

MANCHESTER, CHETHAM'S LIBRARY MS 8009 (MUN. A.6.31): A CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION*

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a complete codicological description of Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 8009 (Mun.A.6.31), a late fifteenth-century production that contains a combination of secular and religious texts. The manuscript's significance for both the literary and textual scholar was recognized by Derek Pearsall when he suggested its suitability for a facsimile edition (1984, 135 n. 27). The restrictions imposed by the Governors of the Library for reproduction under the present conditions, however, suggest that Pearsall's recommendation may have to wait for some time. The purpose of this paper is to fill that void by correcting some inaccuracies in previous descriptions and completing them with supporting visual evidence.

KEY WORDS: Chetham's Library, MS 8009 (Mun. A.6.31), codicology, manuscripts, watermark.

RESUMEN

Este artículo presenta una descripción codicológica completa del manuscrito MS 8009 (Mun.A.6.31) de la Biblioteca de Chetham, Manchester, una producción del siglo xv tardío que consta de una combinación de textos seculares y religiosos. La relevancia del manuscrito para ambos, el experto literario y el textual, fue reconocida por Derek Pearsall cuando sugirió su idoneidad para una edición facsímil (1984, 135 n. 27). Las restricciones impuestas por los directores de la Biblioteca para su reproducción, dadas las condiciones actuales, sin embargo, hacen que la recomendación de Pearsall tuviera que esperar algún tiempo. El objetivo de este trabajo es llenar ese vacío y corregir algunas de las imprecisiones hechas en descripciones previas y completarlas con una evidencia visual de apoyo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Chetham's Library, MS 8009 (Mun. A.6.31), codicología, manuscritos, filigrana.

Chetham MS 8009 is a substantial paper manuscript consisting of 372 leaves, plus three flyleaves at each end, and measuring 264mm by 190mm.¹ Textual and physical data enable us to ascribe this manuscript to the last quarter of the fifteenth century: item No. 12 (see below) describes a meeting between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the Emperor Frederick III which took place outside Trier in 1473, thus providing us with a *terminus ante quem non* (see Lester 88); the watermark evidence (see below) suggests a date between 1420-93 for the production of

the paper stocks used here. Although on linguistic grounds *Ipomadon's* dialect can be localized in the West Riding of Yorkshire,² the presence of item No. 13 —*Annals of London*— has led Meale to suggest a London provenance for the manuscript, arguing that “it is unlikely that anyone outside the area would be either sufficiently interested in, or well-enough informed about the municipal affairs of the capital.”³ This hypothesis could be further corroborated by the possible appearance of the hand of the principal scribe in other London manuscripts.⁴ The manuscript was purchased for the library on 7 May 1798 in the sale of the Bibliotheca Farmeriana.⁵

* I wish to express my gratitude to some institutions and people for their assistance in the preparation of this description: the Institute for European Studies (Cornell University) for the pre-dissertation grant that enabled me to conduct this research in the summer of 2001; the Ajuntament de Moncofa for granting me a research fellowship while preparing this article; the staff at Chetham's Library, in particular Jane Foster for her kind assistance; the staff at Olin Library (Cornell University) for providing the necessary equipment and expertise to reproduce the images; Rhiannon Purdie, for sharing with me her drawings and notes on watermarks, and for taking care of me while a Visiting Scholar at the University of St Andrews. Last but not least, I want to thank Professors Andrew Galloway and Winthrop Wetherbee for engaging in my project, and Prof. James J. John for sharing with me his paleographical expertise.

¹ Other descriptions of this manuscript can be found in Bibliotheca Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecæ Publicæ Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham Armigero Fundatæ Catalogi, vol. 3, ed. William Parr Greswell, (Manchester, 1826) 126-70; James Orchard HALLIWELL, *An Account of the European Manuscripts in the Chetham Library, Manchester* (Manchester, 1842) 16-7; Bibliotheca Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecæ Publicæ Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham Armigero Fundatæ Catalogi, vol. 4, ed. Thomas Jones (Manchester, 1862) 445-7; Eugen KÖLBING, “Vier Romanzen-Handschriften,” *Englische Studien* 7 (1884): 195-201; Gisela GUDDAT-FIGGE, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976) 238-40; N.R. KER, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983) 361-4; Rhiannon PURDIE, ed., *Ipomadon*, EETS OS 316 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) XVIII-XXIII. For the prose items see G.A. LESTER, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester*, Index of Middle English Prose [IMEP] II (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985) 86-9. See also Carol M. MEALE, “The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*: A Late Medieval ‘Mirror’ for Princes and Merchants,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984): 136-91, esp. 136-8 and 144-6.

² See Purdie's discussion on the dialect of the original, *Ipomadon* xxxvii-xlvii.

³ “The ME *Ipomedon*” 138; see also 161 n. 17, and Ker 364.

⁴ Meale suggests that the same hand appears in British Library, MSS Cotton Vitellius E. x, Additional 40673, and Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Bühler 5. See MEALE, “Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production & Social Status,” *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 227 n. 41; MEALE, “*The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* and Mercantile Literary Culture in Late-Medieval London,” *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Julia Boffey & Pamela King (London: University of London, 1995) 224. In contrast, Julia BOFFEY and John J. THOMPSON (“Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts,” *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*, 294 and 312, n. 90) believe that this collection originated in a provincial shop rather than in the metropolis, although they do not provide evidence supporting their view.

⁵ See KER *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 3, 364 n. 2. For notes on Richard Farmer (1735-1797) and his library, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and William Younger FLETCHER, *English Book Collectors* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902) 235-7. Our manuscript was lot 8.062 in the auction, and described in the catalogue as follows: “Metrical Romances, written in the reign

CONTENTS

This is a miscellaneous collection of secular and religious writings that has been described as a “household miscellany.”⁶

1. *Life of St. Dorothy*,⁷ fols 1r-2v. Prose. “The right glorious virgyn Seint Dorothea came downe... by all fle worlde of worldes Amen” IMEP [1].
2. “Assumptio Sancte Marie,” fols 3r-17v. Verse. “A merye tale tell I may... That lastithe evire *with* owte end. Explicit Assumpcio *Sancte Marie* Amen.” IMEV 2165/6.⁸
3. “The Lyff of Seynt Anne,” fols 18r-29v. Verse. “O blessed Ihesu that arte full of myght... And when we dye to haue eternall blise. Here endyth the lyff of Seynt Anne.” IMEV 2392/2.
4. “The Lyf of Seynt Katerin,” fols 30r-47r.⁹ Prose. “Here begynnynth the lyf of Seynt katerin and how she was maried to oure lord... to the eternall light amen. Amen. Here endyth the lyf of Seynt Katerin And the maryage to oure lorde.” IMEP [2] (fol. 47v is left blank).
5. “Liber Catonis,” fols 48r-75r. Latin and English Verse. “Cum *anima* aduerterem quam plurimes homines grauiter... Explicit Liber catonis quod scripci da michi quod merui quod N P Vna p valde d tantum d me Quod non p ire ad 1 nise S me.” IMEV 854/24, 3955/14 (fol. 75v is left blank).

of Richard II. or rather about the end of the reign of Henry III. or beginning of Edward I.’ (see Note) purchased at Dr Monro’s Auction, by Dr Farmer, for 29l’ (*Bibliotheca Farmeriana. A Catalogue of the Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library in Print and Manuscript of the Late Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.* [1798] 369). According to the priced copy in Cambridge University Library, this lot was bought for £14. 14s (cf. Ker *loc. cit.*). The sale of John Monro’s library, in which Farmer’s acquired this codex, was conducted by Leigh and Sotheby starting on 23 April 1792, where the Chetham volume was lot 3399 and described as follows: “*The Lyff of Seynt Anne, in English verse — The Lyf of Seynt Katerin and How She was married to our Lord — Liber Catonis, Lat. and Eng. verse — Here bygynneth a good tale, of Torreme [sic] of Portyngale, in verse — Tale of Bebys of Hamton, in verse — Tale of Ipomadon, in verse A boke of Kerbyng and Nortur, in verse — &c.,*” *Bibliotheca Elegantissima Monroiana. A Catalogue of the Elegant and Valuable Library of John Monro, M.D.* (1792) 122. For copies of the catalogues, see A.N.L. MUNBY and Lenore CORAL, *British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800: A Union List* (London: Mansell, 1977).

⁶ BOFFEY and THOMPSON “Anthologies and Miscellanies” 294; see also Boffey, “Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B.24 and Definitions of ‘Household Book,’” *The English Medieval Book. Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000) 125-34.

⁷ Italics indicate a modern, editorial title, while quotation marks are used for titles taken from *incipits* or *explicitis* of the manuscript.

