you] now þe ordenaunce of þis orcherd' (Hodgson and Liegey (eds) 1996: 1). The prologue that follows the calendar elaborates: 'Lo, sustren [sisters], I haue schewid ȝou what ympis [grafted trees] & trees I haue founde and gaderid [gathered] to plaunte & sette in ȝoure [your] goostly [spiritual] orcherd' (Hodgson and Liegey (eds) 1996: 16). The in-text chapter headings in the *Orcherd of Syon* regularly remind the reader of the relation of the text and its headings to the calendar, referring the reader back to the calendar for further information (e.g. the in-text heading for part 2, chapter 4, finishes 'and so forþ of oþire synnes [other sins], as is maad mencyon tofore [mentioned previously] in the kalendar', Hodgson and Liegey (eds) 1996: 80). Guidance of this kind, whether in relation to codex-specific or non-codex-specific tables, shows awareness of the availability of two different systems and the confusion this might cause for the inexperienced reader.

As we have seen, John Shirley used the form of the table of contents at least twice in the course of his book production: we have the calendar from BL, Add. 29729, in Stow's hand, paraphrased at the beginning of this essay, and a second calendar in the autograph manuscript BL, Add. 16165 (fols iiʳ–iiiᵛ). Connolly (1998: 28) observes that the calendar in BL, Add. 16165 serves to give an appearance of unity and coherent planning to a codex that 'does not seem to have been devised as a single volume at all'. While it is possible to view Shirley as a compiler, attempting to order his material according to the scholarly principles of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, I would argue that Shirley's calendars are also elegantly aware of the features of the codex-specific table and its function in a multi-text codex. Shirley spells out the principle of finding by list order: 'ffirst þus by ordre [first thus in order] shul ye fynde / Of Boece [Boethius] þe hole [whole] translacyoun … Þe passyoun þanne of Nichodeme [then the passion of Nichodemus] … Þanne filoweþe nexst [then follows next] as in wryting / Þe notablest story of huntyng' and so on (fol. 1ʳ–1ᵛ). The calendar in Stow's hand (BL, Add. 29729, fols 177ᵛ–178ᵛ), quoted at the head of the present essay, is com-

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parable. Shirley notes the languages of the texts included, famously adding more detail about the circumstances of production of the texts (e.g. ‘þe liff’ [life; ‘of’ cancelled] also of sainte margarete … daune John [i.e. Lydgate] hath it to translate / at þe request now but late [recent request] / of my lady of huntyngeton’, fol. 178r). His calendars too, like other tables in multi-text codices, refer to the codices in which they appear as physical objects. For example, in addition to listing the contents in the order they appear in BL, Add. 16165 he refers to his role in the writing and binding of the book (‘Þis litell booke with myn hande / Wryten I haue ye shul vnderstande … And doon it bynde [had it bound] In þis volume’, fol. 1r) and he anticipates its reception and hopes for its return by readers (‘And whane [inserted with caret mark] ye haue þis booke ouerlooked / Þe right lynes with þe crooked [the straight lines and the crooked ones] … Thankeþe þAuctoures [thank the authors] … And þe wryter [the scribe] for his distresse / Whiche besechiþe [who beseeches] youre gentylesse [your courtesy] / Þat ye sende þis booke ageyne / Hoome to Shirley …’, fol. 3v). In these ways, Shirley’s calendars speak eloquently to the utility of the codex-specific table for both readers and copyists of Middle English multi-text manuscripts.

Conclusion

I have argued that later medieval authors, book producers, and readers had available to them two formally and functionally distinct systems of tabulation of contents. I have suggested that, while one type is clearly related to changing scholastic needs associated with the study of scripture, the other type is intrinsically related to the multi-text codex. The scholarly apparatus associated with *ordinatio* and *compilatio* was not appropriate to the disparate contents of multi-text manuscripts and the reading practices associated with them. The scholastic non-codex-specific table is not the source of the codex-specific table but its competing and confusing sibling. A further explanatory context emerges from the discussion above. To understand the emergence of and demand for the codex-specific table we may also need to see it in relation to the challenges of the multi-text codex as a book increasingly available to readers outside the library and lecture hall. Their reading experience is likely to have been shaped by a very different multi-text codex: the Book of Hours. The widespread lay experience of Books of Hours would have familiarised readers with the reading strategies appropriate to *horae:* navigation by image, by liturgical or paraliturgical order, and by following well-worn paths, made familiar by constant repetition that

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could even modify the material of the codex and its behaviour.[33] These practices would have been found hardly adequate to the diverse and unpredictable contents of the unfamiliar, but increasingly common, vernacular multi-text codices. The needs of the late medieval lay reader of the multi-text manuscript should be considered a possible shaping force and motivating factor when we investigate the history of the table of contents.

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33 For example, the discolouring of particularly well-used pages or loosening of the binding at well-loved openings; see Rudy 2010.

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London, British Library, MS Harley 913 and Colonial Ireland in the Early Fourteenth Century

London, British Library, MS Harley 913 is a small manuscript of 64 folios written in Ireland probably between 1330 and 1342. It is trilingual: seventeen texts are in English, thirty in Latin, one in French and two are macaronic. It is of Franciscan origin: some of it appears to have been written in Kildare and some in Waterford. Its contents are miscellaneous, but mainly religious, moral or satirical – and some of the satire is directed at religious institutions. Some of the items can be found in contemporary manuscripts of English provenance, and perhaps originated in England, but many texts are unique to this manuscript and comment, sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, on problems and tensions in the English controlled pale. This essay argues that this manuscript is especially valuable because it constitutes an unofficial report from a frontier area where the control of the occupying English was fragile and contested.

I

London, British Library, MS Harley 913 is a small trilingual parchment manuscript measuring about 160 mm by 95 mm, though the pages vary a little in size. It has 64 folios and now contains 48 items in prose and verse (Wanley 1819: 117–18). Originally it was larger: in 1608 Sir James Ware, the Irish antiquary, copied eleven items from what he called 'a smale olde booke in parchment called the booke of Rosse or of Waterford', which is this manuscript, into what is now London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 418 (fols 85^{r}–95^{v}). He copied 'ye first staffe [stanza] only' of what he called 'a long discourse in meter' beginning 'Yung men of Waterford', but this poem and another four items are not now in Harley 913. How and why these items were lost is not known, but they must have been lost between 1608 when Ware made his transcriptions and 1697 when the contents of the manuscript were listed in E. Bernard's *Catologi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae:* all four were in Latin, two in prose and two in verse (Heuser (ed.) 1965: 8–11).

Ware was interested in the manuscript because it was Irish, and about its date and general provenance there can be little doubt (Bliss and Long 1987: 708–36;

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Dolan 1991: 141–70). On folios 9^{r}–10^{r} appears a prayer, whose author identifies himself, hoping for divine benefits, in the final stanza:

> This sang wroght a frere menour,
> Iesus Crist be is socure!
> Louered, bring him to the toure –
> Frere Michel Kyldare;
> Schild him fram helle boure,
> Whan he sal hen fare! (141–46)[1]

> [A friar minor made this song. May Jesus Christ help him! Lord, bring him to the tower of heaven – Friar Michael of Kildare – and shield him from the enclosure of hell, when he goes away from here (dies)].[2]

He was evidently from the Gray Abbey, the now ruined Franciscan house in Kildare. On folios 50^{r}–51^{v} appears an English elegy for Piers of Bermingham, an Anglo-Irish warlord, who is said to have died on 13 April 1308, and who was responsible for an appalling massacre on Trinity Sunday 1305 in his, now ruined, castle at Carrick (County Kildare). Another poem, in French, preserved in a disorderly form between folios 54^{r} and 64^{v}, refers to the entrenchment of New Ross in 1265. A verse satire in English on folios 7^{r}–8^{v} refers to Drogheda and, as has been seen, one of the lost items referred to Waterford. The dates already mentioned are confirmed by other items. On folio 57^{v} appears a *Meditacio de Corpore Christi*, attributed to John Pecham, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, and on folios 24^{v}–25^{r} appears a *Narratio Theobaldi Episcopi Assissinatis*, by Theobaldus da Ponte, who was Bishop of Assisi from 1291 to 1319. But a later date is suggested by some ornately alliterative French proverbs on folio 15^{v}. One set plays on the letter *f*, beginning with: 'Folie fet qe en force s'afie', 'fortune fet force failire' [He behaves foolishly who puts his trust in force, Fortune makes force fail]. Then comes a description of the verses and an attribution: 'Proverbie comitis desmonie'[Proverbs of the Earl of Desmond]. Then more verses playing on the letter *s:*

> Soule su, simple, e saunz solas,
> Seignury me somount sojorner,
> Si suppris sei de moune solas,
> Sages se deit soul solacer.
> Soule ne solai sojorner,
> Ne solein estre de petit solas.
> Sovereyn se est de se solacer,
> Qe se sent soule e saunz solas. (Bliss and Long 1987: 719)

1 The prayer is quoted from Lucas (ed.) 1995: 66–73. For a new edition of all the poetry in the manuscript, published since this essay was completed, see Turville-Petre 2015.

2 All translations are mine.

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> [I am alone, simple, and without comfort; lordship bids me remain so that I am cut off from my comfort. A wise man should seek his comfort in himself. I am not accustomed to remaining alone, nor being morose with little comfort. The best thing is to comfort oneself, for whoever feels himself to be alone and without comfort.]

Though technically only the first set of verses are attributed, both sets are almost certainly by Maurice fitz Thomas, who was created first Earl of Desmond in 1329 and who was referred to disparagingly by his enemy Arnold le Poer as a 'rymer' (Bliss and Long 1987: 720). The unease about his predicament in the second line of this – the fact that he has to remain in Ireland because of orders from a higher authority – was not a trivial fear: in 1331 he was imprisoned first in Limerick and then in Dublin Castle (Bliss and Long 1987: 720). But some parts of the manuscript must have been written later than this. On folios 41^r–42^r appears a list of Franciscan houses with the rubric 'Ennumeratio Custodiarum Locorumque sive Monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Francisci et Sanctae Clarae' and Alan J. Fletcher has recently shown that this must have been compiled between 1338–42 (Fletcher 2010: 306–10).

So it looks as though Harley 913 was put together in Ireland, perhaps over a number of years, around 1330–1342, which is consistent with the palaeographical evidence of the script. In its original form it may have been a set of small unbound booklets (Lucas and Lucas 1990: 286–99). It is very much a manuscript from the English colony, the eastern side of the island controlled by the English: the place-names and personal names are all indicative of this. But so too is its linguistic configuration: the languages of the texts are those of the English colony and the larger towns – Latin, French and English. Edmund Curtis summarizes the situation at this period: 'For a couple of centuries after the conquest [the Anglo-Norman conquest of 1169] French was the polite language, the language of commerce and civic government. Thus if we take the statutes and ordinances of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick and Galway, we find French and Latin used at first, then from 1365 onwards Latin and English. Irish, however much it might be heard in the streets, was never an official language in these towns. English was the common and best known tongue…' (Curtis 2008: 304). But by the fourteenth century the English were worried by the increasing 'hibernicisation' of the inhabitants of the English colony and in the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) the use of the Irish language was forbidden to the English living in Leinster and Munster, as was the adoption of Irish fashions of dress and styles of riding – though the act did not work in the long term and was repealed in 1495 by Edward Poynings. But Harley 913 represents the official linguistic situation in the English colony in the earlier part of the fourteenth century. Though it is a multi-lingual miscellany, there are no texts in Irish in the manuscript and only four Irish loan-words have been identified in the English texts: 'corrin' (Ir. *coirín* = can, pot), 'eri' (Ir. *éraic* =

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compensation), 'tromchery' (Ir. tromchroi = liver) and 'ketherin' (Ir. *ceithearn* = band of soldiers). There may be a fifth, 'russin' (Ir. roisín = lunch, light snack), but though here used in an Irish context, this word may ultimately be of English origin. And this may perhaps seem a little odd because this is a Franciscan manuscript and the mendicant orders were frequently said to favour the native language and spread dissent against the English by means of this: a papal mandate of 1317 enjoined the Irish archbishops to order mendicants to cease stirring up the people of Ireland to resist the king's authority (Cotter 1994: 37–43; Ó Clabaigh 2010: 156–57). But there is no sign of this in Harley 913.

The evidence for the Franciscan origins of Harley 913 is overwhelming, though where exactly it was produced is a more difficult question. The list of Franciscan houses on folios 41^{r}–42^{r}, already referred to, begins with the Irish provinces. On folio 43^{r} appears a *Responsio Dei ad Beatem Franciscum*, which is an extract from the *Vita Sancti Francisci* of St Bonaventure, who was himself a Franciscan; John Pecham, whose *Meditacio de Corpore Christi* appears on folio 57^{v} was a Franciscan; Theobald, whose *Narracio* appears on folios 24^{v}–25^{r}, was the bishop of Assisi, the birthplace of St Francis, and so on. Most strikingly important for Franciscans, however, though they are frequently ignored in accounts of the manuscript, are the three texts dealing, on folios 23^{r}–27^{v}, with the Portiuncula Indulgence, a generous plenary indulgence which could be gained only in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Porziuncula, about three-quarters of a mile from Assisi – an indulgence granted by Pope Honorius III at the instance of St Francis – but much contested by others. In Harley 913 appear the letter by Theobaldus refuting detractors, the testimony of Michael Bernardi as to the validity of the indulgence, and the *Tractatus* of Francesco della Rossa Bertholi, which is now incomplete: in this text a demon who is asked, 'Estne vera indulgentia…?' [Is this not a true indulgence…?] reluctantly and in a roundabout fashion admits the authenticity of it (Sabatier 1900: 73) and, according to this story, even the Dominicans were persuaded. Neil Cartlidge, who rightly draws attention to the importance of these texts, is nevertheless of the opinion that 'it is hard to believe that the Portiuncula Indulgence was really such a prominent *causa disputandi* in early fourteenth-century Ireland' (Cartlidge 2003: 39) but it clearly was for this friar and continued to be so: in 1401 the controversial monk Henry Crumpe of Baltinglass (County Wicklow), along with John Colton, archbishop of Armagh, and John Whitehead of Strabannan (County Louth) became involved in a dispute with the Dominican friars of Drogheda about their promotion of the Portiuncula Indulgence and were threatened with excommunication if they continued (Ó Clabaigh 2010: 39).

As to provenance, there are clear and obvious associations with the Gray Abbey in Kildare, to which Friar Michael, whose personalised song appears on folios 9^{r}–10^{r}, belonged and where Piers of Bermingham, whose elegy appears on

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folios 50r–51r, was buried. But there are other associations, with New Ross – whose entrenchment is celebrated – and with Waterford – whose 'yung men' are addressed in a poem which once belonged to this manuscript but is now, except for the first stanza, lost: on the basis of his spellings Michael Benskin thinks that the compiler was from Waterford (Benskin 1989: 59–60). The manuscript must have been there later because an ownership note appears on folio 2r to the effect that 'Iste liber pertinet ad me Georgium Wyse', who was mayor of Waterford in 1571–72. There is also a very faded note on folio 29r, some of which can be read as 'Iste liber pertinet ad Johannem Lambarde…Waterfodie…' This 'Johannem Lambarde' was evidently one of the Lambards or Lombards, another of Waterford's leading families. So the manuscript perhaps travelled, and it may well be that its compiler also travelled, because the items in Harley 913 are all written in the same textura hand of the first half of the fourteenth century, though the arrangement, the *mise en page*, and the size and density of the hand vary a good deal. What these things all suggest is that this is a Franciscan's personal miscellany, and this and the size of the book, make the words of D. L. D'Avray especially pertinent: 'The small format of these books, taken in conjunction with the nature of their contents, is most easily explained by the mobility that continued to be part of the way of life of the friars' (D'Avray 1985: 57). This looks like a friar's pocket-book, but one which is actually rather different from what these books usually are. It contains materials connected with the history of the Franciscan order, and a lot of material, mostly of a penitential sort, which could have been used for preaching or teaching; but a lot of the texts are satirically critical about both the religious and the secular world (which does not make them incompatible with the more overtly religious material) and some are sensitive to the contemporary political situation within the English colony and comment fairly directly on it. The compiler of this book was committed to the Franciscan life and to his active role in it, but he also kept his eyes and ears open to what was going on around him.

II

The religious poems in the manuscript are on fairly predictable topics – *Christ on the Cross*, *The Fall and Passion*, *The Fifteen Signs before Judgment*, which breaks off on the twelfth day, *The Ten Commandments*, *The Seven Sins*, which is also incomplete and covers only Pride, Avarice, and Envy. They urge a trust in God and the redemptive powers of Christ and evince, for the most part, a contempt for the world. They urge obedience to the teachings of the church and, in particular, stress the need for penitence. The inevitability of living in a sinful world because of the fallen condition of mankind most graphically appears in what ought to be

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the most soothing of forms, a lullaby (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 124–27), as a mother sings to her, presumably uncomprehending, child about his bleak future:

Child, thou ert a pilgrim in wikidnis ibor,
Thou wandrest in this fals world, thou loke the bifor.
Deth ssal com with a blast vte of a well dim horre
Adam is kin dun to cast, him silf hath ido befor.
Lollai, lollai, litil child, so wo the worth Adam
In the lond of paradis, throgh wikidnes of Satan. (25–30)

[Child, you are a pilgrim born in wickedness: as you wander through this deceitful world, look before you. Death shall come with a blow out of a very dark corner to overthrow the race of Adam as he himself (Adam) did before. Lullay, lullay, little child, thus Adam brought suffering to you in the land of paradise, through the wickedness of Satan.]

This is stated here in general terms, but two aspects of the 'wikidnis' of the world are stressed time and time again in the poems in this manuscript. One has to do with pride in social status or in appearance. As one would expect this is treated in the *Seven Sins* poem (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 140–49):

Alas! man, whi artou prute?
Whannin commit thi fair schrute,
Mid whate thou art ishrid aboute?
Noght of the, man, boute doute! (79–82)

[Alas, man, why are you proud? From where does your beautiful clothing come with which you are covered all over? Not from you, man, without question.]

In order to please God on the day of judgment men ought to give up their most cherished possessions 'linnin, wollin, glouis and schone'(92). The poem on *Erth* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 168–71) also delivers a reductive view of worldly aspiration and achievement, in the following passage in terms of social status, horses and, again, clothes:

Erth is a palfrey to king and to queen.
Erth is ar lang wei, thouw we lutil wene,
That werith grouer and groy and schrud so schene,
Whan erth makith is liuerei he grauith vs in grene. (33–36)

[Earth is a riding horse for a king or a queen. Earth is our long road, though we little realise it, we who wear fine grey furs and attire ourselves beautifully: when earth devises his livery he covers (buries) us in green (grass).]

In place of the expensive furs, in death earth's livery consists of nothing more than grass. And this theme reappears in *Elde* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 158–63), a poem on the incommodities of old age, where the speaker lists, in often shocking detail, his loss of strength and control over his body, the deterioration of his appearance,

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his lack of sexual potency – though he still has the desire. But there is also a loss of social status, even though, since he was a shepherd, his was not of the highest

As falc I falow and felde.
I was heordmon, nov am holle,
Al folc of me beth wel folle. (67–69)

[Like fallow land I wither and grow feeble. I was a shepherd, now I am empty (useless). All people have had enough of me.]

He is now a useless and despised member of the community, like unproductive land.

A second topic which runs through several items in the manuscript, though not unrelated to pride, is avarice or greed. In *Seven Sins* the point is made that the covetous man has no pleasure in his life:

He nold that aliue nere
None so riche as he were,
And euer, so he hauith more,
The faster he gaderith to store.
And euer he wol is lif so lede,
In mochel sorow and in drede. (113–18)

[He wishes there might be nobody alive as rich as he is, and always as he acquires more, the quicker he is to store things away. And he will lead all his life in this way, in great sorrow and in fear.]

He will never be able to sleep because he worries that he may be robbed of his property and thinks more about guarding it than about preserving his soul. When he dies, says the poet, 'For is gode the fend him deriith / and is soul to helle he feriith' [because of his possessions the devil punishes him, and bears his soul off to hell] since the devil has become his executor. He will be 'prute' [proud] when he is a 'cold liche [corpse]' if he has 'an old clute [cloth]' to cover his body so that nobody can see his nakedness (155–60). And Friar Michael picks up this theme in the concluding stanzas of his poem: when you lie on your bier, he warns the rich man, 'Of fow ne grai, no rede no rai / Nastov bot a here [you do not have parti-coloured fur, neither grey nor red squirrel fur, nor striped cloth, but only a shroud of haircloth]' (89–90). If you do not give alms to the poor and they die, you will be held responsible by Christ 'Thegh thou yif him no wonde' (101–10) [even if you do not wound him personally], and he enjoins penance because 'Crist sal be thi lech [physician]' (125). What emerges powerfully and consistently from this manuscript is a distrust of worldly achievement (especially status and wealth), and sympathy for the poor, which is consistent with a Franciscan view of the world.

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III

Most of the poems adduced here are unique to this manuscript, but some – such as *Erth* or *Elde* – have textual histories outside the Irish context in England and may have been derived from there. But if they were, they seem to have been chosen for inclusion because they were consistent with its ethos and the intellectual tendencies of its compiler. And the moral dimension of the religious poems it contains is also consistent with the more locally specific satires. The *Satire* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 58–65) on folios 7^{r}–8^{v} devotes half of its 120 lines to religious figures and organisations (of whom more later), but the rest deals with the trades of what may be a particular town – Kildare and Dublin have been suggested – but it is stated in general terms in the 'estates satire' manner. It stresses materialism and sharp practices in the conduct of business. The poet, predictably, begins with merchants and goes down the social scale:

> Hail be ye marchans with yur gret packes
> Of draperie, auoir depeise, and yur wol sackes,
> Gold, siluer, stones riche, markes and ek pundes!
> Litel yiue ye ther-of to the wrech pouer.
> Sleigh he was and ful of witte
> That this lore put in writte. (61–66)

> [Hail to you, merchants, with your big bundles of cloth, your weights, and your wool sacks, gold, silver and expensive stones, marks and pounds as well! Little of it do you give to the wretched poor. He was clever and full of intelligence who put this learning into writing.]