⁸ See Carleton BROWN and Rossell Hope ROBBINS, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York: Columbia UP, 1943); Rossell Hope ROBBINS and John L. CUTLER, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1965); Richard HAMER, *A Manuscript Index to the Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 1995).

⁹ Notice my discrepancy with Purdie’s foliation in several items (*Ipomadon* XVIII-XIX).





6. “Torrente of Portyngale,” fols 76r-119v. Verse. “Here bygynneth a good tale of Torrente¹⁰ of Portyngale. God that ys worthy and Bold... Oute of this world whan we shall wend Amen. Explicit Torent of Portyngale.” *IMEV* 983/1.¹¹
7. *Lamentation of our Lady*, fols 119v-121r. Verse. “Off all women that euer were born... Wnto the blis where is my son dere.” *IMEV* 2619/3.
8. “A Prayer of our Lady,” fols 121r-121v. Verse. “Mary moder well thou be... To hevyn blis that I may wend Amen. A prayer of oure lady Explicith.” *IMEV* 2119/43.
9. “Bevys of hamtown,” fols 122r-190v. Verse. “Here begynnyth A Good tale of Bevys of hamtown A Good Werriour. Lystenythe lordinges yf ye will dwell... That ffor vs died vppon a tree Amen. Here endyth A good tale Of Beus¹² of hamtown that Good verriour.” *IMEV* 1993/B1.
10. “Ipomadon,” fols 191r-335r. Verse. “Here begynnyth A good tale of [-Ipomdon] Ipomadon. Off love were lykyng of to lere... To brynge vs to the blysse that lestis aye Amen ffor Charyte.” *IMEV* 2635/1.¹³
Fol. 335v is left blank.
Fol. 336 is left blank except for the title of the next item on the recto: “A boke of kervyng And Nourtur.”
11. John Russell, “A Good Boke of kervyng and Nortur,” fols 337r-355v. Verse. “A good boke of kervyng and Nortur. In *nomine* patris god kep me *et* filii for Cherite... To brynge vs to the blis *flat* never shall haue endyng Amen. Explicit the boke off nvrture¹⁴ and off kervynge quod Ego.” *IMEV* 1514/5.¹⁵
Fol. 356 is left blank.
12. *The Book of the Duke and the Emperor*, fols 357r-366v. Prose. “My¹⁶ Lady of Comynes the best and the derrest of my *spirituelle* Doughters... Writen at fle sayd Saint Maximien beside Tresues the xxviiith day of¹⁷ Octobre.” *IMEP* [3].¹⁸
Fol. 367r is left blank except for the inscription “ix” on top of the recto.
13. *Annals of London* [1189-1217], fols 367v-368v. Prose. “The namys of Wardeyns and Balyffys in the tym of Kyng Rychard the ffrest.” *IMEP* [4].
Fol. 369 is left blank
14. *Ballad of a Tyrannical Husband*, fols 370r-372r. Verse. “Ihesu that arte Ientyll ffor Ioye of thy¹⁹ dam ... Here begennethe anoder fytt ye sothe for to sey” (nothing follows). *IMEV* 1751/1.

¹⁰ Both KER 362 and PURDIE *Ipomadon* xix read “Torrence.”

¹¹ Fol. 76r is reproduced in Meale “The ME *Ipomedon*” pl. 6, 189.

¹² KER 363 and PURDIE *Ipomadon* xix write “Beuis.”

¹³ Fol. 191r is reproduced in Meale “The ME *Ipomedon*” pl. 4, 187, and on the frontispiece of Purdie’s edition.

¹⁴ KER 363 and PURDIE *Ipomadon* xix misspell the word as “nvture.”

¹⁵ Fol. 337r is reproduced in Meale “The ME *Ipomedon*” pl. 7, 190.

¹⁶ Surprisingly KER 363 and PURDIE *Ipomadon* xix write “The.”

¹⁷ This preposition is left out in KER’s 363 and PURDIE’s transcriptions *Ipomadon* xix.

¹⁸ Fol. 357r is reproduced in MEALE, “The ME *Ipomedon*” pl. 8, 191.

¹⁹ Misspelt as “they” by KER 363 and PURDIE *Ipomadon* xix.

CODICOLOGICAL INFORMATION

MATERIAL

The manuscript was newly bound in 1921, and on the spine it reads, “EARLY / ENGLISH / POETRY / XVTH CENTURY.” The new binding, however, is too tight, thus hindering the establishment of its collation. Dampness has affected the paper throughout the codex in the top quarter of the pages; notwithstanding the humidity, the paper is in fairly good condition, and the text is clearly legible (only some lines in item 1 are hard to read). There is slight ruling that marks the four corners of the writing block (see fig. 17), the size of which varies throughout the manuscript (between 190-230mm high, and between 28-34 lines), but it is always in single columns. There are two systems of foliation, a late pencil foliation—which I follow—correcting an earlier one in ink.²⁰ There are at least nine paper stocks attested by visible watermarks:²¹

(a) sun with face inside it (unidentified, fols 3-17)²²



Figure 1. Watermark b²³

²⁰ The pencil foliation reaches a total of 368 leaves: it starts with fol. 2 after the flyleaves, skips 51, repeats 52, skips one leaf between 59 and 60, misses 86, repeats 91, and misses the folios marked in pencil with nos. 156, 176, 183, and 353 (cf. Purdie, *Ipomadon* xx n. 22).

²¹ Discussion of watermarks in CHETHAM MS 8009 can be found in MEALE “The ME *Ipomedon*” 159 n. 8, and Purdie *Ipomadon* xxii-xxiii.

²² Purdie mentions the presence of a “long thin watermark, too obscured by the dense prose of the text to be any more distinguishable” on fols 1-2 (*Ipomadon* xxii), whereas Meale affirms that “there is no mark on the first two leaves” (“The ME *Ipomedon*” 159 n. 8). I could not discern the nature of this mark.

²³ All watermark sketches are reproduced with permission from Rhiannon PURDIE, “An Edition of the Middle English Romance *Ipomadon A*,” Diss. U of Bristol, 1997.



- (b) bull's head topped with a six-pointed star on a stalk (fols 18-29, 76-91, bifolia 92/105, 93/104, fols 106-121): similar to Piccard,²⁴ vol. II, part 2, section X nos. 711-12 (Reutlingen, Ulm 1483-86), 713 (various continental locations, 1488-92)²⁵

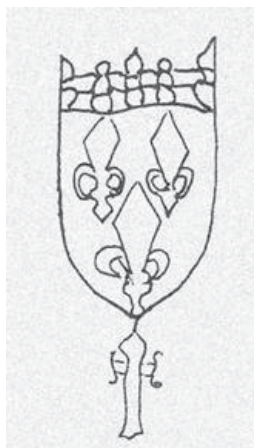


Figure 2. Watermark c

- (c) crowned French coat of arms with pendant *ij* (fols 30-47, 94-103, 122-148, 233-355): Briquet, no. 1741 (Troyes 1470)



Figure 3. Watermark d

²⁴ *Der Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, 17 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961-97).

²⁵ Briquet's No. 14.908 [*Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1923)] is not attested in Gênes between 1475-84, as Purdie states (*Ipomadon* xxii), but rather between 1498-1500.

- (d) crown with trefoil (fols 48-75): Briquet, nos 4636-48 (various continental places); Likhachev,²⁶ Pls 113-16 (various places 1431-64); Heawood,²⁷ no. 986 (1463);²⁸ Piccard, vol. I, section I, no. 322 (Basel, Breisach, Hagenau 1420-45)

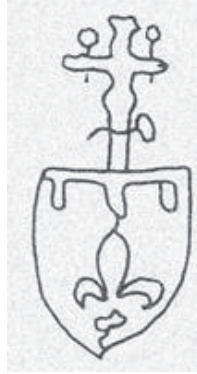


Figure 4. Watermark e

- (e) arms of Orléans surmounted by a cross with three nails (the symbol of the True Cross; fols 149-190):²⁹ Briquet, no. 1557 (Chartres 1476, with variations 1476-90); very similar to Likhachev, no. 1320 (1490-91)



Figure 5. Watermark f

²⁶ *Watermarks*, ed. J.S.G. SIMMONS & Bé van GINNEKEN-VAN DE KASTEEL, Monumenta Chartæ Papyraceæ Historiam Illustrantia xv, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1994).

²⁷ *Watermarks: Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Monumenta Chartæ Papyraceæ Historiam Illustrantia i (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950).

²⁸ This identification, where the watermark appears in a heraldic manuscript, is noted by Purdie (*Ipomedon* xii).