The procedure of this stanza is typical of the whole poem: the author starts with a salutation, 'Hail', then in four lines describes the category of people he is addressing, then closes with a short couplet, in minstrel style, drawing attention to his performance – though there may be a certain amount of irony because his praise of his talent always follows two lines where there is no rhyme (Turville-Petre 1996: 160–61). The merchants he describes are wealthy and deal in high-cost goods, but little of their wealth goes to the wretched poor, and the tone of what follows is uniformly critical: the tailors 'make wronge hodes' (68) and the seams on their garments 'lestith litil while' (70); the vats of the skinners 'stinkith al the strete' (82), the bakers 'pincheth on the right white ayens [against] Goddes law' (93); the brewers give short measure and the peddlers' stalls are 'hori [filthy] (106)'. His closing stanza implies that nothing can be done about this – it is how men live 'that wonith in lond' (117) – and suggests, again in minstrel fashion, that his audience should console themselves and forget about it: 'drinkith depe and makith glade' (118).

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Although its analysis is similar in that it identifies the exploitation of the poor by the rich and greedy as the greatest of social evils, the *Song on the Times* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 128–39) is at once more precise in its reference and more specific in its remedies. 'Fals and lither [wicked] is this lond', says its author, as we can see every day, but, 'Men that beth in heiighist liue / Mest icharged beth with sinne' (7–8). The poet's anger is particularly directed at 'Thos kingis ministris' who ought to take heed to 'right and law' and those armed horsemen, 'hoblurs' who take away the land and goods of the 'husbandman' and sometimes his life – crimes which tended to be covered up. The justices receive bribes from the thieves:

Heb hi the siluer and the mede
And the catel vnderfo,
Of feloni hi ne taketh hede,
Al thilk trepas is ago. (41–44)

[When they have got the silver and the bribe and the property, they take no notice of the crime: all that wrong-doing is passed over.]

He illustrates this by an exemplum ('uorbisen'), in this case an interpolated animal fable, derived from the Reynard-cycle, about how, in a court-hearing called by the lion 'king of alle bestis', the wolf excuses his predatory behaviour by claiming, because he was 'of grete kind', that it was natural that he should hunt and kill 'a motune … and a fewe gete (99–100) [a sheep…and a few goats]', and the fox claims that the geese and hens he killed were purchased for a high price, 'al ich ham dere boght' (83), but the ass is condemned for eating grass. So corrupt is the law, moralises the poet, that the poor man, who cannot afford bribes, even though he is law-abiding, 'ssal be ibund / And ido in strang pine (129–30) [shall be bound and subjected to great torture]'. His initial recommendation is that the church should use its powers of interdiction and excommunication to address these problems:

Holi Cherch schold hold is right
For no eie ne for no loue,
That hi ne schold schow har might –
For lordingen boste that beth aboue –

To enterdite and amonsi
Al thai, whate hi euir be,
That lafful men doth robbi,
What in lond, what in see. (21–28)

[Holy Church should follow its duty, that it should not refrain – because of fear or affection, or the overbearing behaviour of lordlings in high places – from showing its power of placing under interdict or excommunicating all those, whoever they are, who rob law-abiding men, by land or sea.]

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It should even refuse Christian burial for malefactors, 'bot cast ham vt as a hund' (32). By the end of the poem, however, this has modulated into a weak and wishful moralism: the rich and powerful should remember their mortality, that they came into the world with nothing, that they should honour God and the church, and be generous to 'the pouir that habbith nede' [needy poor], because that is God's will and their reward may be the 'joi of heuen' (193–98).

The Latin *Song on the Venality of Judges* (Coss (ed.) 1996: 224–30), is written in the manuscript on folios 59^{r}–60^{v} as prose, but the punctuation and especially the capitalisation indicate that it is a poem, intricately rhymed in complex stanzas. It makes many of the same points as other poems in the manuscript about the comprehensive corruption of the law in favour of the rich and to the detriment of the poor. But this poet's satiric technique is also interesting and confidently laconic. He begins with a version of the fourth beatitude from Matthew 5. 6 – the statement of an ideal of blessedness in relation to justice – and measures off the observable reality of his own world against it:

> Beati qui esuriunt
> Et sitiunt, et faciunt
> Justitiam,
> Et odiunt et fugiunt
> Injuriae nequitiam;
> Quos nec auri copia
> Nec divitum encennia
> Trahunt a rigore,
> Nec pauperum clamore;
> Quae sunt justa judicant,
> Et a jure non claudicant
> Divitum favore.

> [Blessed are they who hunger and thirst and do justice, and hate and avoid the evil of injustice; whom neither plenty of gold nor the jewels of the rich distract from their firmness, or from the cry of the poor, who judge what is just and do not close themselves off from justice for favour of the rich.]

And he pursues this proposition with a series of contrasts between the treatment of the rich in his own day ('seculum'), who are able to give bribes in the courts of law, and the poor: the clashing rhyme between 'pauperum clamore' and 'divitum favore' shapes the poem. Corrupt judges who are seduced from the proper administration of justice for 'favor et denarii' [favour and money] pay tolls to the devil and serve him alone ('pure'), though natural justice dictates that the law should be administered 'nec prece nec pretio' [neither for prayer nor for reward]. But everybody connected with the court, not simply judges, expects a bribe – sheriffs, messengers, clerks and the like. But despite the citing of authorities and the generality of the attacks in terms of the categories of legal officials, the poem

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makes its point by means of graphic vignettes, which the author claims he has witnessed: 'bene recolo' [I well recall]. What the poem says is not simply that decisions are made corruptly and unjustly, but that the interventions of the court officials, unless they are bribed, mean that some cases are not heard at all. The noble lady, fair and lovely, with a fashionable hairstyle and headdress encircled with gold ('cum capite cornuto / auro circumvoluto') despatches her business without having to say a word ('ore suo muto'), but the poor woman who has neither beauty nor rich relatives and brings no gifts ('munuscula') goes home 'dolendo corde tenus' [sad at heart] without having her case considered. And then there is the treatment of the poor by the ushers:

> Et quid janitores?
> Qui dicunt pauperibus
> Curiam sequentibus,
> 'Pauper, cur laboras?
> Cur facis hic moras?
> Nisi des pecuniam
> Cuique ad hanc curiam,
> In vanum laboras.'

> [And what about the ushers? Who say to the poor who frequent the court, 'Poor man, why do you trouble yourself? What are you doing waiting here? Unless you give money to everybody in this court, you are wasting your time'.]

Everybody connected with the court grows rich, even the humble clerks, who then buy lands and houses ('terras et domos'), give themselves social airs, and further despise the poor ('pauperes despiciunt').

IV

Criticism in this manuscript is, however, also frequently directed at those in religious life. In *Satire* the author sneers at Williamite hermits for their interest in money, 'that is mochil [great] schame' (40). Nor does he spare his fraternal brothers: in the same poem the Carmelites of Drogheda are accused of stealing 'water daissers' [brushes for sprinkling water] from churches. In Bartholi's *Tractatus* the demon who is being questioned is, amongst other things, asked if the Franciscans are a better order than the Dominicans and answers affirmatively – though he is pretty scathing about the intellectual capacities of both orders (Sabatier 1900: 71). But there are criticisms of the Franciscan order too. The extract from Bonaventure's life of St Francis concerns an incident in which the founder of the order worries about 'de statu et vita fratrum' [about the conduct and the life of the brethren], whether they are living up to the ideals of the order,

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and though God reassures him, the presence of this text in Harley 913 does not suggest complacency and implies a recognition that there was criticism of the order and that all may not be perfect. More trenchant criticism comes in a letter, on folios 32^{v}–33^{v}, supposedly from the Prince of Hell ['princeps regionis Gehennalis'] to prelates and clerics expressing his excessive pleasure at their actions. On folios 33^{v}–39^{r} comes a supposed reply from someone who calls himself Pope 'Dositheus' which, in seeking to excuse the excesses of the religious, simply compounds matters: the Franciscans are termed 'principes cocorum' [princes among cooks] and they drink a lot only to show that they are equal to their brothers. But the attacks in this manuscript are mainly on the enclosed orders, and are like some of the previous texts cited, often parodic or comic. There is a story of an adulterous monk, on folio 60^{r-v}, who gets castrated for his activities. Following this, comes a piece on the *Hospitalitas Monachorum*, which stresses its low quality, poor food and wine, dirty tablecloths and the like, perhaps suggesting that they provided for themselves in a better fashion than they did for guests – to whom they had an obligation of hospitality. Earlier in the manuscript appear a Latin poem on the luxurious lifestyle of the Abbot of Gloucester, a parody of the divine service used in a convent of lazy monks, and a *Missa de Potatoribus* [Drunkards' Mass] which Humphrey Wanley described as 'much more villainous (or rather blasphemous) than the former' (Wanley 1819: 117–18). Perhaps he had a point: it begins 'Introibo ad altare Bachi…', where the Roman god of wine is substituted for 'Dei' and goes on in much the same way: 'let us pray' becomes 'potemus' [let us drink]; 'the lord be with you. And with thy spirit' becomes 'Dolus vobiscum. Et cum gemitu tuo' [Deceit be with you. And with your sighing] and so on (Lehmann 1963: 233–41). Friars, particularly the Franciscans, frequently criticised what they took to be the opulent lifestyles of the enclosed orders and what is implied in these parodies receives more explicit statement in *Satire:*

> Hail, ye holi monkes with yur corrin,
> Late and rathe ifillid of ale and wine!
> Depe cun ye bouse, that is al yure care. (43–45)
>
> [Hail, you holy monks, with your drinking pots, early and late filled with ale and wine! You can drink deeply, that is all your concern.]

And in the following stanza it is implied that the 'nonnes of Seint Mari house' go astray: 'mistredith ye yur schone' (49–51) means literally 'you tread your shoes awry' or 'you wear your shoes badly', though the proverbial implication is that they lose their virginity (see Lucas (ed.) 1995: 61).

Many of these themes are taken up in *The Land of Cokaygne* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 46–55), a parody by means of which the shortcomings of the enclosed orders are highlighted. It opens with a location:

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Fur in see bi west Spaygne
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne. (1–2)

[Far out to sea to the west of Spain, is a land called Cockaigne.]

As Herman Pleij points out, the 'wonders of the east' were of great antiquity, but in the later Middle Ages the 'wonders of the west' and especially an island of the blessed, which allowed a perfect life of unalloyed happiness, caught the imagination, partly through the fable of Atlantis and partly through 'the paradisical pleasure spots told of in Celtic travellers' tales which became known in Europe through the story of St Brendan' – with stories of a mild climate in Ireland and an island off the coast on which it was impossible to die, and no snakes. Spain was renowned for its marvels, but Cockaigne is even further to the west (Pleij 2001: 264–67). So this fabled utopia of licence and pleasure is actually Ireland, because in medieval *mappaemundi* Ireland was usually placed to the west of the Iberian peninsula, on the edge of the known world. In comparison with this utopia the biblical paradise in Genesis 2. 8–15 is deficient (7–12). There is always good weather in Cokaygne, day and 'no nighte', no death but 'euer lif', no 'baret [dispute] nother strif' between men and women, no dangerous animals such as 'serpent, wolf no fox', no pests 'flei, fle no louse', and no farm animals that need tending so they may produce clothing or food (25–38) – all this is provided naturally: 'In Cokaigne is met and drink, / Withvte care, how and swink [worry and labour]' (17–18). The four rivers of the Edenic paradise (Genesis 2. 11–14) have their equivalent in Cokaygne, but they run with 'oile, melk, honi and wine' – water there is just something to look at or in which to wash (45–48).

Ideas from a bewildering number of sources flow into versions of the fable of Cockaigne and it is notoriously difficult to distinguish what is distinctive about any one version. Juliette de Caluwe-Dor has tried to isolate the Irish elements in the Harley 913 version (De Caluwe-Dor 1980: I, 89–98) and Peter Dronke has found features in the Latin background to the poem which can possibly be traced to a source: the idea about there being no 'flei, fle no louse', referred to above, has so far been found only in the description of the land of the Camarini in the anonymous *Totius Mundus Descriptio* of the fourth century (Dronke 2011: 65–75). But the Harley 913 poem is more than a rehearsal of the traditional fables. As the jaunty couplets carry the reader along in this spirit of sophisticated parody it is easy to miss the shift to the satiric: in Cokaygne is a 'wel fair abbai / of white monkes and of grei' (51–52) – obviously Cistercian, and thereafter the focus is on the gluttonous and slothful monks who inhabit it, and their lecherous encounters with the nuns of a nearby house, to whom they act as advisors and educators, or, as the poet puts it:

And techith the nunnes an oreisun
With iambleue vp and dun…(165–66)

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[And teach the nuns a prayer with legs raised up and down…]

How specific this subtle, fluent poem is meant to be in its criticism of the enclosed orders is much debated. It has been suggested, based on the reference to the 'mochil grei abbei' in line 164, that the poet has in mind Gray Abbey, a Cistercian foundation in County Down, but this seems unlikely (Heuser 1965: 142). P. L. Henry (1972: 140–41), more plausibly, suggests that line 149 referring to the nunnery 'vp a riuer of swet milke' indicates that the poet may have had in mind the Cistercian house at Inislounaght and that the nunnery refers to the convent at Molough on the River Suir near Newcastle (County Tipperary) five miles away. 'Inislounaght' literally means 'island of sweet milk', but the Cistercians often gave names to their houses which alluded to the beauty of their surroundings and this habit may have been enough to provoke this author into an indirect reference to an actual abbey.

V

There are a number of poems in Harley 913 which have a strikingly political dimension and a precise and unmistakeable context. The earliest of these is *The Walling of New Ross*, which the poet, who appears to have been an eye-witness to the digging of the ditch, dates as 1265: he writes as if he is an outsider, but, according to Hugh Shields, 'a continental background is … ruled out by the linguistic and formal features of the poem' and he may simply have been from another part of Ireland (Shields (ed.) 1975–76: 25). The digging of the ditch so that 'un mure de morter e de pere' [a wall of mortar and stone] can be constructed is prompted by the need to protect the town:

…poure avoint de un gerre
Qe fu par entre deus barouns
Vei ci escrit amdeus lur nuns,
Sire Morice e sire Wouter. (10–13)

[…they were afraid of a war that was going on between two barons, and here are written both of their names, Sir Maurice and Sir Walter.]

The townspeople of this prosperous trading port were fearful of being drawn into the long-running dispute between Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and Maurice fitz Maurice, who represented the interests of the Geraldines of Connaught. Labourers were employed at first, but the work did not progress quickly enough and so the citizens of all trades, working in shifts, 'de l'oure de prime deke nune sonne' (48) [from daybreak until the stroke of three] took over the project: even the priests and the beautiful ladies helped (128–59). The poem is a celebration of a

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collective municipal effort, engaged in joyously: the people sang and danced (59–61, 92–95, 142–43) as they went out to work and when the work was over for the day. But the poet does not forget the threat which prompted the enterprise initially and lists in great detail the men-at-arms who would defend the town when the wall was finished, and their impressive armaments (168–91). The citizens of New Ross did not wish for battle, he says, 'mes lur vile voleint garder' (193–94) [but wished to protect their town]. When the work is complete, he says, the town will fear nobody and strangers would be welcomed to 'chater e vendre en pute bien' (216) [to buy and sell freely]. The walling of New Ross did not make the town impregnable – Art McMurrough captured and burned it in 1394 – but in 1265 this impressive collective civic attempt to protect it and ensure, as far as possible, its well-being seemed, to this poet, the right thing to do.

And, in the single surviving stanza from a poem originally in Harley 913, a similar collective effort is demanded of the able-bodied men of Waterford in the face of a threat from another aggressive aristocratic family:

> Yung men of Waterford, lernith now to plei
> For yure mere is plowis ilad beth awey,
> Scure ye yur hanfelis that lang habith ilei,
> And fend you of the Pouers that walkith bi the wey… (Heuser ed. 965: 11)

> [Young men of Waterford, learn how to fight because your plough-mares have been taken away, and burnish your weapons which have long been lain aside, and defend yourselves from the de Poers who walk the roads…'][3]

If they capture you, he goes on, they will behead you: 'of goth yur hede'. The threat here does not seem to be to the town itself, but to the surrounding countryside: the Le Poers are patrolling the roads and stealing 'plough-mares'. The Le Poers from Dunhill in east County Waterford were the chief family in the area and in 1326–27 the whole region was plunged into turmoil through their enmity with Maurice fitz Thomas of Desmond, to which reference has already been made. The advice to learn how to fight ('plei') and to burnish ('scure') those weapons which had been laid aside was timely for the Le Poers had been antagonistic towards Waterford for many years: in 1345 the Le Poers burned and plundered the rich countryside around Waterford, but were confronted and defeated by a force raised by the mayor of the town, and those that were captured were executed and their heads and limbs were displayed publicly (McEneaney 1995: 55–60). How this poem may have developed is impossible to say, but the opening stanza which Sir James Ware preserved in Lansdowne 418 makes clear the local feuds which existed within the English colony when Harley 913 was assembled.

3 See Wilson 1952: 205.

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But threats came from outside the English colony too, as the elegy on *Piers of Bermingham* (Lucas (ed.) 1995: 150–57) makes savagely clear. The de Berminghams were a well-established Anglo-Irish family, holding lands in a number of areas, some as far away as Athenry (County Galway). Piers's castles and estates were in Kildare and this is the area in which he operated. He was seen as a defender of Anglo-Irish interests there against the encroachments of the Gaelic Irish, especially the O'Conors of Offaly: he was given men and money to do this, through taxation levied in Kildare and Meath. At his death in 1308 he was described as 'nobilis debellator Hibernicorum' [the noble attacker of the Irish] and it is important to know that *debellere* means 'to attack successfully'. And this is how the poem celebrates him, in a strikingly oppositional way. 'Al Englis-men that beth / sore now wep is deth' (37–38), says the poet, and for three things in particular: he 'leet no thef hab rest' (47); he was a 'fo' to Irish men; and he had massacred the O'Conor clan on Trinity Sunday 1305 – an incident on which the poem concentrates. According to this elegist, the native Irish ('Thos Yrismen of the lond', 67) plotted to kill four Anglo-Irish lords – the Earl of Ulster, Sir Edmund de Butler, Sir John FitzThomas FitzGerald (later Earl of Kildare), and de Bermingham (73–78). But the plot was betrayed and de Bermingham invited the O'Conors, Gilla Buidhe, Aedh MacMaelmordha and others to his castle at Carrick and slew them, or as the poet allusively puts it:

> Sire Peres sei ham com,
> He receiuid al and som,
>   Noght on iwernd nas.
> Sith hoodis he let make,
> Noght on nas for-sake
>   Bot al he did ham grace. (115–20)

> [Sir Piers watched them come, and received them all together: not one was turned away. Then he had hoods made, nobody was left out. He did them all this favour.]

The 'hoods' are the leather bags he had made in order to transport their heads back to Dublin so that he could claim his bounty money. The humour of the poem is macabre: as well as its primary meaning here, to 'hode' means to 'ordain, consecrate' and this gives rise to another quasi-religious pun later in the poem.

> Sire Pers the Birmingham,
> On ernist and agam,
>   This day was in is thoght.
> He thoght orders to make
> What time he might ham take,
>   Of trauail nas him noght. (97–102)

> [Sir Piers of Bermingham, seriously and in play, thought about this appointment. He intended to confer orders, whenever he might capture them: it was no problem to him.]

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The phrase 'ordres to make' is usually translated here as 'to give orders', which is how Angela Lucas translates it, but it means more properly 'confer orders', that is, 'ordain priests' or 'accept into a religious order'. The ordination ceremony involves, amongst other things, a bishop placing his hands on the head of the ordinand. This gave rise to another meaning – 'to give a blow on the head' (*Middle English Dictionary*, ordre n. 7d, 7e).[4] Both meanings are present here, the orthodox one and the playful one, as is indicated by the phrase 'on ernist and agam' (98). The pun on 'ordres …make', in fact, runs through the account of the massacre of the O'Conors, which is presented sardonically as an ordination: hence the emphasis on heads, 'hodes', and grace. The savage and self-congratulatory tone of this is indicative of the seriousness of the threat that was faced and the gruesome and uncompromising way in which it was averted (Scattergood 2006: 85–106). The massacre was roundly condemned by some in its own time, and some modern scholars have thought that no poet could seriously celebrate it, as this poet seems to have done, and prefer to read the poem ironically, as a criticism of Piers and his actions (Benskin 1989: 61–67). But that is not how the Franciscans of Kildare understood his career, for they gave him honourable burial in the Gray Abbey. Perhaps they remembered that in 1294 the men of Offaly had captured Kildare Castle and Calvagh O'Conor burned all the records and tallies of the county. To the Franciscans and to the people of the English colony Piers de Bermingham was a local hero.

It does not do to be overly simplistic about a miscellany, even when one can be fairly certain, as in the case of Harley 913, as to roughly when and where it was assembled, from what background it comes and when it is the work of a single compiler. This text collection was put together unsystematically, possibly over several years and may have been written in several places, but it looks as though it was put together in the English colony in about 1330–1342 by a Franciscan friar who liked parodies and satires, especially when they were relevant to the contemporary world as he saw it. But there are certain items in this manuscript which do not fit with this generalisation – or, indeed, with any generalisation. Some look as though they are simply utilitarian: on folio 15^{v} there are some directions for desalinating water, and on folios 52^{v}–53^{v} come some recipes for making pigments for use in decorating manuscripts. Others read like memoranda, such as the calculation of the number of years between Adam and Christ on folio 43^{r}, or the list of Greek and Trojan princes involved at the siege of Troy and the casualties there on folio 40^{r-v}, or the notes from Orosius's *Historia contra Paganos* on folios 43^{v}–44^{r}. There are some proverbs on folio 15^{r-v} and some riddles on folio 49^{r}. No doubt the compiler entered these items as they came to him, things he thought might be useful or things he wanted to remember. But many of

4 See Kurath, Hans, and Sherman M. Kuhn et al. (eds). 1954–2001.

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the texts – both those which are contemporary and those which are older – as I have tried to indicate, appear to have attracted him because he took a lively interest in what was going on in the English colony in mid-fourteenth century Ireland, in the less than perfect society and institutions of the world in which he lived, and has preserved texts which give a view of the threats and tensions inherent in that world.

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'Aprendre e enseigner': The Contents of Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1

The early to mid-fourteenth century saw the production in England of a number of multilingual codices of mixed content. The trilingual manuscript Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1, which was also produced at this time, and has been described as representing 'an entire library in itself', appears to follow in that tradition. It contains no less than fifty-two texts, in English, Anglo-Norman and Latin. In this essay the position of the English texts in the codex will be considered as part of the larger question as to the intentional and predetermined coherence of the codex's content and the readers or audience at which it was aimed.

Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.1.1 has been characterised by the Cambridge Digital Library as a trilingual compendium of texts and by one of its earliest researchers as 'an entire library in itself'.[1] As a collection it resembles such famous near contemporary codices with mixed content as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, London, British Library, MS Harley 2253, and London, British Library, Additional MS 46919.[2] It shares some material with all of these, but it also contains texts to which it is the sole witness. Although most of the texts in CUL, Gg.1.1 are in Anglo-Norman, a fair number of texts in English have also been included, not as overwhelming in quantity and quality as in Harley 2253 or even Digby 86, but significantly more than in BL, Add. 46919.[3] In this essay I shall concentrate on the nature of the content of this manuscript book, its possible audience or readership, the purpose and intentions with which it was compiled,

1 For a digitisation, see *Cambridge Digital Library*, http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-GG-00001–00001/1; Meyer 1886: 283.

2 Harley 2253 is digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_2253_f001r. For facsimile editions, see Ker (ed.) 1965 for Harley 2253, and Tschann and Parker 1996 for Digby 86; the contents of BL, Add. 46919 are listed in the *Manuscripts of the West Midlands* online catalogue, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/mwm/browse?type=ms&id=46, and Jeffrey and Levy (eds) 1990: 4–6.

3 Wendy Scase (2013: 248) has argued that CUL, Gg.1.1 may be considered to belong to the same tradition of vernacular compendium production as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Poet.a.1, the 'Vernon manuscript', which is entirely in English and dated about half a century later.

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and the place of the English works found among those in Anglo-Norman and Latin. This article has three sections. In the first, general information is given about the manuscript. The second section provides an overview of the nature of the compilation's contents, with special attention paid to the items in English. In the third section tentative conclusions about audience and compilatorial intentions will be drawn.

I. The Manuscript

In recent years, the manuscript has been described by Paul Binski and Patrick Zutschi (2011: 139–41), Wendy Scase (2013: 248–52), and Suzanne Paul in her introduction to the digitisation of the manuscript by *Cambridge University Digital Library* (*CUDL*).[4] The most detailed description, however, was published by Paul Meyer in 1886 (283–340). The parchment manuscript measures *c.* 215 mm (height) by 148 mm (width), and contains no less than 633 folios. A further eight may be missing (Binski and Zutschi 2011: 141). Not including the two tables of contents (one for *La Lumere as lais* on folios 1^r–5^v, the other for the entire book on folio 6^r), it contains fifty-two different texts. Some of these are very long, which explains the large number of folios and the disproportionate thickness of the codex, which Scase describes as having 'the shape of a cube' (2013: 250). It was written in a Gothic textualis bookhand, mostly with two columns of thirty-six to forty lines per page. The manuscript has been lavishly illuminated with one full-page and many smaller miniatures, diagrams, historiated and ornamental initials and border decoration. The codex was compiled at some time in the first half of the fourteenth century, but after July 1307, when King Edward I died – an event that is mentioned in one of the items.[5]

Two illuminators worked on the manuscript (Binski and Zutschi 2011: 141; *CUDL*), but there appears to be no consensus on the number of scribes. Some consider the entire codex to be the work of a single scribe, who wrote the whole work 'entirely in one consistent, clear hand' (Scase 2013: 250; also Meyer 1886: 283–84; Thiolier (ed.) 1989: 76). Others refer to 'several scribes' (Binski and Zutschi 2011: 141; *CUDL*). One of the reasons for the difference of opinion may lie

4 See http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-GG-00001–00001/1. There are further descriptions by Zettl 1935; repr. 1971: xxxi–xxxiv, cxv–cxvi; Arnould 1940: 389–91; Thiolier 1989: 75–84 and Hesketh 1996–2000: III, 25–29.

5 Binski and Zutschi (2011: 139) date it as 's.xiv $^{1/2}$ (after 1307)'. Thiolier argues in favour of a date in the early years of the reign of Edward III (1327–1330) on the basis of two rubrics, apparently referring to Edward III, in a manuscript (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 43) with the same version of Merlin's prophecies as found in CUL, Gg.1.1 (Thiolier 1989: 76–77, 79–80). However, these rubrics are absent from the version of the prophecies in CUL, Gg.1.1.

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in the fact that material in Latin or Anglo-Norman and in a different hand was added where blank spaces at the end of a particular column were left. Often these insertions appear somewhat squashed. Sometimes they are separated from the previous text, for example by a rubric (fol. 113^{v}), a white line (fol. 345^{v}) or rather messy lines in red and a faint black ink (fol. 392^{v}; see also Meyer 1886: 320–21). On folio 629^{r} the Latin text takes up the space left after only nine lines of Anglo-Norman in column 'a' and the thirty-three lines of *Les xxxii follies* in column 'b', changing to long lines where space is available in column 'b', thus wrapping the insertion around the pre-existing text and filling the page completely.

Thiolier ((ed.) 1989: 76) rather harshly judged the scribe to be 'assez inculte' on account of garbled proper names and place names in Langtoft's *Chronicle* and because there and elsewhere the graphs for thorn and yogh have been consistently replaced by a sign resembling wynn.[6] This suggests scribal training in copying Latin and Anglo-Norman, and unfamiliarity with copying English texts (but not necessarily, of course, with the English language, as Cecily Clark has pointed out (1995: 168–76)). The same replacement is also a feature of Harley 2253 (McSparran 2000: 410–13), while elsewhere instructions are found suggesting that copying the English graphs thorn, eth and yogh was a skill that had to be learned.[7]

To determine the manuscript's linguistic provenance four (partly) English texts were scrutinised by the editors of the *Linguistic Atlas* (*LALME*; McIntosh et. al. 1986: I, 67). Their findings range from 'dialectal provenance unclear' and 'Northern Middle English' for English glosses and an English rhyme, to 'Middle Hiberno English' for two longer texts that were analysed, as the entries state, 'from original (exhaustive)'.[8] The editors conclude that the scribe of these texts was a 'Hiberno-Englishman' and a '*literatim* copyist', working at the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, as they noted in an earlier publication, 'these peculiarities of spelling may stem from bilingualism, and have no special dialectal significance' (McIntosh and Samuels 1968: 9). Earlier, four lines of English following an Anglo-Norman chronicle not examined for *LALME* (McIntosh et. al. 1986) were identified by Zettl as being in the dialect typical of 'an area west of a line drawn from Dorking to Birmingham', i. e. south-west England (Zettl 1935;

6 Also noted by Varnhagen 1881: 182, note 1, and Foster and Heuser (eds) 1930: 9.

7 The Nuneaton Book (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123), dated *c.* 1280–1300, contains a short instructive section on orthography on folio 114^{v}, illustrating the use of three English graphs. It lists the sign and its name in full (thorn, wynn, yogh) and provides a full line of words containing these graphs by way of examples. The sign for 'tyronian et' is illustrated in the same way. I am grateful to Dr Martine Meuwese for this reference.

8 The texts examined were, in this order, the English glosses in Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise, the English rhymes in Langtoft's *Chronicle*, the *Proverbs of Hending* and the *Northern Passion.* These texts are discussed below.

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repr. 1971: cxv).[9] Thiolier contests the Irish origin of the scribe, drawing attention to 'le caractère composite' of the language used. He suggests the possibility of a London origin (Thiolier (ed.) 1989: 82–83). Binski and Zutschi refer to the language used as characteristic of the 'West Midlands (?), or Ireland (?)' (2011: 139), while Scase suggests 'the possibility of a manuscript from a West Midlands/ Hiberno-English milieu' (2013: 249–50). It may be concluded that, whatever the native background of the scribe of the texts examined, he was more used to copying Anglo-Norman and Latin than English and that exemplars may have been copied so faithfully, regardless of their dialect, that few linguistic deductions as to the manuscript's provenance may be made.

Although the manuscript provides no clarification about its provenance in the form of coats of arms or similarly helpful information, and the study of the dialect of its texts in English has yielded ambiguous results, a number of textual aspects appear to point to the North East or North. First, there is the use of the word 'wapentak', an administrative unit in the Danelaw, in a poem whose rubric reads 'Romaunce de amour' (fols 113^v–120^r).[10] Quotations in the *Middle English Dictionary* (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED51699) show a definite association of the use of this word of Old Norse origin with Lincolnshire and the North at this time; elsewhere the more usual 'a hundred' was used. More evidence is provided by the Anglo-Norman debate poem now known as *Melior et Idoine*, which is unique to this manuscript and whose narrative is situated in Lincoln (fols 474^r–476^v: 'Ici troverz quel vaut meuz a amer gentil clerc ou chivaler' [here you will find who is the better lover, a noble cleric or a knight]. Other internal and external aspects which suggest the East and North of England include a song in a dialect of the north of England in the section of Langtoft's Anglo-Norman *Chronicle* present in CUL, Gg.1.1 (fols 328^v–345^v, song on fol. 345^v), which is found in no other manuscript containing these so-called 'political songs'. It should also be noted that, judging from surviving manuscripts, Langtoft's *Chronicle* appears to have had special appeal in the North East in the first half of the fourteenth century.[11] Finally, Lincolnshire or Yorkshire is suggested by the 'Nachleben' in dramatic form of the English *Northern Passion* in

9 CUL, Gg.1.1 does not feature in the *Manuscripts of the West Midlands* online catalogue.

10 See Meyer (1884: 507–08) for further manifestations of this poem, usually entitled *La Plainte d'Amour*. Meyer suggests as its author the Franciscan Nicolas de Bozon, who may have belonged to the friary in Nottingham. Although Bozon wrote in Anglo-Norman, he occasionally included a word or proverb in English (Douglas Gray in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online (http://www.oxforddnb.com/). I return to Bozon below.

11 See the description of Langtoft manuscripts in Thiolier (ed.)1989: 35–153. Not taking into account CUL, Gg.1.1, out of a total of eighteen manuscripts listed by Thiolier as belonging to the same redaction as CUL, Gg.1.1, twelve are considered to originate from the North or North-East and have been dated before the middle of the fourteenth century. See also, Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 66, pp. 43–45.

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Yorkshire. All these works will be discussed in more detail below. It will be clear that more specialised research into this manuscript than can be offered here is still needed.[12]

The manuscript contains thirty-four texts in Anglo-Norman, eleven in Latin, four entirely in Middle English, two in which Anglo-Norman and English are mixed, and one in both Anglo-Norman and Latin. Most of the texts are in verse, with about a quarter in Anglo-Norman or Latin prose. With very few exceptions (of which the Anglo-Norman *Prophecies of Merlin* is the most notable example) all prose texts are found in the second half of the manuscript. Below, an overview is given of the nature of the compilation’s contents, with special attention given to the few items in English. For the sake of clarity, the texts have been divided into three subject areas: religious, secular, and historical.

II. The Compilation’s Contents

a. Religious Texts

Among the religious texts in Anglo-Norman are works of great length as well as more modestly sized items. Generally they are popular texts that also survive in other manuscripts, sometimes in large numbers. Many of them are available in edited form. Among them, with its own colourful table of contents on folios 1^r–5^v, *La Lumere as lais* (fols 17^r–111^r) by ‘mestre Peres de Peckham’ (according to the work’s first rubric on folio 17^r), a text of 13,960 lines, written in 1267 in Newark Priory in Surrey and Oxford.[13] On folios 135^r–261^r we find Robert de Gretham’s *Miroir* or *L’Évangile des domnees*, a collection of sermons for the Sunday Gospels of over 20,000 lines, written between 1300–1325,[14] and folios 294^v–328^v contain three-quarters (around 8,500 lines) of *Le Manuel des péchés* by William de Waddington, a work written in York and extant in ‘more than two dozen surviving manuscripts […] written between *c.* 1275 and 1325’.[15] All three texts are written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, and use simple, straightforward vocabulary. Other texts are more modest in length and include translated versified versions of psalms and prayers or poems about the Virgin Mary. The religious texts in Latin are in prose and mainly consist of short aphoristic quatrains and

12 Wendy Scase has indicated an intention to examine the manuscript in detail (2013: 249, n. 3).

13 The author is also known as Pierre d’Abernon of Fetcham, Pierre de Peckham or Feckham; see Hesketh (ed.) 1996–2000; Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 630, listing 21 manuscripts.

14 Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 589, listing 10 manuscripts.

15 Arnould (ed.) 1940. See p. 360 on lacunae in the text, and the fact that the curtailment was deliberate. If complete, the *Manuel* numbers approximately 12,000 lines. Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 635, listing 28 manuscripts.

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distichs, such as wise sayings by church fathers and other authorities, and miracles of the Virgin (fols 629^{v}–633^{v}).

There is just one text in this category which is in English: the so-called *Northern Passion* (fols 122^{r}–134^{v}, listed in the table of contents as 'Livre de la passioun nostre seignur jh*es*u crist en engleis'), a poem of just under 2,000 lines in octosyllabic rhyming couplets on the last days and suffering of Christ (Foster and Heuser (eds) 1930; Shuffelton 2008). The language used is exclusively English, with two exceptions: a single exclamation of French origin, *Par ma fey*, spoken by the disciple Peter, and one rhyming pair of Anglo-Norman words (ll. 829–30): *tesmoign* (testify) / *assoign* (excuse), possibly a relic from the 'Old French *Passion* composed about a century earlier' (Shuffelton 2008: 1), or, alternatively, used because of the legal associations of these words.[16]

CUL, Gg.1.1 is the oldest of the fourteen surviving manuscripts in which the *Northern Passion* is found. The beginning of the poem (fol. 122^{r}) has a historiated initial of eight lines deep and decorative framing round the first column, culminating in two strange little creatures. It tells the story of the crucifixion from the perspective of ordinary people, like the smith who is ordered to forge the nails for the crucifixion, but is reluctant to do so. He pretends that he cannot work, as he has burned his hand. Indeed, by a miracle, his hand does appear burned when he is forced to show it. Unfortunately, his wife will have none of the delay and forges the nails herself. It is no doubt the poem's empathetic homely quality which made it suitable for adaptation in the York and Towneley cycle plays later in the century (Foster and Heuser (eds) 1930: 81–101, but see also Meredith 1994: 150).

b. Secular Texts

Among the secular texts we find, in Anglo-Norman, *Urbain le courtois* (fols 6^{v}–7^{v}), the very first work in the collection (Spencer 1889).[17] A poem of 184 short lines rhyming in couplets, it survives in eight manuscripts of varying lengths and content.[18] In it, 'un sage home de grant valour' called Urbain (ll. 1–3) gives his son a series of hints on how to behave properly, since he is still 'd'age tendre' (l. 10). The advice concerns behaviour at table, giving proper thanks for gifts, avoiding loose women, etc. It is advice suitable for a young man of a well-to-do background, possibly but not necessarily an aristocratic one, as Nolan (2000: 325)

16 My thanks to Ad Putter for pointing out this alternative to me.
17 See also Parsons 1929; Spencer's edition is based on CUL, Gg.1.1.
18 Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 231, listing 11 manuscripts.

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assumes. The son of a landowning family intent on rising in the world would also find much sensible advice in it.

Other texts provide useful information of a more direct sort, like the *Kalendar* by Rauf de Linham (fols 8–16^{v}).[19] In 1330 lines of octosyllabic rhyming couplets, it lists saints' days in a narrative way. Furthermore there is a treatise on *Physiognomy* in prose (fols 464^{v}–466^{v}), and two works on *Prognostics*, the first (fols 393^{r}–393^{v}) rhyming in couplets with occasional mono-rhyme, the second (fols 466^{v}–469^{r}) in mono-rhyme written as prose. More answers to human preoccupations are offered in question-and-answer form in the extensive and highly popular encyclopedic work *Sydrac* (fols 495^{r}–627^{r}; 'Ci commencens les questions qe le roi Boctus demanda de Sydrac le philosophe' (fol. 496^{r}), which survives in at least sixty-three manuscripts in French alone, and also in numerous translations and early printed books (Hasenohr and Zink (eds) 1992: 1386).[20]

And then there are the eternal questions surrounding women and love. Urbain's son had already been warned to steer clear of 'les damoiseles' who inhabit pretty rooms and are very fond of figs, raisins, and almonds. But such 'amour', his father tells him, will last only so long as there is money in the purse (fol. 7^{v}, *Urbain*, ll. 106, 169–80).[21] Women are the subject of two poems: one denigrating them (*Les propretes des femmes en romaunz*, fols 627–628),[22] and one defending them (*La Bonté des femmes*, fols 390^{v}–392^{v}).[23] The latter exculpates Eve, arguing that if Adam had been 'sage home', he would not have let Eve have the apple in the first place, and anyway, since when are there laws that make Eve guilty of something that Adam did – i. e. actually eat the apple? Also, Adam was made from vile earth, Eve from clean, dry, pure bone, and her name echoes the greeting of Our Lady (Eva = Ave). It mentions in line 24 Westminster and the Tower of London (Meyer 1886: 315–21; Blamires 1997).

The question of who makes the better lover, 'gentil clerc ou chivaler', a clerk or a knight, is discussed in the poem *Melior et Ydoine*, which is exclusive to this manuscript (fols 474^{r}–476^{v}).[24] It begins with a short prologue in which the poet

19 Hunt 1983; Dean and Boulton, no. 342, listing 3 manuscripts.

20 Medieval and early modern translations of *Sydrac* are found in Provençal, Italian, two different German dialects, Middle Dutch, Danish, Catalan, and English (twice). It was printed eleven times within a period of fifty years.

21 Spencer (ed.) 1889.

22 Meyer 1886: 315–21; Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 202. This text is also known as *Le Blâme des femmes*, see Fiero, Pfeffer and Allain 1989: 119–42, with translation.

23 Text edited by Meyer 1886: 316–21. The poem is followed by Latin lines on the same subject. See also Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 198.

24 Dean and Boulton, no. 217. On folio 476^{v} the last thirty lines have been spread across two short columns (18 and 12 lines each), ending with the rubric 'Ici finist quel vaut meuz a amer gentille clerc ou chivaler'. Underneath the *Proverbs of Hending* follow in a different layout, see the discussion below.

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declares that if one wishes to hear and see adventures, one must travel, and not stay at home (fol. 474^{r}; *Melior* ll. 1–12).[25] After this introduction one might expect a story set in the Orient or Middle East, but following a traditional spring opening the story is set explicitly in the city of Lincoln:

En tens de may, ceux longe jours,
Chauntent oyseaus e creissent flours;
Par un matin m'en levoi,
Si mountoy mon palefroi,
E aloi vers une cité
Que Nincol est appellee. (13–18)

[In the season of May, those long days, the birds sing and the flowers grow, and one morning I got up, mounted my horse, and went towards a city which is called Lincoln. (p. 100)]

After the debate of the ladies – knights are promiscuous and end up in your bed groaning and aching all over after a tournament, clerks look sheepish and silly with their tonsured heads – the matter is argued further by a thrush and a nightingale, at first with words, then with arms (thistle, thorny roses), until the nightingale wins: 'Mieux est le clers a amer / Qe li orgoillouse chivaler' (fol. 476^{v}; ll. 403–04).

One of the texts disseminating secular knowledge in Latin is a brief treatise on the brain, *Qualiter caput hominis situatur*, which mentions Thomas Aquinas as its chief authority (fols 490^{v}–491^{r}). It is accompanied by a picture of a man's head which serves as a diagram of the locations in the brain where particular thought processes take place and the 'channels' through which these locations interact (Carruthers 2009: 3–4).

In English there is the quite extensive collection of proverbial rhymes, known as *The Proverbs of Hending* (fols 476^{v}–479^{v}).[26] They are also found (with variations) in Digby 86, and Harley 2253.[27] In the Cambridge manuscript there are forty-six, in tail rhyme (aabccb), followed by the proverb and the phrase *Quod Hending.* They are written across two columns, two lines in column a, with the 'tail' in column b, followed by the moral and 'quod hending' in red across the two columns. The six-line poem illustrates the concluding proverb, and the rubricated proverb, which stands alone and is not part of the tail-rhyme stanza, sums

25 References are to line numbers in Meyer (1908: 236–44) and to page numbers in Windeatt's translation (1982: 100–03).

26 Note that the *Proverbs* are marked erroneously as being in French in Binski and Zutschi's description of the manuscript; only the rubric is in French ('Ici commence le livre de Hending').

27 Varnhagen ((ed.) 1881) provides a detailed comparative table as well as editions of the *Proverbs* in both CUL, Gg.1.1 and Digby 86 (1881: 180–200; table on 180–81). The *Proverbs* in Harley 2253 were printed by Wright and Halliwell ((eds) 1841: I, 109–16).

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up the message of the poem. One example (number 14), in similar graphic layout, will suffice:

Þef þou havest bred and ale,
Pilt hit nouht alle in þine male, Dele ye som aboute;
Be þou fre of þine meles,
Ware men met deles, Gose you nouht withoute.
Betir is one appil i þevin, þan twein i þetin. Quod Hendi*n*g.

[When you have bread and ale, don’t stuff it all into your mouth, share some of it around; if you are generous with your meals, where people share their food, you will never go without. It is better to give away one apple, than to eat two. Says Hending].