²⁹ Cf. watermark no. 9 in *Sir Thomas Malory: Le Morte d'Arthur Printed by William Caxton, 1485. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*, with an introduction by Paul Needham (London: Scolar P, 1976).

- (f) short-tailed unicorn (fols 191-232): very similar to Piccard, vol. x, section III, no. 1519 (Cologne, Wilna 1481)

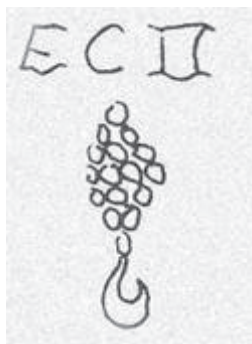


Figure 6. Watermark g

- (g) “diamond-shaped bunch of grapes with pendant crescent, surmounted by an oblong plaque bearing the initials ‘E.C.’” (bifolium 356/366).³⁰ Meale speculates that this type of design “seem[s] to date from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.”³¹ Valls i Subirà ratifies that this mark is “not found before the fifteenth century,” and that it is “almost exclusively of French origin.”³²



Figure 7. Watermark h

³⁰ Description taken from MEALE “The ME *Ipomedon*” 159 n. 8.

³¹ “The ME *Ipomedon*” 159 n. 8,

³² *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia*, ed. and trans. J.S.G. SIMMONS & Bé van GINNEKEN-VAN DE KASTEEL, Monumenta Chartæ Papyracæ Historiam Illustrantia XII, vol 1 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1970) 411. For grapes in watermarks see Piccard, vol. XIV.

- (h) tear-shaped ring with a crown as its jewel topped with an equal-armed cross (fols 357-365, 367-368): Briquet, no. 694 (Palermo 1479)
- (i) bull's head with a single line representing the eyes and nose mounted with a saltire cross (fols 369-372): Briquet, nos 14232-43 (various origins 1440-93); very similar to Piccard, vol. II, part 2, section IX, no. 169 (Louvain 1481).



Figure 8. Watermark i³³

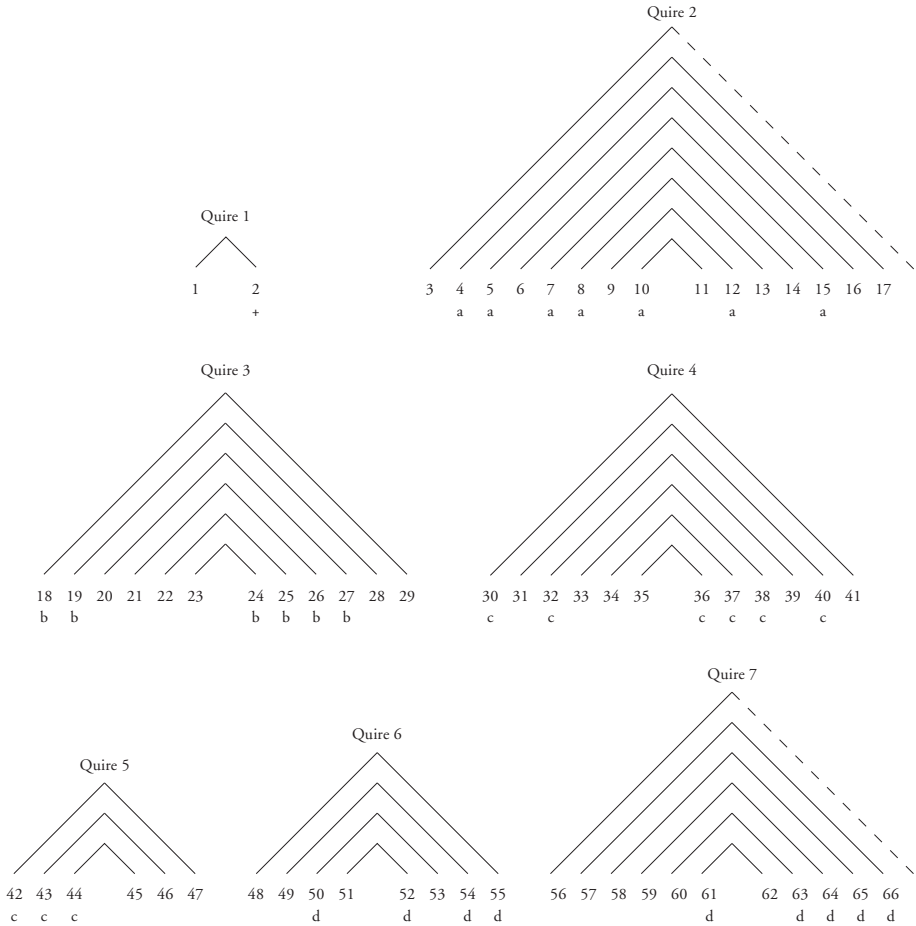
COLLATION AND COMPILATION

Determining the composition of this manuscript is rather problematic, due mainly to the tightness of the new binding. It is nonetheless possible to conjecture its collation by taking into account some features such as the presence of catchwords and signatures, the tear and wear of the end leaves of some items, and the identification of watermarks:³⁴ 1² (fols 1-2), 2¹⁶ wanting 16 (fols 3-17), 3-4¹², 5⁶ (fols 42-47), 6⁸ (fols 48-55), 7¹² wanting 12 (fols 56-66), 8¹⁰ wanting 1 (fols 67-

³³ This watermark is also visible in British Library, MSS Cotton Vitellius E. X, and Additional 40673.

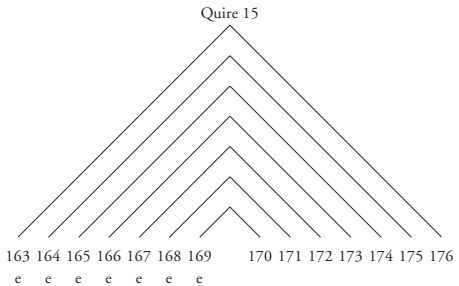
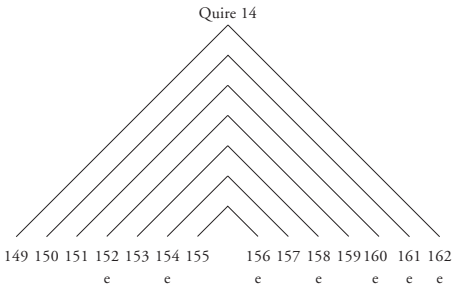
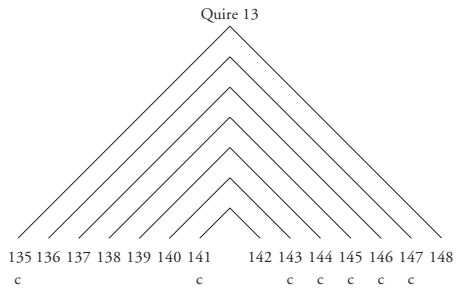
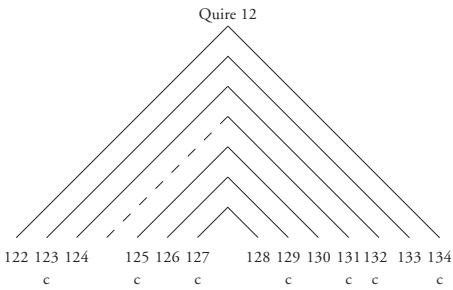
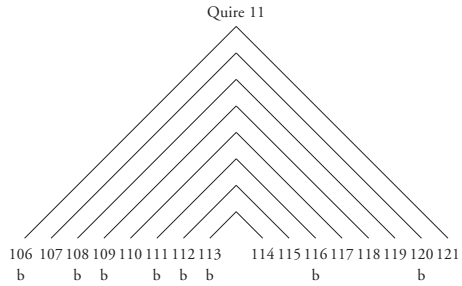
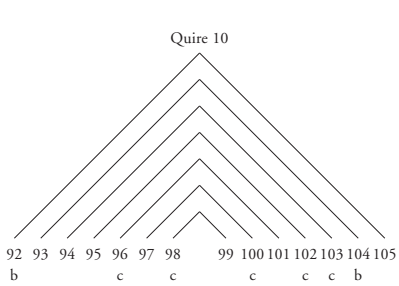
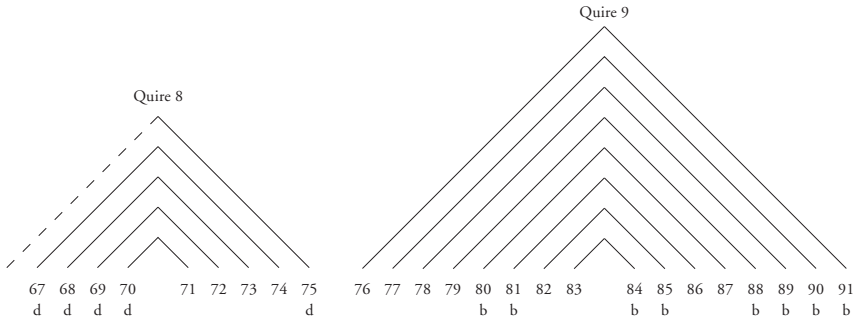
³⁴ This collation agrees with KER's 363, except for the last three quires, which he represents as 2913 (fols 356-368), 304 (fols 369-372). Ker's collation disagrees with the watermark evidence, as shown by the diagram, which suggests that fols 360-361 were the pole of symmetry of quire 29. The continuous sequence of watermarked half-sheets on fols 361-364, and the need to match this sequence with a similar series of unwatermarked half-sheets indicates that the quire is lacking a half-sheet in the first half, although no textual disruption is apparent (on the significance of watermark sequences as means to determine the make-up of quires, see Stephen SPECTOR, "Symmetry in Watermark Sequences," *Studies in Bibliography* 31 (1978): 162-78). This hypothesis is strengthened by the presence of the inscription "IX" on fol. 367r that clearly sets it as a separate gathering whose inner leaves may have been lost.