Sometimes the imagery is imaginative, for instance ‘don’t speak while your words are still green, wait until they are ripe’.[28] Subjects are varied, and deal with children and neighbours or warnings not to get drunk or be overcurious, but occasionally they are also surprisingly sexually explicit, like the rhyme about the maid who is keen to get married. Any man will do, whatever his status, so long as he puts a ring on her finger. She puts her trust in sex as the best way of getting what she wants and ‘pleiit with þe croke and wiþ þe balle, / And mekit gret þat erst was smale’. The moral here is: use your body with cunning, and aim for a wedding (no. 42).

Two stanzas have an extra proverb, with the addition *Quod Marcol*, one after proverb no. 14 and one after the final proverb.[29] The name Marcolve is also mentioned in a six-line prologue to the *Proverbs* exclusive to Harley 2253, stating: ‘Mon that wol of wysdam heren, / At wyse Hendyng he may lernen, / That wes Marcolves sone’ (Wright and Halliwell (eds) 1841: I, 109, ll. 2–3). Marcolf / Marcoul is famous for a series of verbal contests with King Solomon.[30] Represented as an earthily-minded peasant, he consistently adds remarks ‘deprecating the ultimate utility of sententious wisdom’ as voiced by King Solomon (Bradbury 2011: 26).

The Proverbs of Hending are not the only item in the collection to provide proverbial lore; a small collection of short rhymes in Anglo-Norman on folio 7^{v} also presents knowledge of this kind, again by invoking by name an authority on the subject. The sixth rhyme runs: ‘Ceo dist la dame de Halop / Mult miez vaut assez qe trop’ (This says the lady of Halop: a lot is worth much more than too much).[31]

28 On the Anglo-Saxon roots of some of the *Proverbs of Hending*, see Cavill 2001.

29 After no. 14: ‘Suche, man, þou misht þevin / þat betir were þetin’ and at the end, after no. 46: ‘Al to late, al to late / Wan þe deth is at þe þate’.

30 See the essay in this volume by Hannah Morcos.

31 I have been unable to identify this lady. The fact that a *halop* was a type of ship (Trotter 2003: 24–25) does not seem relevant here.

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More English is found in Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* (fols 279v–294r), an idiom book to help speakers of English learn the French equivalent for particular words. That this is the use intended here, rather than for French speakers to learn English words, is made clear by the table of contents, which lists the work as 'La doctrine des enfantz pur les aprendre fraunceis' (fol. 6r). The English words have been written in red, like glosses, above their French counterparts. The *Tretiz* survives in seventeen manuscripts at the latest count, written over a period of a century and more. All manuscripts show great differences; scribes added and omitted at will as the needs of the people they worked for varied (Rothwell 2008: 109). The contents range far wider than the rural and agricultural sphere suggested in the prologue; sections discuss the human body, clothes, the weather, home improvements, or arranging a feast. In CUL, Gg.1.1, the *Tretiz* starts with words pertaining to childbirth and the human body after a rubricated prologue of twenty-eight lines.[32]

c. Historical Texts

Among the texts of a historical nature in Anglo-Norman Merlin's prophecies in prose (fols 120r–121v) are included, as well a short history of Britain from its legendary beginnings to the death of King Edward I in July 1307. Known as *Le Brut d'Angleterre abrégé* (fols 484v–489v; see Zettl 1935; repr. 1971: 92–107), it is exclusive to this manuscript. It is followed by an Anglo-Norman poem known as the elegy or lament on the death of Edward I (fol. 489v; Aspin 1953: 79–89). In Anglo-Norman this lament is unique to the Cambridge manuscript; an English version survives in Harley 2253.[33] As Aspin (1953: 79–78) has shown, the chronicle and the lament belong together; '[t]here is … nothing to show that the scribe conceived of the *Elegy* as an independent work distinct from the chronicle'.

The lament is followed by two short, four-line poems complaining that when people of an inferior social position are raised to positions of power or when a 'child' ascends the throne, the country suffers an inevitable and shameful loss in status. The first, following the lament after one blank line, is in Anglo-Norman and is written in three lines:

Ke de enfaunt fet rey. e prelat
De vileyn. E de clerc fet cunte.
Dunke vet la tere a hunte.

32 See Rothwell (ed.) 2009 for a recent edition based on the copy in CUL, Gg.1.1.

33 See Phillips 2005: 270–86 for a discussion of the Anglo-Norman *Lament* and its counterpart in English.

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[Whenever someone makes a child into king, a churl into a prelate and a cleric into a count the land is disgraced.]

After another blank line the translation is given on four lines, in the same hand:

Wos maket of a clerc hurle [earl]
And prelat of a cheurle,
And of a child maked king,
Þanne is þe londe underling. [gone down in the world]

The short poems are not insertions; they are written by the same scribe as the preceding *Brut* and the lament on the death of Edward I, and are clearly part of the original conception.

The position of these lines, immediately following expressions of sadness at the death of Edward I, strongly suggest that they apply to Edward II. Thiolier ((ed.) 1989) argues that at 23 years old Edward II was hardly a child at the time of his coronation in January 1308, and that the rhyme may well apply to Edward III, who was fifteen years old when crowned king.[34] A date of *c.* 1327–1330 for the inclusion of the short English rhyme would certainly accord with concerns expressed by the Lincolnshire author Robert Mannyng at this time about the consequences of the irresponsible behaviour of a young king for the country at large (Summerfield 2012: 29–31). However, as Meyer (1886: 338) points out, the rhyme is ultimately biblical in origin and largely proverbial.

Anglo-Norman and English are also found together in Langtoft’s *Chronicle* in mono-rhymed *laisses*, relating events in the reign of Edward I up to the battle of Dunbar in 1296 (fols 328ᵛ–345ᵛ). Between the stately *laisses* and cleverly integrated with them, are the famous so-called ‘political songs’ in ‘rime couée’,[35] written with the ‘tail’ in column b and two red, wavy lines linking the tail to the two-line stanza which it completes (a phenomenon termed ‘graphic tail rhyme’ by Rhiannon Purdie (2008: 66–74). Some of the ‘songs’ are in Anglo-Norman, some in a heavy Northern English dialect. The Cambridge manuscript has one song which is exclusive to it; it celebrates the victory of the English at Dunbar (Coss (ed.) 1996: 318). Like the other songs, it is written in a difficult Northern dialect but, unlike the other songs, it does not continue the rhymes of the preceding *laisses* (Summerfield 1997: 139–48; Matthews 2010: 57–67).

34 See also above, note 5.

35 The term ‘rime couée’ is used here for stanzas with lines of only two or three stressed syllables, rhyming ‘aabccb’, as in Langtoft’s ‘Political Songs’. This term was used by medieval scribes for such poems with their characteristic staccato rhythm (see, for example, the marginal notes alongside such rhymes in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 131, fols 176^{r-v}, 177^{r}, etc.). The more recent term tail-rhyme is here used for poems with longer lines, also rhyming aabaab, etc, like *The Proverbs of Hending*. See also Purdie 2008: 14–15.

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III. 'Toute une bibliothèque'?

In 1886, Paul Meyer started his detailed description of CUL, Gg.1.1 with the statement that 'Ce livre est à lui seul toute une bibliothèque' (1886: 283). However, although it may be regarded as an impressive library, it is not an all-encompassing one. The collection is governed by strict selective principles. Many of the texts in the codex state categorically, even polemically, for whom that particular work was written or to whom (and by whom) it should be read. How much closer do these statements bring us to an idea of the intended audience for the codex as an entity, rather than that of its constituent parts? And what was the purpose governing the collection of fifty-two, sometimes very long texts into one book?

The table of contents (fol. 6^r) preceding the first text in the collection, *Urbain le Courtois*, occasionally refers to the language in which a particular text was written, whether 'en romance', 'en franceis' or 'en engleis'.[36] Latin is not mentioned.[37] 'Romaunce' is also used in the titles 'Romaunce de amour', 'Romaunce del ave maria' and 'Roma*u*nce de les .v. ioies n*ost*re dame seinte marie'. The rubric heading the table of contents states sweepingly, but correctly, that most of the texts are 'romances': 'En iceste livre contienent tauntz de romances cum ci apres sunt nottez et escritz'. In all these instances the word 'roma[u]nce' is used here in the original sense of something written in the vernacular, in this case Anglo-Norman or the French of England. Indeed, romances in the sense of fictional, event-driven narratives are completely absent from the collection and many prologues in the compilation express negative sentiments concerning fictional material.

In his *Kalendar* (fols 8^r–16^v), the author Rauf de Linham begins by stating that he does not wish to recount old stories of the brave deeds of knights of old ('De geste ne voil pas chaunter / Ne veilles stories cunter, / Ne vailance as chevaliers / Ke jadis estoient si fiers' (fol. 8^r; *Kalendar*, ll. 1–8) as many of these are just unreliable tales, 'cuntes e fables / Ke ne sunt pas veritables' (ll. 15–16).[38] He has been asked by his 'seignur', to explain the workings of the calendar and to teach – *aprendre* – and guide – *enseigner* (ll. 22, 25). Consequently he will restrict himself to what he knows to be true ('verit[e] vus musterai', l. 18). His purpose is not to entertain by telling hard-to-credit stories set in the past, but to impart verifiable knowledge for the present.

36 'En romance' for *Urbain le Courtois*, *Art de kalendere*, *Lumere as lais*, *Credo*, *Les Set saumes de penaunce*; 'en engleis' for 'Le Livre de la passioun nostre seigneur jh*es*u crist'; 'en franceis' for *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Livre de la pochalipse.* See Wendy Scase's essay in this volume for further details.

37 See also the discussion and examples in Scase 2013: 251.

38 Hunt (ed.) 1983.

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Similar sentiments are expressed by Robert de Gretham, who relates in his *Miroir* (fols 135r–139v) that he has heard that his patroness, affectionately addressed as 'sa trechiere dame Aline', loves to listen to and read ('Que mult amez oir et lire') *chansons de geste* and histories.[39] Indeed, she makes a point of committing them to memory: '[E] mult mettez la memorie'. However, that is a habit frowned upon by the author; he sternly tells her that such works are not worth the effort, for they are nothing but vanity and lies:

> Mes bien voille qe vous le sachez,
> Qe ceo est plus qe vanitez,
> Qe ceo n'est rien for contrevure
> E folie de vaine cure. (fol. 135r; *Miroir*, ll. 1–18).

> [I really want you to know that this is worse than a waste of time, and is nothing but fiction and the folly of a silly habit.]

Instead Robert has written something that she will read with great delight ('lire a grant delit', fol. 135r; Meyer 1886: 299, ll. 61–66), that will comfort the soul and turn weak flesh away from its temptations. At the same time that killer of all interest, 'ennui', will be avoided (fol. 135v; *Miroir*, ll. 109–16).

Romances, then, or fictional narratives in general, have deliberately not been included, as being intrinsically unsuitable, both in themselves and more especially for the audience for which the texts in the collection were intended. Who was this audience for whose benefit the book was compiled?

The easy part of the answer is that it was made for lay people, i. e. for those who did not belong to the clergy and therefore had little or no Latin.[40] This may be deduced with confidence from a great many prologues in which the laity are featured as the intended audience. There, too, we find unequivocal, sometimes polemical, comments on the choice of language associated with this audience.

Rauf of Linham states that although he was originally asked to write his *Kalendar* by 'mun seignur' (fol. 8r; *Kalendar*, l. 18), the work is also useful for 'la laie gent' (ll. 25, 31), specified as those largely ignorant of Latin ('En langage de latin / Dunt nul lai ne set la fin'; fol. 8r; ll. 57–58). In fact, especially 'li veil e li enfancenet' [the elderly and small children] will benefit from his little book, provided they listen attentively (ll. 61–62).

The author of *La Lumere as lais* also envisages his audience as incorporating old people and children, as well as young men and women:

39 For a partial edition, see Meyer 1886: 296–305. The work's title is mentioned on folio 135v (Meyer 1886: 300, l. 143).

40 This is, of course, a simplistic picture of a complex linguistic situation. Many ill-educated clerics will no doubt also have preferred to listen to long improving stories in *romaunce* rather than in Latin. See Vising (1923: 15) for examples.

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E quanke orunt volunters cest romanz,
Veuz e jufnes, femme[s] e enfanz,
'Amen' die devotement … (fol. 111^r; *Lumere*, ll. 13,953–55)[41]

[And all those who hear with pleasure this *romanz*, old and young, women and children, devoutly say 'Amen'.]

Young men also seem an appropriate audience for a poem like *Urbain le Courtois*, and women would no doubt have been pleased with the inclusion of a poem in their defence.

A number of authors add remarks about the language that will suit the audience. Robert de Gretham, for example, feels very strongly about the need for intelligibility when addressing lay listeners, and avoiding the hubris of using Latin when it will fall on deaf ears:

Orgoile resemble verreiment
Ceo dire a autre qui nentent,
E si est ceo g*ra*nt folie
A lai parler latinerie.
[…]
Chescun deit estre a resoun mis
Par la langage dunt il est apris. (fol. 135^v; *Miroir*, ll. 79–82; 85–86).

[It truly resembles arrogance to address someone who does not understand it [= Latin], and thus it is great madness to speak in Latin ('latinerie') to someone not versed in the language. […] Everyone should be addressed in the language which he knows.]

The author of *La Plainte de Notre Dame* (fols 272^r–297^v) is explicit on the social division that arises if delightful stories of a religious nature are told only in a language which a large part of that audience cannot follow, as a result of which a class distinction between 'la gente lettre' and 'les lais' is created. 'Les lais' are to be pitied, he writes, for they also love God (ll. 9–12). And so he has decided to write for men and women in all spheres, secular and religious ('Madles femmes tute gent del siecle e de religion'; fol. 272^r; *Plainte*, l. 7).[42]

It is not known for which person or institution CUL, Gg.1.1 was made, and, as John Frankis (1985: 180) has pointed out, 'arguing the origin of a manuscript from the nature of its contents […] is full of pitfalls and any conclusions can only be tentative'. Helpful armorial shields, as found in the Vernon manuscript, or other clues that would enable us to identify its first owner, are absent, although provenance in the North East (Lincolnshire?) is suggested by a number of aspects of this book. Certainly it would seem reasonable to infer from the manuscript's substantial size and spectacular programme of illumination that it must originate

41 Hesketh (ed.) 2000, vol. II.
42 Meyer (ed.) 1886: 309–12. The scribal error of repetition in this line has been omitted.

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from a wealthy environment. Also, the large number of texts and the diversity of its contents ranging from the religious to the secular would suggest one or more clerics with good contacts with libraries in the vicinity, associated with or employed by a well-to-do landowning household, perhaps, as Frankis suggests for Digby 86, a private chaplain in a manorial household. An aristocratic household is, of course, also a possibility. In a wealthy household the men, women and children would all find material to their tastes, or, at the very least, material that was considered good for them. They must have been completely at ease with Anglo-Norman, but could take some English in their stride. The Latin was not for everyone, and the position of some of it, in blank spaces left at the end of Anglo-Norman texts, is enigmatic.

Throughout, the codex, with its mix of religious texts typified by a 'fairly relaxed humane approach to piety' (Frankis 1985: 177) and, within certain boundaries, secular material, answers to a taste for the conservative, widely disseminated, and moralistic. Much of the religious material dates from the thirteenth century and was part of a movement to instruct the laity in its own language about the Christian faith; the historical works, like Merlin's prophecies and Langtoft's *Chronicle*, which are of later date, were topical and extremely popular works which survive in numerous copies. The order of the texts appears to be haphazard; only where such closely related poems as the paraphrases of the Creed, Pater Noster and Ave Maria (fol. 392^{v}), and three penitential psalms (fols 261^{r}–264^{r}) are concerned is there any sense of a cluster or organising principle.[43]

What may be deduced from these statements and the nature of the texts in the collection is that their prime aim is instruction. Written in the familiar *romaunce* language, or occasionally in English, always with simple vocabulary and imagery, uncomplicated rhymes and suitable repetition, giving an impression of direct involvement with the audience and a sense of dialogue with that audience, this compilation has 'entertaining instruction' and 'useful knowledge' written all over it. Even the illustrations are not always mere embellishments, but may also serve to aid understanding. This is the reason, for example, for the diagram of a head accompanying the short Latin treatise attributed to Thomas Aquinas (fol. 490^{v}) and for the illuminations of *L'Image du Monde*. The rubric at the beginning of the latter work states that the following 'livres de clergie en romaunce' contains twenty-eight 'figures saunz qi le livre ne purreit pas estre legerem*en*t entenduz' (fol. 346^{r}; Meyer 1886: 315) [without which the book cannot be easily understood].

The book offers its readers a compilation of widely disseminated, varied and, one assumes, much-loved texts in a great variety of metrical forms. Throughout

43 See Jeffrey and Levy ((eds) 1990: 93–95, 99–100, 104–05 and 116–23) for editions and translations.

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the book, the spiritual and practical go hand-in-hand, forming a collection of texts that ensures a good life, both now in this world, and later, after death. Care needs to be taken of one's soul, but the estate also needs proper looking after, as do the youngsters who will one day inherit it: they need the right manners, the right education and the ability to explain what they want done on the estate, by having learned the equivalent word in French or in English. They need to be warned about women, and all kinds of other hazards, if only by means of easily remembered proverbs. What nobody needs, and what is not considered suitable for anybody, male, female or child, are works of fiction and untruth, fables and stories of the deeds of the knights of old.

The Cambridge manuscript is not a library in itself, but it might be called 'a library of metrical forms', containing works composed in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, also longer lines rhyming in couplets, short stanzas in 'rime couée', tail-rhyme,[44] 'laisses', quatrains with mono-rhyme at the end of a line or with end-rhyme as well as internal rhyme before the caesura, and so on. A sense of metrical experimentation pervades some works.[45] For example, in his *Miroir* Robert de Gretham regularly switches from couplets to mono-rhyme, in one instance keeping up a rhyme in *é* for 35 lines (fol. 139^{v}; *Miroir*, ll. 297–331); as for the versification of *Prognostics* (fol. 393^{r}–393^{v}) the author, not a brilliant versifier at any time, indulges his passion for rhymes on *–unt* by employing it in groups of fourteen, four, and ten lines respectively in a poem of only 106 lines (*Prognostics*, ll. 47–60 (fol. 393^{r}), 89–92 and 97–106 (fol. 393^{v})).[46]

Although the combination of secular and spiritual material may strike us as odd, and therefore as the result of chance and haphazard choices, the combination is not exceptional at this time. In fact, compared with other trilingual manuscripts of miscellaneous content with which CUL, Gg.1.1 shares material, the latter is decidedly sober in its choice of content. In BL, Add. 46919 (previously known as MS Phillips 8336), also compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century, religious and moralising texts rub shoulders with a treatise on hunting and information on falcons and tournaments. Again, romances are absent. There is, however, much less English in this manuscript. There is an unexpected line of English in the *Salut à la Vierge*, reading 'Be myn help and my fultum that ich mey amendi here',[47] kitchen recipes in English,[48] English couplets in Nicolas de Bozon's *Contes Moralisés*, and translations into English by Friar William

44 See also above, note 35.
45 Similar metrical variation and experimentation (mono-rhyme, internal rhyme, 'rime couée', etc.) is typical of Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* (completed 1338) in Lincolnshire; see Summerfield 1998: 152–54; Coleman 2003: 1214–38.
46 Meyer 1886: 322–26.
47 The English rhyme fits in with Anglo-Norman *mère*, *père* and *amère* (Meyer 1884: 545).
48 Dean and Boulton 1999: no. 398, note.

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Herebert.[49] In the slightly earlier trilingual Digby 86, copied towards the end of the thirteenth century, French and Latin devotional texts and prayers are mixed with romances, party games, and medical recipes (Tschann and Parkes, 1996), while Harley 2253, in three languages, also combines the devotional with recipes, a romance (*þe geste of Kyng Horn*) and many secular lyrics (Ker (ed.) 1965).

Although CUL, Gg.1.1 is, as we have seen, a collection of a wide variety of texts, it has been compiled with particular selection criteria in mind, and these also apply to the English texts in the collection. They fit in seamlessly and do not stand out as oddities in any way, neither by content, nor by page layout or (lack of) illumination. They, too, accord with the consistent aim of the compilation: religious and moral instruction, learning and teaching, 'aprendre e enseigner' as Robert de Gretham writes, in this way providing those not proficient in Latin with the tools to live life appropriately, in this world and the next.

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No Text is an Island: The *Chastelaine de Vergi*'s Exemplarity in Context

This essay considers the ways in which different models of reading may have affected the reception of a medieval work when read in its various manuscript contexts. It focuses on the thirteenth-century French courtly narrative, *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, examining the influence on its interpretation as an exemplary tale of its co-texts, paratext, and textual variants in three multi-text codices in which it appears.[1]

One important endeavour of the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' was to produce textual interpretations that take into account what Keith Busby calls 'the dynamics of the codex' (1999: 160). It was not enough for us to acknowledge in theory the advances that Bernard Cerquiglini and others have made in recognising the essentially fluid nature of medieval texts, and in accepting that each individual version of a medieval text carries a share of 'l'authenticité généralisée de l'œuvre médiévale' [the generalised authenticity of the medieval work], rather than there being one authoritative version and a series of pale reflections of it (Cerquiglini 1989: 57–58). Nor does it suffice simply to acknowledge the fact that short texts usually appear in multi-text codices, rather than in isolation.[2] We have also striven to put this into practice in our literary criticism, rather than succumbing to the temptation to view the text as a single, isolated unit, and to treat it as if the critical edition were its natural form. The individual scholars of the project were united in recognising the importance of context; we may differ, however, in our ways of putting that into practice, and one area of debate is how we are to know which connections between texts we should privilege, when faced with a vast array of possibilities. Which links between texts count as strong, and which are

1 This publication has resulted from the project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective' (www.dynamicsofthemedievalmanuscript.eu), which was financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) and the European Community FP7 2007–2013.

2 One notable exception is *Trubert* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 2188; see Busby 2002: I, 438 and 462 (n. 139).

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more tenuous? Should we award a more privileged status to immediate juxtaposition, or should we value most highly the frequency of co-presence in codices, even if the co-texts are not juxtaposed? To what extent is our conceptualisation of 'context' dependent upon our construction of the ideal reader?

It is a consequence of Cerquiglini's aforementioned 'authenticité généralisée' that many questions scholars have posed about any given text will receive a different answer for each manuscript. Whether a text is to be viewed as comedy or tragedy, who the real hero or villain of the piece is, biographical ambiguities concerning individual characters, so many of these factors are dependent on context and textual *variance*, and as such may change from manuscript to manuscript. This particular study takes one such vexed issue, namely the *Chastelaine de Vergi*'s debatable exemplarity, and applies three slightly different conceptualisations of what a text's context is to three very different manuscripts containing the short narrative, and produces three somewhat different answers.[3]

The *Chastelaine de Vergi*'s exemplarity is questionable, insofar as this thirteenth-century French work has a didactic frame at the beginning and end of the text, but there is some scholarly debate as to whether the moral contained in that frame (what we might term the 'official' moral) is to be taken at face value. Moreover, if that 'official' moral is to be disregarded, questions arise as to how we are to interpret its presence in the text, and what alternative morals, if any, are to be drawn. An apparently idyllic secret love affair ends with three of the four protagonists dead, and the narrator tells us that this was caused by a failure of discretion: that perfect secrecy is a sufficient guard against malicious outsiders.[4] It is Frederick Whitehead, in his 1944 edition of the *Chastelaine*, who first questions this, arguing that the story illustrates 'not the dangers of disclosing a secret love, but only the danger of making the disclosure to a weak and indiscreet

3 The following corpus of eighteen multi-text codices containing the *Chastelaine de Vergi* was the focus of my doctoral research: Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 548; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 257; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9574–75; Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 12; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, MS fr. 179bis; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 445; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 375; BnF, f. fr. 837; BnF, f. fr. 1555; BnF, f. fr. 2136; BnF, f. fr. 2236; BnF, f. fr. 15219; BnF, f. fr. 25545; BnF, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4531; BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 13521; Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes métropole / les champs libres, MS 243; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 417; The Cox Macro Rose (private owner; de Ricci suppl. A2200). Four manuscripts have been excluded from the corpus. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. gall. 1 may or may not be extant: Hamburg librarians have reported it as lost, although the IHRT claims to have a microfilm reproduction. Paris, BnF, f. fr. 780 is a collection of textual fragments, so while the part containing the *Chastelaine* is an extant medieval manuscript, fr. 780 reveals nothing of the *Chastelaine*'s medieval context. Finally, Paris, BnF, Moreau 1715–1719 and Paris, Bibiothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2474 were excluded because they are eighteenth-century copies of manuscripts already appearing in the corpus.

4 For prologue and epilogue, see lines 1–20 and 944–58 in Dufournet and Dulac (eds) 1994.

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man dominated by a vindictive wife who bears a grudge against one of the lovers' (Whitehead (ed.) 1944: xiv). As Karen Pratt (1995: 20) later observes, this statement displays an unfortunate failure to realise that 'morals drawn by poets are always generalisations of specific cases', and that the specific cases are invariably more complex and interesting than the morals. Whitehead himself presumably renounced this view fairly early on, since this passage is absent from the introduction to his 1951 edition, which contains a prefatory note stating that he was 'no longer satisfied with some of the views' expressed in the first edition, and had rewritten the introduction accordingly' (Whitehead (ed.) 1951: ii). However, the torch was taken up by Pál Lakits in 1966, who argued that the disjuncture between the narrative and the moral was not simply the inevitable failure of the general to map onto the specific, but that the knight's dilemma had no safe resolution: he told the secret, but keeping silent would have also ended the relationship (Lakits 1996: 62–65). Jean-Charles Payen writes that:

> il ne s'agit point des *faus felons enquereors* qui cherchent à faire leurs *gas* et leurs *ris* d'une confidence amoureuse, mais d'une série de personnes pris au piège qui se voient acculés à l'indiscretion – ou à la vengeance. Au niveau de l'intrigue, la programmation n'est pas respectée, mais d'autres problèmes sont soulevés, tels que la non-réciprocité d'une passion fatale (celle de la duchesse), ou encore le conflit entre les exigences de l'amour et celles de la chevalerie (Payen 1973: 214–15).
>
> [It is not a question of false, treacherous busybodies who are keen on laughing and joking about a secret love affair, but of a series of people caught in a trap and forced either to be indiscreet or to take revenge. At the level of the narrative, the stated moral is not respected, and other problems are raised, such as the non-reciprocity of a fatal passion (that of the duchess) or a conflict between the demands of love and those of chivalry.]

Tony Hunt (1993: 134, 139) makes the point of the impossible dilemma rather more forcefully, and also stresses the role played by the duchess, whom he calls a *mulier perniciosa*. He goes on to insist that secrecy, far from being a cure, actually 'creates the conflict', citing in support of this view the way the knight's well-turned out appearance, reputation of having no love affairs, and evasiveness when questioned lead the duchess to commit herself further than she might otherwise have done, while increasing the duke's suspicions, just as the way the duke appears to be reconciled with the knight while forbidding the duchess to question him only increases her curiosity (Hunt 1993: 135).[5] I would argue that, at these critical points in the narrative, the characters concerned are damaging their interests by *not saying enough* in words, while simultaneously *saying too much* by their *semblant* [appearance or behaviour]. Hunt goes so far as to suggest that the writer is deliberately steering the reader / audience towards reading the prologue

5 See the *Chastelaine*, lines 134–37, 247–56, 552–59.

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and epilogue ironically, and that the very distance between narrative and frame can take on symbolic significance (Hunt 1993: 133). Ben Ramm offers a not dissimilar conclusion when he argues that the disparity between narrative and frame helps us to see the problems inherent in exemplarity itself (Ramm 2006: 1, 12–13). Meanwhile, Sylvia Huot stresses the *Chastelaine*'s polyvalence, showing that it illustrates various different moral points: 'how to conduct oneself prudently, the importance of guarding secrets, not to mention the dangers for men in being manipulated by their wives. And it clearly illustrates the dangers of love affairs, even perfectly sincere ones, due to the ever-present threat of gossip and spying' (Huot 2001: 269–70).

In my view the *Chastelaine de Vergi*'s exemplarity is at least somewhat questionable, and the degree of questionability varies from manuscript to manuscript. I am not even referring to the way the epilogue is reworked and expanded in some of the later manuscripts.[6] I would like to argue that the context in which the text appears makes for different interpretations, even in those manuscripts where the wording of the epilogue stays more or less the same.[7] There are two main questions we need to pose: are we to see the *Chastelaine* as being exemplary of *anything* at all, and if it is exemplary, are we to view it as meaning what it says it does. The *Chastelaine*'s known late-medieval reception rather supports the idea of its being an exemplary text, but one where the precise moral is debatable; Huot selects three late medieval writers who all see the *Chastelaine* as an exemplary tale, but each one extracts a different moral from it (Huot 2001: 269). Evrart de Conty cites the *Chastelaine* in a subsection of *Le Livre des Eschez amoureux moralisés* entitled 'les vertus du secret'; the detailed explanation that follows is a very close paraphrase of the *Chastelaine*'s didactic frame, which he clearly takes at face value (Guichard-Tesson and Roy (eds) 1993: 715–16). In *La Prison amoureuse*, Jean Froissart uses the *Chastelaine* as an illustration of the ways Fortune mistreats innocent lovers (Fourrier (ed.) 1974: ll. 195–238). Christine de Pizan mentions the *Chastelaine* in *La Cité des dames* alongside other tragic love stories to serve two ends: first, to demonstrate that women are capable of great and constant love, in spite of accusations that all women are faithless, and secondly, to warn her female readers against 'celle mer tres perilleuse et dampnable de fole amour, car tousjours en est la fin a leur grant prejudice et grief en corps, en biens et en honneur et a l'ame' (Caraffi and Richards (eds) 1997: 402–05 (II. 60)) [that very dangerous and sinful sea of foolish love, which always ends in being most harmful and damaging to women's bodies,

6 See the appendix for a comparison of the prologue and epilogue in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 837, Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 548 and Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 12.

7 The appendix below shows, however, that the epilogue can vary substantially, while the prologue, by contrast, remains relatively stable.

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goods, honour and souls]. As we shall see there are some manuscript contexts which do encourage the reader to take the received message seriously, others where we are encouraged to see the text as 'exemplary', but to read other messages into it than the 'official' moral, and still other cases where we have far more grounds for treating the prologue and epilogue as a game, or a literary flourish, which has relatively little moral meaning.

One particular context where we are strongly encouraged to see the *Chastelaine* as an exemplary text, but without any particular stress being placed on the moral of discretion, is that of the fifteenth-century manuscript Angers, 548, where the *Chastelaine* is immediately preceded by a proverb collection (one which, incidentally, also appears in two other *Chastelaine* manuscripts).[8]

The proverb collection in question has been edited by Morawski as the *Diz et proverbes des sages.* It is a collection of quatrains, each one proffering a piece of generalising advice, and in many manuscripts, including Angers, 548, each four-line stanza is attributed to a particular philosopher or writer. None of the extant manuscripts contains all 260 of the quatrains in Morawski's edition; Angers, 548 has fifty-seven now (and probably had sixty-three prior to the removal of the manuscript's miniatures), a number which is wholly unremarkable for a manuscript of the *Diz et proverbes.* The order of the quatrains is not a constant across all the manuscripts, although the order in which they appear in the edition reflects what is thought to be the order of the original version; Angers, 548 does not follow that order very closely.

Folio 57^{v} of Angers, 548 is a particularly fruitful example of the role immediate context can play. It juxtaposes the end of the proverb collection, and the beginning of the *Chastelaine.* The following is a diplomatic transcription:

Timeus Qui de felon fet son porter De traictour son conseiller De folle fame sa moillier Ne pueut mourir sa*n*z encombrier	Timeus He who takes a rogue as his porter A traitor as his confidant And a wicked woman as his wife Cannot die without suffering great trouble.
Aristotes Li homs qui rien ne scet *et* ap*re*ndre ne vieult Et qui $^{n'a\ qui}$ le serve ne s*er*vir ne se veult Et cellui qui riens n'a ne gaigner ne vieust Ce n'est mie de merveille se pouvrete laq*ui*eust.	Aristotle The man who knows nothing and does not want to learn; And who has nobody to serve him and does not want to serve others; And who has nothing and does not want to earn anything: It is no wonder if he is gripped by poverty.

8 Paris, BnF, fr. 1555, fols 75^{v}–80^{v} and Geneva, fr. 179bis, fols 75^{r}–76^{v}.

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(Continued)

[Rectangle cut out from middle of page]	The manuscript has been mutilated by having its miniatures cut out; there is no way of knowing whether there was also any paratext removed at the same time.
Une maniere de gens sont Qui destre loial semblant font Et de si grant conseil seler[9]	There are some people who pretend to be loyal, and seem to keep such big secrets

Both proverbial quatrains promise disaster for the imprudent, but it is the penultimate quatrain that has the most striking parallels with the *Chastelaine*. It is the duke who commits two of the three faults outlined (and suffers a great deal as a result): not only does he marry a wicked woman, but she is also a traitor, whom he takes into his confidence.[10] However, even before the duke enters the picture, there is the purely lexical parallel between 'conseiller' and 'conseil', and between 'traictour' and 'loial semblant'. These words, moreover, go on to be some of what David Shirt (1980: 89) calls 'key words' of the *Chastelaine:* a set of frequently occuring lexical items whose 'regular and rhythmic repetition […] throughout the romance gives it harmony and balance'. While there is no echo for the proverb's use of the term 'encombrier' in the lines from the *Chastelaine* copied on this folio, the word does appear in the epilogue's reflections upon the unfortunate outcome of events: 'He dieux com fut grant enco*m*brier / Et cest meschief pour ce advint'.[11] The quatrain 'Qui de felon fet son porter', then, seems to tie in very neatly to the *Chastelaine*'s prologue and epilogue, being very much in favour of discretion. However, there is a nuance: while the *Chastelaine*'s frame urges for discretion in the sense of keeping silent, 'Qui de felon…' calls for discretion in one's choice of associates. This is similar to but subtly different from the overall message, and partakes of a subtly different ethos: practical wisdom rather than courtly codes of behaviour.

That is the immediate context provided by a single folio. What of the wider context constitued by the whole proverb collection? How might that shape the views of a reader who encountered it immediately before approaching the *Chastelaine?* The proverb collection lays out an ideal of moderate and prudent

9 Angers, 548, fol. 57v. 'Qui de felon fet son porter' corresponds to Morawski's LVI, and 'Li homs qui rien ne scet et aprendre ne vieult' corresponds to Morawski's LII. The opening of the *Chastelaine* corresponds to lines 1–3 of the Dufournet and Dulac edition, which is quoted passim unless otherwise indicated.

10 It is particularly noteworthy that the duke reveals the knight's secret to the duchess the day after his realisation that she has lied to him (425–26) in accusing the knight of making advances to her; he is knowingly trusting an untrustworthy person.

11 Angers, 548, fol. 75v, corresponding to *Chastelaine*, ll. 944–45: 'Oh God, what a great trouble this was, and this disaster happened because…'

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behaviour which readers are urged to follow, one which Morawski ((ed.) 1924: lii–liii) summarises as 'Gardez le juste milieu'. The characters of the *Chastelaine* fail to live up to that ideal, and their tragedy can very easily be read to stem from those errors of judgement. Although much of the proverbial teaching is relevant to the *Chastelaine*, there are some striking parallels. The version of the *Dis et proverbes* in Angers, 548 contains two quatrains on the importance of remaining level-headed and the dangers strong emotions can hold for one's good judgement. Folio 53^{v} has the quatrain edited by Morawski as XXXIX, claiming that 'He who wishes to judge loyally must begin by ensuring that he is not too much in love nor caught up by strong hatred'. Folio 53^{r} contains number XXV, which states that excessive love and hatred lead to 'maint faulx jugement' [many bad decisions]. The characters of the *Chastelaine* are peculiarly prone to making important decisions on the basis of emotions, rather than logic, and without due reflection. The duke makes decisions on the spur of the moment: when he tells the knight's secrets to his wife, he has a change of heart and acts upon it immediately, without pause for reflection (fol. 69^{v}; *Chastelaine*, 630–34); he also acts instantly when he decides to execute his wife (fol. 75^{r}; *Chastelaine*, 916–21). Although the Chastelaine and the knight pause for thought (and monologue) before dying, neither seeks counsel from anybody else or takes steps to ensure others will know why they died; and certainly the Chastelaine's decision to die was at least partly based on a false assumption, which she could have corrected had she chosen to investigate. As well as being over-emotional, the characters are also misguided, in very specific ways that the *Diz et proverbes* warn readers against. The quatrain that appears next to the *Chastelaine* is not the only one that stresses the dangers of choosing one's associates badly. Two further examples are the quatrains beginning 'Pis vault compains qui n'est loiaulx' on folio 52^{v} (edited as XX), and 'Il fait bon eschiver l'ennuy' on folio 53^{r} (edited as XXIII). The former says that 'a disloyal companion is worse than a gut wound; wounds made by the tongue are harder to heal than those made by the sword', and the latter that 'it is wise to avoid the kind of trouble that never does anybody any good. He who keeps bad company often loses his honour and his life.' Another quatrain, warning about credulity (XLVII), is also highly applicable to the *Chastelaine*:

Cilz ne vieust son sens garder d'ire
Croire ne doit ce qu'il oit dire
Car qui fait de s'oroille nasse
En son cuer grant torme*n*t amasse. (fol. 54^{v})

[He who wishes to protect his mind against anger should not believe everything he hears people say, for anyone who makes his ear into a net stores up great suffering in his heart.]

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It offers an apt parallel to the Chastelaine's instant deduction and unquestioning belief that her lover cannot love her any more, upon hearing that the duchess knows their secret (lines 733–45, appearing on folio 71^{v}).

The characters of the *Chastelaine*, then, fail to live up to the ideals of the proverbs, sometimes in very specific ways, but always and obviously in their passionate and precipitate temperaments. It is likely that somebody reading the *Chastelaine* immediately after, or shortly after, the *proverbes* would be far more inclined to judge the characters harshly on that account; or, indeed, to see the bloodstained conclusion of the *Chastelaine* as providing a fitting illustration of the consequences of *demesure*. The narrative would thus be a negative *exemplum* of unwise behaviour, rather than a failure to live up to the courtly code of silence. Rather than simply being a thirteenth-century courtly text parachuted into an alien, moralising culture of some two hundred years later, the *Chastelaine* is readily assimilated into that culture, thematically if not linguistically, something which speaks volumes for the text's polyvalence.

This brief glance at Angers, 548 has conceptualised 'context' as 'immediate context'. While this is a very valuable tool, I do not believe it is the only kind of context worthy of investigation. It can be fruitful to study immediate juxtapositions on a single folio, and to view a text in terms of the entire text immediately preceding it. However, these are by no means the only ways we can think about texts in context – what about the rest of the texts in the same manuscript, even if they are not juxtaposed with the narrative in question? Could one not argue that even though the *Chastelaine* and the proverb collection are only juxtaposed in one manuscript, they are together in three manuscripts, and it is relevant and worthy of note that many readers of one particular text would have had access also to the other? One possible outcome of adopting this approach to textual context is explored below, with reference to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 837.

In the late thirteenth-century manuscript BnF, f. fr. 837, the *Chastelaine* is one of approximately 250 texts. That is a great deal of context, with plenty of scope for different kinds of interpretation! Many of these texts are narratives which include a moral, and some even use the word 'exemple' in the context of attaching the moral to the tale, as the *Chastelaine* does. However, critics may question the value of drawing close parallels between texts that are a hundred folios apart. As we learn from reader-reception theory, our reading of texts is influenced by our memories of other texts we have read recently; one can, of course, use this to privilege interpreting texts through the prism of the text that directly precedes them in the manuscript, but perhaps it should not stop there. Non-immediate context can also be significant, but its significance is dependent upon how one conceptualises the reader. Hans Robert Jauss's model of the 'horizon of ex-

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pectations', for example, brilliant and valuable though it is, still carries certain underlying assumptions of linearity:

> A literary work… awakens memory of that which was already read, brings the reader to a specific emotional attitude, and with its beginning arouses expectations for the 'middle and end', which can then be maintained intact or altered, reoriented, or even fulfilled ironically in the course of the reading according to specific rules of the genre or type of text. (Jauss 1982: 23)

Even within this radical reworking of our conceptualisation of the reading process, we can still see traces of an ideal reader who follows the King of Hearts' advice to 'Begin at the beginning […] and go on till you come to the end; then stop' (Carrol 1958: 110). Moreover, it can also be deduced that in this instance, Jauss's ideal reader is reading the text in question for the first time. It can only improve our understanding of reader reception if we take into account those readers who return to their books over and over again, and who dip in and out of them, rather than reading sequentially. Given how expensive medieval books were, it is hardly unreasonable to suggest that many people would re-read the books they owned (or listen to them being read over and over again), and as far as non-sequential reading goes, it is known that many medieval books were designed in such a way as to facilitate it. The layout of fr. 837 allows the reader to see at a glance where one text ends and another begins, and there is reason to believe that it was originally equipped with a table of contents, too.[12] Given what we know about medieval reading habits, it makes no sense to privilege first-time readers as ideal readers when analysing literary texts; at least equal weight should be given to an ideal reader who has read and re-read the manuscript and is familiar with the other texts in it, or who has frequently listened to someone else reading texts from fr. 837. And, if we *do* give equal weight to both kinds of ideal reader, it follows that we ought to consider contexts other than the immediate context.

A first-time, sequential reader would have relatively little to draw on when reading the version of the *Chastelaine* in fr. 837: it is only the second text in the manuscript, following the *Chevalier au barisel*, a text that tells the story of a notorious evil-doer who eventually repents for his misdeeds and dies a 'good' death, and which ends with the wholly appropriate moral that there is no sin so

12 This hypothesis is made most forcefully by Sylvie Lefèvre (2005: 219). She takes the fact that where the manuscript has lacunae, a medieval hand has noted the titles and numbers of the missing texts, and from this, deduces that the annotator must have had access to either an unmutilated sister manuscript (which is the more commonly repeated hypothesis) or a table of contents. Lefèvre (2005: 219) contends that the hypothesis of the table of contents is 'plus simple, voire plus réaliste car les tables conservées restent moins rares que les volumes identiques'. She also suggests that this table of contents was located at the end of the volume. It is, of course, more usual for tables of contents to appear at the beginning of volumes, but that does not mean it is impossible, and Lefèvre makes a very convincing case for it.

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bad that it cannot be forgiven by God if the sinner truly repents, lines 1069–79 (Lecoy (ed.) 1955); folio 6^{r}. Following on from such an uncontroversial match between narrative and explicit moral as that, the reader might well take the *Chastelaine*'s prologue and epilogue at face value, not having any reason to question it. Alternatively, the *Chastelaine* might be the point at which that first-time reader develops internal misgivings about the relationship between narrative and moralising frame, misgivings which develop as (s)he reads the other texts in the manuscript where the morals appear at least slightly mismatched. The *Chastelaine* might then be the starting point for such a reader's journey to a more sophisticated enjoyment of later texts.