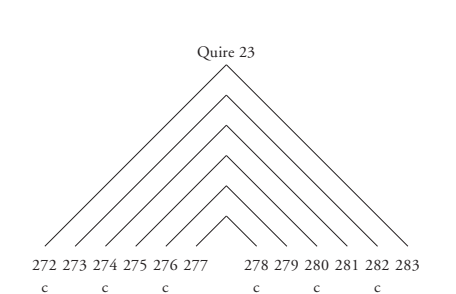
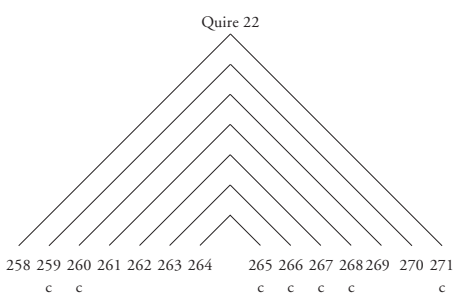
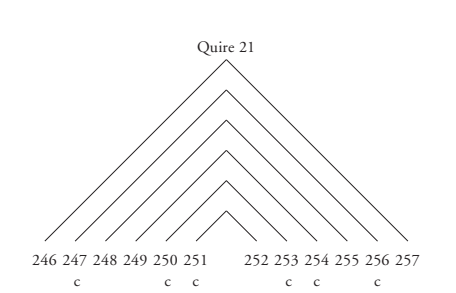
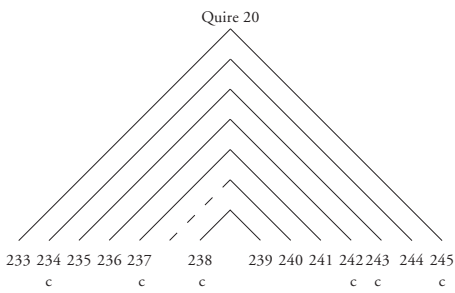
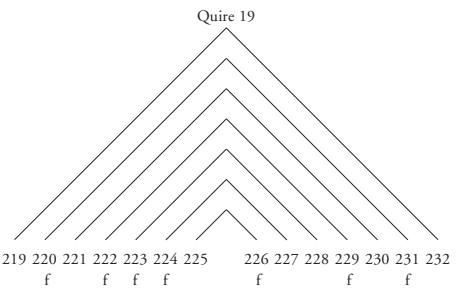
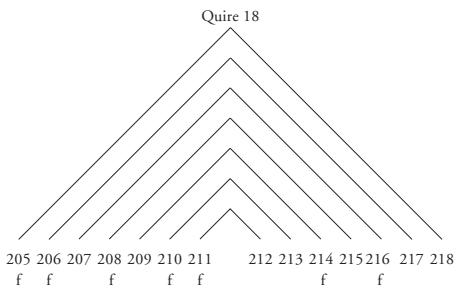
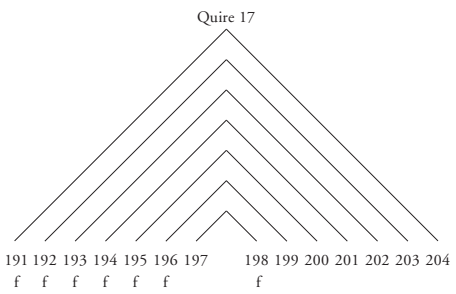
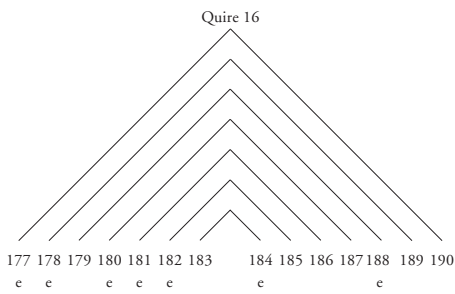
75), 9¹⁶ (fols 76-91) 10¹⁴ (fols 92-105), 11¹⁶ (fols 106-121) 12¹⁴ wanting 4 (fols 122-134), 13-19¹⁴, 20¹⁴ wanting 6 (fols 233-245), 21¹² (246-257), 22¹⁴ (fols 258-271), 23¹² (fols 272-283), 24-26¹⁴, 27¹⁰ (fols 326-335), 28²⁰ (fols 336-355), 29¹² wanting 3 (fols 356-366), 30² (fols 367-368), 31⁴ (fols 369-372).³⁵ Catchwords appear on fols 41v, 55v, 66v, 105v, 134v, 148v, 162v, 176v, 204v, 218v, 232v, 245v, 257v, 271v, 283v, 297v, 311v, 325v, 354v.³⁶ The following diagram represents graphically the composition of the manuscript identifying the watermarks visible with its corresponding letter:

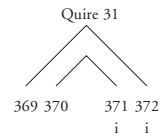
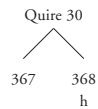
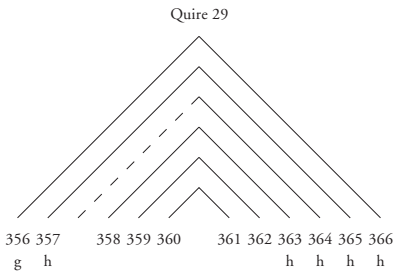
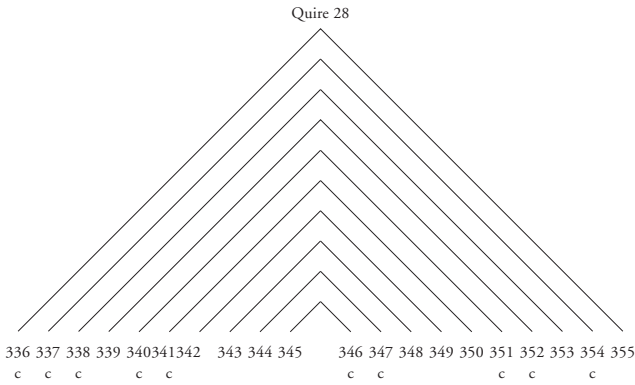
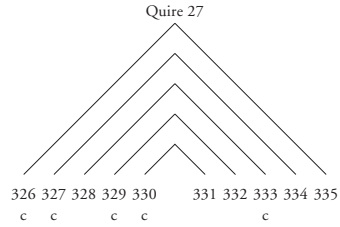
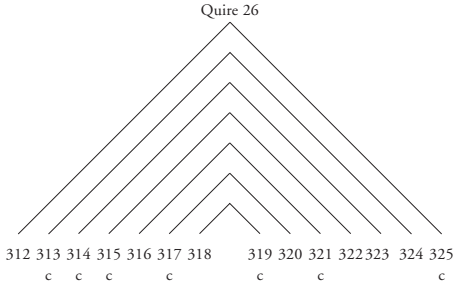
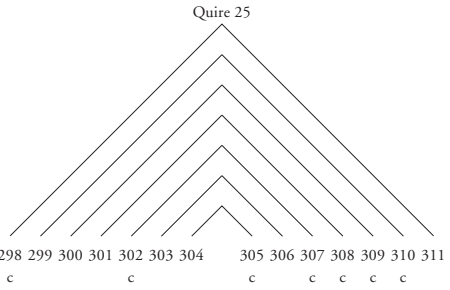
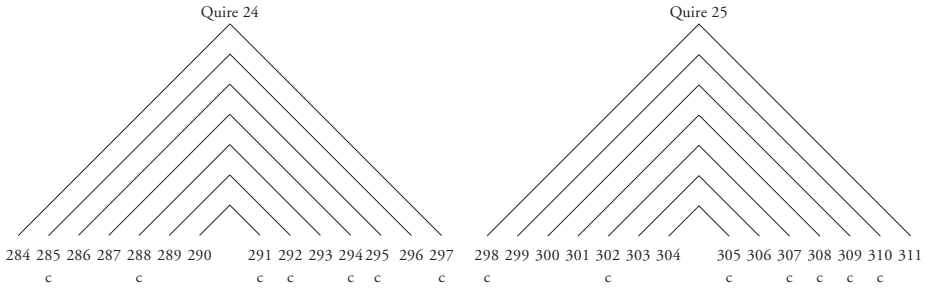


³⁵ The signatures in quire 28 demonstrate that item no. 11 was intended to be copied in a gathering of 18 leaves. However, as MEALE has suggested (“The ME *Ipomedon*” 169 n. 57), the scribe could not fit all the text in the quire due to his miscalculation. As a result he probably added a bifolium that corresponds to fol. 336—which is blank except for the title of the item—and fol. 355, in which the poem is completed.