By contrast, a more experienced ideal reader of fr. 837 might come to a very different conclusion regarding the *Chastelaine*'s exemplarity. Among the texts with noticeably ill-assorted morals appearing later in the manuscript is the *Vair Palefroi*, a text whose opening lines present it as a demonstration of the great good that can be obtained from women, and goes on to do nothing of the sort.[13] Instead, we hear about a young couple who are saved from the machinations of their elders not by any ingenuity on the part of the young woman, or indeed the young man, but by the loyalty and good memory of the young man's horse. Anybody who had read *that* text might be forgiven for treating another text's explicit moral with a degree of suspicion. Moreover, if we look at the other texts that use the word 'exemple' in this manuscript, most of the ones whose use of the term most closely parallels the way the *Chastelaine* uses it (which is to say, the ones which seem to be using the word 'exemple' almost as a generic label for the text itself) are *fabliaux*, comic texts, and not repositories of great moral learning, and the morals themselves are not always altogether ethical and respectable.[14] Eight out of fr. 837's 249 texts use the word 'exemple' (or 'example') in the prologue and / or epilogue, and in four of them, the use of the noun with a proximal demonstrative can plausibly be interpreted as calling the text itself an 'exemple' or *exemplum.*

La Chastelaine de Vergi, 951–52	'*Et par* cest exa*m*ple doit l'en / s'amor celer' (fol. 11^{r})	And by this example, [we learn that] one should conceal one's love
La Housse partie (*NRCF*: III, 414)	'Icest exa*m*ple fist bernier' (fol. 152^{r})	This example was written by Bernier.
Le Prestre crucefié (*NRCF*: IV, 96, 102)	'Un example vueil con-mencier' (fol. 183^{r})	I want to begin an example

13 For an edition, see Méjean-Thiolier and Notz-Grob (eds) 1997. The line paraphrased here is line 2, 'Les biens c'on puet de fame trere' (fol. 348^{v}).

14 References in the following table to *fabliaux* are to the *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux* (*NRCF*). See Noomen and Van den Boogaard (eds) 1983–1998.

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(Continued)

	'Cest ex*am*ple nous monstre b*ie*n / que nus prestres por nule rien / ne devroit autrui fame amer' (fol. 183v)	This example shows us clearly that no priest should ever, under any circumstances, have a love affair with someone else's wife.
Le Fevre de Creil (*NRCF*: V, 77)	'P*ar* cest ex*am*ple vueil monstrer / *qu'on* doit aincois le leu huer / des bestes q*u'i*l i soit venuz' (fol. 231v)	By this example I want to demonstrate that one should shoo the wolf away from the flock as soon as it approaches.

The parallels are quite striking when they are placed together, though of course these are only four texts, not at all close together in the manuscript, as the folio numbers indicate. For completeness, and to show that they do not fit the same paradigm, I shall give the four other texts in fr. 837 which use the word 'exemple' in the prologue and/or epilogue, but not explicitly as a generic term for the work.

Le Roman des Eles (Busby (ed.) 1983: 6–8)	'…des chevaliers vous commanz / noviaus moz ou l'en porroit prendre / ex*am*ple *et* cortoisie aprendre' (fol. 54r)	I am beginning a new work for you about knights, a work from which one might take example [as a model], and learn courtliness.
Narcisus et Dané (Eley (ed.) 2002, p. 32, ll. 35–36)	'Narcisus q*ui* fu mors d'amer / nous doit ex*am*ple a toz doner' (fol. 107v)	Narcissus, who died of love, should set an example to us all.
Les Perdris (*NRCF:* IV, p. 7, ll. 150–51)	'P*ar* ex*am*ple cis fabliaus dist / fame est fete por decevoir' (fol. 170r)	By way of a message, this *fabliau* tells us that woman is made to deceive others.
Le Jugement Salomon (Méon and Barbazon (eds) 1808: II, 440, 442)	'q*ua*r bel example done' (fol. 223v) 'Seignor de tel afere / furent andui li frere / por example doner / le fist li emperere / n'apelent pas droit oir / celui q*ui* fiert son pere' (fol. 224v)	For it provides us with a fine moral… Lords, this business with these two brothers gives us an example, and the emperor made an example of them, namely that somebody who strikes his father should not be recognised as his rightful heir.

It is perhaps noteworthy that of the four texts which seem to use the word 'exemple' as a textual descriptor, only the *Chastelaine* does not appear in the *NRCF*, and two of the four texts are of a ribald nature, whereas of the four that do not use the word in this way, only one is in the *NRCF* (*Les Perdris*), and it is the only one to be even slightly risqué with its references to adultery and violence. None of the more courtly texts among the seven use the word 'exemple' to

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describe the narrative itself: which is to say that no courtly text in the entire manuscript, except for the *Chastelaine* claims to be an 'exemple'.

Across the collection as a whole, some texts have morals that agree with the stories, and some do not; sometimes, as with the *Vair Palefroi*, there is a distinct ludic dimension to the disjuncture. It would not be unreasonable to assume that an experienced reader of fr. 837 might come to see the moral framework of a narrative as an entertaining literary flourish: a conventional and superficial embellishment, often associated with the *fabliau.* Several critics of the *Chastelaine* suggest this as a possibility, with Shirt (1980: 85) putting it in the strongest terms: 'little more than platitudinous trimming, a pair of didactic book-ends which formally mark the beginning and end of the *aventure*'; I suggest that this possibility is brought out very strongly if one reads the *Chastelaine* in conjunction with the rest of fr. 837. One might imagine a sophisticated reader, with an awareness of medieval literary technique produced by close and repeated reading of the literary cornucopia that is fr. 837: such a reader might appreciate the *Chastelaine*'s frame as a delightful intellectual game (regardless of whether the author intended it as such). Alternatively, one might imagine a frequent listener who experiences epilogues primarily in terms of their form and function, rather than their meaning. For such a listener, an epilogue is when we hear a change of inflection signalling the end of the text; it is the point where we calm down from the emotional excitements of the text, and adopt a solemn pose (or indeed a mock-solemn one); what the epilogue actually says is of secondary importance, so long as there is one.

Another way of conceptualising context is to view the manuscript as a whole, paying attention to the implied relationships between the texts created by the *mise en page* and the quality or type of decoration accorded to each text respectively. If we look at the fifteenth-century Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 12 in this light, the context it provides seems to lead the readers to place greater trust in the given moral than they might otherwise do. In this manuscript, the *Chastelaine* is preceded by a French version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (see Noest (ed.) 1999–2000), and followed by the *Régale du monde*, another respected philosophical text.[15] The 'main' texts, of which the *Chastelaine* is one, are also interspersed with short verses and devotional images. The three main texts themselves are copiously illustrated, with the *Chastelaine* receiving similar treatment to the other two. Unlike several of the codices containing the *Chastelaine* and one other text, where the former is decorated much less lavishly, making it appear to be a less important addendum, in Trinity Hall, 12 the

15 This anonymous text has never been edited, though it has been studied; see Laidlaw 1981. For a full list of contents, see http://www.trinhall.cam.ac.uk/about/library/old-library/manuscripts/detail.asp?ItemID=1060.

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Chastelaine is not marked as a low-status text, only one subtly different from the other two.[16] One interesting similarity between items is the portraits: as well as having the events of the story abundantly illustrated, the *Chastelaine* also has portraits of the narrator at the beginning and end of the story, setting up a parallel with the other texts' author portraits. The narrator-portrait accompanying the epilogue has a speech scroll appearing above his head that reads 'celer vaut molt' [concealment is good], a condensed version of the 'official' message of the *Chastelaine*. Unlike the author portraits, though, the *Chastelaine*'s narrator does not kneel to present a book to a patron, nor does he sit at a desk; instead, he wears a Phrygian cap with a coronet at the base, and wags his finger at his audience, presenting a sagely appearance. As such, he appears authoritative, but with an authority linked to orally delivered wisdom (possibly eastern philosophy, given the cap) rather than the kind of scholarship that is suggested by desks and presentation books. The narrator, then, is paralleled with Boethius, enjoying an authority similar to his if not quite the same, and that authority is extended to the 'official' moral of the story, giving readers of Trinity Hall, 12 a strong inducement to take that message very seriously indeed.

This study highlights the possibilities offered by taking manuscript context into account when carrying out textal criticism, and by being aware of the multiple levels on which context can operate and influence reception. The *Chastelaine de Vergi* is a particularly chimeric text on many levels, and the eighteen medieval multi-text codices in which it appears are a fascinatingly varied set. It is not every thirteenth-century love story that could be so smoothly co-opted into fifteenth-century didactic culture, and not every text which concerned itself with refined speech and behaviour could also show such distinct commonalities with some of the most obscene texts of the period.

16 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9574–75 is the most extreme example. The opening of the *Roman de la rose* on folio 1r has a miniature, a large initial and an elaborate border, and the text as a whole has twenty-nine miniatures; the *Chastelaine* has none, and its opening initial on folio 138v is similar to those used to mark minor internal divisions in the *Rose*. In general, manuscripts containing the *Chastelaine* and one other (longer) text tend to have the first page of the long text decorated more elaborately than the first page of the *Chastelaine*, though the differences range from stark to subtle.

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Appendix: A Comparison Between the Moralising Frames of the *Chastelaine* in Three Manuscripts

This appendix has been provided for a variety of reasons: first, because since the *Chastelaine*'s moralising frame is under discussion, it is helpful to have the text of it to hand, but also because it is useful to see how that frame is slightly different in each of the three manuscripts discussed – and that is something that the currently available editions do not do satisfactorily. Since they are all concerned with establishing a 'good' text, they are focused on the earlier manuscripts, and as such, have no interest in providing variants from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts, even when they are aware of their existence.[17] The alternative readings explored below are not 'good' readings insofar as they are of no assistance in the 'quête d'une perfection toujours antérieure et révolue' [quest for an earlier, lost perfection] for 'la version authentique, première et originelle'[the authentic, first and original version] that Cerquiglini (1989: 58) supposes modern editors to be concerned with. Nor are they the kind of respectably early alternative versions that modern editors might otherwise seek out. They are simply late-medieval variants. The full text and translation of the version contained in fr. 837 is provided here, and for the other two manuscripts only significant divergence from fr. 837 has been noted. From the point of view of respecting the theory that all versions of a medieval text are equally valid and partake of Cerquiglini's 'autorité généralisée' (1989: 58), it might have been better to provide full text and translation for all versions, but that would be cumbersome. The line numbers given against the Angers and Trinity Hall manuscripts have not been obtained by counting lines in those manuscripts. Neither has ever had its *Chastelaine* text transcribed in full and published with line numbers, so there would be little utility in such a procedure. Instead, the line numbering is a means of connecting the text of the later manuscripts to the text of fr. 837: the '3' in the third column indicates that the line in question from the Angers manuscript is the line corresponding to the third line of fr. 837 (which, in this particular

17 Raynaud ((ed.) 1892) uses fr. 837 as a base text, with copious variants from the other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts known to him, and explicitly sets aside the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts as being of no help in establishing an edition. He was not aware of Trinity Hall, 12 or the Angers manuscript, *inter alia*. Whitehead's editions (1944 and 1951) are both reworkings of Raynaud's. Dufournet and Dulac ((eds) 1994) also use fr. 837 as a base text. Stuip's critical edition (1970) uses fr. 375 as a base text, and he only transcribes the text of and provides detailed descriptions for those manuscripts he deems useful for establishing the text: Angers, 548 does not fall into that favoured category, and he does not seem to have been aware of Trinity Hall, 12 at all. As for the Méjean-Thiolier and Notz-Grob edition (1997), it uses nouv. acq. fr. 13521 as a base text, on the apparent grounds that it is a respectably early manuscript, providing a complete version of the text, and had never been used as a base text by any previous editor.

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incidence, is also the third line of the text in Angers). For the prologue, and for lines 944–50 of the epilogue, the reader can safely assume that for every line not explicitly transcribed or otherwise mentioned in the columns for the Angers and Trinity Hall manuscripts, those witnesses have an equivalent to the lines in fr. 837 and with a similar meaning, orthographical variance notwithstanding. The procedure is slightly different for the epilogue, for the two manuscripts' equivalents of lines 951–58 have been transcribed in their entirety, since for Trinity Hall, 12 almost every line contains a variant of (at least slight) semantic significance, and Angers presents these lines in a different order from fr. 837, and with some repetition. Both manuscripts also include within this portion of the epilogue lines having no equivalents in fr. 837; these are denoted with a # at the beginning of the line where one would expect a referential line number. Since this is a transcription, the use of [sic] is deemed superfluous; however, question marks in parentheses are included in the translation where the incoherence of the original merits it.

	fr. 837 text	**fr. 837 translation**	**Angers, 548 divergent readings**	**Trinity Hall, 12 divergent readings**
4 8	Une maniere de gent sont Qui d'estre loial samblant font *Et* de si bien conseil celer Q*u'i*l se couient en aus fier *Et* quant vient q*u'a*ucuns s'i descueure Tant q*u'i*l seuent l'amor et l'ueure Si l'espandent p*ar* le pais Puis en font lor gas *et* lor ris	There are some people who pretend to be loyal, and seem so apt at keeping confidences that you cannot help but trust them; but when somebody does confide in them, making them privy to all the details of a love affair, they spread the gossip around the whole region, and then make merry over the delightful joke.	3 Et de si grant conseil seler [and seem to keep such big secrets] 6 Tant quil seevent le iour *et* leure [making them privy to the day and time (of the rendez-vous)]	5 Et sil auie*n*t q*u*on si desq*ue*uure [and if it so happens that someone confides in them] 8 Et en fo*n*t le*ur*s ieux *et* le*ur*s ris: [and then make merry over the delightful game]
12	Si auient q*ue* cil joie en pert Q*ui* le *con*seil a descouuert Q*ua*r tant *com* l'amor est plus grant Sont plus mari li fin amant	Thus it comes to pass that the person who has revealed the secret loses all joy; for the greater the love, the more distressed the noble lovers will be		9 Si avient q*ue* tel ioie en p*er*t Q*ui* le c*on*ceil a descouu*er*t [Thus it comes to pass that such a person who has revealed the secret loses all joy…]

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(Continued)

	fr. 837 text	fr. 837 translation	Angers, 548 divergent readings	Trinity Hall, 12 divergent readings
	Qua*n*t li uns d'aus de l'autre croit Q*u'i*l ait dit ce q*ue* celer doit	when one of them believes that the other has spoken about something they should have concealed.	13 Quant li un deulz de l'autre voit Quil a dit… [When one of them sees that the other has spoken]	13 Q*ua*nt lun scet *et* laut*re* b*ie*n croist Q*ui*l a dit… [When one of them knows and the other strongly believes that one of them has spoken]
16 20	Et soue*n*t tel meschief en vient Q*ue* l'amor faillir en couient A grant dolor *et* a ve*r*goingne Si *com*me il auint en borgoingne D'un ch*evalie*r preu et hardi *Et* de la dame de vergi	And often such disaster comes of it that the love itself cannot survive, ending in great pain and shame, as indeed it did happen in Burgundy, to a brave and noble knight and to the Dame de Vergi.	17 'A grant douleur ag*ra*nt uergoigne' [in great pain, in great shame]	16 Q*ue* lamo*ur* p*er*dre en co*n*uient [that (the lovers) must lose their love] 17 A g*ra*nt deul *et* a g*ra*nt ve*r*gongne [in great sorrow and great shame] The equivalent of line 18 is missing, so the end of this passage would be translated: [and great shame of a brave and noble knight and the Dame de Vergi.]
944 948	Ha! diex t*re*stout cest enco*m*brier *Et* cest meschief por ce auint Q*u'a*u ch*evalie*r tant mesauint Q*u'i*l dist ce q*ue* celer deuoit *Et* q*ue* desfendu li auoit S'amie q*u'i*l ne le deist Ta*n*t *com* s'amor auoir vousist	Oh, God, all of this trouble, this disaster, happened because the knight was unfortunate enough to have spoken about the thing he should have concealed, the thing his lover had forbidden him to speak of, if he wished to keep her love.	944 He dieux com fut grant enco*m*brier [Oh God, what a great trouble this was] 946 Q*ua*nt ch*eva*l*ie*r tant mesadvint… [for the knight was so very unfortunate]	944 A dieu co*m* mortel enco*m*brier [Oh God, what a fateful trouble this was] 945 Qua*n*t ce meschief po*ur* ce avint Au ch*evalie*r ta*n*t mesavi*n*t [For this disaster happened for this reason that the knight was unfortunate enough]
952	*Et* p*ar* cest exa*m*ple doit l'en S'amor celer p*ar* si	And by this example we learn that one should keep		951 Et p*ar* tel exe*m*ple peust on 952 B*ie*n savoir

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(Continued)

	fr. 837 text	fr. 837 translation	Angers, 548 divergent readings	Trinity Hall, 12 divergent readings
	gra*n*t sen *C'on* ait toz jors en reme*m*brance Q*ue* li descouvrirs riens n'auance *Et* li celers en toz poins vaut	one's love hidden with great ingenuity, always remembering that openness serves no good end, and concealment is best in every way.	954 Car li descouvrir riens ne vault 955 Mes li celler en tel point vaut 957 Contre fellons enquerens 958 Qui en quierent d'autruy amans 951 Et p*ar* cest exemple doit on 952 Si b*ie*n celer tout p*ar* raison 953 Qu'en ait touz jours en reme*m*brance 954 Que li venter nul temps n'avence 955 Mes b*ie*n celler en touz poins ravoir [For openness serves no good end, whereas concealment is best in every way as a defence against wicked inquisitive people who poke their noses into other people's love affairs. And by this example we learn that we ought to keep everything well hidden, as is reasonable, always remembering that expressing one's feelings does not serve any good end on any occasion, but concealment is	celler p*ar* tout 953 Q*u*on ait to*us* jo*urs* en reme*m*b*ra*nce 954 Q*ue* le recorder poi*n*t nave*n*ce 955 Car le celler en tout poit vault [And by such an example as this we can know very well to use concealment by all means possible [??], always remembering that mentioning things serves no good end, for concealment is best in every way.]

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(Continued)

	fr. 837 text	fr. 837 translation	Angers, 548 divergent readings	Trinity Hall, 12 divergent readings
			a thing to cultivate in every way]	
956	Q*ui* si le fet ne crient assaut Des faus felons enq*ue*reors Q*ui* enquierent autrui amors.	He who does this has nothing to fear from the wicked, inquisitive traitors who poke their noses into other people's love affairs.	956 Qui cil le fait ne craint assauoir #Or p*ri*ons po*ur* les .ii. amans #Et pour les aut*res* bonnes gens #Que dieu nous gart de mort vilaine #Icy fine la chastelline [He who does this is not afraid to know [??]. Now let us pray for the lovers, and for the other good people. May God keep us from an ignoble death. Here ends the *Chastelaine*]	956 Et q*ui* ce fait ne craint assault 957 Mais folx est li ho*m*s enq*ue*rorx 958 Q*ui* enq*ui*ert t*ro*p daultry amo*ur*s #Car .i. p*ro*vv*er*be si nous p*ro*uue #Q*ui* b*ie*n est si ne se remeuve [And he who does this has nothing to fear. But the inquisitive man who pokes his nose too far into other people's love affairs is truly foolish, for a proverb proves to us that if all is well, it's best not to rock the boat.]

As for the 'extra' lines tacked onto the epilogue in the two later manuscripts, the Trinity Hall reworking is unique. All other surviving versions give their advice to lovers; Trinity Hall, MS 12 is the only one to consider the outsiders' perspective. The Angers addition is rather more commonplace, being one of six in the corpus (and seven including fr. 780) which invite the reader to pray for the lovers. These are not all on the same pattern, though, and the wording of the prayer in Angers only shares similarities with one other manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 445.[18]

18 The prayer in MS Bodley 445 shares with Angers the first half of the quatrain, 'Or prions pour les deux amans / Et po*ur* les autres bonnes gens', but then the second half is different: 'Que dieu nous vueille tous aidier / Et nous garde tous d'encombrier' (fol. 158^{r}). For the other prayers, the version in fr. 1555 is unique among the surviving manuscripts, and then there is another version common to fr. 780, fr. 2236, nouv. acq. fr. 4531, and Geneva, fr. 179bis.

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Authorial and Editorial Roles in Song Manuscripts of the Devotio Moderna

This essay sets out a model which identifies eight distinct authorial and editorial roles in the transformation of oral sermons to written collections in multi-text codices. This model is then applied to a different genre: collections of songs from the same background, the Devotio Moderna. The main differences and similarities between sermons and devotional songs are discussed in relation to the position of their authors, their generic characteristics and the needs of the manuscript users. The model turns out to be a strong heuristic tool for systematically reflecting on the genesis of multi-text codices. It can be used to compare the mechanics of writing and collecting in various genres and cultural circles.

Introduction

Evidence for successive stages in the creation and organisation of multi-text manuscripts often comes from codicological research. However, in some cases textual information is available; a fruitful field of research is provided by collections of medieval Dutch sermons. Specifically, the sermon collections of the Augustinian convent of Our Lady of the Rose planted in Jericho (hereafter abbreviated to Jericho), a convent located in Brussels, offer a wealth of information about their genesis and the people involved. The collections have extensive prologues and epilogues, in which the sisters, as members of the convent were called, explain in detail how several of them contributed to writing down and editing the sermons delivered by their father confessor (Stoop 2007: 276–80; 2011: 197–200; 2012)). On the basis of this material, Patricia Stoop (2013) has developed a model which identifies multiple distinct phases in the production of these sermon collections. This model offers an interesting starting point for research into song manuscripts originating from the same cultural background as the sermon collections: the Devotio Moderna, a spiritual reform movement with an emphasis on the rejection of the world, asceticism and inner reform that domi-

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nated religious life in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century. The movement was particularly attractive to women: two thirds of the adherents were female.[1]

This essay presents Stoop's model and discusses whether the mechanics of text collecting are similar for sermons and songs. Specific attention will be paid to the various authorial and editorial roles of the agents involved. Our premise is that by offering a systematic approach, this model will facilitate a better understanding of the genesis of devotional song collections, and possibly of the genesis of multi-text codices in general.

Our corpus consists of twelve multi-text manuscripts. Song is often the only, or certainly the most important genre, though sometimes small blank spaces are filled in with maxims – as is often the case in secular song manuscripts as well. Most codices transmit not only the song texts, but also the melodies, by using musical notation or melody references, quoting the first line of another, often secular, song with the same melody (Van der Poel 2011: 71–73). The number of songs varies from seventeen in a small manuscript like the songbook of Marigen Remen (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS LTK 218, Gerritsen (ed.) 1966), to almost two hundred in the large manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 190 (Mertens and Van der Poel (eds) 2013). The average number is about fifty. Together, they form a repertoire of hundreds of devotional songs in the vernacular and in Latin, originating from the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth centuries.[2] Of these twelve manuscripts, eight are connected to female owners, all but one living in a convent or beguinage.[3]

1 The adherents of the Devotio Moderna lived in communities of Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life, without taking vows or entering into a monastic order. However, these communities were gradually converted into more official convents: many took on the rule of St Augustine, or the Rule of the Third Order of St Francis. For English language studies on this movement, see, for instance, Hascher-Burger and Joldersma 2008; Van Engen 2008; Scheepsma 2004.

2 The numbers mentioned in the Dutch Song Database (Nederlandse Liederenbank, http://www.liederenbank.nl/) add up to a total of 664 songs, but among them are many songs transmitted in more than one codex. The total number of Latin songs in these manuscripts has not been calculated.

3 Biographical information on Marigen Remen is not available. For a discussion of gender and vernacular religious song, see Joldersma 2001 and 2008.

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I. The Model for the Genesis of Sermon Collections

From the convent of Jericho seven manuscripts with some 200 convent sermons have come down to us (Stoop 2013: 22–24).[4] Usually, the preachers did not write out their sermons themselves, but the sisters, after having listened to them, recorded, edited and collected them. In their writings, the sisters took over the role of the preacher, including the authoritative *I persona* addressing the public: 'they took up their role as genuine ghostwriters' (Mertens 2004: 136). As a result, the sermons are characterised by their shared authorship: the contributions of the preaching father confessor and the writing sisters merged in the written records.

Stoop's model (2013: 312–53) for the genesis of these codices and the texts they transmit is based on several factors: archival sources, a comparative analysis of sermons composed by different preachers and written down by different sisters, references in the extensive prologues and colophons to the first and last names of all preachers and sisters involved, and the codicological structures of the manuscripts. Her model consists of two main phases. The first is concerned with the recording and editing of individual sermons and describes the process from oral performance to written text. The second main phase is concerned with the compiling and editing of a collection of sermons in one codex. Each phase can be broken down into smaller units. Stoop attributes distinct roles to each of the smaller units, thus defining an agent responsible for each phase. These roles might all have been exercised by the same person, but more often the various tasks were carried out by different individuals (Stoop 2007: 280–82; 2011: 200–14; 2013).

II. Main Phase 1: From Oral Event to Written Text

The first main phase consists of three smaller units (Stoop 2013: 169–311, 352):

1.1 The Listening Phase

A sermon was preached by a father confessor or a Dominican or Franciscan preacher visiting the convent and listened to by an audience of sisters. This was mainly an oral event: the preachers probably did not write out their sermons themselves, although Jan Storm, the first father confessor of Jericho, probably

4 For the period up to 1550, Stoop 2013: 22–24 mentions seven codices. The number of sermons adds up to a total of 315 sermons; 113 of them are copies. See also Stoop 2011: 197–200.

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used short notes while preaching, written on 'rollen, brieven ende ouden quaternen' [on rolls, letters and old quires] (Stoop 2011: 199).

1.2 The Recording Phase

Immediately after listening, the sisters jotted down notes and possibly elaborated upon these notes shortly afterwards. In most cases, they made use of *memoria* techniques to memorise the sermon in as much detail as possible. The structure of the sermons facilitated this: they typically started with an image or biblical quotation, linked with some points for further development, often marked by ordinals. After this *division*, there followed the *dilatation*, in which each of the points mentioned was developed further.[5]

1.3 The Editing Phase

Subsequently, one of the sisters wrote out the entire sermon. Again, the mnemonic structure of sermons helped the sisters to transform their notes into a full-length sermon text by adding biblical quotations or elements from other authoritative sources and *exempla*. The contribution of the sisters varied, as is evident from a comparison of the texts of the sermons, but their role should not be underestimated. Janne Colijns in particular was in all likelihood responsible for the rhetorical style and use of tropes and metaphors in the sermons she wrote down. At the end of this phase, the sermons were written on separate pieces of paper or parchment.

In this first main phase at least two agents were involved: the preacher, who was the *auctor intellectualis* of the text, and the sister who recorded and edited the sermons. Her actual contribution was more often than not quite substantial.

III. Main Phase 2: From Written Text to Manuscript Collection

The second main phase of the model concerns the arrangement of written sermons into manuscript collections. Again, this process can be broken down into smaller units. Stoop (2013: 312–65) identifies five steps:

5 Only one prologue mentions a written intermediary: Storm handed his own notes to Janne Colijns (Stoop 2011: 199). On sermons and *memoria* techniques, see Mertens 2004; Mertens, Stoop, Burger 2009.

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2.1 The Gathering Phase[6]

First, the sisters gathered together the sermons, delivered by a particular preacher on various dates. Whether or not a selection was made is not known. However, some of the contributing sisters do apologise for not having been able to collect more sermons, stating that many more were preached (Stoop 2013: 180–82, 351).

2.2 The Arrangement Phase

Next, the collected sermons were arranged, always according to the liturgical calendar, and not according to the order in which they had been preached over the years. Thus, preparations were made for the production of a book to be used every year.

2.3 The Annotation Phase

After this, various annotations were made to the individual sermons to make the collection coherent. For instance, headings and cross-references were added.[7]

2.4 The Copying Phase

Subsequently, the sermons were copied into a manuscript. For most sermon collections, this was done in one operation, or in several operations within a short time span. It could be done by one scribe, or by several scribes who were all working according to the same plan.

6 The term 'gathering' is chosen, rather than 'collecting' or 'compiling', to make clear that this stage involves the bringing together of disparate texts, which may or may not have been written down for the purpose of a larger whole.

7 Some of the references were determined after the sermons were arranged, but *before* they were copied from loose pieces of paper or parchment into the book: they follow the liturgical sequence in the book, but conflict with the chronological order in which the sermons were preached.

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2.5 Adding a Prologue and a Table of Contents

Finally, a table of contents and possibly a prologue and colophon were added to the collection. In most cases, these are later additions by someone who had not been involved in any of the preceding phases (Stoop 2013: 177–80).[8] The prologue often looks back at the genesis of the sermons and the resulting collection. In most cases, the table of contents and prologue were placed at the beginning of the codex.

For most sermon collections, the agents involved in these phases were different individuals, but it is also possible that one sister was responsible for the entire process. Generally, the sister in charge of editing the sermons was considered most important and is mentioned in the prologue and/or colophon.

IV. Song Manuscripts: From Oral Event to Written Text

The first main phase involves the process from oral performance to written text: listening to, recording and editing the sermons. Can this part of Stoop's model be applied to song manuscripts, and if so, to what extent?

While the sermons were composed by the preachers, the agency of songwriters is generally difficult to ascertain. Owing to the oral character of the genre, a song can be composed orally, without any written intermediary. In the oral transmission process singers would over time have altered elements of a given song, deliberately or not: the result is a collective product and not an invention of only one person. In other words: in the case of songs, the roles of author and listener are more blurred in the listening phase (1.1).

In connection with this, the vast majority of songs are anonymous. In our corpus of twelve manuscripts, only two show some interest in the person of the author: Berlin, mgo 190 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 2631. In some cases, information about the author is anchored in the text itself, namely in the concluding stanza, for example in song #17 of the Brussels manuscript, which mentions the name of a certain Ysbrandus. Concluding stanzas mentioning 'the poet' occur more frequently in songs, but it is often doubtful whether such references convey any historical information, as may be illustrated by the next example from the same source (#20). Here, the 'I' persona describes his difficulties with the rules of monastic life: he would rather spend his time dancing and having fun. The refrain says it all: 'Die cap en maeckt die monick niet' [The hood does not make the monk]. The concluding stanza de-

8 In only one case (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 902) the prologue is probably an autograph of the copyist (Mergriete van Steenbergen, interestingly a lay sister or 'conversin').

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scribes the person who made this song: he has renounced the world, but still loves to hear a cheerful song. This is most likely simple role-playing, although it cannot be ruled out entirely that the song was indeed written by a friar in despair. In any case, someone took the information seriously: the rubric states that the song was made by a Dominican friar (fol. 34^r).[9]

The Brussels manuscript has yet other noticeable headings. Two of them indicate the person who first sang the following song *here:* 'Dit is een gheestelijc liedekijn, ende heeft *hier* eerst ghesonghen Hillegont Aerontsdochter Cornelis Cornelissoens huusvrou, int jaer Ons Heren dusent cccc hondert ende xcvii (fol. 35^v) [This is a devout song and Hillegont the daughter of Aeront, the wife of Cornelis, the son of Cornelis was the first to sing it *here* in the year 1497]; the other one mentions the priest of the new church, master Adrian (fol. 48^v).[10] The phrasing of these headings is somewhat confusing: does 'the first to sing' mean 'authored' or 'introduced to the community'? Whichever this may be, the headings show that someone felt the urge to mention important agents in the transmission of the song, which in these cases seems to be a local matter: a housewife and the priest of a parish church.

The other manuscript showing interest in authorship is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 190. In some cases the name of the author is a later addition, but still contemporary with the writing down of the songs, for example at folio 119^v (see Image 1 on the next page), where the scribe (probably the same as the one who copied the song, although the ink and the size of the letters are different) added a remark in the lower margin, stating: 'Dit liedekijn heeft ghemaect broeder Willem van Amersfoort, die vicarius der minre broederen, op sijn naem: Wilhelmus' (fol. 119^v) [This song was made by brother William of Amersfoort, vicar of the Franciscan brethren, on his name: Wilhelmus (the name in acrostic produced by the first letter of each stanza)]. As the vicar general of the Observants of Cologne, William must have been a rather well-known figure in the Low Countries.

The name Brugman, or Frater Johannes Brugman, is added to two songs by another scribe, who copied many songs elsewhere in the codex.[11] This authorisation by a slightly later hand is noteworthy. Johannes Brugman (†1473) was a famous preacher at the time and this might be a case of false attribution. In this manuscript, his name is a later addition and in two other sources his name does not occur at all.[12]

9 'Dit liedekijn heeft ghedicht een Dominicus broeder ende gaet op die wijse "troeren moet ic nacht ende dach ende lijde grot verlanghen etc"' [This song was written by a Dominican friar and goes to the tune "night and day must I lament and suffer from great longing etcetera"].
10 Both songs are unique to this manuscript.
11 'Ic heb ghejaecht mijn leven lanc' (fol. 111^v) and 'Mit vroechden laet ons singhen' (fol. 115^v).
12 One of these sources is Brussels, II 2631, just discussed as a manuscript containing author

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Image 1: Berlin, mgo 190, fol. 119v: the remark in the lower margins mentions the name of the author of the song: Willem van Amersfoort (© Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

The mentioning of an author's name can be puzzling. A case in point is the song 'Die werelt hielt mi in hair gewout' ['The world had me in its sway']. In the already mentioned manuscript Berlin, mgo 190, the song is copied twice by the same hand, but there are significant differences between each version. For example, one version has no less than 25 stanzas, the other only 8. In other sources, the song has 7 to 9 stanzas, so the long version is exceptional. In addition, this long version creates the impression of being a product of oral transmission: the overall structure is rather loose and the connection between the stanzas is merely associative. This long version has a heading, written by the same hand as the song, stating: 'Dit liedekijn heeft gemaect Bairt, suster, die clusenarinne tUtrecht' (fol. 153v) [This song was made by sister Bairt, the anchoress in Utrecht]. Sister Bairt can be identified: the name refers to Berta Jacobs, also known as Sister Bertken, who indeed lived as an anchoress in a cell adjoining the Utrecht Buurkerk and who must have been famous at the time (Van Aelst 2010). How should we interpret the 'making' of the song by Berta Jacobs? Based upon the tradition of the song in other sources, it might be hypothesised that she reworked

references. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 630b Helmst. mentions a different author for the song: 'Doctor Hinricus Toke composuit' (fol. 19v; Janicke 1894). For the tradition, see the *Dutch Song Database* (www.liederenbank.nl). For a discussion of author attributions in multi-text codices, see Besamusca, Griffith, Meyer, and Morcos 2016.

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an already existing, shorter version into the song that was ascribed to her in this manuscript.[13]

In short, the people behind the manuscripts generally did not consider the authors important agents in the transmission of the songs. This is a noticeable difference from the situation of sermons, where the preacher is the authoritative source. The vicar Wilhelmus, the preacher Brugman, and the anchoress Berta Jacobs might have been considered as equally authoritative, but their names were recorded in only one manuscript out of a corpus of twelve.

In the next phase (1.2) in the model for the preservation of sermons, a sister jots down notes of what she had memorised from the preaching. In all likelihood, this did not happen with songs, for the simple reason that songs are designed to be remembered easily, even more so than sermons. Formal qualities like rhyme, metre and melody provide more varied and precise prompts than is the case with the rhetorical structure of the sermons. However, there are some indications that songs were written out individually before being collected (cf. phase 1.3). A rare example of a wax tablet with a song for the Virgin Mary is preserved in Iceland.[14] Two lines of a well-known Christmas song were written down as a later addition in the margin of the Evangelarium of Otto III, and yet another popular Christmas song, 'In dulci iubilo', occurs on the flyleaf of an incunable.[15] Such findings show that individual devotional songs were indeed written down on whatever writing medium was available, although oral transmission was probably more usual.

V. Song Manuscripts: From Written Text to Manuscript Collection

The second main phase of Stoop's model is concerned with the process of arranging multiple sermons into one collection in a codex. As mentioned, this phase starts off with the gathering of individual texts (2.1). For songs, the gathering phase is hard to determine, due to a lack of informative sources such as prologues and colophons. What is more, songs, unlike preaching, do not spring from specific events, and unlike sermons, songs were probably already well known to their users before the decision was made to collect and copy them. Aspects like local traditions probably determined a convent's song culture and

13 See Van Buuren 2000 for a discussion of the complex tradition of this song.

14 The tablet is in the City Museum of Reykjavik; see the illustration in Hogenelst and Van Oostrom 1995: 53. The song is also extant in two manuscripts.

15 'Syt willekomen heirre kirst / want du unser alre here bis', in Aachen, Domschatzkammer (dating from tenth or eleventh century). The incunable is the copy of Gerard van Vliederhoven, *Cordiale de IV novissimis* (Deventer: R. Paffraet, 1485), in the Cathedral Library, Hildesheim (Inkunabelsammelband EG 404); see Kornrumpf 2000: 179–80.

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pre-shaped any song collection before it was recorded. Therefore, no gathering phase was necessary: the songs were ubiquitous. Brussels, II 2631 is the only song manuscript that furnishes the years in which some songs were composed or introduced to the community. The dates occur in chronological order – 1495, 1497, 1525 – covering a period of thirty years (De Loos and Van der Poel 2001: 108).[16] The individual sermons in the collections studied by Stoop were gathered over a considerably shorter period of three to six years (Stoop 2013: 22–24).

This raises the question of what patterns, if any, might govern song collections (cf. phase 2.2). A song arrangement of the strictest kind is found in a collection entitled *Die Geestelicke Melody* [*The Spiritual Melody*], in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS LTK 2058. It consists of fifteen songs with accompanying prose introductions, partly arranged according to the days of the week. In the introduction that precedes it, this cycle is explicitly presented as a coherent programme for meditation (Mertens 2009: 124, 130; Joldersma 2008: 373–74). However, this example is unique. Two other sources, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. nova 12875 and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 75 H 42, contain the same texts in identical order, but both present the songs surrounded by other texts and without the programmatic frame that plays such an essential role in the Leiden manuscript.[17]

Most song manuscripts do not show such an overarching organisational principle. They indicate rather that someone arranged some of the material according to certain criteria, such as melody, theme, liturgical calendar, or language. Some collections even seem to be governed by more than one principle. Unlike sermon collections, which are always arranged according to the liturgical year, a range of criteria may operate in song manuscripts. A twofold division according to the liturgical year is to be found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 185. In this codex someone divided the songs into two groups explicitly marked as the summer part, containing Easter songs, and a section with songs for the Christmas period (see Image 2).

The relevant headings are: 'Dit is dat sangeboec dat somer stuc' (p. 0 [*sic*]) [This is the songbook, the summer part] and 'Dit is dat sangeboec vander hoechtyt der gebuerten christi' (p. 188) [This is the songbook of the feast of Christ's birth]. At the end of both parts, numerous pages were initially left blank. This allowed later users to make additions at the appropriate place, making the manuscript open-ended in this respect. An arrangement according to temporal criteria is also apparent in the songbook of Catharina Tirs and the Werden song

16 One of these dated headings is discussed above.
17 For further details, see Mertens 2009, 132–34.

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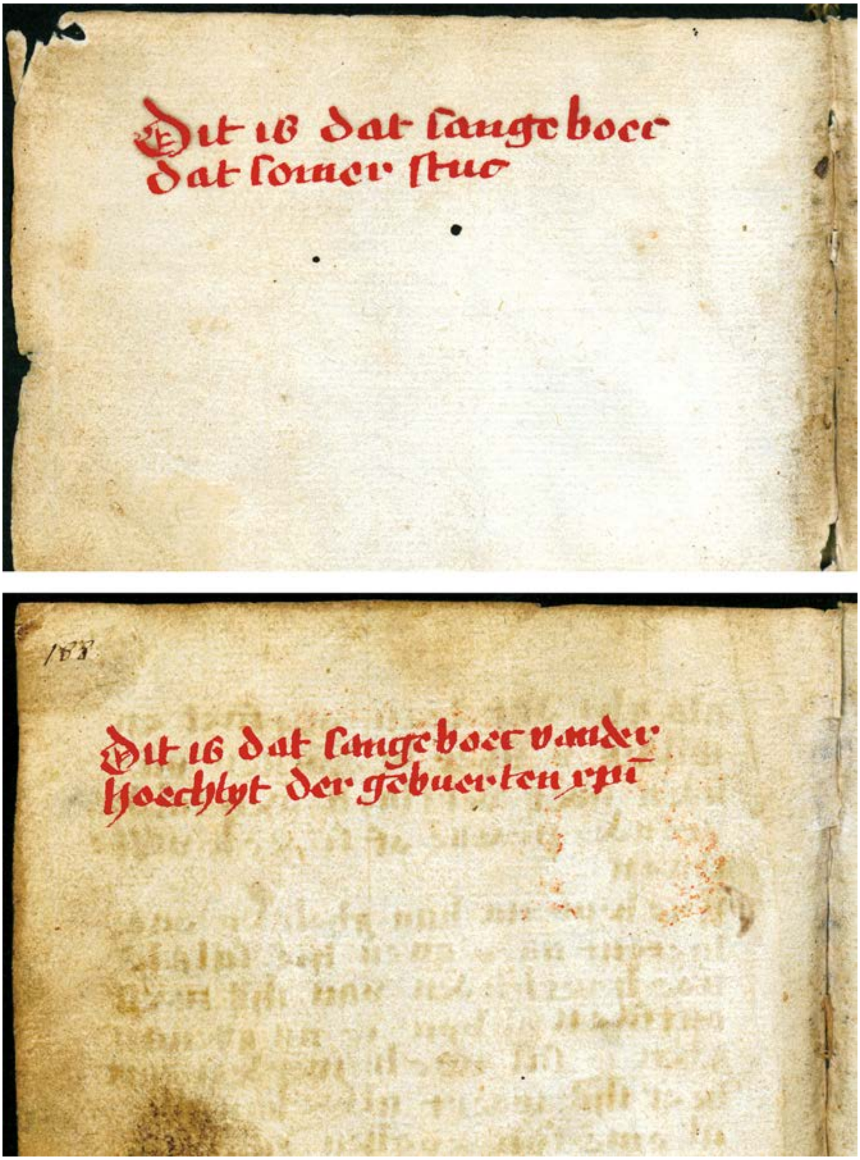

Image 2: Berlin, mgo 185, p. 0: heading indicating the summer part of the manuscript: 'Dit is dat sangeboec dat somer stuc' [This is the songbook, the summer part] and p. 188, heading indicating the section with songs for the Christmas period: 'Dit is dat sangeboec vander hoechtyt der gebuerten christi' [This is the songbook of the feast of Christ's birth] (© Berlin Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

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manuscript, in which Christmas songs are grouped together – we shall return to these manuscripts later.[18]

Songs could also be arranged by theme, as is evident in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. oct. 280, the songbook of Anne of Cologne, its first owner (Salmen and Koepp (eds) 1954). Someone (Anne?) initially chose to cluster the songs: in succession the codex presents songs about Christmas, songs about the sufferings of life on earth and the desire to be united with the heavenly Spouse, songs about Mary, songs about other female saints and finally various Latin chants. The agent responsible for it also made the manuscript open-ended, by leaving multiple blanks at the end of each thematic cluster. This allowed for the insertion of other songs at the appropriate place within the arrangement.

For the manuscripts Brussels, II 2631, Berlin, mgo 190, Vienna, Ser. nova 12875 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II 270, someone decided to keep the Latin and vernacular songs separate. It is very likely that this division was not made especially for these books, but that the two repertoires already functioned on different occasions and that the arranger had no reason to shuffle them.[19] Then, the person responsible for Brussels, II 2631 applied a further structure to the vernacular repertoire: songs that could be sung to the same melody were grouped together in five places throughout the collection. In four of these cases, this arrangement is made explicit by the songs' headings (fols 29^{r}, 31^{r}, 33^{v}, 34^{r}). Yet, in all these cases there are more songs elsewhere in the manuscript that can be sung to these same tunes, but that are not organised accordingly, so for some unknown reason, the principle was not maintained throughout the codex (De Loos and Van der Poel 2001: 114–16).