³⁶ PURDIE notes 284v and 334v, instead of 283v and 354v (*Ipomedon* xx).







There are two series of signatures in the codex. One marks the order of the bifolia with Roman numerals, followed by a letter in alphabetical order establishing the sequence of quires. This system occurs only inside the booklet containing the romance *Ipomadon*, and it is applied to the first half of each quire; however, the signatures are partially cropped and do not appear in the three first quires of the fascicle. It is nevertheless easy to reconstruct the sequence of signatures for gatherings 17-19¹⁴, which would be designated with letters *a*, *b*, *c*, adding up to 21 bifolia, thus tallying with the extant signatures: quire 20: 233r (xxij),³⁷ 234r (xxiiij d), [lacking 235r xxiv] 236r (xxv), 237r (xxvj), 238r (xxviii); quire 21: 246r (xxix), 247r (xxx e), 248r (xxxj e), 249r (xxxij e), 250r (xxxiiij e), 251r (xxxiiij e); quire 22: 258r (xxxv f), 259-261r [lacking xxxvj-viiij f], 262r (xxxix f) [lacking 263-64r xxxx-j f]; quire 23: [lacking 272r xxxxij g] 273r (xliij g), 274r (xliiiij g), 275r (xlv g), 276r (xlvi g), 277r (xlvij g); quire 24: 284r (xlviiij h), 285r (xlviij h), 286r (l h), 287r (li h), 288r (liij h), 289r (liij h), 290r (liiiij h); quire 25: 298r (lv i), 299r (lvj i), 300r (lvij i), 301r (lviiij i), 302r (lix i), 303r (lx i), 304r (lxj i [-k]); quire 26: 312r (lxij k), 313r (lxiiij k), 314r (lxiiiij k), 315r (lxv k), 316r (lxvj k), 317r (lxvij k), 318r is partially trimmed (lxv<iiij> k); quire 27: 326r (lxix l), 327r (lxx l), 328r (lxxj l), 329r (lxxij l), 330r (lxxiiij l). The second system of signatures occurs only inside item 11, and seems to assume the existence of a completed alphabetic run of signatures: 337r (b a j), 338r (b a ij), 339r (b a iij), 340r (b a iv), 341r (b a v), 342r (b a vj), 343r (b a vij), 344r (b a viij), 345r (b a ix).

With regards to the compilation of the manuscript, Chetham 8009 is composed by several fascicles or “booklets”: I (1-2), II (3-17), III (18-29), IV (30-47), V (48-75), VI (76-121), VII (122-190), VIII (191-335), IX (336-355), X (356-366), XI (367-368), XII (369-372).³⁸ Booklets I and XI are formed by just a bifolium; II, III, IX and XII contain only one gathering; IV and X are composed of two quires. The booklets featuring romances are the most revealing ones: booklet V, which contains *Torrente of Portyngale*, is formed by three gatherings, and presents the following characteristics from Pamela Robinson’s decalogue:³⁹ (4) its catchwords run only within the booklet; (6) its outer leaves are soiled; (10) the scribe filled the booklet with items nos. 7 and 8, instead of leaving the last two folios blank. Booklet VI, in which *Bevys of Hamtoun* appears, is composed by five quires and shows the following features: (3) same style of decoration; (4); (6) to the extent that fol. 190 is torn. Booklet VII, in which *Ipomadon* is written, contains eleven gatherings with these

³⁷ PURDIE states that this signature occurs on fol. 232 (*Ipomadon* xx).

³⁸ The fasciculation suggested here departs from MEALE’S (“The ME *Ipomadon*” 145) on booklet VIII, which she believes to extend from 191r to 369v. The only criterion Meale uses for the establishment of her fasciculation is Robinson’s no. 6: “Its outer leaves may be soiled or rubbed.” PURDIE, *Ipomadon* XXI n. 24, seems to follow the same view (*Ipomadon* XXI n. 24).

³⁹ “The ‘Booklet’: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts,” *Codicologica* 5 (1980): 47-8.

characteristics: (4); (5) it has its own series of signatures; (6); (8) the last gathering is smaller, only 10 leaves; (9) the last page is blank.

We do not know whether this collection was initially put together as it exists today. There are however indications that it could have had some later additions to the original texts. At the top of fol. 336r the inscription “VIII” is written (cf. Guddat-Figge 240 n. 3), which could indicate the eighth fascicle in the manuscript, thus endowing it with cohesiveness; but this is now the beginning of booklet IX, implying that the composition of the manuscript was altered, probably by the incorporation of the first bifolium.⁴⁰ Another Roman numeral, “IX,” is similarly copied at the top of fol. 367r, now in booklet XI, which means that either it was the outer bifolium of booklet X and got subsequently misplaced, or that another item was added after the inscription had been made (cf. n. 34).

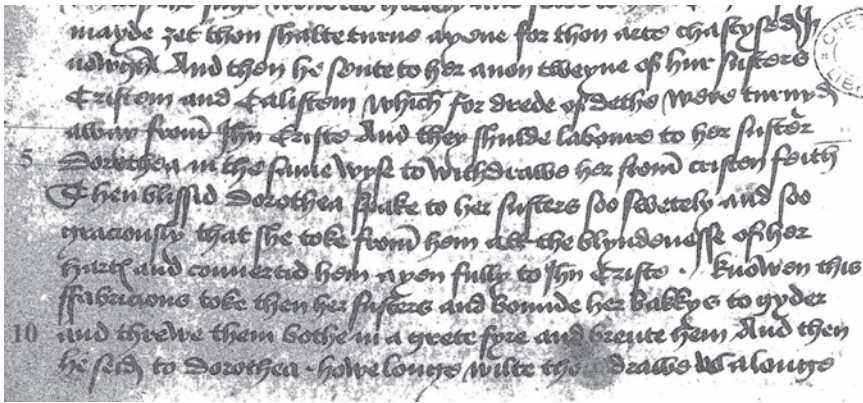


Figure 10. Fol. 1v, hand 1⁴¹

SCRIPT

The texts gathered in this composite manuscript reveal the agency of several scribes. There has been disagreement, however, about the number of hands involved in the production of the manuscript: Guddat-Figge (p. 238) suggests the

⁴⁰ This is written by scribe 1 who does not figure in the rest of the codex. Although hands 2, 3, and 6, which cannot be positively connected with the main scribe, are also restricted to booklets that precede fol. 336r, they copy longer texts than scribe 1 which were probably integral part of the collection from its creation.

⁴¹ All facsimiles from the manuscript are reproduced with the permission of the Governors of Chetham's Hospital and Library.

participation of ten hands, Ker (pp. 362-3) of nine, and Meale ("The ME *Ipomedon*," p. 144) of eleven. Here follows a description of the main features of each hand.

- Hand 1 (fols 1r-2v; see fig. 10):⁴² formal hybrid secretary book-hand. Angular broken strokes are used with single compartment *a* ("ayene," l. 1), uncial and looped *d* ("drede," l. 3), reversed form of *e* is common in final position while uncial *e* is preferred elsewhere ("dethe," l. 3), horns appear on top of single compartment *g* ("grete," l. 10), otiose stroke over *h* in medial and final position ("which," l. 3), right-shouldered *r* ("cristen," l. 5), and 2-shaped *r* ("Dorothea," l. 6), long *s* in initial and medial position ("spake," l. 6; "cristen," l. 3), short *B*-shaped *s* in final position ("susters," l. 9); the shaft of *t* protrudes the horizontal head-stroke ("then," l. 9), simple secretary form of *w* resembling a double *v*, and the more anglicana form resembling a double *l* ("withdrawe," l. 5).