Several elements of song manuscripts reveal that an annotation phase (2.3) then followed. As mentioned, headings containing cross-references occur in Brussels, II 2631, labelling small groups of songs with the same melody. The most illustrative example is a group of four songs explicitly grouped together under the heading of the first song. It states that the following four songs can be sung to four specified melodies as well as 'to the tune of any other song that can be sung on four lines' (fol. 29^{r}). The headings of the next songs refer to these instructions, by stating: 'On the same tune' (fol. 29^{v}), and 'Again on the same tune' (fol. 30^{r}) (De Loos and Van der Poel 2001: 114).[20] This kind of cross-reference is typically the

18 The current whereabouts of both Tirs and Werden are unknown.

19 Van der Poel 2011: 77–79; De Loos and Van der Poel 2001: 116–17; Mertens and Van der Poel (eds) 2013. The Middle Dutch songs of Brussels, II 270 were edited by Van Dongen (ed.) 2002.

20 'Dese vier navolghende lyedekens machmen sijnghen op dese wijsen: die eerste wijse: "Ic sach mijnheer van Valkesteyn", die ander: "Van die hartoch van Sassen", die dorde: "Ic sie die morgensterre", die vierde wijs: "Het viel op eenen morghenstont" ende alle ander lyedekijns diemen op vier regulen sijnghen mach' (fol. 29^{r}). The second song has the heading 'Op die

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kind of annotation we expect to be made during this phase. Another heading states that the next three songs were made by the same author (De Loos and Van der Poel 2001: 117).[21] Interestingly enough, a small piece of paper, pasted over the original writing, indicates that these three songs were composed by the scribe of the book. In other words, this is an annotation by a near contemporary witness, who identifies the scribe with the author. At the same time, the scribe chose not to state that s/he was the one who wrote the songs.[22]

To the songbook of Catharina Tirs (Hölscher (ed.) 1854 and Classen (ed.) 2002), someone added headings, thus marking groups of songs. The heading applied to the first song of a group presents the unifying theme, for example 'Here begin the pure songs about the birth of Our Lord Jhesus Christ'. The headings of the next songs depend on the preceding heading by simply stating 'Another one' or 'More pure songs about the birth etcetera'.[23] The songs about New Year and the suffering of Christ are arranged in a similar vein and accompanied by mutually referential headings.

Similar headings occur in the Werden manuscript (Jostes (ed.) 1888). The fifth song of this collection is dedicated to Mary, but has no heading. Yet, the heading to the following song refers back to it, by stating 'Likewise, next follows another devout song about our dear virgin'.[24] Also, two Christmas songs are grouped according to melody. The first song states simply 'A pure song for Christmas'; the heading of the second song refers to the first, by stating 'Another one to the same tune'.[25]

When comparing the copying phase of sermon manuscripts with song codices (2.4), a major difference becomes evident. While sermon collections were most often written in a single operation, song manuscripts may contain more or less substantial additions, made after the book was finished in the first instance. As stated above, in some codices pages were initially left blank, possibly deliberately,

selven wijse. Een suverlijc lyedekijn'. The heading of the third song is missing due to a lost leaf between folios 29 and 30, but the fourth song has the heading 'Noch op die selve wijse. Een suverlijc lyedekijn, maer het is wat vernuft' (fol. 30^r).

21 After the heading to 'Jhesus mijn alre liefste heer' (fol. 25^v) the main scribe has written: 'Dese drie navollegede liedekijns heeft een persoen ghedicht maer dat dorde liedekijn van jaren out wesen XIIII jaer' (fol. 25^v).

22 The attribution to a specific author also functions as an organisational principle for these three songs within the collection.

23 'Hir begynnen suverlike ledekens van der geborten unses heren Jhesu Christi' (#1). The following songs have headings like 'Noch eyn ander leedt' (#3), 'Eyn ander' (#4, 5), 'Noch suverlike ledekens van der geborten etcetera' (#6), 'Eyn ander leid' (#7, 8), 'Eyn ander' (#9, 10, 11). Hölscher (ed.) 1854: 1–27; Classen (ed.) 2002: 154–257.

24 The heading to the second song is 'Item hijr na volget een ander devoet gesengh van onser lever vrouwen'; Jostes (ed.) 1888: 66–70.

25 The first song: 'To kerssmisse een suverlicke loysse'. The second song: 'Een ander up die selve wijse'; Jostes (ed.) 1888: 61–64.

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to allow for further songs to be inserted, as in Berlin, mgo 185. However, in three other cases more far reaching changes were made, changes that also affected the codicological structure of the book.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds néerlandais 39, the songbook of Liisbet Ghoeyuaers, is our first example. Initially one scribe copied twenty-five songs in a well-arranged sequence dedicated to specific saints, but shortly afterwards, a second scribe apparently considered the collection incomplete. In order to be able to extend the original collection of songs on Saint Barbara, a leaf was cut out, and a quire was added. This adaptation shows an effort on the part of the agent responsible to unite her own work with her predecessor's. The organic growth of the manuscript continued: still later, someone added at the back of the codex four loose folios written by a third scribe, but she did not follow the same plan as her predecessors.[26]

Likewise, Berlin, mgo 190 was copied in several stages, in each of which the person responsible added her/his own personal touches to the book. The oldest part was written by one scribe, and consists of two codicological units: one has a collection of Latin chants and the other contains a vernacular song repertoire. In the second part, the relevant musical notations are gathered in a separate quire. The quires with the song texts must already have been produced when, at a later stage, the same scribe tried to add a written melody for each of the songs. Actually, the addition of musical notation was not at all necessary, since the songs were already accompanied by melody references. Presumably, this person wished to complement the system of oral references with written melodies. Later on, a second scribe made various additions and adaptations: throughout the codex, five quires of different sizes were inserted, single folios were added to three existing quires, and additional texts were copied on blank pages in three cases (see Image 3 on the next page). In a final stage, all quires were rebound in a different order, and several other hands added various songs, loose stanzas and maxims (Van der Poel 2011: 77–79; Mertens and Van der Poel (eds) 2013).

A similarly complicated process can be seen in Berlin, mgo 280, which also consists of several codicological units. The original components of the codex display many irregularities: switches of script, ink and pen occur – sometimes even within one song (see Image 4 on page 382).

At a certain moment, severed quires of two pre-existing manuscripts were inserted. Both these insertions and the irregularities suggest that the book was produced with many interruptions and over a longer period of time: while copying, the scribe presumably continued to gather and arrange new material. If so, s/he fulfilled the multiple roles of gatherer, arranger, annotator and copyist.

26 Van Seggelen (ed.) 1966: 7–10; Van der Poel 2011: 76. The codicological terminology used here is derived from Gumbert 2004.

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Image 3: Berlin, mgo 190, fols 98^{v}–99^{r}: folio 99^{r} is written by the first scribe; the second scribe wrote one of the additional texts on folio 98^{v} that had been left blank initially (© Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

The genesis of this manuscript is best characterised as an on-going process, involving a range of materials, scripts, and hands (Salmen and Koepp (eds) 1954: 3–4).

Such an on-going process of gathering, arranging, annotating, and copying seems to be a specific feature of the genesis of song manuscripts, since it can be seen in at least three codices: BnF, f. ne. 39, Berlin, mgo 190 and Berlin, mgo 280.[27] This process allowed for collections to be shaped and re-shaped according to the differing needs of successive users, or for modifications when new songs became available. The fact that BnF, f. ne. 39 and Berlin, mgo 280 were probably in the personal ownership of individual sisters may have been an important factor too: as owners they felt free to do with the books whatever they wanted.

Regarding the final phase (2.5), it is noteworthy that none of the surviving song manuscripts have prologues that reflect on the process of writing and editing the collection, as is the case for many sermon codices. Despite the large

27 This on-going process involves more than what Gumbert (2004) distinguishes as the 'continuous enrichment' of manuscripts. He reserves this for the addition of material of restricted length, being less than a quire. Yet, in song collections, numerous additions might be made, stretching from guest texts (loose texts, written down by later users in available blank spaces) or loose leaves or additional quires to the insertion of the remains of heavily used manuscripts. See Gumbert 2004: 30–31, 40–42.

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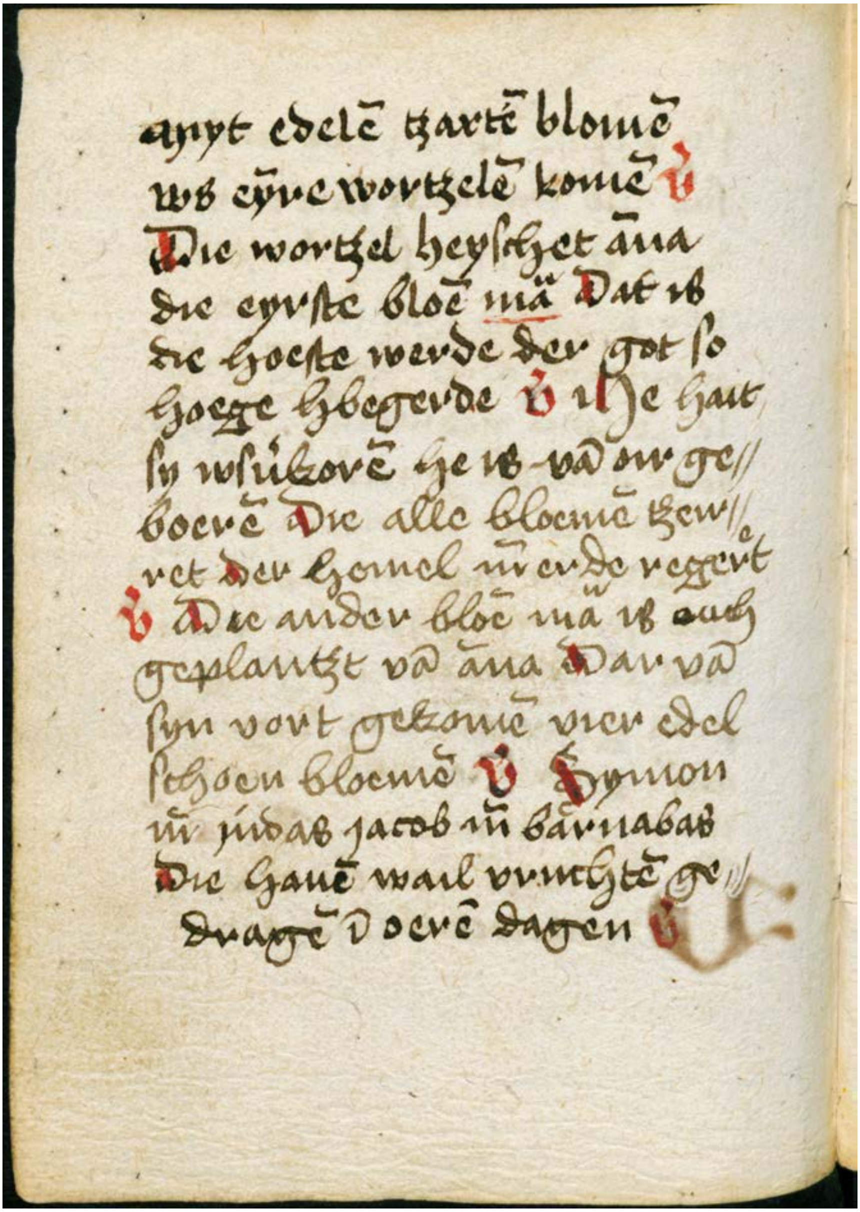

Image 4: Berlin, mgo 280, fol. 138v: fragment of a song with changes of script and ink (© Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

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number of texts gathered in some collections, few have contemporary foliation – this only applies to Brussels, II 2631 and Vienna, Ser. nova 12875.

Until now, only one song anthology with a table of contents is known: Vienna Ser. nova 12875 (fols 164r–165v) (see Image 5).

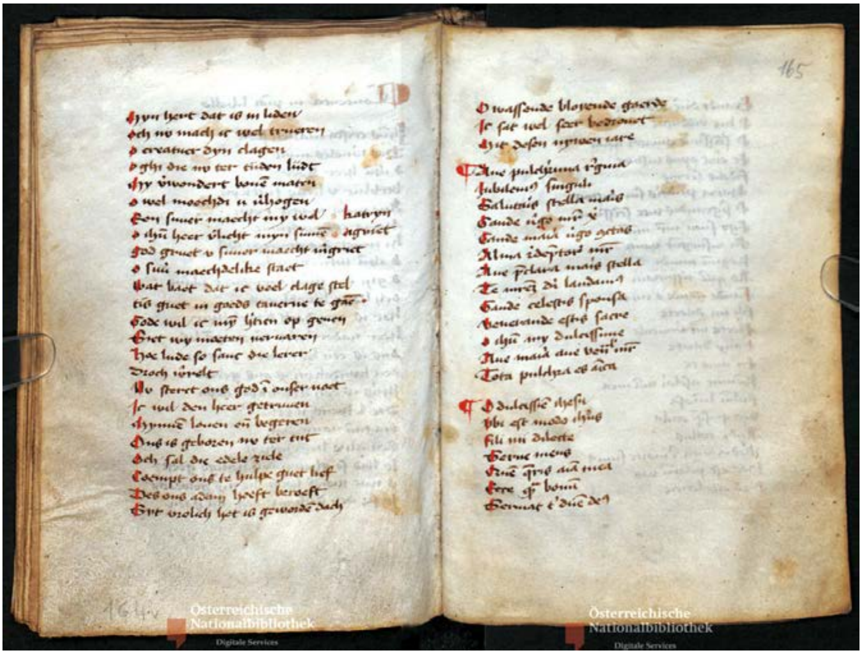

Image 5: Vienna, Ser. nova 12875, fols 164v–165r: two folios of the Table of Contents (fols 164r–165v), with the division by paragraph signs (© Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

Unlike indexes of most sermon collections, it was written by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, and placed at the end of the collection. The index does not provide the folio numbers extant in the codex, but all entries listed are present in the codex, and in the same order. Interestingly, the table of contents divides the songs into three groups, separated by paragraph signs: the first group includes all of the Middle Dutch songs in the collection (fols 1r–76v), the second (fols 76v–103v) and third group (fols 104r –164v) consist of various Latin chants. Obviously, the first and second group are differentiated by language. The division of the Latin repertoire into two groups was made for hitherto unknown reasons, but it was done deliberately, for the codex itself shows a clear caesura between the second and third group in the index: between fols 103v and 104r a quire boundary coincides with a text boundary.

There is, however, also a remarkable discrepancy between the table of contents and the actual texts copied: the index concludes with the listing of two Latin

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chants one after the other, but in the manuscript these are separated by 21 pages with various Middle Dutch prose and verse texts, written on folios 152^r to 162^r, that do not occur in the index. Also, the contemporary foliation ends on folio 151^r, just before this group of vernacular texts. Therefore we hypothesise that the codex has later additions from folio 152^r onward (possibly including the index), but codicological research is necessary to solve this issue.[28] Whatever the case may be, the index does not only cover the collection up to folio 152^r, for it does list the final Latin song written on folios 162^v to 164^v, but it may be genre-specific, listing only songs.[29]

Conclusion

The material discussed by Stoop (2013) provides us with quite detailed information about the genesis of texts and manuscripts within the culture of the Devotio Moderna. This essay discusses the main similarities and differences in the handling of sermons and songs within this particular environment. One similarity, certainly, is that in both cases the genesis of the text collections in the manuscripts cannot just be considered the work of an individual, because several agents were involved in succeeding phases.

The differences discussed are rooted primarily in genre: the attitude towards song as a genre allowed for more freedom and variety than was the case for the transmission of sermons. This is apparent in the first phase: from oral performance to written text. In sermons, the person of the *auctor intellectualis*, the father confessor, is of prime importance and therefore the manuscripts are designed to preserve his particular sermons by and for the sisters under his care. The poet of a song is a much less authoritative source – the naming of an author in only two manuscripts can be regarded as exceptions to this rule. Listeners easily become singers and can participate in the creation of new song variants (1.1). The taking of short notes (1.2) seems to be specific to sermons as well, but both sermons and songs could initially be written out individually (1.3). For the second phase, from written text to manuscript collection, we notice that for the song repertoire, the gathering phase was not undertaken with the aim of producing a collection in a codex: the songs were already present as a part of everyday life (2.1). While sermons were arranged primarily according to the liturgical year, we find various organisational principles in song manuscripts, which

28 Unfortunately, at the time of writing this article we had not been able to carry out codicological research in Vienna.

29 There is one exception: the index lists one prose text, appearing in the manuscript on folios 16^r to 17^v. For more information on tables of contents, see Wendy Scase's essay in this volume.

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might indicate a difference in intended use. The structure of the sermon codices allows for the reading of these sermons in a particular sequence every year. The arrangement patterns in some of the song manuscripts facilitate the finding of the appropriate songs for Christmas or a saint's day, but the varying arrangement principles within one collection do not point to an evident intended use (2.2). Annotations in the form of cross-references appear in the manuscripts of both genres, particularly in the headings (2.3). An important difference becomes apparent in the copying phase (2.4): the blank spaces in some codices, combined with the later insertion of guest texts or additional codicological units, are a specific feature of song manuscripts, and may result from an on-going process of gathering, arranging, and adapting. This phenomenon, which is not visible in the making of sermon collections, may be due to the appearance of new songs or to the changing needs of users. This on-going process might also explain why these sources never have editorial prologues and only very rarely foliation or tables of contents (2.5).

The application of Stoop's model has enabled us to gain insight into the peculiarities of the genres of sermons and songs, and of the manuscripts which preserve them. If the model is to be applied to yet other genres, some caution is needed. Stoop's material is rather exceptional: the book collection of Jericho is the third largest of any female convent in the Low Countries and contains mainly Middle Dutch sermons, copied to be used in the convent itself (Stoop 2013: 354). We should not rule out the possibility that some of the characteristics described by Stoop are particular to Jericho, or that they are connected with the fact that the collections originated in a well-defined and isolated social group. In this essay, our point of departure was that the textual culture in the Modern Devout convents where the song manuscripts originated was more or less the same as the textual culture in Jericho. It is, however, open to debate whether similar preconditions existed outside the communal way of living associated with convents.

Even so, we argue that Stoop's model offers an alternative way of researching multi-text codices. Research on these codices has generally focused on possible arrangement patterns and organisational principles, and on the interpretation of variations within one text influenced by differing contexts. Stoop's model enables us to reflect systematically on medieval text collections. It leads us to consider the manuscripts as we know them from a slightly different angle. By sorting out the various tasks and establishing the order in which they were carried out by the agents involved, the model draws attention to features such as the authority of the text, layered authorship, the influence of genre, and the possible tension between individual versus collective efforts.

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Finally, the genesis of what has previously been referred to as 'growth miscellanies'[30] may well benefit from reconsideration along the lines in which we have looked at song manuscripts. Despite the Stoop model's limitations, it can be considered a strong heuristic tool that allows researchers to consider the genesis of multi-text codices systematically and to compare the mechanics of writing and collecting in various genres and cultural circles.

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30 A term (equivalent to the Dutch 'groeimanuscript' or French 'manuscrit de croissance') employed by Renée Gabriël and Mike Kestemont in their unpublished paper delivered to the HERA conference in April 2013 entitled: 'Cherry Picking: The Production of Manuscript Ghent, UL, 1374 in the Context of the Book Collection of the Charterhouse of Herne'.

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Gerard Bouwmeester obtained his PhD at the University of Utrecht in 2016. His thesis discussed the reception of Augustijnken, a medieval Dutch itinerant storyteller, whose works have been preserved in several manuscripts; the piece in this volume is a revised version of one of the chapters of his thesis. His research was part of the HERA-funded project 'The Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript: Text Collections from a European Perspective', which also resulted in this book. At present, he is the company secretary of the Dutch National Library, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague.

Margaret Connolly teaches palaeography and medieval literature at the University of St Andrews. She has published extensively on late medieval texts and manuscripts, and has prepared editions of Middle English devotional prose works and sermons, and a volume for the *Index of Middle English Prose* series. She has also edited several collections of essays, including most recently (with Raluca Radulescu), *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain.* Her monograph *John Shirley* investigated scribal production, but her current work focuses on the early modern reception of medieval manuscripts and texts.

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Daniël Ermens wrote his PhD on the functions and users of Middle Dutch multitext codices at the University of Utrecht as part of the 'Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript' project. In his research he focuses on codicological aspects of Middle Dutch manuscripts. He is also co-author of the *Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons.* He now works at the Ruusbroec Institute at the University of Antwerp as its part-time curator of the special collections and administrative assistant, and as part-time project member for the inventorying and cataloguing of the academic heritage collections at the University Library in Antwerp.

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Ad Putter teaches at the University of Bristol, where is Professor of Medieval English Literature. He has written extensively on English and European literature of the Middle Ages, and on metre. His books include *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and French Arthurian Romance* (1996), *An Introduction to the Gawain Poet* (1997), and *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse* (2007). He has also edited, with Elizabeth Archibald, *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend* (2009) and, with Myra Stokes, the Penguin edition of *The Works of the Gawain Poet* (2014).

Wendy Scase is Geoffrey Shepherd Professor of Medieval English Literature at the University of Birmingham. She has published widely on medieval English literature, its historical and social contexts, and its manuscripts. She is also interested in applications of digital technologies in manuscript studies. Her current project, 'Crafting English Letters', funded by a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship, examines the corpus of medieval writing in English from the perspective of scribal practice.

John Scattergood is Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English (Emeritus) at Trinity College Dublin. Amongst his many publications is *Manuscripts and Ghosts: Essays on the Transmission of Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Dublin, 2006). His latest books are *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin, 2014) and *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, revised edition (Liverpool, 2015). He is at present working on the cultural and literary impact of the mechanical clock in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. He is a Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

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Nicola Zotz is the author of *'Intégration courtoise'. Zur Rezeption okzitanischer und französischer Liebeslyrik im klassischen deutschen Minnesang* (2005). Her research focuses on medieval German literature through its manuscript transmission with an emphasis on the relations between text and image. Her most recent articles are 'Sammeln als Interpretieren. Paratextuelle und bildliche Kommentare von Kurzerzählungen in zwei Sammelhandschriften des späten Mittelalters' and 'The Changing (Con)Text of a MHG Märe: Interpreting Scribal Readings in the "Almosen" Manuscripts'. She is currently working at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, where she is co-editing the catalogue of German medieval illustrated manuscripts.

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