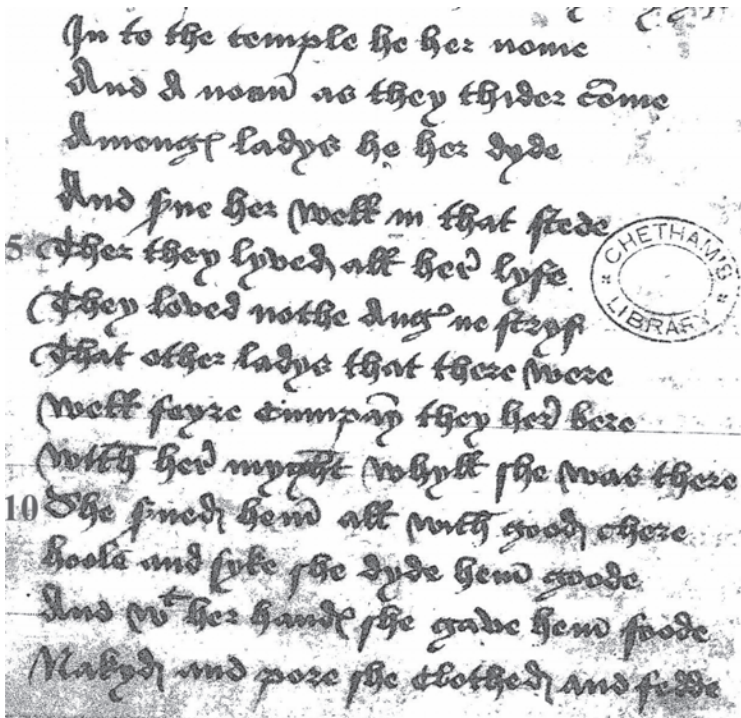


Figure 11. Fol. 3v, hand 2

⁴² Guddat-Figge 238 evidently makes a mistake when attributing fols 1 and 2 to two different hands.

- Hand 2 (fols 3rv; see fig. 11): calligraphic secretary book-hand. Angular single compartment *a* (“all,” l. 5), simple and looped *d* (“stede,” l. 4; “lyved,” l. 5), single compartment *g* has no horns, with a descender with a particular curl turning right (“goode,” l. 11), looped *h* with short limb and otiose stroke in medial position (“myght,” l. 9), the ascender of *l* forms a loop (“loved,” l. 6), 2-shaped *r* is the main form used, while the right-shouldered *r* is limited to abbreviations (“her(e),” “there,” l. 9), long *s* with short stem in initial and medial position (“she,” l. 11), and final short *B*-shaped *s* (“ladys,” l. 3); the shaft of *t* protrudes the horizontal head-stroke (“thider,” l. 2).

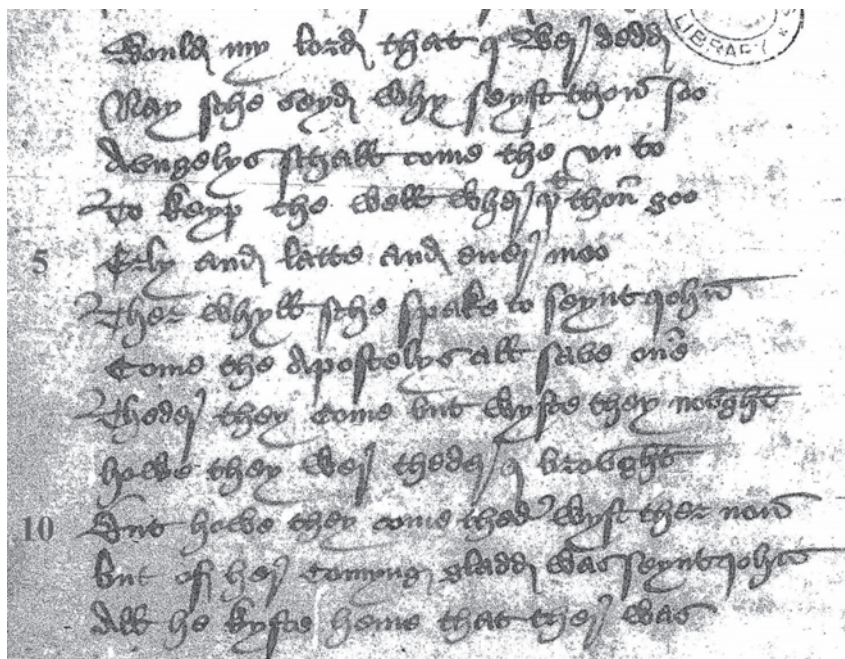


Figure 12. Fol. 7v, hand 3

- Hand 3 (fols 4r-17v; see fig. 12): current anglicana book-hand with no calligraphic pretensions. A simple form of the two-compartment *a* is adopted (“latte,” l. 5), cursive reversed form of *e* (“theder,” l. 9), two-compartment *g* (“gladd,” l. 11), long-tailed *r* is used in final position with abbreviations (“her(e),” l. 11), otherwise right-shouldered *r* is preferred (“lord,” l. 1), long *s* for initial and medial position, and sigma *s* in final position (“Apostelys,” l. 7), heavy ascender of *v* (“vn,” l. 3), anglicana form of *w* resembling two looped *l*s plus 3 (“whyll,” l. 6).



- Hand 4 (fols 18r-29v; see fig. 13): current hybrid secretary book-hand. Two types of *a*: the anglicana two-compartment *a* based on the capital form and made in one stroke which appears in initial position (“all,” l. 4),⁴³ and the secretary single compartment *a* in medial and final position (“shall,” l. 9); simple and looped *d* (“hand,” l. 2; “lede,” l. 11); reversed form of *e* (“degre,” l. 2); form of *g* composed of a long straight stem and a lobe whose upper side cuts the vertical shaft to connect with the following letter (“begynnyng,” l. 13); the limb of *h* is straight and otiose strokes are used (“which,” l. 1); long-tailed anglicana *r* is preferred in initial position (“rede,” l. 9), and 2-shaped *r* only in medial and final positions (“subportyng,” l. 14); long *s* in initial and medial position (“symple,” l. 11), and anglicana sigma *s* only in final position (“thys,” l. 13).

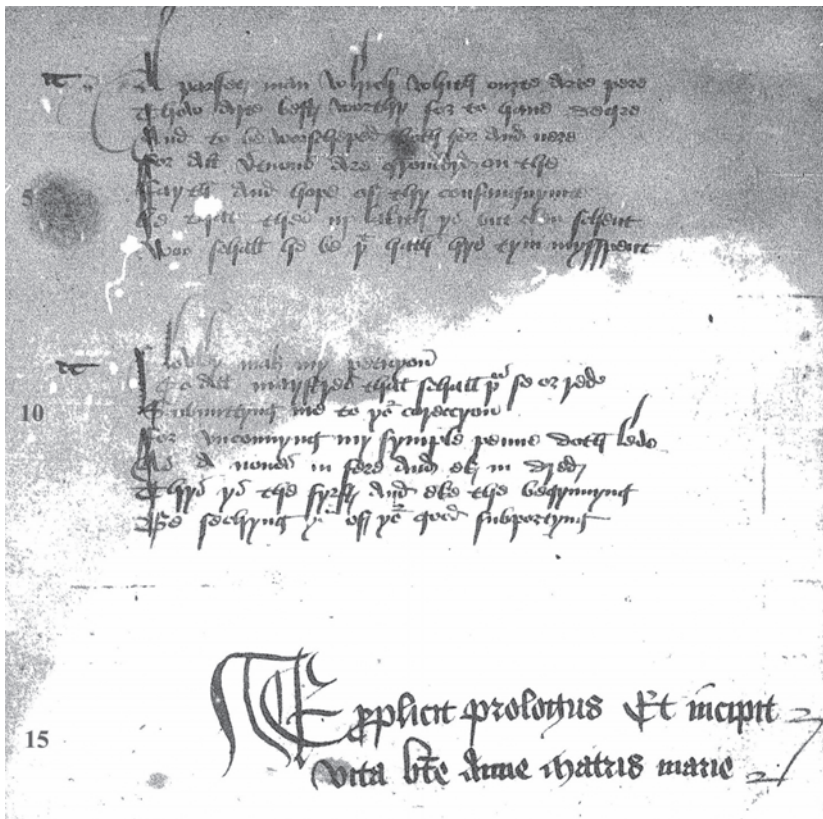


Figure 13. Fol. 19v, hand 4

⁴³ See M.B. PARKES, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) xxii.

- Hand 5 (fols 30r-47v, 93r-335r, 357r-366v; see fig. 14): hybrid secretary book-hand, somewhat calligraphic for item 4, more current in the romances. The scribe has an extended repertoire of *as*: “variant of the two-compartment *a*, based upon the Textura form” (“*all*,” l. 10),⁴⁴ the anglicana *a* based on the capital (“*and*,” l. 6), and the single compartment form (“*hæue*,” l. 5); uncial and looped *d* (“*to geder*,” l. 2; “*endith*,” l. 6); the reversed form of *e* is more common (“*neuer*,” l. 11); the double-compartment anglicana form of *g* (“*graunt*,” l. 9); the ascender of *h* always turns into a loop, while the limb is straight (“*heuyn*,” l. 10); the right-shouldered secretary form of *r* is predominant (“*cryste*,” l. 4), although the long-tailed anglicana form also figures commonly (“*tree*,” l. 13); long *s* is preferred in initial and medial position (“*shall*,” l. 11), while the anglicana sigma form, and the *B*-shaped secretary form appear indistinctly in final position (“*blys*,” l. 12; “*mys*,” l. 11); the secretary *w* figures more prominently (“*to w(m)bed*,” l. 2), but the anglicana form looking like two looped *ls* also occurs (“*was*,” l. 7).

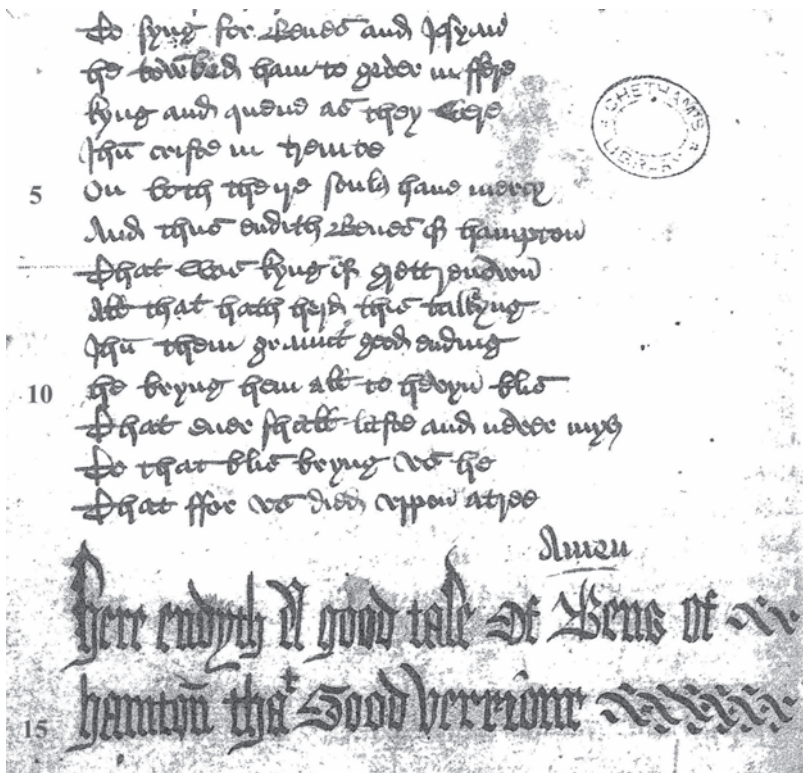


Figure 14. Fol. 190v, hand 5

⁴⁴ PARKES xxii.

- Hand 6 (fols 48r-75r; see fig. 15): calligraphic secretary book-hand. Angular single-compartment *a* (“that,” l. 3); only the looped form of *d* (“deniq(ue),” l. 10); the reversed *e* only occurs in final position (“make,” l. 6), but uncial *e* is more common (“repungnaunce,” l. 6); secretary form of *g* formed with a stem sinuous below the baseline and above the head-stroke (“repugnare,” l. 1); only the 2-shaped form of *r* is used (“trauerse,” l. 3); long *s* is preferred in initial and medial positions, while a form transitional between the sigma and the *B*-like *s* is used at the end (“stedfastnes,” l. 7); only the secretary form of *w* appears (“wolle,” l. 6).

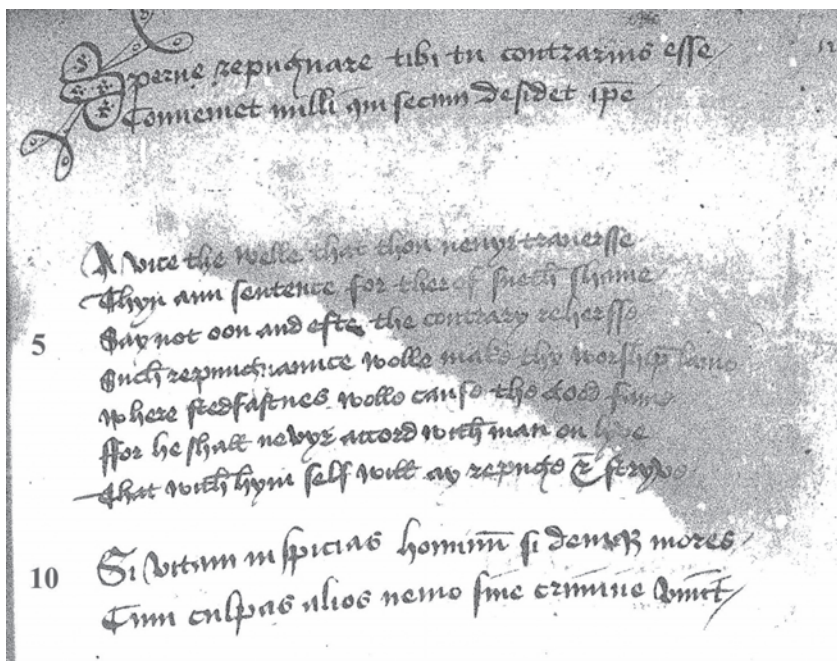


Figure 15. Fol. 50r, hand 6

- Hand 7 (fols 76r-93r; see fig. 16): current hybrid anglicana book-hand. Anglicana and secretary forms of *a* (“hathe,” l. 10; “That,” l. 17); only the looped *d* is used (“londe,” l. 15); almost exclusively the reversed *e* (“hevyn,” l. 7); secretary form of *g* with horns on top and straight descender (“g(ra)ce,” l. 6); the ascender of the *h* is always looped, and its limb is straight (“that,” l. 16), unless ligatured (“Where,” l. 11); 2-shaped *r* is preferred in medial and final position (“brynge,” l. 7; “Euyr,” l. 10), while capital *R* is used in initial position (“Ryche,” l. 15); in final position we find the sigma *s* (“us,” l. 7),

and long *s* is used in other positions (“*curtese*,” l. 17); only the secretary *w* (“*worthy*,” l. 3).

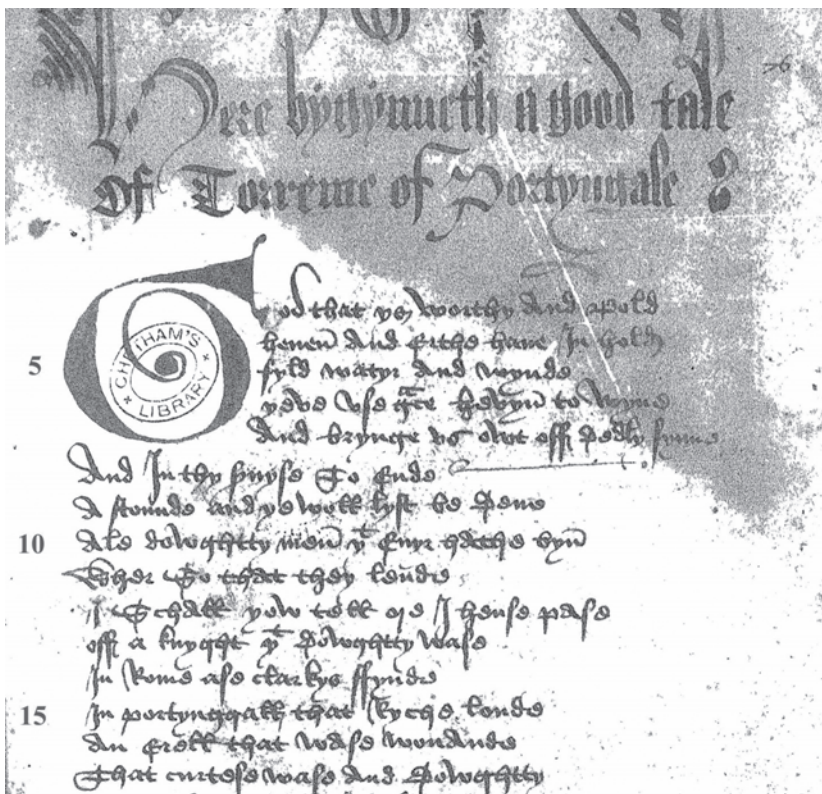


Figure 16. Fol. 76r, hand 7

- Hand 8 (fols 337r-355r; see fig. 17):⁴⁵ current hybrid secretary book-hand. It uses mainly the single compartment secretary *a* (“*makith*,” l. 4), although the anglicana form simplified in one stroke is also visible (“*arme*,” l. 5); only the looped *d* is used (“*hande*,” l. 5); reversed *e* is preferred in all positions (“*tonge*,” l. 9); secretary form of *g* with the descender turning left (“*gentill*,” l. 12); the ascender of *h* is looped, while the limb can also be

⁴⁵ KER 363 argues that this quire was copied by hand 5, whereas MEALE suggests a different hand (“*The ME Ipomedon*” 144). Describing the morphology of the script suffices to prove that Meale is right.

looped when ligatured (“harme,” l. 7); a capital form of *r* is used at the beginning of words, while the 2-shaped *r* is preferred in all other positions (“youre,” l. 7; “nor,” l. 5); the ascender of long *s* curves towards the right to connect with the following (“Idilnesse,” l. 4), and sigma *s* is used in final position (“eris,” l. 2); only the secretary *w* occurs (“fellowship,” l. 1).

Be not gre of fangelyng. nor gre of y' faldyngh. to playng
 for beke not tynid. or to comwall. no toldidid. fpecy to not smadng
 Be not y' no fkomer. nor fag. to games. toat to for todyr. to yow not playne
 for godis man. fyttyng. idilnesse. it makis. a man. vntyfyng

5 fnt not y^o gande in y^o noct befor nor demo.
 her in yowre gose. d fto for to fhaemo
 bynegre not to yowre body. toat it do yow harme
 tothe not to toono foto. on to toadyr. for to vrazmo

10 Smyte not y^o nose. to y^o tonge. y^o lippis. to not telyng
 no fupis. not of ony. fnypp. toat to to to tabill. telyng
 to not in y^o indur. fpydelyng. no fmaeyng
 for to d. q. antill. toat to to d. q. rot. faldondyng

Figure 17. Fol. 338r, hand 8

Thythen fytz Mablett. l. di. Sexto
 Thythen fytz Armlpge. l. di. Sexto
 Robert fessmunt. l. di. Sextimo
 Robert to foffme. l. di. Sextimo
 5 Edward Introge. l. di. Sextimo
 Robert Inrdnt. l. di. Sextimo
 Robert fplmte. l. di. nono.
 Nicolas Dubet. l. di. nono.
 Christopher fytz Armlpge. l. di. p. f.
 10 Robert fzeall. l. di. p. f.

The names of fuppleffis. and residence in to to to of fynke
 to to to to of d. v. l. di. god. of. c. m. v. f.

Figure 18. Fol. 367v, hand 9

- Hand 9 (fols 367v-368v; see fig. 18):⁴⁶ this is a mixture of secretary and anglicana as Ker affirms. The two forms of *a* occur (“namys,” l. 11; “Robart,” l. 10); looped *d* (“lorde,” l. 12); uncial and reversed forms of *e* (“wardence,” l. 11; “the,” l. 11); secretary form of *g* with the stem extending over the head-stroke (“kynge,” l. 11); 2-shaped *r* (“Robart,” l. 6); long *s* (“Costantyne,” l. 9) and sigma *s* (“Nicolas,” l. 8); secretary form of *w* (“wardence,” l. 11).

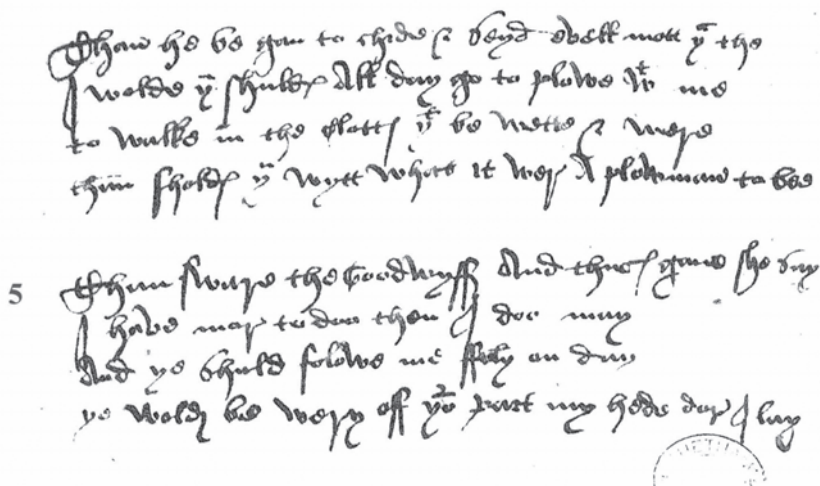


Figure 19. Fol. 370v, hand 10

- Hand 10 (fols 370r-372r; see fig. 19): hasty current hybrid secretary book-hand. Anglicana and secretary forms of *a* (“and,” l. 5; “day,” l. 2); looped *d* (“hedis,” l. 8); reversed *e* (“wolde,” l. 2); two compartment *g* (“go,” l. 2) and secretary *g* with very pronounced horns (not in facsimile); the limb of *h* may or may not turn into a loop (“chide,” l. 1; “what,” l. 4); 2-shaped *r* (“part,” l. 8) and long-tailed *r* (“wery,” l. 8); long *s* (“sware,” l. 5) and sigma *s* (“seyd,” l. 1).

LAYOUT AND DECORATION

Chetham 8009 is a modest production without a program of illumination. Its decoration consists of the use of special display script with strapwork for some

⁴⁶ MEALE attributes these folios to two different hands (“The ME *Ipomedon*” 144), whereas Ker and Guddat-Figge only observe one hand, as I do.

incipits, *explicit*s and running titles (see figs. 13, 14, 16), the flourishing of the first letters of some pages and paragraphs (see figs. 13, 15), and the rubrication of initials. These features of decoration were undertaken, probably by someone other than the copyist,⁴⁷ when this had finished his task, as is proven by the visible guide-letters,⁴⁸ and the scribe's misspelling of the eponymous hero's name in the title of the romance *Ipomadon*.

The extent and nature of decoration, however, is not equally distributed throughout the collection, with some items receiving a more extensive and regular pattern of decoration. These items are the three romances contained in the manuscripts, which are copied contiguously —with the exception of filler items— and occupy the central portion of the collection. All three articles are embellished with special common features: the three pieces begin with the same *incipit* written with a special display script using a large textura quadrata (“Here bygynnyth a good tale of...”; see fig. 16);⁴⁹ running titles in the same display script are used throughout the individual works, and they appear at least on the first page of every quire,⁵⁰ serving a double purpose: they ensure the integrity of the text, whilst endowing the romance section of the manuscript with greater homogeneity, thus facilitating its identification; the rubrication of initials was implemented by the same rubricator, and differs from that in the non-romance articles: the initials are made in the same calligraphic style without the typical strapwork flourishing that we see, for example, in the initials of items 3 and 4.

In sum, the presence in the romance items of identical *incipits*, display script with strapwork and curfic-like decoration (see fig. 14), running titles, rubricated initials, and tail prayers,⁵¹ together with the contiguity of the romances in the collection, confirms the compiler's design to set them apart from the non-romance articles in the codex. This confirms Evans's view that romances do not necessarily receive more ornamentation (p. 104),⁵² but that features of layout and decoration were used to delineate a generic border between romances and non-romances.

⁴⁷ Cf. MEALE, “The ME *Ipomedon*” 142.

⁴⁸ Four of these capitals were never executed, *A* (fol. 3r), *C* (fol. 48r), *A* (fol. 97v), and *I* (fol. 370r).

⁴⁹ GUDDAT-FIGGE describes it as “large semi-textura” (238). See MEALE (“The ME *Ipomedon*” 169-70 n. 59) on the hand of the display script.

⁵⁰ In item 6 the running title occurs only twice, on fols 92r and 106r, which are respectively the first pages of the second and third quires of the booklet.

⁵¹ The three romances are closed with a prayer plus the word “Amen.” According to Murray J. Evans's study on elements of display and decoration in romance manuscripts, *Rereading Middle English Romance: Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1995), prayers provide a closure for romances in 67.2 per cent of cases (25-6).

⁵² I do not believe that the producers of these booklets assume an unjustified “degree of pretension” as MEALE suggests (“The ME *Ipomedon*” 167 n. 47), but rather that the extent of decoration is in accordance with the characteristics of the product.

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